DEFINING SELF IN A MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT:

AN EXPLORATION OF SOME COGNITIVE IMPLICATIONS

by

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Defining Self in a Multicultural Context:

An Exploration of Some Cognitive Implications

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian multicultural social context formed the backdrop of the present study which was aimed at investigating the dynamics of ethno-cultural self-definitions, race, and comparisons between self and "Canadian" - the nation group. Classical and contemporary theoretical perspectives on self, culture, and social cognition provided the conceptual frame. It was proposed that individuals' comparison of self with the nation group is systematically related to their ethno-cultural self-definitions and their race. The research evolved through a series of preliminary explorations in which a total of 964 undergraduate students participated at various stages. The main study was designed with three levels of Self-definitions: "Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian" and "Ethnic"; and two levels of race: "Caucasian" and "Visible", resulting in a 3 X 2 format. The self-nation group comparisons were assessed by the measures of Perceived Agreement (PA) and Perceived Uniqueness (PU). In addition, the subjective image of Canadian was also explored. Two hundred and fifty-six undergraduate students participated in the main study by completing a self-explanatory questionnaire. It was predicted that there would be a main effect of Self-definitions on PA and PU, and there would be an interaction effect of Self-definition and Race on PA and PU. The results indicated that there was no main effect of Self-definition on PA or on PU. Instead, there was a main effect of Race on PA and a main effect of Gender on PU. Visibles, compared to Caucasians, perceived a higher opinion similarity with the nation group. Women perceived lower uniqueness of their abilities than men. The predicted interaction of Race and Self-definition was only marginally supported. The subjective image of Canadian was generally positive, particularly for the Visible women and Visible Ethnics. The implications of the findings for Canadian multiculturalism are discussed within the broad frame of theoretical perspectives.

ॐ सह नाववतु।

सह नौ भुनक्तु।

सह वीर्यं करवावहै।

तेजस्वि नावधीतमस्तु।

मा विद्विषावहै।

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः।

कठोपनिषद्

Together, may we protect ourselves
Together, may we rejoice
Together, may we accomplish acts of courage
Together, may our learning and talents shine
May there never be disharmony among ourselves
May peace always prevail

A Hymn from *Upanishads* (400 - 800 B.C.)

DEDICATION

TO

My Mother,

Nirmala Bhatt

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

While the world is being torn apart by ethnic, religious, and tribal strife, Canada is welcoming various rival groups of immigrants and refugees offering them a common roof and most importantly, a freedom to maintain their cultural heritage. Canada's commitment to the ideals of multiculturalism may very well be considered an applied social psychology experiment. Individuals of highly diverse social, racial and cultural backgrounds have become neighbors in Canada. What is distinctive about this scene is that unlike the "melting pot" scenario of the United States, there is an active promotion of the "celebration of differences". It does not just pay lip service to the diverse cultural heritage of its people, but evidences a serious political and social commitment (Appendix A).

What is interesting and pertinent to social psychology is how this multicultural social context, accompanied by the official acknowledgement, may bear on the social and psychological lives of individuals. Informal observations of day-to-day social interactions of people in Canada may reveal some very interesting features. For example, one of the most frequently raised inquiries in casual conversations is "where are you *really* from?" Consider the following conversation between two young men:

> "So were you born and raised here?"
> "No, I was born in Brazil, but grew up in Toronto"
> "Oh, so you are South American"
> "No, no, it's just that my father was on a diplomatic job in Brazil when I was born. He is actually from Germany"
> "So you are German!"
> "Hum..m.. yes and no, because my mother is only part German. Actually, my grandparents ... let's see, my father's father was born in Russia, but my grandmother was born in Poland. My other grandparents.......So I am actually part German, part Polish"
> "But which of these two is more like you?"
> "That's hard to say. I guess, you could call me a German-Canadian or a Spanish-Canadian, because, really speaking, I am a Canadian"
> "Oh yes, of course, we all are. Like I grew up here, but my ancestors came from ...."

Indeed the tracing of one another's ethno-cultural roots is a salient feature of Canadian social life. In fact, calling oneself a "plain" (!) Canadian is often accompanied by an apology; "Sorry, but I am just a plain Canadian"!

An especially interesting feature of the Canadian social scene is that people not only talk about their "real origins" but they tend to use hyphenated labels as well to describe themselves; e.g., "German-Canadian" or "French-Canadian" or "Indo-Canadian", or "Japanese-Canadian", and the combinations are numerous. The use of hyphenated self-definitions in which the Canadian component forms the second half is quite peculiar to the Canadian social scene which contrasts with the American social scene where everyone is expected to be an "American" first. Further, the pure ethnic self-definitions; "Ukrainian" or "Quebecois" or "Trinidadian" are also prevalent in our society, but curiously enough, the apparently clear and simple self-definition "I am a Canadian" has remained ambiguous and has been a subject of continual national debates. In fact, not making an issue of it is often considered a very Canadian trait! .

Nonetheless, the issue, *what does it mean to be a Canadian?*, does evoke some strong sentiments. The ambiguity and controversy surrounding "Canadian" may be attributed in part to the rapidly changing demographics of the country. Whereas the early settlers were primarily of European descent, the new immigrants are primarily of Pacific Rim and South Asian descent. Consequently, the European majority, which traditionally claimed the label "Canadian" for itself is gradually shrinking (Appendix B). The "new" immigrants, along with their distinct ethnic heritage, also bring their distinctive trait of race; i.e. "visibility". What is interesting about the changing demographics is that the visible ethnic immigrants who arrived here a few decades ago and formed the minority groups are now in their 2nd and 3rd generation stage, and many individuals of this later generation seem to be "color blind", insofar as their daily social interactions at school, sports, work etc. are concerned. They speak in a perfect Canadian accent blending well with their peers of European descent. If

asked to provide their ethno-cultural self-definition, they are very likely to say "I am a Canadian". In fact there is a certain pride that accompanies this declaration which contrasts with the amusing regret of a "plain" Canadian of a European descent. Whereas a visible minority member who has been a resident of Canada for a long time may use the label "Canadian" with certain ease and pride, a recently arrived European immigrant, e.g., a Croatian, may feel a sense of alienation, of being different from "Canadians". It is very likely that this individual may declare self as a "Croatian" rather than as a "Canadian". It seems then that being a member of the "visible minority" or "invisible majority" ("white") does not necessarily hold a direct relation to whether one may view oneself as a Canadian.

It is this Canadian multicultural social context which forms the backdrop of the present research. Is there indeed a link between how individuals define themselves in the ethno-cultural-national domain and the larger social context that is multicultural? How does the national identity, "Canadian", get incorporated (or omitted!) in one's self-definition? Or, does it really matter whether one defines oneself as a Canadian or an ethnic? Importantly, how do individuals conceptualize "Canadian"? Also, does one's status as a visible ethnic minority or Caucasian/European majority relate to one's self-definition of a Canadian or an ethnic? Do these self-definitions have any bearing on how one may perceive one's self in relation to the society at large? These were the issues that nurtured the growth of the present research.

The informal observations suggest that a social context comprised of individuals of highly diverse cultural origins may bear on how individuals define themselves, and how they may incorporate their ethnic, cultural, and national identities within their self-definitions, especially when there is an official promotion of the celebration of *differences*. An important determinant of the success of such celebrations is individuals' perception of similarity and differences between self and the nation group, "Canadian" - which is the focus of the present investigation.

To summarize, the major goal of the present research was to investigate the relation between one's ethno-cultural self-definition, one's status as an ethnic/racial minority or European/Caucasian majority, and one's perception of self in relation to the society at large; i.e., the nation group "Canadian". The first step of this investigation entailed exploring past research efforts, empirical as well as theoretical. The next step was directed at delineating research variables, which included a large scale preliminary exploration. This preliminary exploration provided conceptual and empirical clarity for outlining concrete research propositions, each of which was then examined along with the rationale for making specific predictions. An empirical investigation was then carried out to test these research propositions. Finally, the outcome and the implications of the empirical investigation were assessed within the broad theoretical frame.

This dissertation is divided into five parts. **Part I** includes a discussion of past research efforts and relevant theoretical perspectives. In **Part II**, preliminary explorations of potential research variables are detailed. Research propositions and rationales for predictions are provided in **Part III**. **Part IV** contains the methodology of the empirical investigation, and finally, the results, discussion, and concluding remarks about the research are covered in **Part V**.

PART I: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Examining Past Empirical Research

A literature search on empirical investigations pertaining to self-definitions and multicultural social context indicated that researchers have almost exclusively focussed on new immigrants; especially minorities and their adaptation patterns. Most research articles in the two major journals, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology* and *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, are devoted to the issue of cross-cultural transition and the psychological dynamics associated with it. The study of the members of the host culture or majority seemed to have been largely neglected. The researchers' preoccupation with the new immigrants while ignoring the larger population has been pointed out by Phinney (1990) in her extensive review as well. The rapidly changing demographics whereby the traditional Caucasian majority is shrinking is likely to affect the social life of all individuals, the Caucasian majority as well as the visible ethnic minorities.

Another salient trend of this empirical research is that, while focussing on immigrants and minorities, researchers have tended to make extensive examination of racial and ethnic *group differences* on a variety of cognitive and social dimensions. The literature is saturated with studies comparing groups in terms of ethnicity and race. The topic of Blacks vs. Whites for instance, which psychologists started to examine systematically since the pioneering research of Clark and Clark (1939), continues to fill the research literature with one controversy after another (e.g.,Anderson, 1989; Anderson, 1991; Jensen, 1969; 1978; 1981; Rushton, 1991; Scarr & Weinberg, 1976; Zuckerman & Brody 1988). Investigations comparing other ethnic and racial groups such as Latino vs. Americans (e.g., Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991), Asians vs. Americans (e.g., Sue & Okazaki, 1990), Japanese vs. American (e.g., Lynn, R. 1977; 1987), Chinese vs. Americans (e.g., Vernon, 1982) are also predominant in the literature. Moreover, in most group difference investigations, the within-

group differences are largely overlooked and hence have been subjected to long controversies, as exemplified in the "Black vs. White" research. Also, while designating individuals into various racial or ethnic groups, researchers have paid little attention to individuals' *subjective* self-definitions, such as whether the participants' view of their ethnicity or minority status concurs with the researchers' designation. The findings of group difference studies are rendered even more problematic when one considers the ambiguity and lack of clear definitions of "ethnicity" and "race" that have been used (Anderson, 1989; Sue, 1988; Sue & Zane, 1987; Zuckerman, 1990).

There is a certain American bias in the literature as well, in that most studies deal with the American social context. However, some trends have emerged in research pertaining to the Canadian social scene. The psychological and social issues arising out of our national duality, i.e., French-Canadian and English-Canadian, have been extensively investigated by Lambert and his associates at McGill University over the span of the last four decades (for a review, see Lambert, 1992). Also, social issues related to multiculturalism, inequity, ethnic and racial conflicts have been addressed in a variety of investigations (e.g., Adachi, 1976; Berry, 1991; Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977; Henry & Ginsberg, 1985; Lambert, Mermiges, & Taylor, 1986; Lautard & Guppy, 1990; Lavoie, Grenier, & Coulombe, 1986; Kalin & Berry, 1979; Taylor & Gardner, 1969; Taylor, Simard & Aboud, 1972; Porter, 1965). Canadian researchers such as John Berry, Rudolf Kalin, Frances Aboud, Wallace Lambert, Donald Taylor and their associates have made a valuable research contribution to Canadian social psychology. What is especially noteworthy is that their contribution is rich in its empirical as well as conceptual content.

To summarize, the review of empirical research indicated that a vast research has been devoted to the issue of culture and ethnicity. The focus, however, has remained rather limited to minority issues and group differences. Moreover, psychological dynamics of national and ethnic self-identifications and their *larger social implications* remain to be

explored. A notable exception is Berry's (1991), Aboud's (1981), and Taylor et al.'s (1972) research on the dynamics of national identity and its relevance to ethnic identity. This line of research, however, is yet to be incorporated on a larger scale in social psychological investigations pertaining to a Canadian context. It would be pertinent not only to examine who uses the national label and who uses the ethnic label to describe self, but also what larger implications for one's social life may be derived from the study of such definitions. For instance, if a "visible" ethnic individual defines self as a Canadian, a part of the majority nation group rather than as an ethnic minority, what are the implications of this definition for his or her self-views and world-views? Will this individual's views be similar to those of a Caucasian who also defines self as a Canadian? Or will his or her views be similar to that of a "visible" who defines self in ethnic terms? Issues pertaining to national and ethnic self-definitions, the relevance of one's minority/majority status to these self-definitions and one's perception of self in relation to the larger multicultural context have yet to be explored on a comprehensive scale. These unexplored research issues, in part, warranted the present investigation.

After reviewing the past empirical research, the next step was to search for an appropriate conceptual frame that would integrate the link between individuals' self-views and the larger social and cultural context. To this end, both, classical and contemporary theoretical perspectives were examined. These perspectives are divided into three segments: the first segment pertains to perspectives on self and social context, the second segment pertains to self and culture, and the third pertains to self and social comparison processes.

Theoretical Perspectives I: Self and Social Context

The Classical View

Historically, there has been a rich theoretical tradition examining the link between individuals' self and the social context (for a review, see Bhatt, 1990). Great thinkers of the past have extensively examined the nature of the relation between individuals' self-views and the larger social reality. However, any discourse of self and social context - in fact any issue in psychology for that matter - must rightfully begin with a tribute to the philosopher psychologist William James (1890/1910). His brilliant insight into the role of social context in shaping individual's self continues to provide inspiration to researchers. Within social psychology, his legacy lives with his famous quote "...a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him" (p. 291). The relevance of James' notion of multiple social selves can be found in our contemporary multicultural society as well. While interacting with most others, whether one is recognized as a Canadian or as an ethnic-Canadian or as an ethnic has a bearing on how the individual may conceptualize the subjective sense of self.

Besides James, two other classical theorists made a notable contribution to the psychology of self and social context. These were G. H. Mead (1934) and C. H. Cooley (1902/1922). Mead's thesis of *symbolic interactionism* explicitly stated that other people individually and collectively shape and manipulate a person's understanding of himself or herself. Along the same theme, Cooley suggested that how one looks in the eyes of others, i.e., "social mirror", is an important determinant in the formation of one's image of oneself. The premise of other people as social mirrors shaping one's view of self has a strong relevance for our multicultural social context. A woman of visible ethnic origin, for instance, may view herself as Canadian, but if the "social mirror" continues to indicate to her that she is, after all, an ethnic, then her view of self as a Canadian may remain only hazy. If

the social mirror does not concur with the personal image, then the personal image may remain rather nebulous.

The classical view of James, Mead, and Cooley relating self and social context has received strong support from contemporary researchers (Epstein, 1973; Gergen, 1977; Shrauger & Shoeneman, 1979; Greenwald, 1980; Harter, 1983; Markus, 1983; Carver & Schier, 1981; Snyder, 1984; Swann, 1984; 1985; Anderson, 1984; Wyer & Srull, 1986). Keeping with the cognitive trend of the discipline, contemporary researchers have affirmed that there is a *dialectical* relation between self-cognitions and social-cognitions. The social setting within which individuals interact forms the broad cognitive frame which filters individuals' ideas and beliefs as to what kind of persons they are and what the world is like.

Ingroups and Outgroups: Gordon Allport's Thesis

Given that self is shaped by the larger social context, an important issue arises pertaining to one's status as a minority/majority group member. Understanding the role of group dynamics in shaping one's views of self and the world at large is of enormous importance since it has far reaching personal, social, and political implications. The past political history of the world and the current global ethnic chaos is a testimony to this. One of the pioneers to investigate the relevance of group dynamics to self in a society comprising minority and majority groups was Gordon Allport (1954) whose insightful *Nature of Prejudice* has remained a classic. In his analysis he has detailed the social and personal consequences of the human tendency to categorize the social world into *ingroup*s and *outgroup*s. He has contended that one's level of identification with one's ingroup relates to one's perception of the outgroup. A strong identification with one's ingroup often enhances one's feeling of self-worth. However, such an identification also leads to a skewed perception of the outgroup which would appear to be worthy of all the hatred and negativity directed towards it.

Besides the ingroup-outgroup analysis, Allport examined the process of national and ethnic identification. He emphasized individual differences in how one defines the boundaries of one's national and ethnic ingroups. For some, this boundary has a wide radius which allows inclusion of a large variety of individuals belonging to different social categories into one's ingroup. For some, this boundary is narrow and excludes a large segment of humanity. The notion of the <u>subjective</u> image of one's ingroup as inclusive or exclusive is quite pertinent in a society committed to the ideal of multiculturalism. For example, when one defines self as a Canadian, what does one's image of this national ingroup include? What does it exclude? Does this image include white Anglo individuals only, or does it extend to ethnic minorities as well? These perceptions are likely to shape one's view of Canada and one's own and others' location within it. Examining individuals' images of the nation is indeed important in a society that is comprised of a large variety of ethnic groups. As Allport argued, these individual images of nation and ethnic groups are "...important to study because people act in terms of them" (1954, p. 119).

Social Psychology of Minorities: Henry Tajfel's Thesis

Following Allport's contribution, Henry Tajfel (1970; 1974; 1976; 1978) extended the examination of the social categorization of minorities and the majority. In his essay on *Social Psychology of Minorities* (1978), he has made a very fine analysis of the majority/minority group dynamics and their implications for the individual. Beginning with the criteria that define minority status, he has elaborated on the consequences of perceived clarity and permeability of the boundary separating the two groups. Further, he has analyzed what he has termed the *patterns of acceptance* and *patterns of rejection* of one's minority status. He has traced the roots of these patterns in the fundamental human need for self-respect and positive self-image maintenance.

Given that the psychological focus of ones' minority/majority status is on one's self-image, it is essential to examine processes that shape one's self-image. Drawing from Festinger's (1954) research on the social comparison process, Tajfel has contended that an individual's "...self-image is essentially based on certain kinds of comparisons and it consists to a large extent of the outcomes of these comparisons" (p. 9). These comparisons may be in terms of one's hopes, expectations, achievements and subjectively assessed personal characteristics. One of the strategies that allows one to maintain a positive self-image through social comparisons is the achievement of some form of clear differentiation from others. The need to maintain differentiation is rendered salient in modern times due to increased globalization and interdependence of various groups. Incorporating this changing demographic and social trend Tajfel pointed out that in the past, when the minority groups were viewed as "different", the criteria of differentiation were developed by the majority groups. This one-sided definition is now being rejected by minority groups. While seeking a status of equality, minority groups are simultaneously seeking differentiation, but in their *own terms*. Their new sense of differentiation is by their choice rather than by the majority imposing such differentiations on them.

Tajfel's thesis of new minority groups seeking equality in status while maintaining some form of differentiation applies well to the Canadian multicultural scene. In fact, as discussed earlier, the official policy of multiculturalism is geared to encouraging all ethnic groups to maintain "healthy" differentiation from one another by preserving their heritage culture. The need to be different and distinct is in the service of positive self-image maintenance. Tajfel's contention has been supported by Berry (1991), who has outlined the benefits of heritage maintenance and consequent positive self-image to the social and economic well-being of the Canadian society.

To summarize, along with classical theorists who emphasized the link between self and social context, Allport and Tajfel made an important conceptual contribution

highlighting the role of group dynamics and social comparisons in shaping individuals' perceptions of self and the society. Continuing with this rich conceptual trend, contemporary researchers such as Berry (1980; 1987; 1990; 1991), Aboud (1977; 1979; 1981; 1987), Markus (1977; 1983), and McGuire (1984) have proposed theoretical models which incorporate the *cultural diversity* of modern society while examining the psychological dynamics of self-identification. These models are discussed in the following section.

Theoretical Perspectives II: Self and Culture

Contemporary Models

Contemporary globalization of the world has presented social psychologists with special research challenges. New conceptual models are needed to account for changes in individuals' social and psychological lives as a result of major demographic changes in their social world. Indeed social psychologists have acknowledged this need and have proposed theoretical models to match it. Four of these models have been selected for discussion here due to their special relevance for the Canadian multicultural scene and the process of self-identifications, which is the focus of the present study.

1) John Berry's Acculturation Model

John Berry (1980; 1987; 1990) has presented a comprehensive account of *acculturation*, a psychological process involved in the adaptation from one cultural context to another. With the increasing globalization of our world, characterized by a great number of people migrating from one cultural context to another, Berry's model has become very pertinent indeed. He has proposed that individuals who make a transition from their homeland to locate themselves in a new and different culture must undergo changes in their values, habits, social relationships, and lifestyle in general. This adaptation process may lend a new perspective on how one views one's self within the new social setting.

What is noteworthy about Berry's model is the emphasis on *individual differences*. He has contended that individuals differ in how they adapt to their new cultural context, especially in how much of their ancestral cultural baggage they retain, how much of it they discard, how much of the host culture they accept, how much of it they reject. This has a bearing on their social identity and how they locate themselves within this new context. These individual differences in *acculturation* have been summarized in a four-fold scheme: *Integration, Assimilation, Separation* and *Marginalization*, which is illustrated in Figure 1.

<u>Figure 1</u>. *John Berry's Acculturation Model*

	Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
	YES	NO
Is it considered to be of value to maintain contact with other groups? **YES**	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
NO	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

Integration refers to a cultural synthesis in which the traditional roots of the ancestral culture are harmoniously blended into those of the host culture. The "integrated" individual thus maintains his or her cultural heritage while absorbing new elements from the host culture. *Assimilation* refers to giving up one's ties to the ancestral culture and replacing it with a new set of cultural frames, that of the host culture. The "assimilated" individual represents the successful product of the "melting pot". *Separation* refers to clinging on to one's ancestral culture and actively avoiding a merger with the host culture. *Marginalization* refers to the rejection of, or by, both the ancestral culture and the host culture, and is accompanied by *acculturative stress*. The "marginalized" individual is uncertain as to how

much and what to retain of the home culture while attempting to adapt to the host culture. He or she is sitting on the fence, so to speak, not knowing which side to jump to.[1]

Berry's model strongly suggests that within each immigrant community one should expect to see a wide range of individual differences. A major research implication of this premise is that *within-group* variability must be considered before making generalized conclusions about any particular ethnic group. For example, a man of Chinese origin may be *assimilated*, viewing himself as a Canadian. Or he may be *integrated*, being comfortable in viewing himself as a Chinese-Canadian. Or he may be *separated*, with an exclusive view of self as a Chinese. Or he may be *marginalized*, feeling confused as to what he really is - Chinese or Canadian. This <u>subjective</u> view of self is indeed crucial since it overrides one's ethnic and racial markers.

The implications of Berry's four-fold acculturation scheme are important as they touch upon the core of the Canadian social and political life. The adoption of multicultural ideology as a national policy which has promoted a sense of pride among Canadians for their cultural diversity, is now being articulated even further. The category of "integration" in Berry's scheme has captured the attention of the political front, and as such, it is to become the official goal of Canadian multiculturalism as declared by the then immigration minister Barbara McDougal (Canada, 1991). In terms of self-identification, this new "Integration Policy" as it is termed would imply the promotion of hyphenated, i.e., ethnic-Canadian, self-definitions. A combination of one's ethnic identification with the national identification would be the desired outcome of the policy implementation. The success of the Integration Policy can only be ascertained by examining the prevalence of the combination of national and ethnic self-definitions. It becomes therefore very crucial for researchers to examine the

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1. A. Paranjpe & R. Tonks (personal communication, 1991) have proposed an additional status of "Deculturation" to characterize individuals who consider issues pertaining to "culture" as irrelevant in defining themselves. To these individuals maintaining or adapting to new cultural values is not an issue to ponder over or work through.

prevalence of national and ethnic self-definitions and the psychological dynamics that mediate these self-definitions. Moreover, tools to assess these self-definitions also need to be devised.

II) Frances Aboud's Ethnic Identity Model

Frances Aboud (1977; 1979; 1981; 1987) has proposed a model to account for the formation of one's self-identity based on one's ethnic and cultural roots. It elaborates the dynamics of the blending of the ethno-cultural elements with one's generalized view of self. She has argued that *self* and *ethnicity* are parallel cognitive structures. The self-structure contains a set of ideas or beliefs about one's self and the ethnicity-structure contains a set of ideas and beliefs about one's ethnicity. Further, these attributes differ in terms of how *essential* or important they are and how *distinctive* or salient they are within their respective structures. An individual's *ethnic self-identity* is formed when some of the attributes of self and some of the attributes of ethnicity are blended, i.e., when one or more of the self-attributes correspond to the attributes of one's ethnicity. The following diagram illustrates Aboud's model (Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Ethnic Self-identity*
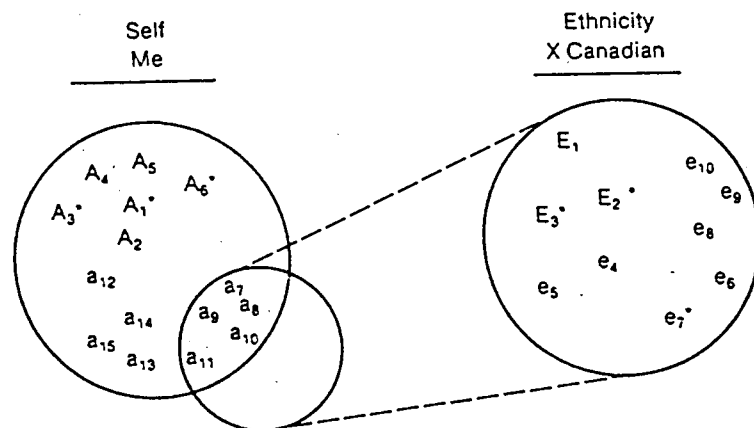
Source: Aboud, F. E. (1981). Ethnic self-identity. In R. C. Gardner & R. Kalin (Eds.), *A Canadian social psychology of ethnic relations*. Toronto: Methuen. (p. 38)

Figure 2 illustrates that the self structure is comprised of attributes or views about self and the ethnicity structure comprises of attributes or views about one's ethnicity. The self-structure contains some attributes which the individual may view as very essential or important ("A"s) for his or her self-definition, and some as less essential ("a"s). Likewise, the ethnicity structure contains attributes pertaining to one's ethnic group, some being viewed as very essential ("E"s) and some being viewed as less essential ("e"s). Again, both structures, self and ethnicity, contain attributes which may be distinctive (marked with an *) and others which are shared with many others (no *). In figure 2 for instance, E1, E2, E3, e4, and e5, correspond to a7, a8, a9, a10, a11. Thus, a young man's self-attribute, "I love hockey", may be very essential for defining who he is, and the same attribute may also be essential for defining his ethnicity as Canadian. His ethnic self-identity as reflected in "I love hockey" is a synthesis of the attributes from self and ethnicity structures. In Aboud's words, "ethnic self-identity ... means knowing that one's self is defined in part by attributes which are in turn used to define an ethnicity" (Aboud, 1981, p. 39).

It must be noted that "ethnicity" in Aboud's model is a comprehensive construct encompassing the whole domain of culture, race, and nationality. Thus, identifying oneself as a "Korean" for instance, or as a "French-Canadian" or as a "Canadian", would all refer to one's ethnicity. In conceiving ethnic self-identity as being constructed out of one's self structure and ethnicity structure, Aboud has emphasized that processes that shape one's self-identity also shape one's ethnic self-identity. Just as one's self-identity is constructed around a) the attributes which an individual views as very essential for defining self, and b) the attributes that render him or her distinct in comparison to the fellow individuals, one's ethnic self-identity is also constructed from two analogous sets of attributes. Aboud has extensively examined the role of these *essential* and *distinctive* attributes in her research on ethnic self-identity.

To investigate the *essential* attributes that shape one's ethnic self-identity, Aboud conducted a series of studies. In one study (Aboud, 1979) she presented university students, grade 2 children, and grade 4 children, all of whom were of Jewish Canadian background, with six different ethnic identities: English Canadian, French Canadian, Black Canadian, Chinese Canadian, Native Indians, and Eskimo. She then asked; "Could you be a ____ Canadian and still be yourself?" A salient finding of this study was that across all three age groups, participants reported loss of self when a non-white ethnicity was proposed. The attribute of one's race or skin color was indeed a very essential self-defining attribute.

This finding touches on some very important psychological and social issues. If one's skin color along with other essential attributes is at the core of one's identity, then it is not surprising that any discussion or event pertaining to race evokes strong reactions from all individuals, whether "white" or "colored". It is also not surprising that skin color has remained a powerful, salient, albeit an easy device for categorizing one's social world into "us" versus "them". The multicultural ideology cannot discount the fact that race is a very important ingredient of one's self-identification and has a potential for group conflicts as well. Indeed this potential of race variable has been acknowledged by the Canadian policy makers who have continued to sponsor studies such as "Equality now: Participation of visible minorities in Canadian society" (Canada, 1984) and action oriented research such as those undertaken by the Social Planning and Research Council of B.C. (SPARC).

To investigate the *distinctive* attributes that shape one's ethnic self-identity, Aboud examined the process of self-other comparisons in which she highlighted the role of perceived differences between self and others. She postulated that ethnic-attributes which render one different, unique, and distinct contribute to one's ethnic self-identity. By asking children, "What way is he different from you?" she observed a variety of attributes being used as differentiation criteria such as language, physical appearance, behavior etc. For example, in one study (Taylor, Bassili & Aboud, 1973) involving high school children in

Quebec, it was observed that language, more than the place of residence, was the distinctive attribute for the French and English Canadian identity. However, by and large one's ethnicity was found to be the most distinctive attribute that divided children's social world into ingroups and outgroups. For example, young Jewish Canadian children in Montreal perceived the Chinese Canadian and native Indians as an outgroup, the Greek Canadian children added the French Canadian in this outgroup category, and the Chinese Canadian perceived the Greek and French Canadian as an outgroup (Aboud & Christian, 1979). Aboud further noted that ethnicity becomes a distinctive attribute while making self-other comparisons with the outgroup, but not while making self-other comparison with one's ingroup.

In Aboud's model, as in Berry's, it is the *subjective* construction of self and ethnicity which is highlighted. The ethnic self-identity as "Canadian" for instance is comprised of subjective ideas as to what attributes characterize a Canadian. Since there is considerable ambiguity and controversy surrounding the label "Canadian", individuals of varied cultural and ethnic background may define "Canadian" as they feel inclined, and may or may not claim this identity for themselves. Aboud has made some very interesting observations pertaining to the perception of "Canadian" with reference to self. In one study (Taylor et al., 1972) French and English Canadian high school students were asked to make comparisons between self and a variety of stimulus labels such as French Canadian, English Canadian, Canadian, American etc. Among other findings, an interesting finding was that although the English Canadian students' national affiliation was stronger than that of the French Canadian, both groups perceived a high similarity between Canada with their own group. The French Canadian children associated Canada with French Canada, whereas the English Canadian children associated Canada with English Canada. Moreover, while both groups perceived high similarity between their own ethnic group and the nation group, they both perceived

greater dissimilarity between the nation group and the "other" group (French Canadian or English Canadian).

In the above study, the ethnic image was projected onto the nation group resulting in a somewhat mutually exclusive claim to the nation title: "We are more like the Canadians, than you". The study is, however, dated to a time before the multicultural ideology had been implemented in any significant way. It would be pertinent to examine if the perceived high similarity between own group and the nation group would also be observed in the present times, and among other ethnic groups as well. Examining the image of "Canada" among all ethnic groups would indicate if their image of Canada includes their own group only or if it includes other groups as well. If the multicultural ideology has been well-entrenched within the social fabric of Canada, then a high "inclusive" national affiliation is to be expected among all ethnic groups. Aboud's model has thus provided a fertile ground for empirical research.

III) Hazel Markus's Model of Self-schema

Hazel Markus (1977; 1983) has highlighted how one's social interactions play a significant role in shaping one's ideas about self. She has proposed that there are various domains within which individuals define themselves: e.g., in the domain of *career* - "I am a psychologist", in the domain of *family* -"I am a mother", in the domain of *emotion*- "I am sensitive" and so on. The view that "I am a Greek" or "I am a Canadian" may then be considered as pertaining to the *ethno-cultural* domain. Markus has further proposed that all these *self-schemata*, i.e., organized views about self, are derived from social interactions. With repeated social experiences in particular domains, certain self-schemata become articulated and form a core of one's self-structure. For example, if a man has a repeated experience; "I am an Italian", in his social interactions, the view of self being an Italian

Further, individuals may have a vast array of self-relevant information, but only a part of it is well-articulated and becomes an important feature of an individual's self-definition (Figure 3). Once formulated, these articulated self-schemata *selectively* process incoming information and color an individual's social perceptions.

Figure 3. *The Self-structure*
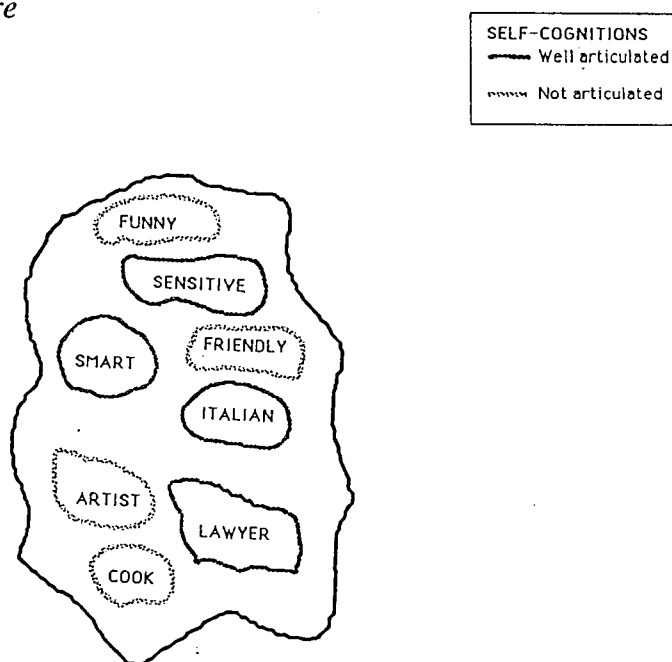
In her recent work (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) Markus has elaborated the *Self-schema* model to incorporate the role of culture in shaping one's self. She has proposed that cultural variations in self-definitions are reflected in various cognitive, emotional, and motivational processes. To illustrate her model, she examined the self-definitions within Western culture and Eastern culture. She observed that the Western culture tends to encourage *an individualistic* view of self. In this view, individual desires, abilities, attributes etc. are given core locations in the self-definitions while other people are not included; they remain outside the bounds of one's self-definitions. In contrast, the Eastern culture promotes an *interdependent* view of self insofar as others actively participate in the definition of self. For example, when people from the Eastern culture are asked "who are you?", the most likely responses are "I am the cousin of so and so", or "I am the uncle of so and so". These social

relationships are viewed as an important feature of self-definitions. Figure 4 illustrates Markus & Kitayama's model comparing the self-structure typical of the Eastern and the Western cultural context.

Figure 4: *Cultural Variations In The Self-concept*

INDEPENDENT VIEW OF SELF
(WESTERN)

INTERDEPENDENT VIEW OF SELF
(EASTERN)

Self-defining attribute
𝕏 Important
X Peripheral
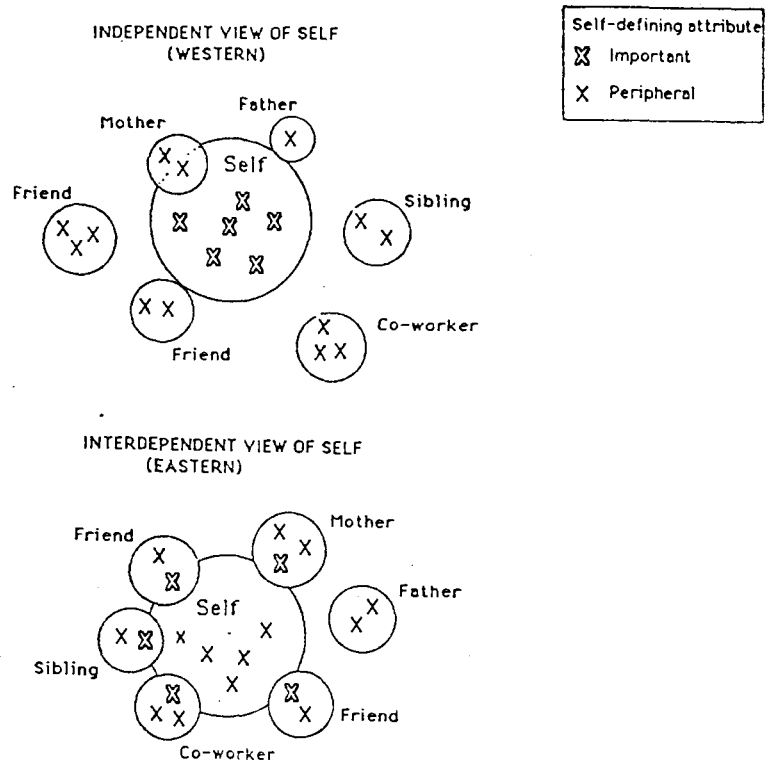
Source: Markus, M., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224-253. (p. 226)

A major implication of Markus's model is that social contexts which highlight one's ethno-cultural domain would articulate and concretize one's self-definition in that domain. For instance, if a Punjabi woman mainly interacts with her own ethnic community, speaking only the Punjabi language most of the time, eating only Punjabi food and attending mainly Punjabi social gatherings, she is likely to have a well-articulated self-schema of a "Punjabi" woman. In contrast, if her social interactions were not limited to the Punjabi context, and if she were to participate actively in the mainstream Canadian life outside her Punjabi community, her ethno-cultural self-definition may incorporate more than the Punjabi-only

woman. In contrast, if her social interactions were not limited to the Punjabi context, and if she were to participate actively in the mainstream Canadian life outside her Punjabi community, her ethno-cultural self-definition may incorporate more than the Punjabi-only component. She is likely to articulate the view of herself as a "Punjabi-Canadian". Thus a self-definition limits or extends one's social world which, in turn, reinforces the self-definition.

It must be noted however, that interacting with the mainstream Canadian community does not necessarily lead one to incorporate the nation component in one's self-definition. If individuals are continually treated by others as ethnic minorities, continually reminding them about their ethnic roots (especially in unfavorable terms), it may in fact strengthen their ethnic self-schema; "I am a Punjabi". The notion of *self-fulfilling prophecy* may be applicable here in creating one's own social reality (Snyder, 1984; Swann, 1984; 1985). To a large extent then, it is the nature of the social interactions, whether actively sought or encountered involuntarily, that influences one's ethno-cultural self-definitions. A major implication of Markus's model for Canadian multiculturalism is that merely encouraging individuals to retain their heritage culture may not be sufficient. The "Integration policy" may succeed only if the total social climate is incorporated within it. It is important that various ethnic minority groups are encouraged to participate in mainstream life which in turn, must be accepting and welcoming, not just "tolerant". Positive and inclusive interactions among all members of the society are necessary if the national identification is to become a part of one's self-identification.

IV) William McGuire's Distinctiveness Postulate

In proposing the *Distinctiveness postulate* McGuire (1984) has highlighted the role of immediate social context in one's self-definitions. He has contended that we have a wide variety of views about ourselves, but what makes us different or *distinct* in a given social

setting becomes salient in our view of self at that particular timeframe. For example, a woman sitting in the company of mostly men becomes very aware of her gender: "I am a *woman*". The same woman, if she is a Caucasian and finds herself in the company of mostly black women, becomes very aware of her color: "I am *white*". Similarly, we are tall in the company of short people, young in the company of seniors, old in the company of teenagers, and "Canadian" only while travelling in Europe! Thus, of the variety of self-views available to us, self-views which are rendered "distinct" by the immediate social context become salient. As McGuire asserts, "...a person exists insofar as he or she is different and that he or she is perceived by self and others in terms of those differences" (p. 85).

McGuire's *Distinctiveness* postulate applies well to a Canadian context. With an increasing cultural diversity in our society, individuals are likely to encounter people of varied ethnic backgrounds in their day-to-day dealings. As such, their ethno-cultural self-definition is rendered salient in most social interactions. For instance, while wandering through Chinatown or a Punjabi market or watching a Caribbean dance festival, one is very likely to ponder over one's own ethno-cultural roots - *where did my folks come from?* An otherwise happy "plain" (!) Canadian may begin to trace his or her ancestral roots and declare that "*I am actually a Scot*". Thus according to McGuire's model, a multicultural context renders one's ethnicity salient.

Implications of the Four Theoretical Models

The role of social and cultural context in shaping individuals' self-definitions has been emphasized in all four models. Berry has emphasized that the process of transition between cultures calls for a readjustment in one's views of the social world and one's location within it, the ideal being *integration*. Further, when people from different ethnic and cultural groups come together, both the host and the newcomers must undergo some changes in their perspective on self and their social world. The role of total social and cultural climate in

shaping one's views of self has been similarly emphasized in Aboud's model of *ethnic self-identity* and Markus's model of *self-schema*. McGuire's *Distinctiveness* postulate has highlighted the relevance of multicultural context in rendering one's ethnicity salient. Like their classical predecessors, all four models concur that the social context has a bearing on how individuals define self. In addition, these models have extended the classical theorists' premise further by incorporating the cultural diversity of the contemporary social context.

The importance of self-other comparison, direct or indirect, is the high point of all four models. In Berry's model, one must assess the location of one's self within the larger social context in terms of where one may "belong", whether to one's own ethnic corner or to the relatively widespread social space. Aboud's model of *ethnic self-identity* parallels Markus's model of *self-schema* in that both models have highlighted the role of cognitive processes shaping the construction of self in the ethno-cultural domain. In Aboud's model, the notion of "distinctive" self-attribute - what makes one different and unique in comparison to others - has been proposed as a major ingredient of one's self-identity. In Markus's model, the inclusion of "not-me" as an articulated component of self-schema implies a degree of self-other comparison; e.g., "I am not an American". For McGuire, his entire thesis of "distinctiveness" is based on the self-other comparison process.

All four models have thus strongly suggested that social comparison processes are an integral part of the formation of ethno-cultural self-definitions. Aboud and McGuire in particular, have focussed a great deal of their research attention on this process. Their similar focus has been acknowledged by Aboud who, in fact, quoted McGuire's research on "distinctiveness" as supporting her thesis on the role of "distinctive" attributes shaping ethnic self-identity. What follows from their research is that the domain in which one feels different from most others is weighed heavily in the formation of one's self-identification. For McGuire, however, this self-identification is rather fluid in that it varies from one social context to another. An individual may experience self as very "Caucasian and European"

while interacting with visible ethnics, but not while interacting with other Caucasians of European background. For Aboud, one's "distinctiveness" is at the core of one's self-identification, and thus it is relatively enduring and concrete.

In a multicultural context one's interactions with individuals of diverse ethnic groups are frequent. If McGuire's distinctiveness postulate holds, then such interactions must continually highlight one's ethnic domain. Whatever may be one's ethnic self-definition (including "Canadian" as in Aboud's comprehensive use of the construct), it is rendered distinct in a multicultural context. Further, if Markus's postulate about the role of repeated experiences articulating a self-schema holds, then it is to be expected that repeated multicultural interactions must articulate one's ethno-cultural self-schema. Individuals must become keenly aware of their own ethnic self-identifications whether "Canadian", "French-Canadian", "Japanese-Canadian" or "Scot". This heightened awareness may, in part, explain our "where-are-you-really-from" social ritual.

Aboud's and Berry's model have special relevance to the Canadian multicultural social scene. They both have highlighted the significant implications of comparing and identifying self with one's own ethnic group versus the nation group, "Canadian". Aboud has pointed out the negative implications of exclusive national or ethnic self-identification. She referred to Berry, Kalin, & Taylor's (1977) nationwide survey in which it was observed that people who trace their ancestry in Britain tend to use the label Canadian rather than English-Canadian to define self whereas people who trace their ancestry to France tend to use the label French-Canadian or Quebecois to define self.[2] Aboud argued that these skewed self-identifications lead to a view that "Canadian" is synonymous with "English Canadian", as she observed in her study with young children. She further contended that such skewed prevalence of self-identification may cause minorities to believe that they cannot be "real" Canadians since they are not English Canadian. Like Berry, Aboud has been critical of the

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2. Similar findings are reported in a more recent survey (Angus Reid Group, 1991).

exclusive use of national labels to identify self while excluding or minimizing the importance of one's ethnic roots.

While Berry has advocated the incorporation of "Canadian" in individuals' self-identification, this goal can only be achieved through individuals perceiving high similarity between self and the nation group. As Aboud had observed in her research on perceived similarity between own group and nation group among the French and English Canadian, there are some biases involved in such perceptions. Both groups had perceived high similarity between self and the nation group while discounting the other group's claim to such similarity. It was noted earlier in the discussion that the success of a multicultural policy depends on various ethnic groups, especially the minority status groups, perceiving high similarity between self and the nation group. It becomes crucial then to examine the psychological dynamics underlying the self-nation identification. When do individuals perceive similarity between self and the nation group? When do they perceive dissimilarity between self and the nation group? Do all ethnic groups perceive high similarity between self and the nation group? Or, does one's minority/majority status moderate this perception? To understand this issue, it is essential to first examine the psychological processes underlying the judgements of similarity and difference between self and others - the topic of the following discussion.

Theoretical Perspectives III: Self-Other Judgements

The self-other comparison process, "*where do I stand in comparison to others in terms of my appearance, my abilities, my attitudes, my opinions, my beliefs, my behavior?*", has received a great deal of research attention since Festinger's (1954) pioneer work on social comparison processes. Following the cognitive revolution, contemporary social psychologists have extensively examined the self-other comparison process from a cognitive perspective. What has captured the fascination of contemporary researchers is the mounting

empirical evidence that the self-other comparison process is often "biased" insofar as it leads to judgements and inferences which may be somewhat erroneous (for a review, see, Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Jones & Nisbett, 1971; Kahneman & Tversky, 1982; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1984; Langer, 1975; Lerner, 1980; Marks & Miller, 1987; Nisbett & Ross, 1980; Suls & Miller, 1977; Wood, 1989). In particular, two biases in the self-other comparison process have been well-established; *False Consensus* - the tendency to believe that most others think like self, and *False Uniqueness* - the tendency to believe that self is not like most others. Before examining how these biases may pertain to the perception of similarity between self and the nation group, a conceptual clarity of these biases is in order.

False Consensus and *False Uniqueness*

A pervasive bias in the self-other comparison process is the tendency to believe that *"others are like me but I am not like others"*. To say that *"others are like me"* implies perceived *consensus*, whereas to say that *"I am not like others"* implies Perceived Uniqueness. In the literature, the former is termed "False Consensus" (Ross, Greene, & House, 1977) and the latter is termed "False Uniqueness" (Marks, 1984).

Although both biases refer to the judgement of self-other similarity, there are some distinctions. One distinction is that they operate in different domains of comparisons, opinion and ability (Marks, 1984; Tesser & Campbell, 1983). The *Consensus* bias tends to operate in the domain of one's opinions and beliefs. For example, individuals tend to inflate their estimates of the extent to which others agree with their political attitudes (Fields & Schuman, 1976). The *Uniqueness bias* tends to operate in the domain of one's abilities and positive personality traits. For example, most individuals believe that they are more intelligent than their peers (Wylie, 1979), happier than others (Andrews & Whitey, 1976), less risky and more skilled than the average driver (Svenson, 1981), and possess a higher level of positive characteristics than the average other (Alicke, 1985). The other distinction

is that since the two biases operate in different domains, they tend to <u>coexist but they are not the opposites of one another</u>. High consensus does not necessarily imply low uniqueness and vice-versa. An individual can have an exaggerated view that others are like self (high consensus) and simultaneously nurture the view that self is not like others (high uniqueness).

How False is the "False Consensus" Bias?

In the literature, the bias of perceived consensus is termed "<u>False</u> Consensus" to imply that the perceived level of consensus does not correspond to social reality. A typical study examining the *False Consensus* bias goes like this: A group of students are asked to indicate their view on an issue; whether they agree or disagree. They are then asked to estimate the percentage of others (other students in their class or other students in their college or students in general) who would take a similar stand as self. It has been found that whatever stand individuals take, to agree or disagree, they tend to estimate more than 50% of others; i.e., a majority, to be on <u>their</u> side. Obviously both could not be correct at the same time regardless of what the actual state might be. It is this exaggerated claim of consensus that renders this social perception biased.

The term "<u>False</u> Consensus" is problematic, however. Technically, False Consensus is said to have occurred *"...when individuals' own estimates of consensus exceeds the estimate for it made by those who endorsed the opposite position or alternative"* (Marks & Miller, 1987, p. 74). If we read this carefully, we can draw a truth table on the hypothetical data of two participants who may be asked to indicate their own judgement on an issue and then are asked to estimate the percentage of others who would endorse the same position. Suppose we observe the following pattern:[3]

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3. Dr. R. Koopman (personal communication, 1992) originally pointed this out.

		Estimated others	
		Agree	Disagree
Participant # 1	Agree	80%	20%
Participant # 2	Disagree	20%	80%

Own Judgement

We are likely to note that both participants claim that a large majority, 80%, would be on their side. Whereas both, of course, could not be right, it is possible that one of the participants may be actually "right" in that he or she may have correctly estimated how many others may actually agree or disagree on the issue in question. Unless there are an objective data on hand indicating how many others really agree or disagree, there is no way to judge how "false" the consensus estimate made by the participant is. The term "False" then is inappropriate and should be replaced by some other term. Given that most studies measuring "False Consensus" have used the judgement of agreement or disagreement on an issue, the term **"Perceived Agreement"** may be more appropriate than the term "False consensus". It is a simple, clear, and clean label.

How false is the "False Uniqueness" Bias?

As noted earlier, researchers have established that people tend to exaggerate their uniqueness estimation as well as their consensus estimation. In a typical study students are asked to indicate where they place themselves in terms of how well they are doing in a particular course compared to their classmates or other students in the college. Almost all students tend to claim that they would be above average, which of course, cannot be the case. This exaggerated claim renders the perception of uniqueness biased.

The term "False Uniqueness" however, is also problematic for the same reason as noted for the term False Consensus. If 100 students of one class are asked to estimate their own academic achievement in comparison to others, all students would claim to be above average. Within this group, however, there would be students who actually are above

average and as such, their estimation of their relative standing may not be "false" at all. Therefore the term **"Perceived Uniqueness"** may be more appropriate than the term "False Uniqueness".

To summarize, self-other comparisons are somewhat skewed. There is an exaggerated perception of high opinion and attitude similarity between self and others and there is an exaggerated perception of high personality trait difference (uniqueness) between self and others. The question then arises: Why? Why do people exaggerate their perceptions of opinion agreement and trait uniqueness? What is the basis of these biases? What psychological processes underlie the judgements of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness?[4]

Psychological Processes Underlying the Self-Other Comparison Biases

Marks and Miller (1987) in their extensive review have pointed out that the biases in self-other comparisons are rooted in cognitive and motivational processes. The cognitive processes include the degree of *perceived similarity*, *selective exposure* to and *familiarity* with the target or comparison group and the subsequent *availability* of the amount of information for making self-other comparisons. Also, the selective *attention* to self-other similarity and *logical information processing* are a part of the cognitive explanation for biased self-other comparisons. The motivational processes accounting for the self-other comparison biases center around the need for a positive self-image which includes the needs for *self-validation, self-esteem maintenance*, and *self-enhancement*. It must be noted, that the two broad accounts, cognitive and motivational, are not pitted against one another since there are multiple overlapping explanations. The biases of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness may therefore be explained within both these two broad accounts.

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4. The terms *Perceived Agreement* and *Perceived Uniqueness* will be used in the remainder of the discussion to refer to False Consensus and False Uniqueness respectively.

Perceived Agreement

Why do individuals have an exaggerated perception of others' agreement with self? The cognitive account offers various explanations. Selective attention is one of these explanations which suggests that individuals tend to focus attention on their favored position rather than on their unfavored position, thereby registering mainly confirming evidence. This selective attention may lead one to an exaggerated view that most others agree with one's opinions and attitudes. Another important cognitive account is that the bias of Perceived Agreement is rooted in perceived similarity between self and others. It is suggested that individuals tend to associate with similar others rather than with different others. This selective exposure to others or a comparison group makes the instances of agreement with the comparison group easily accessible. It has been demonstrated that the bias of Perceived Agreement is strong when the individual is knowledgeable about and familiar with the comparison group (Moreland & Zajonc, 1982).

There is, however, a certain circularity here. Does one's association with the comparison group lead to a perception of high similarity with the comparison group? Or does one's perception of high similarity with the comparison group lead to high association with the comparison group? There seems to be no simple answer to this question. Both, high association and high perceived similarity, seem to go hand in hand resulting in the exaggerated perception of agreement. Further, whichever may occur first, high association or high perceived similarity, once the self-other similarity is acknowledged, the bias of Perceived Agreement is enhanced by the tendency to believe that similar others are affected similarly by situations and therefore must make similar inferences like self. To sum up, perceived similarity between self and others is the basis of Perceived Agreement with others.

A motivational account of Perceived Agreement indicates that the perception of high agreement with the comparison group is in the service of self-validation and self-esteem.

Perceiving high agreement between self and the comparison group validates the correctness or appropriateness of one's position. It bolsters one's self-esteem to find a large majority supporting an opinion favored by self. As Asch (1951) in his classic experiment on social conformity demonstrated, in making judgements, individuals prefer to be a part of the majority rather than a minority. By perceiving high agreement with the comparison group, i.e., by projecting one's opinion onto the comparison group, individuals establish their majority position. This allows one to view self in a favorable light. Of the two accounts, cognitive and motivational, underlying the bias of Perceived Agreement, the cognitive explanation has been proposed by Marks and Miller as more compelling than the motivational explanation. After reviewing an impressive array of empirical evidence, they concluded that the cognitive explanation, namely *selective exposure* is "...the primary factor generating misperception of the commonness of one's preferred positions. [We] judge numerous other variables that affect attribution of similarity to be less fundamental in accounting for whether the bias occurs"(p. 77).

Perceived Uniqueness

In contrast to the bias of Perceived Agreement, the bias of Perceived Uniqueness of one's abilities and positive personality traits seems to be rooted entirely in the motivational process of self-esteem maintenance. To be unique, to be different - not as a deviant but as a special person - who is somewhat better than most others, is a pervasive human need (Snyder & Fromkin, 1980). As Tajfel (1978) argued, individuals strive to maintain a healthy differentiation between self and others in order to maintain a positive self-image.

Similar, Yet Different: The Case of Two Domains

Why does the bias of Perceived Agreement occur in the domain of opinion whereas the bias of Perceived Uniqueness occurs in the domain of ability and positive personality traits? To address this issue, the conceptual basis of the two biases needs to be examined

once again. Implicit in the judgement of Perceived Agreement is the perception of high self-other similarity whereas implicit in the judgement of perceived uniqueness is the judgement of self-other differences. The coexistence of the two biases reflect the motivational need to be similar to others, to be a part of the majority, and yet be unique and special. It was proposed that the need to be similar is fulfilled by the perception of opinion agreement and the need to be different is fulfilled by the perception of trait uniqueness. Why would one need to perceive one's opinions as similar to others, but abilities as different from others? The answer may be found in the common motivational basis of the two biases, namely self-image maintenance.

Using the criterion of self-image maintenance, one may assess the value of perceiving similarity or differences in the two domains. In the opinion domain, a perception of similarity is to be valued since it validates one's opinion. Perceiving most others as not agreeing with one's position may invalidate one's position which can be a threat to one's self-image. One's self-image is therefore better served by viewing high agreement of the majority with the position taken by self on an opinion issue. In the ability and positive personality trait domain, a perception of difference is to be valued since it is self-enhancing to view self as unique, distinct, and better than others, rather than as similar to others. The apparent contradiction of perceiving *self as similar and yet different from others* dissolves when the two biases are viewed as operating in two different domains, opinion and ability/traits. One perceives self-other similarity in the domain of opinion, and one perceives self-other difference in the domain of ability and positive personality traits. The coexistence of the two biases allows for a healthy differentiation, of being connected with one's social world, and yet being able to maintain a sense of individuality.

Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness in a Multicultural Context

One of the major goals of the multicultural policy is to encourage individuals of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds to view "Canadians" as part of their ingroup sphere. It would be relevant therefore to examine the self-other comparison process in a society characterized by a wide variety of ethnic and cultural groups each with its own notion of ingroup and outgroup. Identification with smaller groups (e.g., ethnic minority groups) or larger groups (e.g., "Canadians") must be based at least partly on the perception of similarity between self and the membership group. It is inconceivable that one may feel identified with a group in which everyone is different from oneself. However, the judgements of similarity and differences are rather subjective, as research on consensus and uniqueness bias has demonstrated. Consequently, one's perception of similarity with the nation group, "Canadians", may not be necessarily determined by one's "objective" similarity (e.g., race) with the nation group. Rather, such perceptions are likely to be mediated by one's level of subjective identification with the nation group.

One way to assess if the multicultural policy has been absorbed in the society would be to explore individuals' level of identification with the nation group in terms of their ethno-cultural self-definitions and their comparisons of self with the nation group. Casual declarations, "I am a Canadian", are frequent and voiced by a vast majority of individuals who are citizens of Canada; however, the level of psychological identification with the nation group may vary from individual to individual. Given the ambiguity and controversies surrounding "what it means to be a Canadian", the extent to which individuals identify themselves with the nation group remains to be examined.

It is proposed in this research that assessing individuals' Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness with the nation group would indicate the extent of their identification with the nation group. How? As noted earlier, individuals of British descent are more likely

than individuals of any other descent to identify self with the nation group. If Perceived Agreement is based on one's perceived similarity and high association with the comparison group, then individuals of British descent may be expected to have a high level of Perceived Agreement with "Canadians". In contrast, individuals who do not perceive high similarity between self and the nation group may be expected to have a low level of Perceived Agreement. The extent to which individuals view the nation group as similar to self may thus be reflected in their level of Perceived Agreement with "Canadians". Similarly, if Perceived Uniqueness is based on maintaining a positive self-image by perceiving a low distance (low Perceived Uniqueness) between self and one's ingroup then those who view the nation group as one's ingroup are likely to have a low PU compared to those who do not view the nation group as one's ingroup.

To summarize, if the nation group is perceived as similar to self, and is considered to be one's favored ingroup, then one should have a high level of Perceived Agreement and low level of Perceived Uniqueness with it. If the nation group is perceived as not similar to self, and not one's ingroup, then the converse pattern would be expected. Within this broad frame, a variety of pertinent issues can be examined. Who is likely to view high similarity between self and the nation group? Who is likely to view high difference between self and the nation group? Do all individuals who are Canadians by official status, i.e., citizenship, have a similar level of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness? Or are there systematic individual and group differences in the level of these biases? Does one's ethno-cultural subjective self-definition systematically relate to these views? Or is it one's status as minority or majority that systematically relates to these views? These were the issues that the present study set out to investigate.

With the aim to examine the link between individuals' ethno-cultural self-definitions, their majority/minority status, and their self-nation group comparisons, it was first necessary to delineate research variables in order to derive concrete research propositions. This

exercise entailed a series of preliminary explorations through which final empirical study evolved.

There were three research variables in the study: individuals' ethno-cultural self-definitions, their majority/minority status and their self-nation group comparisons. Each of these three variables were assessed separately in the preliminary exploration in which a total of 964 undergraduate students of Simon Fraser University and a community college participated. Besides providing some conceptual clarity regarding the research variables, this exploration allowed for major methodological decisions as well. This preliminary exploration was comprised of a series of studies, many of which evolved sequentially. Findings of one study would raise some important research issue, and the next study would be designed to address this issue. These studies are reported in three segments. In the first segment, which pertained to the variable of self-nation group comparison, prevalent views of the nation group, "Canadian", were examined. The second segment pertained to the variable of the individuals' status as a majority or minority. It addressed the issue: How best could one's majority/minority status be assessed? In the third segment, the variable of ethno-cultural self-definition was assessed. Its aim was to examine the variety and distribution of prevalent ethno-cultural self-definitions. In the next part, the details of these studies are reported following which research propositions are outlined along with the rationale.

PART II: PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION

i) What characterizes "Canadians"?

In order to examine the self-nation group comparison, it was necessary to make an initial appraisal of the prevalent views about the nation group, "Canadians". Three studies were conducted to this end. In the first study, open-ended questions were used to elicit a wide variety of thoughts and ideas about Canadians. In the second study, a specific prototype of a Canadian was examined, and in the third study, ideas and thoughts about immigrants, i.e., "not-Canadian", were investigated.

Study 1: *Thoughts and Ideas about "Canadians"*

Given that a considerable ambiguity prevails about what it means to be "Canadian", the aim of this study was to assess the variety of thoughts and ideas individuals have about Canadians. My colleague and I (Tonks & Bhatt 1991) explored the issues pertaining to what comprises Canadian identity and what subjective meanings people attach to being Canadian.

Method

Seventy-nine undergraduate students at Simon Fraser University were asked the following two open-ended questions:

    Q 1: What is Canadian identity?
    Q 2: What does it mean to be Canadian?

Results & Discussion

A total of 996 responses were collected; 589 were in response to the first question and 407 were in response to the second question. Using content analysis, these responses were grouped into seven categories: Activity, Identity crisis, Nature/Geography, Policies,

Relations (comparisons with other nations), Symbols/objects, and Traits. The following is a brief summary of the most frequent responses.

Table 1

Most Frequent Responses Describing "Canadian"

Frequency	Response
70	Reference to U.S.A. ("not like Americans")
60	Freedom
59	Ethnic/racial diversity, Multicultural, Mosaic
30	Unclear idea of Canadian identity (confusion)
23	Peaceful
14	Belonging (loyalty)
11	Pride
10	High quality of life

Among the wide variety of responses, reference to the U.S.A., "not like Americans", was the most frequent response followed by ideas pertaining to ethnic diversity of Canadians. Confusion about Canadian identity, what it means to be Canadian, was also prominent. This included difficulties associated with attempts to identify with the nation group, e.g., "half and half Canadian", "non-Canadian part is a struggle", "traditional side is seen as strange by others", "only an immigrant- not Canadian", "embarrassed when seen as immigrant" etc. Although in many responses, pride was reflected in being multicultural and racially tolerant, some of the responses included anti-diversity sentiment as well, such as, "ethnic groups only self-interested", "don't like mosaic", "unique Ango-Saxon heritage" "raise children differently than Filipinos", "must be white" etc.

The results of the study confirmed the prevalence of ambiguity and lack of clarity and consensus about what is Canadian. In addition, some of the anti-diversity responses seemed to suggest the ingroup-outgroup division as "Canadians" versus "not-Canadians". If there is indeed some ambiguity and lack of singular vision as to what characterizes a Canadian, how do individuals make the judgement as to what or who may be viewed as "Canadian", the

ingroup, and what or who may be viewed as "not-Canadian", the outgroup? Is there any specific criterion that individuals may be employing in designating individuals as "Canadian" and "not Canadian"? Is it the citizenship criterion? Or is it some other criterion? The next study was aimed at investigating this issue, but with a different empirical approach.

Study 2: *The Prototype Canadian*

The aim of this study was to assess what image of "Canadian" may br conjured up when individuals are asked to think about the nation group. This was an important issue since it pertained to the self-other nation group comparison which was a major variable of the main study. In addition, it allowed for a cursory examination of the ingroup-outgroup perception based on the nation group. What is the predominant image of a Canadian? Is it that of an English Canadian, i.e., "white", as Aboud had observed? Do individuals think of a Canadian as predominantly Caucasian? Or does the ethnic and racial diversity get incorporated in this image? Do individuals visualize a multicultural mosaic while thinking of a Canadian? Or is it an "all-white" vision? One way to partially test this was to examine the "prototype" of a Canadian.

Method

This study was carried out in an undergraduate introductory psychology class in which 389 students participated. The instructor incorporated this study as part of his lecture topic ("cognition") and told his students that the study pertained to how the human mind thinks. All the instructions were given orally by him. The students were asked to

1) visualize an APPLE for about 20 sec.

2) visualize an ASTRONAUT for 20 sec

3) visualize a CANADIAN for 20 sec.

4) retain these images in their mind.

5) WRITE DOWN on a separate piece of paper numbers 1 to 10 in a column, in order to answer questions to be asked.

They were then asked 10 questions. The first three questions were about the apple, the next three were about the astronaut, and the remaining four were about the Canadian, which were as follows:

* Is this person wearing glasses?

* Is this person smiling?

* Is this person a female?

* Is this person Caucasian, i.e., white?

Results & Discussion

The first two exercises, APPLE and ASTRONAUT, were more of a "warm up" for the "CANADIAN" test.   The following are the findings pertaining to "Canadian" test.

Table 2

The Prototype Image of a Canadian

(N = 389)

Question	Response	Frequency	%
Is this person wearing glasses	YES	29	7.45
	NO	358	92.03
	OTHER[*]	2	.51
Is this person smiling?	YES	213	54.75
	NO	168	43.19
	OTHER	8	2.08
Is this person a female?	YES	67	17.22
	NO	313	80.46
	OTHER	9	2.31
Is this person **Caucasian** i.e., WHITE?	YES	324	83.29
	NO	56	14.39
	OTHER	9	2.31

* Other = mixed or undecided

The first question about the Canadian, *"Is this person wearing glasses?"*, was deliberately selected. One concern I had was that there might be an "experimenter effect", in that the instructor might become a prototype of a Canadian and thus confound the results. The results discounted this by indicating that the instructor who was wearing glasses was <u>not</u> the prototype since only 7% responded YES to the question if the Canadian in their image was wearing glasses.Detailed findings of the other tests are provided in Appendix C -1. In addition, participants made the following comments:

Table 3

Some Comments on the Image of a Canadian

* "I had many images" * "I had no image" * "He is a native Indian" * "Can't tell. He is wearing a goalie's mask!" * "Can't tell. I saw him in a B + W Cartoon!" * "'has a hockey stick in one hand and beer in the other" * "He's me!"

This study demonstrated that for a large majority, 83.3%, the typical image, i.e., the *prototype* of a Canadian was that of a Caucasian. Thus, despite the disagreement as to what other traits may characterize a Canadian, there seems to be a general consensus as far as the race of a Canadian is concerned: A Canadian is a Caucasian. Indeed many visible ethnic immigrants recall their first impression upon landing in Canada as being confronted by a "vast sea of *whiteness*". Notwithstanding the official policy of multiculturalism and the promotion of ethnic diversity within Canadian society such as images about Canada in the media, the prevalent view is that a Canadian is "white", unless proven otherwise.

It could be argued that the prototype simply reflected the demographics since despite the rapid growth of visible ethnics, a vast majority of the Canadian population is Caucasian. Whereas this argument may hold, it must be noted that a prototype is not necessarily a clear reflection of the objective social reality. A curious finding of the study for instance, was that

the view of a Canadian is not only that of a Caucasian, but it is also that of a "male"![5] (80.46% participants visualized a Canadian as a male.) Now, this finding clearly indicates that the prototype is a subjective perception and it may not correspond to objective reality. It must be acknowledged, however, that there are many variables mediating the cognitive representations of social categories (for a review, see Messick & Mackie, 1989). A prototypic image and a *generalized* image may not necessarily be identical. It would be premature to conclude that the *generalized* image "Canadians"- the nation group is also necessarily that of all Caucasians. Nonetheless, in the light of the findings, it would be safe to assume that although the image of "Canadians" may not be that of all Caucasians, it is predominantly that of Caucasians.

If the nation group, "Canadians", is viewed as comprised mainly of Caucasians, then are individuals who are not Caucasians viewed as "not-Canadian"? Does the criterion of race mark the subjective division of individuals as Canadian and not-Canadian? One category of individuals who may represent the category of "not-Canadian" in a relatively objective sense of the term, are immigrants, i.e., those who are officially residents of Canada but do not have citizenship. The next study explored prevalent ideas about immigrants, i.e., "not-Canadian".

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5. This indicates the gender bias in our thought processes. It may also be related to the gender bias in language use; a "person" is a male unless stated otherwise.

Study 3: *Thoughts and Ideas about Immigrant*s

The aim of this study was to examine if individuals view immigrants, i.e., "not-Canadians", as non-Caucasians.

Method

This study was conducted as an informal survey in which 30 students of a community college in Victoria, B.C. participated. The students of this college are predominantly Caucasians with British ancestry. They were asked open-ended questions to describe immigrants in detail, including their food habits, clothes etc.

Results & Discussion

A total of 108 responses were collected. The following is a sample of these responses.

Table 4

College Students' Views of an Immigrant: Some Sample Responses

Mexican	Chinese
East Indian	Japanese
Asians	Dark skin
Foreigner	Non-white
Small eyes	Ragged
Bad teeth	Dirty
Turban	Boat
Poor	Can't speak English
Dishwasher	Jobs that I should have

Indeed the view of an immigrant was that of a non-Caucasian: dark skin, small eyes etc. Given the predominance of racial and ethnic physical features listed in their responses, it is very likely that these young men and women would judge an individual to be an immigrant - one who is not Canadian - if he or she has the physical features of a "non-Caucasian". Indeed it has been the experience of many visible ethnics who have been Canadian citizens

for over two or three generations that they are often categorized as immigrants or newcomers who are not "Canadians" yet. Implicit in this view is the assumption that a visible ethnic cannot be a Canadian. A disturbing finding of the study however, was that the participants' view of immigrants was quite negative. Out of a total of 108 responses, only two could be considered positive: "fascinating" and "hard working". Although the study lacked empirical sophistication, it was suggestive of the perception of ingroup (Caucasians) superiority and outgroup (visible ethnics) inferiority based on racial markers dividing Canadian and immigrants, the "not-Canadians". In these young students' view, immigrants are "non-white" and "non-European", and certainly not as good as Canadians like themselves.

Summary and Implications of Exploration I

The three studies examining what characterizes the nation group, "Canadians", indicated that there is a certain ambiguity and confusion about what it means to be Canadian. However, despite this ambiguity, there seemed to be a consensus that by and large, "Canadians" are "Caucasians". Further, this racial criterion which divided individuals into "Canadians" and "not-Canadians" suggested a division along the line of ingroup-outgroup as well. The participants' view was that a large majority of Canadians are Caucasians of European background, and those who are not Canadians are likely to be visible ethnics, i.e., immigrants from third world countries, who have many negative traits.

In comparing self with the nation group which is viewed as being comprised mainly of Caucasians of European origin, an important consideration would be one's own race (Caucasian or non-Caucasian) and ethnic origin (European or non-European). Perception of similarity between self and the nation group is facilitated for a Caucasian individual by virtue of his or her racial similarity. This, in turn, may translate into high Perceived Agreement with the nation group. In contrast, for a visible minority individual, perception of high similarity between self and the nation group may be somewhat challenged by his or her non-Caucasian status. Hence, a low Perceived Agreement may be expected among the visible ethnic. Further, to maintain a positive self-image, the visible ethnic may compensate for the lack of racial similarity with the nation group by exaggerating his or her perception of uniqueness of own ability and positive traits; i.e., high Perceived Uniqueness. These implications, derived from the preliminary exploration, allowed for the postulation of concrete research propositions which are discussed later in the section.

One issue that emerged from this exploration was that the variables of race, ethnic origin, and majority/minority status tend to overlap. Which criterion may be most

appropriate for designating individuals as a majority or minority member of the society? This issue was examined in the next exploration.

ii) What is the appropriate criterion for determining majority/minority status?

Individuals can be viewed as a majority member or a minority member depending on the criterion used for making the distinction. Traditionally, individuals of European descent are a majority in our society whereas individuals of non-European descent, mainly the third world countries, are a minority. One's ancestry can therefore be one criterion to determine one's status as a majority or minority member. However, European descendants happen to be racially distinct as well. They are mainly Caucasian, i.e., "white", whereas the non-Europeans from the Pacific rim region, Africa and South-East Asia, tend to be racially "Visible".[6] *Descent* and *race* are thus compounded. This exploratory investigation was therefore aimed at examining these two criteria separately. The criterion of descent would be examined by asking participants to trace their ancestry by indicating their own, their parents', and their grandparents' country of birth. The criterion of race would be examined by simply asking participants to choose from a list of races. The analyses of the data for descent and race would facilitate the methodological decision as to which of these two approaches would be most appropriate for designating individuals as majority or minority group member. This investigation was comprised of two studies, one examining the criterion of descent and the other examining the criterion of race. To maintain the continuity of the exploratory investigation, they are numbered study 4A and Study 4B.

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6. In the strict sense of the term, racially South-East Asians are Caucasians. Nonetheless, using skin color as a crude racial marker they are considered "visible minority".

Study 4 A: *"Descent" as a Criterion for Determining Majority/Minority Status*

The aim of this study was to examine the criterion of descent for determining individuals' objective status as majority/minority.

Method

Seventy-one students of a community college were asked to trace their ancestry up to two generations, parents and grandparents, and indicate for each parent the country of birth and the country where they were raised (Figure 5).

Figure 5. *Tracing Descent*

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ A = Country of birth                                                  │
│ B = Country where raised                                             │
│                                                                       │
│                                                                       │
│                                Grandmother        Grandfather         │
│                                A)                 A)                   │
│                                B)                 B)                   │
│                      Mother                                           │
│                      A)                                               │
│                      B)                                               │
│ Yourself                                                              │
│ A)                                                                    │
│ B)                                                                    │
│                      Father                                           │
│                      A)                                               │
│                      B)                                               │
│                                Grandmother        Grandfather         │
│                                A)                 A)                   │
│                                B)                 B)                   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Participants were designated as of European descent, i.e., majority status, when ten or more of the total of 14 options indicated a European country.

Results & Discussion

The detailed distribution in terms of ethno-cultural self-definitions and descent are provided in Appendix C-2. The summary is presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Distribution of Descent

Descent	n	%
European	33	46.5
Non-European	13	18.3
Canadian	10	14.1
Mixed	3	4.2
Missing	12	16.9
N	71	100 %

While a majority of the participants, 46.5%, traced their origin to Europe, some of the weaknesses of this criterion emerged. For one, participants seemed to have difficulty tracing their ancestry. Only 59 out of 71 (83%) participants completed the chart. Thus 17% of the data were "missing". Secondly, many participants could not be designated as either European or Non-European; e.g., some participants traced their two-generation ancestry to Canada or U.S.A. These participants could be Europeans or Native Indians; the criterion was not adequate to make that distinction. Also, participants whose ancestry was from New Zealand or Australia or the U.S.A. did not clearly fit into the Non-European category. Thus using *descent* as a criterion for designating individuals as a majority or minority did not seem to provide a "clean" criterion. Therefore, in the next study, the criterion of race was assessed.

Study 4 B: *Race* as a criterion for determining majority status

The aim of this study was to assess the viability of race as a criterion for determining majority/minority status.

Method

The same 71 participants who traced their ancestry in the previous study were asked to indicate their racial status: Caucasian, Oriental, Black, South-East Asian (i.e., ancestry in Indian subcontinent), or Other.

Results & Discussion

The detailed distribution in terms of ethno-cultural self-defintion and race is provided in Appendix C-3. The summary is presented in Table 6:

Table 6

Distribution of Race

	Race	n	%	
	Caucasian	48	67.6	
Visible: {	Oriental	12	16.9	} 23.9%
	Black	1	1.4	
	S.E. Asian	4	5.6	
	Other	4	5.6	
	Missing	2	2.8	
	N	71	100%	

As the findings indicated, the criterion of *race* for designating individuals as majority/minority member seemed much "cleaner" than the *Descent*. Out of 71 participants, only two (2.8%) did not respond to this question. Thus "missing data" did not pose a big problem here. Also, the criterion of race seemed relatively unambiguous insofar as participants did not have difficulty indicating their race in terms of the categories provided.

Only two participants chose the category "other" while the rest chose one of the four clearly marked race categories. Further, since the categories of Oriental, Black, South-East Asians correspond to ethnic minority groups, it seemed reasonable to collapse them under one category: "Visible". Findings of these two studies warranted the use of race as an appropriate criterion for designating majority and minority status in terms of Caucasian and Visible respectively. (These two terms will be used throughout the remaining discussion to refer to individuals' racial status)

In addition to *Descent* and *Race* as a criterion for designating participants as a majority/minority member, two other approaches were also tried out to examine if individuals' *subjective* perception as being a majority or minority may be an appropriate criterion. Half of the participants (n = 35) were further asked if their ethnic group was perceived as a minority group and the other half of the participants (n = 36) were asked if they as individuals were perceived as members of a minority group. The following table summarizes the findings:

Table 7

Subjective Perception of Being a Minority

Group perceived as Minority	n	%
YES	4	11
NO	29	83
MISSING	2	6
Self perceived as Minority	n	%
YES	5	14
NO	30	83
MISSING	1	3

As the findings indicated, this approach of designating majority/minority status did not seem adequate since a vast majority, 83%, considered neither themselves nor their ethnic

group to be perceived as a minority. Only about 11% of the participants reported their group and 14% themselves as being perceived as minority. These results were in keeping with the recent findings of Taylor and his colleagues (Taylor, 1992; Porter, 1992) who have established what they claim to be a robust phenomenon; namely, irrespective of one's objective status as minority, people are least likely to say that they as <u>individuals</u> are perceived or treated as a minority although they are likely to say that <u>their group</u> is perceived or treated as minority. The present finding on a small sample indicated that participants have denied both, they as individuals, as well as their group, are perceived or treated as minority.

Summary and Implications of Exploration II

The most appropriate criterion for determining majority/minority status seemed to be race rather than descent. The problem in designating individuals into a clear category of European or non-European was partly a reflection of the modern trend towards globalization, insofar as the migrating population and its subsequent generation continues to move from one part of the globe to another. For instance, an individual may have great grandparents from South America moving to Europe and the parents from Europe may have moved to Africa, and the individual may have moved from Africa to Canada. For this individual descent is then neither European nor non-European in a clear sense of the term. Criterion of race, in contrast, may remain relatively distinct and unambiguous despite the inter-generational migration (except for the mixed race individuals).

Race as a criterion for designating one's majority and minority status has important psychological and social implications. As noted earlier in the discussion, race represents an unmaskable distinctiveness that shapes the core of one's self-identity. At a social level, it is indeed a powerful divider of society into groups whereby social stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination come into play. In modern societies committed to the ideals of equality, there may not be blatant racism, but the deep rooted stereotypes about race are hard to erase and the "slips" may show up in subtle and often unintended social acts.

The experience of being a minority due to one's race may also relate to one's perception of similarity and identification with the nation group. This perception in turn, may be reflected in one's level of Perceived Agreement with the nation group. One important implication of one's racial status as a minority or majority pertains to the second and third generations of visible ethnic children who often grow up to be "color blind". Despite their objective status as a visible minority, they may subjectively identify themselves with the majority, i.e., the nation group, "Canadians". This identification may relate to a

high level of Perceived Agreement with the nation group. However, although they may be color blind, the rest of the society is certainly not. As such, their "obvious" minority status is likely to render their need for validating their self-nation identification high. It follows that the level of Perceived Uniqueness of the Visible identifying with the nation group should be higher compared to the Caucasian who may also identify self with the nation group.

One's subjective identification with the nation group, then, is an important variable in mediating one's perception of self in comparison to the nation group. One way to assess one's level of identification with the nation group is to examine how individuals define themselves in the ethno-cultural domain. Do they define self as Canadian? Or do they define self as ethnic-Canadian? Or do they define self in ethnic terms? Also, it would be pertinent to examine the prevalence of each of these self-definitions and the appropriate measure to assess them in order to formulate meaningful research propositions. The next exploratory investigation was directed to this aim.

iii) What ethno-cultural self-definitions are prevalent and what is the appropriate measure to assess them?

An informal observation indicates that individuals use a wide variety of self-definitions to describe their ethno-cultural identification. One's level of identification with the nation group, Canadian, is reflected in these definitions. Those who define self as Canadians, irrespective of their racial status as minority or majority, may be viewed as having a high identification with the nation group. Those who define self in ethnic terms may be viewed as having low identification with the nation group. Those who include the national identification as part of their self-definition may be viewed as having a partial identification with the nation group . How prevalent is each of these self-definitions? This was the issue addressed in this exploration. Its goal was to provide an estimate of the distribution of these self-definitions, which in turn would allow for sound methodological decisions concerning the assessment of ethno-cultural self-definitions for the main study. Three studies were conducted in this exploration. One study examined the variety of self-definitions and the other two studies were aimed at methodological clarity. Again, these studies are numbered 5, 6, and 7 respectively to maintain the continuity with the previous exploratory investigations.

Study 5: *Variety and Distribution of Ethno-cultural Self-definitions*

The aim of this study was to explore the variety and distribution of ethno-cultural self-definitions. Also, the subjective importance of these self-definitions was examined in view of Aboud's and Markus's work on the essential self-attributes and core-conceptions respectively.

Method

One hundred and seventy four undergraduate students of Simon Fraser University were asked the following two questions:

Q 1   If you had to choose only one label to characterize your ancestral/ethnic identity, what label would you consider most appropriate for describing yourself? (You may use one word such as "Chinese" or "European", or you may use a hyphenated word such as "French-Canadian" or "Japanese-Canadian")

I am _____

Q 2   How important is this label to you for defining yourself? (Please circle the appropriate number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

VERY IMPORTANT   NOT IMPORTANT

Results & Discussion

A wide variety of labels were used to answer the first question as reported in Appendix C-4. Further, these labels could be categorized as "Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian", "Ethnic", or "other" (those who use a hyphenated label with no Canadian component; e.g, "Irish-Spanish"). The importance ratings (1 to 3 = Very Important, 9 to 11 = Not Important) were also examined within this 4-category scheme

The results indicated that a majority of participants (41%) used ethnic-Canadian self-definitions (Table 8).

Table 8

Participants' Ethno-cultural Self-definitions

N=174

Label	n	"Important"	"Not Important"
Canadian	65 (37%)	29%	26%
Ethnic-Canadian	72 (41%)	32%	15%
Ethnic	31 (18%)	45%	10%
Other	6 (3%)	50%	33%

Moreover, within each category of self-definition, except for the "other" (mixed or hyphenated self-definitions without the Canadian component) which had only six participants out of a total of 176, about one third of the participants viewed their ethno-cultural identification as very important in defining self. The category "Other" had the highest percentage (50%) of participants with a high importance rating; however, in view of the small total number of members in this category, its rating cannot be given much weight. For the remaining three categories, the "ethnic" had a higher number of participants viewing their self-definition as important (45%) compared to the "Ethnic-Canadians" (32%) and "Ethnics" (29%). An interesting finding was that 29% of "Canadians" viewed their self-definition as very important in defining self. Although this figure is not as high as the other two groups, nonetheless, it contradicted the popular stereotype about Canadians that "to be Canadian means not to make a big deal about being Canadian".

The finding that a large majority of individuals have defined themselves as ethnic-Canadian raised some questions. Given that individuals of European descent and Caucasian race tend to use the label "Canadian", can this finding be attributed to the decline of this population and the rapid growth of the visible ethnic population in recent times? Or can it be attributed to the success of multicultural ideology insofar as people are encouraged to use integrated self-identification? Most importantly, can it be simply the function of the way the

question was formulated? It is likely that a specific open-ended question along the line of *what is your ethno-cultural ancestry*? activated the "ethnic" component of the self-definition rendering it salient for the moment. Perhaps that may explain why a big majority, 41% of the participants, used hyphenated ethnic-Canadian definitions and only 37% defined themselves as "Canadian".

Whereas the explanations in terms of the changing demographics and multiculturalism may hold, it was crucial to assess the "question effect". In the next two studies, therefore, two different approaches were tried out for assessing ethno-cultural self-definitions.

Study 6: *Fixed Categories of Self-definitions*

The aim of this study was to use a different format of question and assess if that makes any difference in the distribution of the four categories of ethno-cultural self-definitions. In the previous study, participants were asked a specific but open-ended question to which they provided their ethno-cultural self-definitions. These self-definitions could be categorized into a four-fold scheme; "Canadian", Ethnic-Canadian", "Ethnic" and "Other". In this study, the participants were <u>provided with these categories and were asked to choose</u> one of them as being the most appropriate description of self.

Method

Seventy-one students of a local community college participated in this study. They were asked the following question:

Q 1   If you had to choose only one of the following labels, "Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian", or "Ethnic", which label in your view would be the most appropriate description of yourself?
(Please circle one of the following)

    a) Canadian
    b) Ethnic (specify) _____
    c) Ethnic-Canadian (specify) _____
    d) Any other (specify) _____

Participants were asked to provide the importance rating as well.

Results & Discussion

Indeed the distribution of the four types of ethno-cultural self-definitions changed considerably in response to a fixed category question (Table 9). The percentage of participants who defined themselves as "Canadians" was indeed very high, 58 % as compared to only 37% in the previous study. A χ^2 analysis comparing the frequencies for three definitions in the previous study (open-ended question) and this study (fixed-category question) was significant, χ^2 (2, N = 195) = 7.85, p<.01971.

Table 9

Self-definitions in Response to Fixed-Category Format

Label	N = 71	"Important" rating < 3	"Not Important" rating > 9
Canadian	41 (58%)	49%	27%
Ethnic-Canadian	20 (28%)	30%	20%
Ethnic	9 (13%)	78%	0%
Other	1 (1%)	0%	0%

When provided with fixed categories of self-definitions to choose from, the favored choice was "Canadian". Why? Why did participants choose "Canadian" over other categories? It is very likely due to the *social desirability* factor. When a category "Canadian" is provided, participants are likely to choose it over others since choosing any other category may imply a rejection of the "Canadian" category. An "obvious" rejection of self being a Canadian may be indeed a socially undesirable act. It would also be personally undesirable as well to acknowledge that one is not a Canadian. The findings thus indicated that the format of the question does have a bearing upon the type of ethno-cultural self-definitions elicited. Before making a final assessment of the question effect, one more approach was tried.

Study 7: *"Spontaneous" Self-definitions*

Given that the way a question is formatted has an effect on the type of self-definition elicited, one alternative approach would be to ask a completely open-ended question: *"Who are you?"* Would individuals mention their ethno-cultural self-definitions in a response to a simple, direct, open-ended question along the line of "who are you"? My colleague and I (Altar & Bhatt, 1989) had done a study earlier in which we had investigated if minor variation in the phrasing of the question "who are you?" leads to any major variation in the responses. I analyzed the findings of this study again to examine if ethno-cultural self-definitions had featured in the responses, but first, a brief description of how the study was done is in order.

Method

One hundred and eighty undergraduate students of Simon Fraser University were each asked one of the six variations of "who are you?" question. 1) Who are you? 2) Tell us about yourself. 3) Tell us what is central to your view of yourself. 4) Give us your honest assessment of how you view yourself. 5) Tell us about your view of yourself. 6) Tell us what you are NOT.

Results & Discussion

It was found that out of 180 participants, only 12 (7%) included their ethno-cultural domain in describing themselves (Table 10). Although the overall ethno-cultural responses were low, interestingly, the questions "Who are you?" and "Who are you NOT?", both elicited responses pertaining to ethno-cultural domain. This analysis indicated that a completely open-ended question did not elicit ethno-cultural self-definitions. One could argue that the ethno-cultural domain is not relevant for most individuals in defining self since it is least likely to be elicited by the simple and direct question "who are you"?. This

argument may be countered in light of the previous finding in which individuals provided high importance rating for their ethno-cultural self-definition.

Table 10

Types of Questions and the Ethno-cultural Self-definitions

(N=180)

Question	# of participants who included ethno-cultural domain
Who are you?	4
Tell us about yourself	1
Tell us what is central to your view of yourself	1
Give us your honest assessment of how you view yourself	0
Tell us about your view of yourself	2
Tell us what you are NOT	4

	Total 12 (7%)

The implication of the study was that the completely open-ended approach was inadequate in eliciting ethno-cultural self-definitions. It lacked the focus that was needed for the present research.

Summary and Implications of Exploration III

There was a wide variety of ethno-cultural self-definitions prevalent in the participant population. The exploration further indicated that these ethno-cultural self-definitions may be most adequately classified into four categories: "Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian", "Ethnic" and "Other". Since only a very small number (3%) of participants could be categorized in the "Other" category, it would be appropriate to use a 3-category frame omitting the "other". As for the appropriate method for assessing these self-definitions, the findings strongly indicated that the format of the inquiry had a bearing on the elicited self-definitions. The method of providing the participants with a fixed four-category format to choose from was ruled out due to a social desirability effect. The completely open-ended "spontaneous" variety of inquiry was also ruled out due to its lack of focus on the ethno-cultural domain. A combination of part open-ended question (along the line of "what is your ethno-cultural self-definition?") with a description of ethno-cultural categories (e.g., Japanese-Canadian, Punjabi, or Canadian) was considered to be an ideal compromise for formulating the question.

To summarize, the findings of the three-stage preliminary exploration provided the conceptual and empirical clarity needed for formulating concrete research propositions. These propositions are discussed in the next section.

PART III: RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

The need to be similar and yet unique is reflected in the way individuals perceive themselves in relation to others. As noted earlier, perceptions of similarity and uniqueness tend to be rather biased in that they are exaggerated. Further, the perception of exaggerated similarity or consensus occurs in the domain of opinions and the perception of exaggerated uniqueness occurs in the domain of abilities and positive personality traits. It was proposed in the present research that these cognitive biases of exaggerated perception of opinion consensus *(Perceived Agreement)* and ability uniqueness *(Perceived Uniqueness)* would extend to comparisons made between self and the nation group, "Canadians". Most importantly, the direction and the strength of these biases could be predicted in terms of individuals' ethno-cultural self-definitions and race.

The rationale for relating self-definitions and race with cognitive biases of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness was derived from theoretical perspectives on these issues discussed earlier. In general, it was proposed that the ethno-cultural self-definitions ("Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian" and "Ethnic") imply a certain degree of subjective identification with the nation group, "Canadian", which in turn would be related to the biased or exaggerated perception of similarity between self and the nation group. Defining self as "Canadian" would imply a strong identification with the nation group whereas defining self as "Ethnic" would imply a low level of identification with the nation group. Moreover, since race is a powerful tool for social categorizations of ingroups and outgroups, one's race would be expected to mediate one's perception of similarity with the nation group which is comprised largely of Caucasians. Within this general line of reasoning, the complex dynamics of similarity and uniqueness judgements were examined. When and why would one exaggerate one's similarity with the nation group? When and why would one exaggerate one's uniqueness in comparing self with the nation group?

The global aim of the research was to investigate the link between individuals' *ethno-cultural self-definitions*, their *majority/minority status* in terms of their race, and their *Perceived Agreement* and *Perceived Uniqueness* while comparing self with the nation group, "Canadians". This broad frame of research could be construed as a 3 X 2 design with three levels of Self-definition: Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, and Ethnic, and two level of Race: Caucasian and Visible. Perceived Agreement (PA) and Perceived Uniqueness (PU) were the dependent measures. Based on the theoretical perspectives and the Preliminary exploration, four specific propositions were made.

Proposition 1: There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Agreement

It was predicted that Canadians would have a high level of PA, Ethnic-Canadians a moderate level of PA, and Ethnics would have a low level of PA (Figure 6).

Figure 6. *Predicted Pattern of Self-definition and PA*
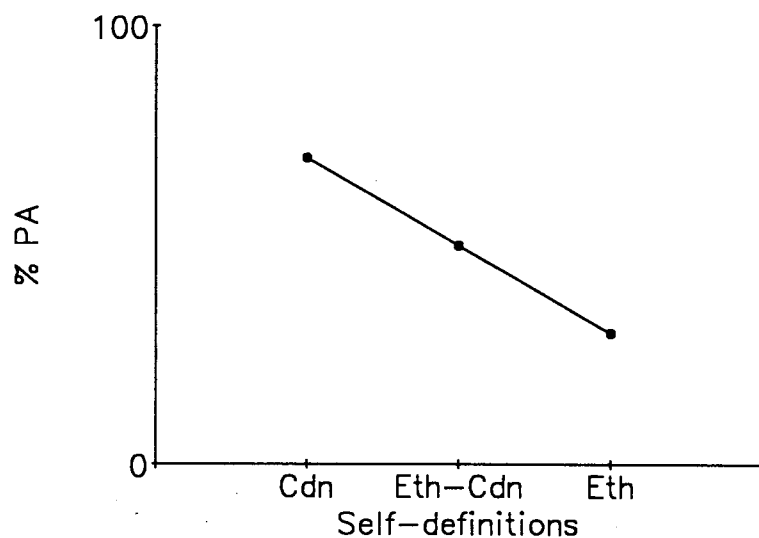
Rationale

It was predicted that the bias of PA which occurs in the domain of one's opinions would operate systematically along the three categories of self-definitions; high for "Canadian" (Cdn), moderate for "Ethnic-Canadian" (Eth-Cdn) and low for "Ethnic" (Eth). The rationale for this main effect was derived from the cognitive basis of Perceived Agreement bias, namely, perceived similarity with the target group, and selective exposure to and familiarity with this group. As noted earlier in the discussion, perceived similarity and selective exposure are related, but their causal relation remains rather circular. Nonetheless, together, they form the basis of PA of self with the nation group as elaborated in the following.

High PA for Canadian: Implicit in the definition of self as a Canadian is one's identification with the nation group. In Allport's' thesis, this would imply that the comparison group, "Canadians", is the *ingroup* for these individuals. As such, these individuals are likely to have maximum exposure to and familiarity with the nation group, and their perception of similarity with it would also be high. When asked how many Canadians would hold opinions similar to one's own, the features of one's similarity with this nation group would become readily available to these individuals; hence a high level of PA should be expected.

Moderate PA for Ethnic-Canadian: The view of self as Ethnic-Canadian implies a part identification of self with the nation group. Whatever view of "Canadians" these individuals may have, their perception of similarity with may not be as strong as in the case of those who view themselves as Canadian. Further, the part nation and part ethnic definition may also indicate that the individuals' social interactions are likely to be divided between the two groups, the mainstream Canadians and their own ethnic group, as Markus's model of self-schema relating self and social interactions would imply. As such, these individuals are likely to have exposure to and familiarity with both groups, the nation group as well as their

own ethnic group. When asked how many Canadians would hold opinions similar to one's own, due to only part identification with the nation group, the self-target similarity features will not be as readily available to these individuals as in the case of individuals defining self exclusively as Canadians; hence a moderate level of PA should be expected. .

Low PA for Ethnic: By identifying self as an ethnic, one declares minimum commonality with the nation group. In fact the nation group may very well be the *outgroup* for these individuals. The lack of perceived similarity between self and the nation group is likely to be related to a low level of social interactions and familiarity with mainstream Canadians. When asked how many Canadians would hold opinions similar to one's own, self-target similarity features would not be very readily available; hence a low level of PA should be expected.

It could be argued that the ethno-cultural self-definitions, "Canadian" "Ethnic-Canadian" and "Ethnic", are a direct reflection of one's level of identification with the target group, "Canadians". Therefore, the prediction of PA corresponding to each of these definitions is a simple tautology. While this tautology is acknowledged, it must be noted that what was incorporated in this prediction was that ethno-cultural self-definitions would override the variable of race; i.e., there would be no main effect of racial status. The underlying big issue was to examine if indeed one's subjective self-definition is all that matters in one's PA with the nation group.

Proposition 2: There is an interaction effect between Self-definition and Race on Perceived Agreement.

Within each category of ethno-cultural self-definition, the following predictions were made comparing the two racial groups, Caucasians and Visibles (Figure 7).

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i) Among those who define self as Canadians, there will be no difference in the level of PA between Caucasians and Visibles.

ii) Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, PA will be high for the Visibles and low for the Caucasians.

iii) Among those who define self as Ethnic, there will be no difference in the level of PA between Caucasians and Visibles.

<u>Figure 7</u>. *Predicted Pattern of Self-definition, Race, and PA.*
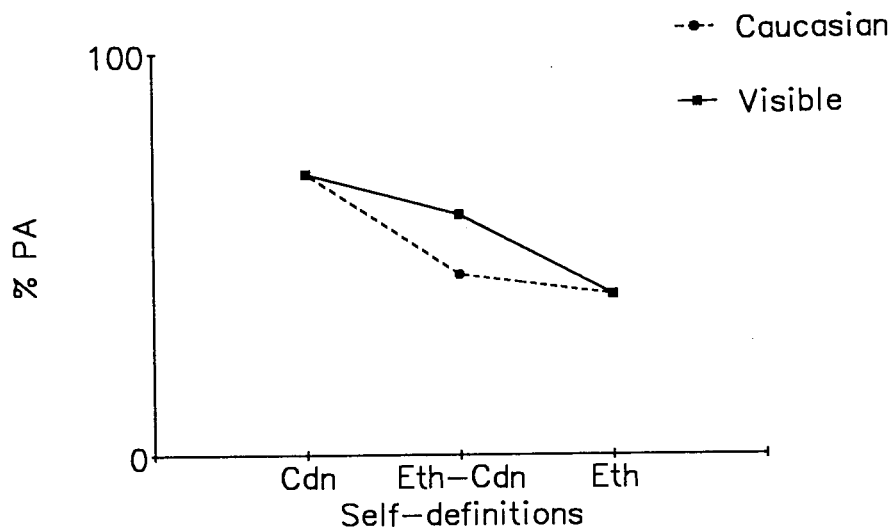
Rationale

The rationale for predicting differences in the PA along the variable of race was derived from the cognitive as well as the motivational basis of PA, namely, perceived similarity between self and the nation group, and the need for self-validation respectively. As noted earlier in the discussion, race, besides being a core component of one's self-identification, is a powerful instrument for dividing society into majority and minority groups. One's status in the society as a minority and majority, in turn, has implications for one's self-image maintenance as Tajfel (1978) contended. Given that PA is rooted in one's

perceived similarity with the target, the variable of race becomes a major consideration. For example, given that the nation group is largely comprised of a Caucasian majority, the Visible minority individuals' psychological identification with this majority must require additional justification for perceiving self as similar to this majority; i.e., their "Canadianness" would need to be validated through extra efforts. By the same token, if a Caucasian individual psychologically identifies self as an ethnic (e.g., as Russian) rather than simply as a Canadian, then he or she would need to validate the "ethnicity" of self. PA rooted in perceived similarity would then be moderated by a motivational process of self-validation. Within this broad frame of rationale, the interaction effect between self-definitions and race were predicted as detailed in the following.

i) Self-definition "Canadian": Caucasians vs. Visibles
Both Groups: Same level of High PA: No difference

It was predicted that both Caucasians and Visibles who define themselves as Canadians would have a similar level of high PA with the nation group. This prediction was derived from the cognitive and motivational basis of PA bias. For both, Caucasians and Visibles, the high PA would reflect their high perceived similarity and high exposure and familiarity with the target group which is their ingroup. However, for the Caucasians, their perception of similarity with the target group would be facilitated by their racial similarity. A high PA was therefore predicted for the Caucasian Canadian.

The Visible individuals' self-definition as "Canadian" would reflect their identification with the nation group. However, merely declaring self as Canadian may not be sufficient for the Visible to perceive high similarity between self and the nation group which is comprised largely of Caucasians. The Visible's racial dissimilarity with the nation group remains only "too obvious". In fact, as McGuire would contend, this distinctive racial trait would be rendered salient in most of their social interactions. Despite the racial dissimilarity,

it was predicted that the Visible Canadian would have the same high level of PA as the Caucasian Canadian. Why? The prediction was based on the motivational basis of PA. It was proposed that to be obviously different from the nation group and yet perceive high similarity with it must require some additional effort. By perceiving high opinion similarity with the nation group the Visible Canadians would validate their "Canadianness" and compensate for their racial dissimilarity: "*I am just like other Canadians. We think the same about most issues*".

It was therefore predicted that both Caucasians and Visibles who define self as Canadians, would have a similar level of high PA. For the Caucasian Canadian, the high level of PA would stem from high familiarity and high perceived similarity aided by their high racial similarity with the nation group. For the Visible Canadian, the high PA would stem from high familiarity with the nation group and the motivational need for self-validation.

ii) Self-definition "Ethnic-Canadian": Caucasians vs. Visibles
Caucasians: Low PA, Visibles: High PA

It was predicted that Caucasians who define self as Ethnic-Canadian would have lower PA compared to Visibles who define self as Ethnic-Canadian. Individuals, Caucasians and Visibles, who define themselves as Ethnic-Canadians are likely to be exposed to and familiar with the nation group as well as their own ethnic group. For both groups, their level of perceived similarity with the nation group was expected to be similar (at a moderate level). However, what would differentiate them in terms of their PA would be their motivational need for self-validation of the two components of their self-definition, the Canadian and the ethnic. For Caucasians who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, the Canadian component is validated by *default*, i.e., by being Caucasians and thus sharing racial similarity with the target. In most social interactions, these individuals are likely to be perceived and

treated as Canadians. Therefore, what would need to be affirmed and validated would be the *ethnic* component of self-definition. These individuals would be likely to focus more on their ethnic component than on their Canadian component of self. By perceiving less opinion similarity with the target group, these individuals would be able to validate their ethnic half; "*I am not all Canadian. See, I don't necessarily think like most Canadians*", a case of low PA.

For the Visibles, the process of self-validation would be reversed insofar as it would be the *Canadian* component of the self-definition which would need to be validated. Being a visible ethnic minority, the Visibles' ethnicity is rarely questioned, but what would need to be validated is his or her Canadianness. One way to accomplish this would be to perceive high opinion similarity with the nation group; "*I am also Canadian and I think like most Canadians*", a case of high PA.

iii) <u>Self-definition "Ethnic": Caucasians vs. Visibles</u>
Both groups; Same level of Low PA: No difference

It was predicted that both, Caucasians and Visibles, who define themselves as "Ethnic", would have a similar level of low PA. A low level of PA for the two racial groups would be due to their subjective identification with their own ethnic group rather than with the nation group. For the Visible Ethnics, the low level of perceived similarity with the nation group would be further attenuated by their racial dissimilarity; hence a low PA was expected. For the Caucasian Ethnics, their racial similarity with the nation group would imply a lack of recognition of their ethnic identification in most day-to-day social interactions. Their need for validating their ethnic identification would be reflected in their compensatory effort of perceiving low opinion similarity with the nation group: "*My opinions are not necessarily the same as those of Canadians*", a case of low PA.

<u>Proposition 3:</u> There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Uniqueness:

It was predicted that Canadians would have a low level of PU, Ethnic-Canadians a moderate level of PU, and Ethnics would have a high level of PU while comparing self with the nation group (Figure 8).

Figure 8. *Predicted Pattern of Self-definition and PU*
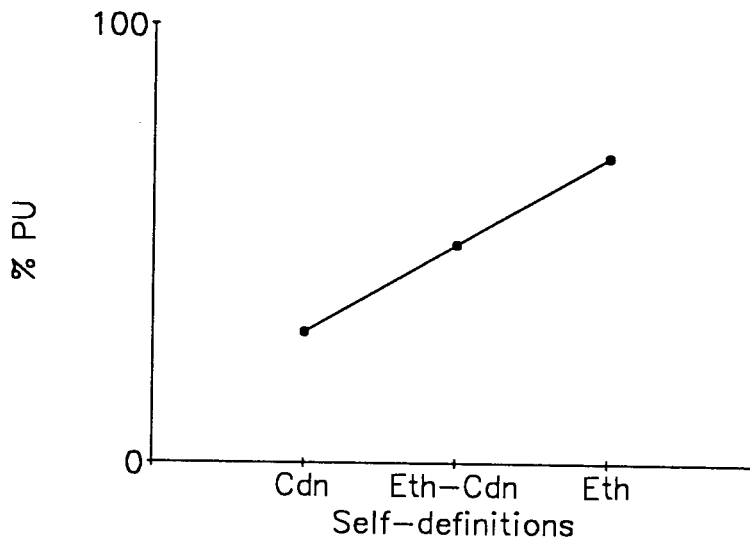
Rationale

It was predicted that the bias of PU, perceived distance between self and the target, which usually occurs in the domain of one's abilities and positive personality traits would operate systematically along the three categories of Self-definition, Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, and Ethnic. As discussed earlier, PU is rooted mainly in the motivational process of self-image maintenance. In particular, as Allport (1954) and Tajfel (1978) emphasized, attributing positive traits to one's in-group is self-enhancing. This was the premise that formed the rationale for the prediction of PU along the three categories of self-definition.

Low PU for Canadians Those who define themselves as Canadians indicate their identification with the nation group, which implies that the nation group is their in-group. Given that it is self-enhancing to attribute favorable attributes to one's in-group, as Allport

pointed out, it may be expected that while one rates oneself favorably on the ability dimension, a similar attribution is likely to be made to one's ingroup. Individuals defining self as Canadians were therefore expected to perceive a low distance between self and the nation group on the ability and positive trait dimension: *"We Canadians, are all very good"*.

Moderate PU for Ethnic-Canadians Those who define themselves as Ethnic-Canadian indicate a part of their identification with the nation group. Another part of their identification is with their own ethnic group. This would imply that the nation group is only a part ingroup for Ethnic-Canadians. It would follow that their attribution of positive self-traits to the nation group would only be in part, not total. It was therefore predicted that the perception of distance between self and the nation group in terms of one's positive traits and abilities would be moderate.

High PU for Ethnics: Defining self as ethnics would imply an identification with one's own ethnic group while the nation group would be an outgroup. As Allport had contended, individuals attribute positive traits of self to their ingroup but not to their outgroup; it would follow that the Ethnics would not attribute a similar high level of their abilities and traits to the nation group. Instead, they would perceive a high distance between self and the nation group in the ability and trait domain. Therefore, a high level of PU was expected for the Ethnics: *"We have abilities that Canadians simply cannot match"*.

Proposition 4: There is an interaction effect between Self-definitions and Race on Perceived Uniqueness.

Within each category of ethno-cultural self-definition, predictions were made comparing the two racial groups, Caucasian and Visible (Figure 9).

i) Among those who define self as Canadian, the Visibles would have lower PU than the Caucasians.

ii) Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, both Caucasians and Visibles, would

have a similar moderate level of PU.

iii) Among those who define self as Ethnic, the Visibles would have a higher PU than the

Caucasians.

Figure 9. *Predicted pattern of Self-definition, Race, and PU.*
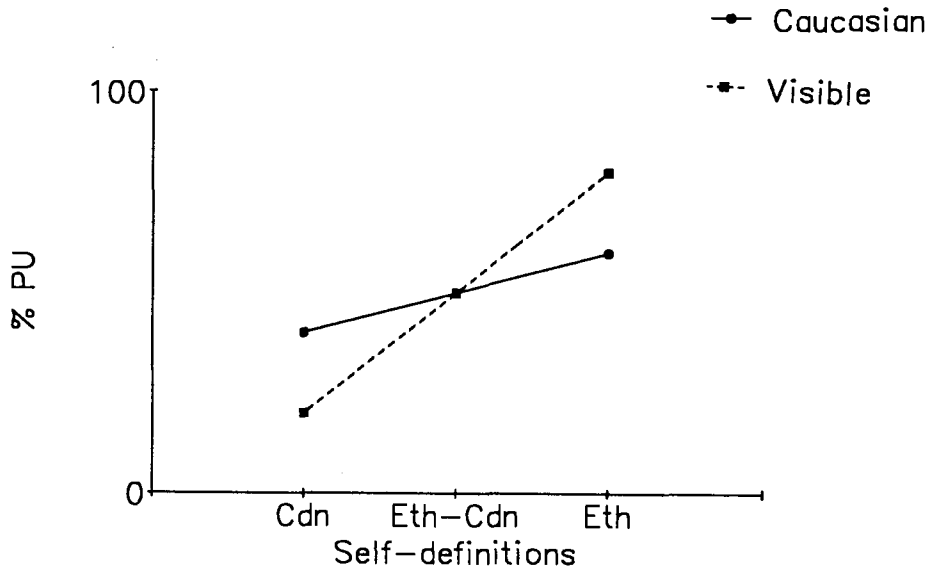
Rationale

The rationale for predicting differences in the PU along the variable of race was

derived from the motivational processes of self-image maintenance and self-validation; one

attributing positive self-trait to one's in-group is self-enhancing as Allport (1954) proposed,

and individuals have a need to maintain a "healthy differentiation" as Tajfel (1978) proposed.

In the earlier discussion it was noted that one's racial status as a minority has powerful

implications for one's self-esteem. One of the challenges that ethnic minority individuals

face is the maintenance of self-esteem in the midst of the mainstream majority. Besides

attributing favorable traits to one's in-group and unfavorable traits to out-groups to enhance

self-esteem, another strategy that is used by minorities is "healthy differentiation" as Tajfel

had proposed. Tajfel (1978) argued that minorities in contemporary times resent the "assimilation" model and prefer to maintain a healthy differentiation in their terms. One way to accomplish such differentiation would be to perceive self as having abilities which are unique - not shared by the majority. Both Allport's and Tajfel's propositions provided the rationale for the predictions.

Self-definition "Canadian": Caucasians vs. Visibles
Caucasians: High PU, Visibles: Low PU

It was predicted that among those who identify themselves as Canadians, Visibles would have lower PU than Caucasians.

Individuals who define self as Canadian would attribute positive traits of self to the nation group since it is their ingroup, and as such, their level of PU would be low. However, their racial status would have a differential bearing on their level of PU. The Visibles, being racially dissimilar from the nation group which is their chosen ingroup, would have a high need for validating their subjective identification with it. Their status as a racial minority would require additional justification for viewing self as a part of the majority that is comprised largely of Caucasians. To validate their identification that "Canadians" are indeed the ingroup for them, they must downplay their uniqueness of abilities and favorable traits while comparing self with their chosen ingroup. It was therefore predicted that the Visible would perceive a low distance between self and the nation group in terms of their abilities and positive personality traits: *"I am very good just like all the Canadians"*. In comparison to the Visible Canadians, the Caucasians Canadians would not have any additional motivation for downplaying their uniqueness. Nonetheless, it would enhance their self-esteem to view self as somewhat special: *"All Canadians are good, but I am especially good"*.

Self-definition "Ethnic-Canadian": Caucasian vs. Visible

Both Groups: Moderate PU. No difference

It was predicted that both racial groups, Caucasians and Visibles identifying self as Ethnic-Canadians would have a similar moderate level of PU.

Implicit in the definition of self as an Ethnic-Canadian is the view of self as part ethnic and part Canadian. To continue with the rationale that one attributes favorable self traits to the ingroup in the service of self-esteem; i.e., low PU, part identification with the nation group should lead to only a moderate level of PU since the nation group is only a part ingroup for these individuals. Both, the Caucasian and the Visible, would perceive a similar moderate level of distance from the nation group.

Self-definition "Ethnic": Caucasians vs. Visibles

Caucasians: Low PU, Visibles: High PU.

It was predicted that of the two racial groups identifying self as Ethnic, Visibles would have a higher PU than Caucasians.

Individuals who view themselves as ethnics have acknowledged their minority status. The nation group being an outgroup for these individuals, a high distance between self and the nation group in terms of attribution of positive self-traits was expected for both groups, i.e., low PU. However, the variable of race may render the level of PU different for the Caucasian Ethnic and the Visible Ethnic. As discussed earlier, the self-esteem of individuals who have a minority status in the society remains vulnerable. One strategy that minority individuals may use for self-esteem maintenance is perception of high PU between self and the outgroup, "Canadians", in the ability and positive trait domain. However, the self-esteem of the Visible Ethnic would be far more vulnerable compared to the Caucasian Ethnic since the Visible Ethnics have an additional burden of minority status, that of being <u>visible</u>

minority besides being an ethnic minority. Due to subtle and sometimes overt

discrimination, the self-esteem of the Visible Ethnic is under a greater threat than that of a

Caucasian Ethnic. Exaggerating one's uniqueness of abilities and positive traits while

comparing self with the mainstream population would allow the Visible Ethnic to maintain

their self-esteem. It was therefore predicted that compared to the Caucasian Ethnic, the

Visible Ethnic would have a high PU.

Summary of Research Propositions

Proposition 1: There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Agreement.

Canadians would have a high level of PA, Ethnic-Canadians a moderate level of PA,

and the Ethnics would have a low level of PA with the nation group.

Proposition 2: There is an interaction effect between Self-definition and Race on Perceived

Agreement.

2 A.: Among those who define self as Canadian, there would be no difference in the

level of PA between Caucasians and Visibles.

2B: Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, PA would be high for the

Visible and low for the Caucasian.

2C: Among those who define self as Ethnic, there would be no difference in the level

of PA between Caucasians and Visibles.

Proposition 3: There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Uniqueness.

It was predicted that Canadians would have a low level of PU, Ethnic-Canadians a

moderate level of PU, and the Ethnics would have a high level of PU while

comparing self with the nation group.

Proposition 4: There is an interaction effect between Self-definitions and Race on Perceived

Uniqueness.

4A: Among those who define self as Canadian, the Visibles would have lower PU than the Caucasians.

4B: Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, both, Caucasians and Visibles, would have a similar moderate level of PU.

4C: Among those who define self as Ethnic, Visibles would have a higher PU than Caucasians.

PART IV: METHODOLOGY

Developing the Measure of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness

Research on the bias of agreement and uniqueness (Marks & Miller 1987; Campbell, 1986) has developed a variety of methods to assess these biases. As noted earlier, the agreement bias is assessed in terms of an opinion issue. Typically, individuals are first asked to indicate their opinion on an issue and then to estimate the percentage of the target population having the same view on that issue as self. The opinion issue may be provided by the researcher or by the participant. The uniqueness bias is assessed by asking individuals to indicate their best ability and then estimate the percentage of the target population having a similar level of that ability. For the present study, it was decided to use a list of opinion issues and abilities devised by the researcher in addition to the one opinion issue and one best ability provided by the individual participants. Examining PA and PU only in terms of the self-generated opinion issue and self-generated ability respectively would not indicate if the perceptual biases of agreement and uniqueness are pervasive, or limited to what may be relevant to self only. Therefore, self-generated opinion and ability were to be combined with a list of opinions and abilities.

Preparing a List of Opinion Issues and Abilites

In devising a list of appropriate opinion issues and abilities, one important consideration was that the opinion issues and abilities must be *ethnic-neutral*; i.e., they must not bear any particular relevance to any ethnic, national, or racial group. For example, an opinion issue such as *"Chinese-Canadians should be compensated for the unfair head tax on their grand parents"* would not be appropriate since it is especially relevant for the Chinese. Similarly, for the ability list, a stereotypical image such as *"playing hockey well"* would be inappropriate since it is biased towards the nation group, "Canadian". The inclusion of such items would bias the results by tilting the similarity judgements of subjects in different

directions depending on their ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, it was contended that the pervasiveness of the cognitive biases can be established only by using neutral issues and neutral abilities.

With this consideration, an initial list of 16 opinion issues and 18 abilities was prepared. These were drawn from two sources: a) Campbell's (1986) study which pertained to the Canadian context and b) a pilot study in which 102 participants of an undergraduate psychology class were asked to indicate an opinion issue they felt strongly about and an ability they believed they were best at. A total of 102 opinion issues and abilities provided by the participants were then compiled, classified, and reduced to a list of 15 opinion issues and 15 abilities by clustering the items into thematic categories. These two lists were given to eight independent judges: two Caucasians, two Orientals, two Blacks and two Indo-Canadians who were asked to indicate for each opinion issue and ability if it was *ethnic-neutral* or loaded. Based on their assessment, an initial list of 10 ethnically neutral opinion issues and 15 abilities was prepared.

These opinion issues and abilities were subjected to a further scrutiny by asking another group of 72 undergraduate psychology students to indicate their agreement and disagreement with each issue, and their level of each ability on an eleven point scale (1 = Very poor, 11 = Very good). Only those issues were selected which had a fairly balanced split of agreement and disagreement. Also, only those abilities were selected which had a fairly high mean rating as research (Campbell, 1986) has indicated that the highest uniqueness bias occurs for abilites on which individuals rate themselves high.[7] Participants were further required to provide their estimation of self-nation group similarity on these issues and abilities. Using Principal Component Analysis to ensure the coherence of the measure, the final lists of 6 opinion issues and 6 abilities were prepared. (Table 11)

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7. Campbell (1986) has termed it "False Idiosyncratic Effect" or FIE.

Table 11

The Final List of Opinions and Abilites

Opinion issues

1)   If Quebec separates, Canada will suffer

2)   Our welfare system encourages people to depend on the government rather than take responsibility for their own misfortunes.

3)   God exists and is a part of everyone's life.

4)   Canada should never have sent its military forces to the Gulf war.

5)   An easy access to abortion encourages an irresponsible attitude towards pregnancy.

6)   Some people have unusual mental powers such as foreseeing future events.

Abilities

1)   Making other people feel comfortable

2)   Being sensitive to the feelings of other people

3)   Being a good friend

4)   Being a good listener

5)   Being kind and caring

6)   Being helpful

The Perceived Agreement was to be assessed by asking participants to indicate if they agreed or disagreed with the listed opinion issue and then estimate the percentage of the nation group that would be on the same side of the issue as self. Thus higher the estimated percentage, the higher the Perceived Agreement with the nation group.

The Perceived Uniqueness, however, required further methodological consideration. There were two possible approaches for assessing Perceived Uniqueness. One approach was

to have participants rate themselves on a rating scale for a given ability and then rate the target on the same scale. The Perceived Uniqueness would be the actual distance or the absolute difference between the self-rating and the target rating. The other approach was to rate self on an ability and then estimate the percentage of the target group that would have the same level of ability as self. Thus, the higher the estimated percentage, the <u>lower</u> the Perceived Uniqueness. Both approaches were tried out in separate studies.

A) Rating self and target on the same continuum

One group of participants (n = 35) were provided with a list of six abilities derived from Campbell (1986). They were asked to rate *themselves* and *Canadians* on each of these abilities on an 11-point scale (1=Very poor, 11=Very good). They were asked to mark a number on a scale with **S** for self and **C** for Canadians. The measure of Uniqueness bias was the absolute distance between the **S** and **C** averaged over the six abilities.

B) Rating self and estimating the percentage of similar Canadians

Another group of participants (n = 36) were provided with the same list of six abilities. They were asked to rate themselves on each of these abilities on an 11-point scale (1=very poor, 11=very high). They were then asked to estimate the *percentage of Canadians* who would have the same level of ability as self.

The results indicated that in the first approach in which participants rated self and Canadians on the same continuum, there was a tendency to rate both exactly the same, thus giving a distance measure of zero. Also it seemed there was a *social desirability* bias as well insofar as individuals may have felt concerned about being viewed as conceited should they rate self much higher than the target group. Alternately, they may have wished to avoid the negative self-appraisal resulting from rating self much lower than the target group. Also, much information was lost in this measure since only *absolute distance* between self and

Canadians was used disregarding the direction of the difference. In contrast, the second approach, the estimated percentage measure, seemed much "cleaner". With these two measures ready, the main study was undertaken.

METHOD

<u>Participants</u>

Participants were 256 undergraduate psychology students from Simon Fraser University who received course credit for their participation. There were 77 males and 172 females (gender data was missing for seven participants). Their mean age was 21.46 years and SD was 6.31) . Given the nature of the study, only Canadian citizens were included in the study.

<u>Material</u>

A detailed questionnaire was developed to obtain participants' Self-definitions, Race, their level of Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness (the target being the nation group), and their subjective image of Canadian. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix D. The questionnaire had five parts with written instructions for responding to each of them. **Part i** assessed Perceived Uniqueness in which the participants were first asked to indicate their one best ability and estimate the percentage of Canadians who also have the same level of this ability. This was followed by a list of 6 abilities on which they were asked to rate themselves on an 11 point scale (1 = Very poor, 11 = Very good) and then estimate the percentage of Canadians with a similar level of ability. **Part ii** assessed Perceived Agreement in which the participants were asked to briefly state one issue about which they felt strongly and then indicate the percentage of Canadians who would agree with it. This was followed by a list of 6 opinion issues for each of which they were asked to indicate their own agreement or disagreement and then estimate the percentage of Canadians

who would respond the same as they did. **Part iii** inquired about participants' Ethno-cultural Self-definitions. Demographic information including their racial status was assessed in **Part iv**. Participants' image of Canadian was assessed in **Part v** in which they were asked to provide a list of characteristics to describe "Canadian" and indicate on an 11 point scale how similar they were to this image (1= not similar, 11 = very similar). They were then asked to indicate for each of these characteristics if it was positive, negative or neutral.

Design

The design was a 2 X 3 factorial design based on the two levels of Race, Caucasian and Visible, and three levels of Self-definitions, Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, and Ethnic. The dependent measures were Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness.

Procedure

Participants were tested individually in a room that seated 12 people. As they walked into the room, they were given the questionnaire and told that all the instructions were contained in the questionnaire, which they must read carefully. If they had any question they were requested to summon the researcher by raising their hand so as not to distract other participants in the room. It took about 20 to 25 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

PART V: RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The data were analyzed in three parts. In the first part, participants' Self-definitions and Race were examined. The χ^2 was computed to examine the cell frequencies within the 3 X 2 (Self-definitions X Race) factorial design. In the second part, the four propositions pertaining to the relation between Self-definition, Race, and Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness were tested using ANOVA. A summary discussion of these four propositions is also provided in this part. In the third part, the image of Canadians in terms of positive, negative and neutral attributes ascribed to this image was assessed.

i) Race, Choice of Self-definitions, and Importance Rating

The participants' choice of Self-definitions and their Race were first examined. Out of 256 participants, only six participants could not be categorized within the 3 X 2 (Self-definitions X Race) factorial scheme due to missing information. Table 12 illustrates the frequency distribution

Table 12

Frequency Distribution: Self-definition X Race

	Self-definitions			
	Canadian	Eth-Canadian	Ethnic	n
Race				
Caucasian	142	16	35	193 (77.2%)
Visible	13	21	23	57 (22.8%)
n	155 (62%)	37 (14.8%)	58 (23.2%)	N=250

As can be seen in Table 12, 77.2% of the total participants identified themselves as Caucasians and 22.8% identified themselves as Visibles.[8] These data reflect the objective reality of the majority/minority division of the society; the Caucasians are a majority group and the Visibles are a minority group. The percentage of the Visibles, however, is higher than the national average of 6 % (1.6 million) as reported in 1991 census (Canada, 1991A). The high percentage of the Visibles in the present study is indicative of the rapidly changing demographics of the metropolitan cities of Canada. In 1986 it was estimated (Lambert, Ledoux, & Pendakur, 1986) that 17.3% of Toronto's population and 16.9% of Vancouver's population was comprised of visible minorities. In another study ("Immigrants", 1992) commissioned by the Race Relations Advisory Council on Advertising, it has been projected that by the year 2001, 39% of the Vancouver population and 45% of the Toronto population will be comprised of people of visible minorities; "...non-white, non-Caucasian and non-aboriginal people, including those who trace their roots to Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America".

The frequency distribution of the Self-definitions indicated that a majority of the participants (62%) chose the definition "Canadian". The next preferred category of self-definition was "Ethnic" (23.2%). The Ethnic-Canadian category was the least preferred choice (14.8%). When the Self-definitions were assessed in terms of Race, the most common Self-definition among the Caucasians was "Canadian". Out of 193 Caucasians, 142 (73.57%) chose this definition. The second preferred Self-definition among the Caucasians was Ethnic (18.13%) and the least preferred Self-definition was Ethnic-Canadian (8.29%). Among the Visibles, the "Ethnic" category was the most common choice. Out of 57 Visibles, 23 (40.35%) chose this definition. Their second preferred choice of self-definition was Ethnic-Canadian (36.84%) and their least preferred choice was Canadian (22.80%). A

8. Among the Visibles (N = 57), 78.9 % were Orientals and 21.1% were South-East Asians. There were no Blacks or Native Indians.

χ^2 analysis of the participants' Self-definitions and Race indicated that the differences in the cell frequencies were significant, χ^2 (2, N = 250) = 51.89, p<.0000.

The Visibles' preference for Ethnic Self-definitions and the Caucasians' preference for Canadian Self-definition may be traced to the history of the formation of the nation group Canadian. Being the pioneer settlers, the Caucasians of European ancestry have traditionally claimed the nation group title. As such, Caucasians, who have likely resided in Canada for several generations, customarily view themselves as Canadians. The Visibles in contrast, are relative newcomers mainly of non-European origin. The present data on the participants' mean length of residence offers some verification. As illustrated in Table 13, the mean length of residence for the Caucasian was higher (M = 21.1 years) than that for the Visible (M = 16.2 years), F (1,244) = 19.53, p<.0000. Although the magnitude of the difference was not very high, nonetheless, it was highly significant. Given that the mean age of the participants was 21.5 years with SD of 6.36, the data suggested that Caucasians are more likely than Visibles to be born in Canada.

Table 13

Means and SD for Length of Residence (Years)

| | | | SELF-DEFINITIONS | | |
			Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Ethnic
Caucasian		Mean	20.49	20.87	21.86
R		SD	5.58	7.35	9.89
A		n	142	16	35
C					
E					
Visible		Mean	16.15	16.09	16.43
		SD	4.69	4.87	5.46
		n	13	21	23

Definition	NS
Race	p<.0000
Definition X Race	NS

It must be noted that not all the Caucasians defined themselves as Canadians and not all the Visibles defined themselves as Ethnics. A small number of Caucasians (18.13%) identified themselves as Ethnics and a small number of Visibles (22.80%) identified themselves as Canadian. These data suggested that racial status alone may not necessarily determine one's subjective identification as Canadian or Ethnic. It may, however, bear on the preference of Self-definitions.

To examine the role of Race on the pattern of difference between the Caucasian and the Visible in their choice of Self-definitio,n the data were further examined using the χ^2 analyses. Among the Caucasians, three comparisons were made: Canadian and Ethnic-Canadian, Canadian and Ethnic, Ethnic-Canadian and Ethnic. Similarly, three paired comparisons were made for the Visibles. Thus a total of six paired comparisons were made keeping the alpha at .0083 level to correct for the family-wise error. The results indicated that all the three paired comparisons for the Caucasian were significant. Specifically, among the Caucasian, the choice of Canadian as Self-definition was higher ($N = 142$) than Ethnic-Canadian ($N = 16$), $\chi^2(1, N = 158) = 100.48, p<.0000$, and Ethnic ($N = 35$), $\chi^2 (1, N = 177) = 64.683, p<.0000$. Interestingly, the choice of Ethnic as Self-definition was preferred ($N = 35$) over Ethnic-Canadian ($N = 16$), $\chi^2 (1, N = 51) = 7.0784, p<..0078$. These results implied that among the Caucasians, if ethnicity is incorporated in the definition of self, it is incorporated in its entirety; i.e., the Caucasians define self as either Canadian or Ethnic, but avoid defining self as Ethnic-Canadian. Among the Visibles, however, none of the paired comparisons were significant.[9]

Why is the Ethnic-Canadian the least preferred self-definition among the Caucasians? The need for self-validation and McGuire's' *Distinctiveness postulate* may offer some explanation. As noted earlier, Caucasians who view their ethnicity (e.g., Scottish, German

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9. Similar six paired comparisons were made separately for males and females within the 3 X 2 (Self-definition X Race) format. The resulting pattern of differences were same as for the combined data.

etc.) as an important component of self-definition are nonetheless likely to be treated as Canadians due to their racial status. Their ethnic component of self may not be acknowledged in most of their social interactions with the mainstream community. It is, therefore, likely that Caucasians who view themselves in terms of their ethnicity would have a high need to validate their ethnicity (as Scottish or German, for instance). Therefore, it is the ethnic component that they would highlight while discounting the Canadian component. McGuire's *Distinctiveness postulate* may further support this line of explanation. He proposed that the attributes that make one feel distinct in a social context are highlighted in one's view of self. The Caucasians who view themselves as ethnic, but find themselves with racially similar others in most social contexts, are likely to experience their ethnicity as a distinctive attribute of self. Therefore, they are likely to choose the Ethnic Self-definition over the Ethnic-Canadian Self-definition.

Although there were no significant differences among the Visibles in their choice of Self-definition, the ethno-cultural domain as such was important to them. The data on Importance ratings of one's Self-definition indicated that on a scale ranging from 1 to 11 (1 = Not important at all, 11 = Very important) the Visibles rated their Self-definitions significantly higher (M = 8.1) than the Caucasians (M = 6.4), F (1, 85) = 13.93, p<.0003. Also, the type of self-definitions did not have any bearing on the Importance ratings of these definitions. As illustrated in Table 14, to the Visibles, whatever their self-definition was; Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian or Ethnic, it was very important. The ethno-cultural domain was indeed more important to the Visibles than to the Caucasians.

Why is the ethno-cultural domain more important to the Visibles than to the Caucasians? McGuire and Markus's models may offer some explanations. As McGuire would contend, the Visibles' racial status as minority amidst the majority Caucasians would render their ethno-cultural domain salient in most social contexts. Further, as Markus's model would imply, this repeated salience of one's minority status may concretize and

articulate one's self-schema in that particular (ethno-cultural) domain rendering it a core status in the self-structure. This articulated self-schema in the ethno-cultural domain is reflected in the Visibles' high Importance rating of these definitions.

Table 14

Means and SD for the Importance Rating of Self-Definitions

(1 = Not important at all, 11 = Very Important)

		SELF-DEFINITIONS		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Ethnic
Caucasian	Mean	7.45	6.31	5.51
R	SD	2.86	2.94	3.23
A	n	142	16	35
C				
E				
Visible	Mean	8.23	7.43	8.52
	SD	1.59	2.98	2.23
	n	13	21	23

Definition	NS
Race	$p<.0003$
Definition X Race	NS

The ethno-cultural domain is important to the Caucasians for defining self, but not as important as it is for the Visibles. Why? It may be speculated that in most social interactions, a Caucasian is less likely to be confronted with questions concerning his or her ethno-cultural self-definition, such as why he or she views self as Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian or Ethnic. A Visible in contrast is likely to be confronted by situations where he or she must justify the chosen self-definition, whatever that might be. When a Caucasian says, "I am a Canadian", generally no further questions are asked. However, if a Visible says "I am a Canadian", this declaration is subjected to further scrutiny, "but where are you really from?", "do you speak languages other than English?" "what made you/your ancestors come to Canada?" etc. If she says, "I am a Japanese", she may be required to justify this definition

since she would be likely told "but you were born and brought up in Canada, you even speak like Canadians". The Visibles' ethno-cultural domain is thus rendered very salient in most social interactions. It follows that the Visible must give a lot of thought to who he or she really is in terms of the ethno-cultural self-definition. Whatever choice is made is likely the result of an active identity search (Marcia, 1966; 1980). This may explain the high Importance rating of ethno-cultural Self-definitions by the Visibles.

ii) Perceived Agreement and Perceived Uniqueness

There were four propositions which required an empirical test. To this end, the two dependent measures, Perceived Agreement (PA) and Perceived Uniqueness (PU) were analyzed within the 3 X 2 (Self-definition X Race) factorial scheme. The first step, however, was to assess the coherence of the measures of PA and PU which were specifically developed for the study. The PA and PU values were factor analyzed separately using the Principal Component Analysis.

As it may be recalled, the measure of PA included a list of six opinion issues. The participants provided their own "agree or disagree" judgement to each of them and then estimated the percentage of Canadians who would endorse the same view as self. The Principal Component Analysis of PA values resulted in one factor as reported in Table 15A.

Table 15A

Principal Component Analysis of the Opinion Issues

Opinion Issue	Factor Loadings Factor 1
1) Quebec separation	.628
2) Welfare system abuse	.563
3) Existence of God	.429
4) Canada's part in Gulf war	.655
5) Attitude towards Abortion	.567
6) Unusual mental power	.435

For the measure of PU, participants first provided their self-ratings on six listed abilities and then estimated the percentage of Canadians who may have the same level of ability as self. The Principal Component Analysis of the estimated percentage of similar Canadians resulted in one factor as reported in Table 15B.

Table 15B
Principal Component Analysis of the Abilities

Ability	Factor Loadings Factor 1
1) Making other people feel comfortable	.811
2) Being sensitive to the feelings of others	.824
3) Being a good friend	.816
4) Being a good listener	.779
5) Being kind and caring	.858
6) Being helpful	.841

The factor analysis thus affirmed the coherence of the listed opinion issues and abilities. An additional Principal Component analysis was performed on the estimated percentage of similar Canadians on opinion issues and abilities together to examine the orthogonality of the two domains, opinion and ability (Table 15C).

Table 15C
Principal Component Analysis of Opinion Issues and Abilities

Opinion Issue	Factor Loadings	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
1) Quebec separation	.362	.474
2) Welfare system abuse	.368	.358
3) Existence of God	.157	.463
4) Canada's part in Gulf war	.323	.574
5) Attitude towards Abortion	.370	.399
6) Unusual mental power	.093	.550
Ability		
1) Making other people feel comfortable	.777	-.253
2) Being sensitive to the feelings of others	.811	-.094
3) Being a good friend	.802	-.139
4) Being a good listener	.771	-.028
5) Being kind and caring	.847	-.198
6) Being helpful	.825	-.226

As noted in Table 15C, the analysis resulted in two factors affirming the orthogonality of the two domains.The analyses of PA and PU included a total of five variables. These variables are listed in Table 16A and 16B in abbreviated forms with a description of each.

Table 16A

Variables Assessing PA

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* *Self Opinion-P:* This was the estimated percentage of Canadians who endorse the same position as self on an opinion issue that the participant himself or herself provided.

* *Mean Opinion-P*: This was the estimated percentage of Canadians endorsing the same side of the opinion issue as self averaged over the six listed opinion issues.

Table 16B

Variables Assessing PU

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* *Self Ability-P*: This was the estimated percentage of Canadians who may have a similar level of an ability that the participant provided as his or her best ability.

* *Mean Ability-P:* This was the estimated percentage of Canadians having the same level of ability as self averaged over the six listed Abilities.

* *Mean Ability-R* : This was the mean of the self ratings on six listed abilities.

Before computing the 3 X 2 (Self-definition X Race) ANOVA, using the Importance rating as a weighting variable was considered since the earlier analysis of the Importance rating had yielded some significant results. However, the ANOVA using Importance rating as a weighting variable did not affect the resulting pattern in a major way. In fact, it

somewhat diluted the results. It was, therefore, decided to use unweighted values in analyzing the data for testing the research propositions.

The data were then analyzed using t-tests to check for gender differences. No gender differences were observed on variables assessing Perceived Agreement, but strong gender differences emerged on variables assessing Perceived Uniqueness. The next step was to compute a MANOVA including the variables listed in Table 16A and 16B as well as each of the six opinion issues and six abilities, and three variables assessing the subjective image of Canadian (which is discussed later). In view of the gender differences observed, the MANOVA computation was based on a 3 X 2 X 2 (Self-definition X Race X Gender) format. The results of the MANOVA indicated that Race had a significant effect, F (23, 198) = 2.26, $p<.0015$. Gender also had a significant effect, F (23, 198) = 2.70, $p<.0001$. Self-definition, however, did not have a significant effect.

It may be recalled that while making four propositions concerning PA and PU, Gender was not predicted to have an effect. However, in light of the previous analyses, it was included in the remaining analyses . In order to test each of the four propositions, two different sets of ANOVA were computed. In one set, the data were analyzed using the 3 X 2 X 2 (Self-definition X Race X Gender) format to examine the predictions concerning the main effect of Self-definition (Figure 6 and Figure 8). In the second set, the data were analyzed using the 2 X 2 (Race X Gender) format for each of the three Self-definitions to examine propositions concerning the interaction effect of Self-definition and Race (Figure 7 and Figure 9). In the following, the results of the empirical testing of each of the four propositions are reported first. The implications of the findings are discussed later in the summary discussion.

Proposition 1: There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Agreement. It was

predicted that Canadians would have a high level of PA, Ethnic-Canadians a

moderate level of PA, and Ethnics would have a low level of PA. (Figure 6)

This proposition was not supported by the data. Instead of the predicted main effect

of Self-definition, there was a main effect of Race. As presented in Table 17 and Table 18,

on *Self Opinion-P* (self-generated opinion issue) Caucasians estimated a lower percentage (*M*

= 50.1%) of Canadians having the same opinion as self compared to Visibles (*M* = 66%), *F*

(1, 218) = 9.19, p<.0027. Similarly, on *Mean Opinion-P* (mean estimated percentage of

similar Canadians on the six listed opinion issues) the Caucasians perceived lower agreement

(*M* = 54.6%) than the Visibles (*M* = 58.1%), *F* (1, 218) = 5.95, p<.0155.

The separate analysis of each of the listed six opinion issues did not result in any

significant pattern of differences.

Table 17

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Similar Canadians on Self-generated Opinion

(Self Opinion-P)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	55.4	46.7	49.0	56.5	45.4	47.8
	SD	26.8	40.4	28.6	24.2	25.5	27.9
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	69.3	65.0	63.6	66.9	63.4	69.1
	SD	20.0	23.5	29.0	20.6	20.1	28.0
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	p<.0027	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race x Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table 18

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Similar Canadians on Listed Opinions

(Mean Opinion-P)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	56.5	49.2	57.0	53.4	55.1	53.9
	SD	9.4	15.3	11.9	8.7	10.0	10.7
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	61.5	65.5	57.2	59.5	54.7	56.5
	SD	17.0	10.7	12.2	6.8	9.7	13.4
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	p<.0155	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Participants' agreement and disagreement with each of the six opinion issue are provided in Appendix E-1 and the means and SD for each of the six opinion issues are provided in Appendix E-2 through E-7.

Proposition 2: There is an interaction effect between Self-definition and Race on Perceived Agreement. Within each category of Self-definition, three predictions were made comparing Caucasians and Visibles. (Figure 7)

i) Among those who define self as Canadian, there will be no difference in the level of PA between Caucasians and Visibles.

This prediction was supported by the data. Visible Canadians and Caucasian Canadians did not differ significantly in their perception of opinion similarity with the nation group. The 2 x 2 (Race X Gender) analysis of each of the listed six opinions did not result in any significant pattern of differences.

ii) Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadian, PA will be high for the Visibles and
   low for the Caucasians.

This prediction was not supported by the data. Only on the variable of *Self Opinion-P* some tendency was noted among the Visible Ethnic-Canadians to perceive a higher opinion similarity (M = 63.6%) than the Caucasian Ethnic-Canadians (M = 46.8%), F (1, 145) = 3.37, $p<.0685$. Thus the significance level did not quite meet the required alpha level of .05, but closely approached it.

iii) Among those who define self as Ethnic, there will be no difference in the level of PA
   between Caucasians and Visibles.

This prediction was not supported by the data. Instead of the predicted no difference, the Visible Ethnics had perceived a higher opinion similarity than the Caucasian Ethnics on at least one variable: *Self Opinion-P*. The difference between the Visible Ethnics (M = 66.1%) and the Caucasian Ethnics (M = 47.6%) was significant, F (1, 54) = 5.94, $p<.0181$.

Proposition 3: There is a main effect of Self-definition on Perceived Uniqueness. It was
   predicted that Canadians would have a low level of PU, Ethnic-Canadians a moderate
   level of PU, and Ethnics would have a high level of PU. (Figure 8)

This prediction was not supported by the data. There was no main effect of Self-definition as predicted. Instead, there was a main effect of Gender on all three variables assessing PU. As illustrated in Table 19, on the variable of *Self Ability-P* (estimated percentage of similar Canadians on the self-generated best ability), women's PU was lower (M =42.7[*]) compared to that of the men (M = 30%), F (1, 218) = 6.56, $p<.0111$. Similarly, as illustrated in Table 19, on the variable of *Mean Ability*-P (mean estimated percentage of similar Canadians on the six listed abilities), women's PU was significantly lower (M =

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* High percentage indicate low PU and vice versa.

57.6%) compared to that of the men (M = 43.4%), F (1, 218) = 14.38, p<.0002. On each of

the six listed abilities, compared to men, women gave significantly lower PU values (These

results are presented in Appendix F-1 through F-6)

Table 19

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Similar Canadians on Self-generated Ability
(Self ability-P)
(High Percentage = Low PU)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	23.5	31.7	34.2	42.6	41.4	37.1
	SD	20.59	29.3	26.4	24.7	21.0	28.2
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	26.7	37.5	26.7	53.9	35.8	45.3
	SD	22.54	35.0	17.0	13.9	22.6	21.0
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	p<.0111	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table 20

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Similar Canadians on Listed Abilities
(Mean Ability-P)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	46.7	40.2	36.8	53.4	60.1	60.3
	SD	19.3	22.2	23.1	17.6	13.5	15.8
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	49.4	41.9	45.7	65.5	51.0	55.2
	SD	1.7	32.9	16.8	9.6	18.6	18.0
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Def X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	p<.0002	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

These results indicated that, overall, women perceived relatively lower distance between self and the nation group in terms of their abilities. Men in contrast, perceived a relatively higher distance between self and the nation group. Also, it was interesting to observe that, overall, women rated themselves slightly but significantly higher (M = 9.0) than men (M = 8.5) on the variable of *Mean Ability-R* (self-ratings averaged over six listed abilities), F (1, 231) = 5.05 p<.0256. Table 21 illustrates this. (The means and SD for self-rating on each of six listed abilities are provided in Appendix G.)

Table 21

Means and SD for Self-ratings on Listed Abilities (Mean Ability-R)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	8.49	7.96	8.62	8.86	8.54	8.83
	SD	1.31	2.31	1.83	1.04	1.24	1.05
	n	39	4	11	98	12	24
VISB	Mean	9.00	8.25	8.63	9.44	8.98	9.40
	SD	1.44	1.66	.93	.69	.84	.95
	n	3	4	14	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race		NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender		NS
Gender	p<.0256	Race X Gender		NS
		Definition X Race X Gender		NS

Proposition 4: There is an interaction effect between Self-definitions and Race on Perceived Uniqueness. Within each category of Ethno-cultural self-definition, predictions were made comparing the two racial groups, Caucasian and Visible. (Figure 9)

i) Among those who define self as Canadian, the Visibles will have lower PU than the Caucasians.

This prediction was not supported. There were no significant differences between the Caucasian Canadian and the Visible Canadian on variables assessing PU. Only on one ability, "To be a good friend", which was one of the six listed abilities, the Visible Canadians perceived the nation group to be more similar to self (M = 70.1%) compared to the Caucasian Canadian (M = 56.7%), F (1, 145) = 4.69, p<.0321. (It must be noted that there were no differences in the self-ratings on this ability).

ii) Among those who define self as Ethnic-Canadians, there will be no difference between the Caucasians and the Visibles on their PU.

This prediction was supported by the data. There were no significant differences between Caucasian Ethnic-Canadians and Visible Ethnic-Canadians on any of the PU measures.

iii) Among those who define self as Ethnics, the Visibles will have a higher PU than the Caucasians.

This prediction was not supported by the data. No systematic pattern of differences between Caucasian Ethnics and Visibles Ethnics were observed on any PU variable.

Summary Discussion of the Four Propositions

The results indicated that contrary to the prediction, Self-definition did not have a main effect on PA or on PU. Instead, there was a main effect of Race on PA and a main effect of Gender on PU. In general, the Visibles perceived higher opinion agreement with the nation group compared to the Caucasians. In terms of PU, women viewed their abilities to be less unique compared to men. These findings implied that a) the way individuals subjectively defined themselves, whether as Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, or as Ethnic, did not have any bearing on how they compared themselves with the nation group, b) individuals' racial status as Caucasian or as Visible did have a bearing on their perception of opinion

similarity with the nation group: The Visibles perceived higher opinion similarity than the Caucasians, and c) individuals' gender was related to the perception of uniqueness of their abilities: Women perceived lower uniqueness than men.

The findings on PA imply that the Visibles' identification with the nation group in terms of opinion similarity is stronger than that of the Caucasians. It must be noted that although in comparison with the Visibles, the Caucasians' identification with the nation group is weaker, the Caucasians' mean estimated percentage of similar Canadians is fairly high on their self-generated opinion (50%), as reported in Table 17, as well as on the mean of the six listed opinions (66%) as reported in Table 18. The findings in general, however, indicate that comparatively, the Visibles' identification with the nation group is stronger. This is indeed a curious finding. If the nation group is largely comprised of Caucasians of European origin, if the prototype image of Canadian is that of Caucasian (as observed in the preliminary exploration), why have the Visibles, compared to the Caucasians, viewed themselves closer to the nation group in terms of their opinions?

Allport's (1954) thesis on ingroup-outgroup dynamics when applied to the Canadian context would suggest that to the Visibles who are a minority group and relative newcomers (except for the native Indians), the nation group comprised largely of Caucasians who have been long term residents of Canada, would likely be an outgroup. As such, the Visibles' identification with the nation group would be weak. The findings on PA seem to contradict this implication. The Visibles have claimed a greater closeness to the nation group compared to the Caucasians insofar as they perceived greater opinion similarity with it. However, Allport's thesis need not be discounted. Instead, the findings may be interpreted as reflecting the contemporary reality of the Canadian multicultural context where the racial criterion does not seem to determine the ownership of the nation group as one's ingroup. The identification of the Visibles with the nation group in terms of perceived high opinion similarity may also indicate that the nation group is not an outgroup for the Visibles. The racial status may still

divide the society into ingroups and outgroups, but the nation group seems to cut across this division as both the Visibles and the Caucasians are at ease with their identification with the nation group.

The findings may also be interpreted as supportive of Berry's (1991) contention that a multicultural image of the nation promotes "integration" whereby individuals are comfortable identifying self with the nation group while retaining their ethnic heritage. The Visibles' perception of high opinion similarity with the nation group may be indicative of a certain level of their integration with the nation group. Tajfel's (1978) proposition may validate this interpretation. The minority racial groups in contemporary societies have acquired a renewed sense of self-esteem. The Caucasian majority no longer dictates who may be included in the nation group.

It would be premature, however, to attribute the Visibles' high opinion similarity entirely to the success of multiculturalism. It is quite likely that the Visibles' high opinion similarity may be indicative of their effort to maintain their self-esteem. As Tajfel (1978) proposed in his psychological analysis of the minority groups, despite the renewed sense of self-esteem among the minority groups in contemporary societies, the Visibles cannot entirely discount their minority status, and as such, their self-esteem does remain vulnerable. In order to counter this threat, minority groups resort to various psychological strategies to maintain their self-esteem. Perception of high opinion similarity with the nation group may be just one of these strategies.

Is the self-esteem of the Visibles in the contemporary, officially multicultural Canadian society under a threat? Indeed the threat to the Visibles' self-esteem has some reality basis since they continue to be the targets of negative attitudes and discrimination as Canadian researchers (e.g., Berry et al. 1977; Bibby, 1987; Driedger & Mezoff, 1981, Driedger, 1989, Zanna, 1994) have demonstrated. The form of discrimination may not

necessarily be blatant but may be subtle such as the majority groups' perception of high

social distance from the Visible and a feeling of discomfort in the presence of the Visible. In

their latest survey, Berry and Kalin (1993) asked 3325 respondents in Montreal, Toronto, and

Vancouver how comfortable they would feel around different ethnic groups. Overall, the

respondents reported feeling more comfortable around people of European origin than

around people of non-European origin, especially the Visible. At the lowest end of reported

comfort level were the Sikh. The other Visible groups for which low level of comfort was

reported were Indo-Pakistanis, Muslims, Arabs, West-Indian Black, Native Canadian Indians

and Chinese. The lack of total acceptance of the Visibles by the mainstream community

would render the self-esteem of the Visible vulnerable. As such, the Visibles' perception of

high opinion similarity with the nation group may very well be in the service of self-esteem

maintenance. It is self-enhancing to believe that the majority, i.e., the nation group, is on

one's side when one evaluates one's opinions, especially when the majority, i.e., the nation

group, is not necessarily an outgroup as the present data seem to indicate.

The variable of Self-definition did not have a main effect on PU as predicted. It may

be recalled that PU pertained to the ability domain and there were two components of the

ability domain: one's self-rating on the six listed abilities and one's estimation of the

percentage of Canadians with a similar level of these abilities. Although no propositions

were made concerning the self-ratings on abilities, the results warrant some discussion. The

mean self-rating of the entire sample was fairly high: 8.8 on an 11-point scale (1 = poor, 11 =

Very good) with SD of 1.1. There were no significant patterns of group differences. (The

gender differences on self-ratings were miniscule as noted earlier.) Given that self-ratings on

abilities reflect one's self-esteem, the finding may imply that neither one's Self-definition as

Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, Ethnic, or one's Race, or one's Gender bears any systematic

relation to one's self-esteem. It would be tempting to conclude that visible minorities and

women are faring just as well within the Canadian multicultural context as they have rated

themselves high and on par with Caucasians and men. It must be acknowledged, however, that self-esteem is a complex construct and its assessment cannot be entirely based on a list of six abilities. Besides, the list was developed with a specific aim of obtaining high ratings as required for assessing PU. It was derived from undergraduate students in an earlier exploratory study where they were specifically asked to list their "best abilities". Also, the participants were all university students who tend to have high self-esteem. A high mean self-rating may then be a function of the type of abilities listed and the type of participant population.

The variable of Self-definition did not have a main effect on PA or PU. One's subjective identification as Canadian, Ethnic-Canadian, or Ethnic had no bearing on how one perceived oneself in relation to the nation group in terms of one's opinions or abilities. One implication is that the variable of Self-definition is rather inconsequential in mediating judgements about opinion and ability similarity between self and the nation group. The other implication is that the variable of Self-definition is relevant, but perhaps its measure may have been rather weak. This latter implication seems more conceivable in light of the methodological difficulties involved in tapping ethno-cultural Self-definitions. Devising a question format for assessing one's ethnic identification has remained a challenging task indeed In fact Canada census surveys have faced similar methodological challenges. White (1992) who traced the history of census questions that inquire about ethnicity, has detailed these challenges. For example, in her summary of Statistics Canada's 1991 pre-census consultation with various community groups, the following was observed among other difficulties:

> There was no consensus on the format of the question. This included options
> such as open-ended, mark-box, and list of groups that should be shown as
> mark-boxes and/or as examples on the questionnaire (p. 166)

Given the methodological difficulties in assessing ethno-cultural Self-definitions, future research effort needs to be directed at devising a measuring tool that would adequately assess Self-definitions.

While examining the results further, it was observed that the variable of Race had a main effect on PA but no such systematic effect of Race was observed on PU. Why does one's racial status have a bearing on PA, i.e., opinion domain, but not on PU, i.e., ability domain? To address this question, the conceptual basis of these two cognitive biases need to be reexamined. It may be recalled from the earlier discussion, PA and PU are orthogonal insofar as their respective domains, opinion and ability, are independent of one another. As such, the judgement of opinion similarity and ability similarity entail different cognitive and motivational processes. As Tesser (1980), Marks (1984), and Campbell (1986) pointed out, for the judgement of opinion similarity, no normative standards are available as to which opinions are "correct". In evaluating one's opinion, therefore, one is likely to place high value on societal consensus: Do most people agree with what I believe? In contrast, for the judgement of abilities, there are normative standards available as to which abilities are "better". These normative standards are acquired and internalized early in life (Campbell, 1986). Hence, in evaluating one's abilities, one need not continually seek societal consensus.

In the present study, Visibles indicated a high level of PA compared to Caucasians. The implication is that in terms of judgements pertaining to opinion similarity, Visibles perceived high societal consensus with the nation group (high PA). As discussed earlier, Visibles' high identification with the nation group, as well as their high need for self-esteem maintenance may account for this perception.

In terms of PU, however, Visibles did not differ significantly from Caucasians. Why do Visibles perceive high similarity with nation group for their opinions but not for their abilities? As noted earlier, unlike opinion judgements, ability judgements rely less on

societal consensus and more on internalized normative standards. For example, to validate one's opinion on an issue, such as, "If Quebec separates, Canada will suffer", one need to rely on societal consensus as to how many others would be of same opinion as self, since there are no absolute or normative standards available to judge this issue as "correct" or "incorrect". In contrast, for evaluating one's abilities, such as, "being a good friend", one may rely on internalized norm rather than on societal consensus. Ability judgements are therefore likely to be a matter of individual differences rather than group differences, with each individual having his or her own set of internalized norms. Results of the present study indicated that these individual differences in PU overrode group differences. In judging one's abilities, one relies on internalized normative standards. One's group membership and level of identification with the comparison group does not mediate the judgement of ability similarity.

The component of estimating the percentage of similar Canadians on various abilities yielded significant group differences in terms of gender. Some speculations are in order since previous research on PU (e.g., Campbell, 1986; Marks & Miller, 1987) has either not observed or not explored gender differences. As observed in the present study, women, compared to men, perceive the nation group to be similar to themselves in terms of abilities. It is also likely that women in general tend to perceive less distance between self and others, whoever the "other" might be. It is not possible to reach a definitive conclusion whether the gender effect on PU is limited to comparing self with the nation group as observed in the present study or if it is a part of social comparison processes in general. The latter interpretation, however, seems more conceivable than the first one in the light of the contemporary research on feminist values (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Jordan et al. 1991) which strongly suggests that women value collectivity and interdependence over self-uniqueness. It is, therefore, likely that women, while rating themselves high on abilities, view others to be just as good as themselves. Men, in contrast, seem to value independence and uniqueness,

i.e., a sense of being superior than most others, which is reflected in their perception of greater distance between self and others in the domain of ability.

iii) Subjective Image of Canadians

The examination of the participants' subjective image of "Canadian" indicated that there was a wide variety of traits describing a Canadian. The mean number of descriptive traits was 5.95 and the SD was 2.63. While examining whether the descriptive traits were Positive, Negative, or Neutral, it was observed that the overall view of Canadian was quite positive insofar as 71% of the total descriptive traits were appraised by the participants as Positive, 18% as Neutral, and only 11% as Negative. Why is there an overall positive bias in the participants' subjective image of Canadian? It may be speculated that a positive view of Canadian may be in the service of self-esteem maintenance since irrespective of their subjective Self-definition and irrespective of their Race, all the participants, after all, were Canadian citizens. It is likely that for most, the status as a Canadian citizen is a matter of choice and privilege. A positive view of Canadian is therefore in consonance with one's official status as a Canadian. It contributes to one's self-esteem.

Although the overall view of Canadian was positive, the 3 X 2 X 2 (Self-definition X Race X Gender) ANOVA indicated some systematic patterns in the type of descriptive traits. (The Means and SD for the mean proportion of Positive, Negative and Neutral traits are provided in Appendix H-1 through H-3). There was no main effect of Self-definition or Race or Gender on the proportion of Positive traits, but there were two interesting interaction effects: Race X Gender and Self-definition X Race.

The Race X Gender interaction effect on the mean proportion of Positive traits ascribed to Canadian (Figure 10A) indicated that among the Caucasians, men viewed Canadian somewhat more positively ($M = .75$) than women ($M = .64$) but among the Visibles, this pattern of difference was reversed: The Visible men ascribed a significantly lower proportion of positive traits to Canadian ($M = .49$) than the Visible women ($M = .76$), $F (1, 218) = 5.74, p < .0175$.

Figure 10A. *Race X Gender Interaction on the Mean Proportion of Positive Traits of Canadian*
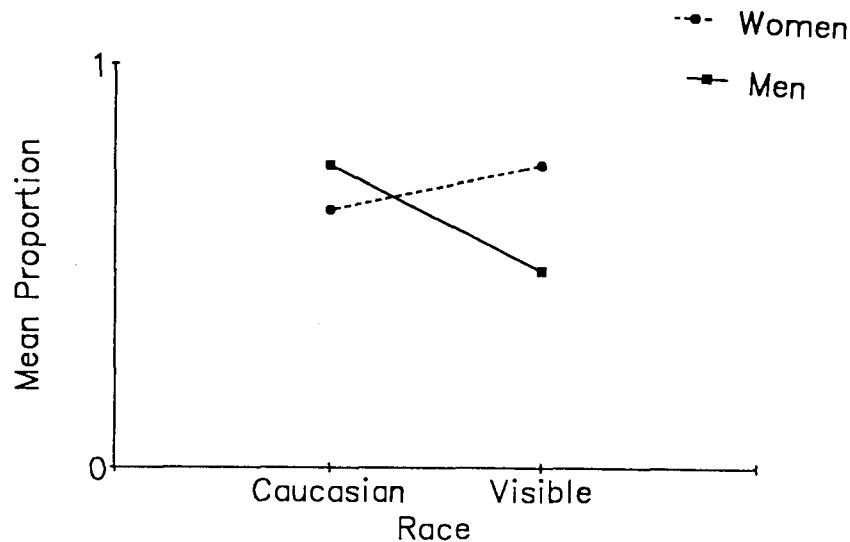
The high gender difference in the view of Canadian among the Visibles may be attributed to the difference in gender roles among the Visibles. It may be speculated that since the Visibles are relative newcomers and most likely from non-European traditional cultures, the men are more likely than women to experience a pressure to excel at school and competitive careers; they must be better than or at least as good as the Caucasian men. (It may be recalled that participants were all university students.) As such, they are likely to interact and compete with the mainstream Canadian community more than their women counterparts. This may further imply that they are more likely to encounter greater adaptation challenges, greater academic and career competitions, and perhaps more negative racial experiences than women. This may have reflected in the Visible men's view of Canadian as not entirely positive. Being less pressured to compete with the mainstream community in terms of academic and career achievements, the Visible women, in contrast to Visible men, may not encounter as many negative experiences with the mainstream community as the Visible men. It is likely that when the Visible women do seek high

education and a competitive career, it may be experienced as a positive change in the gender role, hence a positive view of Canadian.

Another significant interaction effect on the proportion of Positive traits of Canadian was observed between Self-definition and Race (Figure 10B). The Caucasian Canadian and the Caucasian Ethnic-Canadian had a more positive view of Canadian than the Visible Canadian and the Visible Ethnic-Canadian. This pattern, however, was reversed for those defining self as Ethnics. The Visible Ethnics had a more positive view of Canadian ($M = .72$) than the Caucasian Ethnics ($M = .63$), $F (2, 218) = 3.32, p<.0379$.

Figure 10B. *Self-definition X Race Interaction on the Mean Proportion of Positive Traits of Canadian*
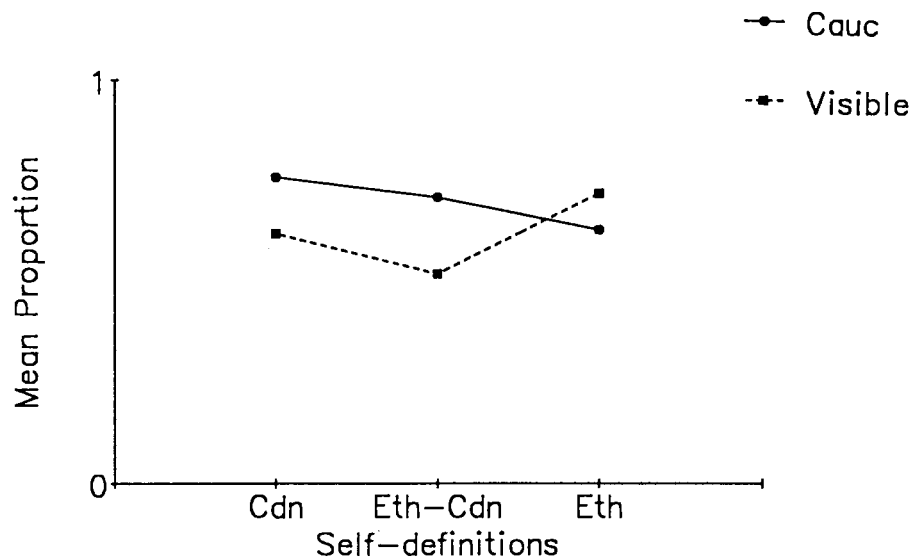
Why is the Visible Ethnic's view of Canadian more positive than that of the Caucasian Ethnic? There are two possible interpretations. One interpretation may be derived from Tajfel's (1978) analysis where he has outlined the patterns of acceptance and rejection of one's minority status. Within this frame of analysis, the Visible Ethnics' high

positive view of Canadian may be indicative of the rejection of their own status as visible, ethnic, and minority. Such an interpretation is along the line of the classic Clark & Clark (1939) experiment in which the Black children had indicated a preference for the White dolls. However, in the absence of data in the present study on how the Visible Ethnics view their own ethnic group compared to "Canadians", the nation group, this interpretation would be premature. It is likely that the Visible Ethnic may view their own ethnic group just as positively as they may view the nation group. As noted earlier, the nation group need not be an outgroup for the Visibles and hence, it need not be viewed unfavorably.

The other interpretation derived from Berry's (1991) analysis of the sociopsychological costs and benefits of multiculturalism may be more appropriate. Within this analysis, the Visible Ethnics' high positive view of Canadian may, in part, be attributed to the success of Canadian multiculturalism. As Berry contended, a view of Canada where cultural and ethnic diversity is respected promotes individual self-esteem and group harmony. Although the definition of self as an Ethnic may imply that Canadian may not be an ingroup for these individuals especially the Visible individuals, the view of Canadian is not necessarily negative. This lends a validation to the earlier postulate that the nation group, "Canadian", may not be an outgroup for the Visible Ethnics.

The Caucasian Ethnic's view of Canadian, however, was not as positive as that of the Visible Ethnic. This may indicate that while the cultural and ethnic diversity of the Visible population is promoted, the cultural diversity of the Caucasian Ethnic population may have been neglected, or at least perceived as such by the Caucasian Ethnics. Perhaps multicultural policies and activities need to be targeted equally at all racial groups.

The 3 X 2 X 2 ANOVA of the mean proportion of Negative and Neutral traits ascribed to "Canadian" indicated some significant main effects and interaction effects.

However, the differences were rather trivial (Appendix H-1, H-2, H-3) and hence are not included in the discussion.

A relevant variable assessing the image of Canadian pertained to the judgement of similarity between self and one's subjective image of Canadian. The participants were asked to indicate how similar they viewed themselves to their image of Canadian (1 = Not at all similar, 11 = Very similar). Overall, all participants viewed high similarity between self and Canadian; the mean Similarity rating was 8.5 and the SD was 2.4. Although no specific predictions were made about the Similarity ratings, it was anticipated that the Similarity ratings would parallel Self-definitions. Those defining self as Canadian would perceive high similarity, those defining self as Ethnic-Canadian would perceive a moderate level of similarity and those defining self as Ethnic would perceive a low level of similarity. The 3 X 2 X 2 (Self-definition X Race X Gender) ANOVA indicated that one's Self-definition did not relate systematically to how similar one viewed oneself to Canadian (Means and SD are provided in Appendix H-4). Instead, the variable of Race had some bearing on the Similarity ratings. Overall, both the Caucasians and the Visibles viewed a high similarity between self and their image of Canadian, but the Caucasians viewed themselves somewhat more similar (M = 8.9) to their image of Canadian than the Visibles (M = 7.8), F (1, 218) = 4.50, p<.0350. Although the difference was significant, it was rather small and hence, a meaningful conclusion is not warranted.

The interaction effect of Race X Gender on Similarity ratings was significant. As Figure 11 illustrates, among the women, Caucasians and Visibles had a fairly comparable mean ratings of Similarity, 8.1 and 8.2 respectively. However, among men, the mean Similarity rating was higher for the Caucasian (M = 9.5) than for the Visible (M = 7.3), F (1, 218) = 6.24, p<.0132.

Figure 11. *Race X Gender Interaction on the Similarity Ratings*
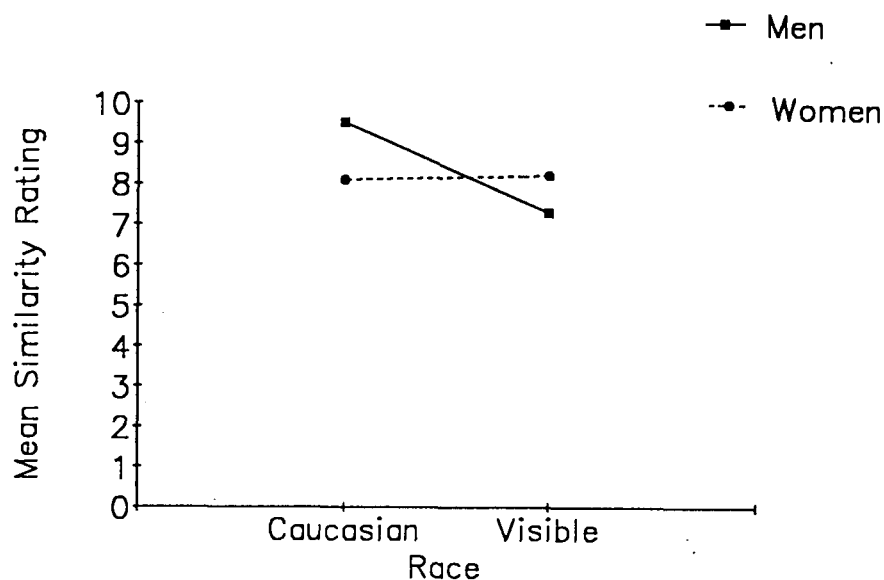
As Figure 11 illustrates, compared to all other groups, the Visible men perceived the lowest similarity between self and their subjective image of Canadian. This finding was consistent with the Visible men's view of Canadian. As it may be recalled, compared to all other groups, the mean proportion of Positive traits ascribed to Canadian by Visible men was the lowest (.49). Although the group differences in the ascription of Negative traits were significant but rather small, it would be relevant here to note that the highest proportion of Negative traits was ascribed by the Visible men (.15). These results imply that within the Canadian multicultural context, the Visible men are not faring as well as others including their women counterparts as far as their subjective image of the nation group is concerned. Their view of Canadian is comparatively negative and their identification with Canadian in terms of the Similarity rating is low. Why? It may be speculated that while there are multicultural programmes for all ethnic and visible minority groups, Visible women are

receiving additional attention from women's groups. For example, there are community projects such as "Women of Color" and "Women in View" in Vancouver but no comparable activities are targeted at Visible men. This is aptly captured in an informal comment made by a recently emigrated man from Ghana who, upon invited to attend a "Women of Color" show quipped, "What about men of color?"

The Visible men may also be facing more adaptation challenges, more pressures to excel at school and career than other groups as noted earlier. As noted earlier, men, more than women, among the Visibles are likely to face career competition and discrimination. This may, in part, explain the Visible men's lower level of identification and lower level of perceived similarity with Canadian.

CONCLUSION

As social beings, people continually make judgements about themselves and others. While making these judgements, they also seek to fulfill their need to perceive themselves as similar to others and yet be unique and distinctive. Indeed, a view of self as similar and yet unique is facilitated by the fact, as Kluckhohn and Murray (1953) aptly stated that, every individual, in some respects, is a. like every other individual, b. like some other individuals, and c. like no other individual (p. 53). However, what makes human judgements of similarity and uniqueness interesting for psychological research is that these judgements are subjective and liable to biases.

These seemingly contradictory needs, the need to be similar and the need to be unique, are fulfilled by perceiving similarity between self and others in the domain of opinions and by perceiving uniqueness in the domain of abilities and positive personality traits. It was proposed in the present research that the cognitive biases in the perception of opinion similarity and ability uniqueness would extend to judgements pertaining to self and the nation group, "Canadian". It was further proposed that individuals' level of identification with the nation group in terms of how they define themselves ("Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian", "Ethnic") would bear on these judgements. Those who define self as Canadian would perceive high opinion similarity between self and "Canadians" since "Canadians" is their ingroup. They would also perceive low uniqueness of their abilities because it would be self-enhancing to believe that "all Canadians (like myself) are just as good". In contrast, those who define self as Ethnic would perceive low similarity between self and the nation group since their identification is with their own ethnic group rather than with the nation group. Further, they would perceive high uniqueness of their abilities as such a perception would add to their self-esteem which remains vulnerable amidst the majority who label themselves as Canadians.

The variable of race ("Caucasian", "Visible") was proposed as a mediator of the judgements of similarity and uniqueness between self and the nation group. It was predicted that for a Caucasian individual who is a part of the racial majority, defining self in ethnic terms would warrant a validation of his or her ethnicity. As such, this individual is likely to perceive low opinion similarity and high uniqueness: "I am not like all other Canadians". In contrast, for a Visible individual who is a racial minority, defining self as Canadian would warrant emphasizing opinion similarity and deemphasising uniqueness: "I am just like all Canadians".

To summarize, individuals' ethno-cultural Self-definitions and Race were proposed as variables mediating perceptions of opinion agreement and ability uniqueness when comparing self with the nation group. The data did not support predictions pertaining to the variable of Self-definition, but it yielded some significant results in terms of the variable of Race. The Visibles perceived greater opinion similarity with the nation group than the Caucasians. Irrespective of how the Visibles defined themselves, whether as Canadians, or Ethnic-Canadians, or Ethnics, they perceived high affinity with the nation group in terms of opinion similarity. A major implication of this finding is that the nation group, "Canadian", is not an outgroup for the Visibles. Although the prototypic image of "Canadian" continues to be "white", such an image does not necessarily preclude the Visibles' identification with the nation group. Moreover, the Visibles' identification with the nation group does not imply a rejection of their own ethnicity considering they rated their ethno-cultural self-definitions high on importance scale. These findings indicate that the Visibles view their ethno-cultural domain as important in defining self, and yet at the same time identify themselves with the nation group.

It must be noted, however, that the category of Visibles was comprised of only two racial groups, Orientals (78.9%) and South-East Asians (21.1%). There were no Blacks or Native Indians in the study. Given that the large majority of the Visibles were Orientals, the

findings pertaining to the effect of Race need to be interpreted with caution. It would be pertinent to examine other racial groups as well in order to determine whether the status of Visible minority in general has a pervasive bearing on one's perception of similarity with the nation group, or a particular Visible group status has particular bearings on these perceptions. For example, is the Ethnic-Canadian Self-definition more prevalent among the Orientals than among the Blacks? If so, do these differences bear on the perceptions of similarity and uniqueness in comparing self with the nation group? An empirical study of these and related issues would add to our deeper understanding of the psychological dynamics of being a Visible minority in the multicultural context.

Findings pertaining to individuals' perceptions of opinion similarity and ability uniqueness when comparing self with the nation group highlighted the distinction between the two domains, ability and opinion. As discussed earlier, previous research had shown that perceptions regarding one's opinions are rooted more strongly in societal consensus than perceptions regarding one's abilities. However, the present study suggests that future research examining identification with the nation group in terms of social comparison processes, needs to focus on the domain of opinion. This domain seems to be more informative than the ability domain.

The lack of support for predictions pertaining to ethno-cultural Self-definitions warrants some discussion. One likely implication is that ethno-cultural Self-definitions hold little weight in the cognitive and motivational dynamics of locating self within a Canadian context. Whether individuals define themselves as Canadians, Ethnic-Canadians, or Ethnics, has little bearing on how they judge their opinions and abilities in comparison with the nation group, "Canadian".

An alternative implication is that Self-definition is a valuable research variable, but perhaps its measure was rather weak. Therefore, the measure may have failed to capture the

domain of ethno-cultural self-definition adequately. In preliminary investigations, various approaches to tap ethno-cultural self-definitions were explored. The approach that was selected, based on the findings of these preliminary explorations, may have been rather cursory. Indeed, the methodological difficulties in assessing ethno-cultural self-definitions have remained a major challenge to researchers. Although attempts to devise appropriate tools to examine one's subjective domain of ethnicity have been made (e.g., Phinney, 1989), by and large, the methodological issues have been contentious (e.g., Isajiw, 1974; Kralt, 1978; Smith, 1984). Let alone the subjective self-definition of one's ethnicity, even a relatively more objective inquiry pertaining to one's ethnic origin, for instance, has presented methodological difficulties. The history of the continual revision of the ethnic origin question in the Canada census is a testimony to these methodological difficulties (White, 1992; Boxhill, 1984). The direct question in the self-report measure used in the present study may not have adequately assessed the core of one's self in the ethno-cultural domain.

The methodological difficulty in tapping Self-definitions in the ethno-cultural domain also highlights the fluid nature of these Self-definitions. Labels such as "Canadian", "Ethnic-Canadian", or "Ethnic" are not necessarily mutually exclusive, although one of them may be more at the core of self than the others. Further, for some, "Canadian" may be a stronger loyalty in situations where it is pitted against ethnic loyalty. In daily affairs, however, where such a conflict does not usually arise, e.g., in choosing an ethnic show over a CBC documentary, or choosing chow mien for a meal over a steak, an individual may simply be "ethnic". The fluidity of these self-definitions seems to allow individuals to move smoothly between the three variations of Self-definition.

The same fluidity of Self-definition, however, also creates ambiguity and confusion: What does it mean to be a "Canadian"? What does it mean to be an "Ethnic-Canadian"? What does it mean to be an "Ethnic"? Are these simply free-floating Self-definitions? Or, do these definitions have an anchor within the self-structure providing a stable basis for a

sense of belonging to a specific group? In order to address this issue, an in-depth measure of one's ethnicity rather than a cursory question is warranted. Methods such as Marcia's (1966; 1980) identity interviews may be adapted to explore a person's sense of identification with groups to provide an appropriate assessment of one's ethnic identity. Research incorporating this approach would indicate whether the ethno-cultural self-definitions belong to the core or to the periphery of the person's selfhood. Further, in view of the present study's findings, this in-depth measure must not only include questions pertaining to one's ethnic self-definitions, but must also include questions pertaining to one's race: What does it mean to be a Visible amidst the Caucasian majority? What does it mean to be a Caucasian in the midst of an increasing racial diversity of one's social context? Having determined an individual's ethno-cultural identity using this approach, an individual's identification with the nation group may then be examined.

Another methodological consideration pertains to the frequency distribution of Self-definitions across Race (Table 12). It may be noted that the majority (56.8%) was concentrated in one cell, "Canadian-Caucasian". Although the norm of homoscedasticity was maintained, this skewed distribution may have weakened the predicted main effect of Self-definition and interaction effect of Self-definition and Race. Future research with an even distribution of Caucasians and Visibles within each of the three Self-definitions is therefore recommended, as it would render statistical rigor to the analyses and the interpretation of the data.

The confusion and ambiguity surrounding the issue of what it means to be Canadian was salient in many participants' responses to an open-ended question pertaining to their description of "Canadian". Although the overall view of "Canadian" was positive, a sense of frustration and cynicism surfaced in many responses. For example, one participant commented, "Yeah, why don't we just join the US and forget about this whole problem of Canadianness?" Another participant commented, "Let the Quebecers go. Who cares? Let

the B.C. amalgamate with the Washington state of US. I feel closer to Californians than to the guys from the East anyway". Many participants, however, seemed concerned about the issue, and offered suggestions to resolve the confusion about the Canadian identity. Some suggested that individuals should make a distinction between citizenship and culture. For example, one may view oneself as Canadian in terms of one's citizenship, but one may view oneself as "Chinese" in terms of one's culture. Indeed, for many individuals, being Canadian may simply mean having a citizenship document or a Canadian passport whereas their sense of pride and belonging is associated with their own ethnic culture. However, such an attitude evokes anger among many others. As one of the participants commented:

> "I am tired of people not accepting the label "Canadian" wholeheartedly. They are "Canadian" when it comes to enjoying the privileges of citizenship, but they remain very ethnic in every other way, not adapting to the mainstream lifestyle and screaming discrimination when not granted special treatment."

Another participant commented:

> "I am a Canadian. I am not Chinese. I am not Japanese. I am not Sikh. I am a citizen of this country. I was born and brought up here and so were my parents, grand parents, and great grand parents. I know of no culture other than my own, i.e., Canadian. I never consider myself anything other than Canadian. Does it mean I have no culture?

These comments and others reflect some of the complexities involved in defining one's self within the ethno-cultural domain and comparing self with others. Further, the present research indicates that, notwithstanding the ambiguity and confusion about one's ethnic and/or national identity, the issue of ethno-cultural self-definition is important to individuals as evidenced by participants' comments. Although the predicted systematic cognitive implications of ethno-cultural self-definitions were not observed in this study, the issue of ethno-cultural self-definitions seems to be vital in Canadian society. As such, future social psychological research pertaining to Canadian context must incorporate its relevance.

One issue that needs further research attention is the deeper examination of psychological processes that underlie the Visibles' identification with the nation group. Is it the success of multiculturalism that has mediated the Visibles' perception of high opinion similarity with the nation group? Or is it simply a reflection of the Visibles' compensatory effort to maintain self-esteem amidst the Caucasian majority as Tajfel (1978) contended? It was not within the scope of the present study to reach a conclusion on this issue. It is likely that both success of the multicultural policy as well as self-esteem maintenance strategies are responsible for the Visibles' high identification with the nation group. Future investigations need to be directed at delineating the psychological processes mediating individuals' identification with the nation group. Findings of such investigations may help direct government and social resources in appropriate directions. If the multicultural policy is on the track of success, it must be encouraged and promoted further. If it is the visible minorities' compensatory self-esteem maintenance strategies, then resources should be directed at eliminating the threat to visible minorities, real as well as perceived.

The Gender variable, which was not implicated in the planning of the research, emerged as significant. Gender had a systematic bearing on Perceived Uniqueness and on the views about "Canadian". Women, compared to men, perceived themselves closer to the nation group, "Canadian". Also, the Visible women had a more favorable view of "Canadian" than the Visible men. The two variables, Race and Gender dominated the results of the present study. Indeed, the present study suggests that one's race and gender are at the core of one's self. If this is the case, then it is important for future research to carefully investigate the psychological, social, and political implications of race and gender.

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APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM THE CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM ACT, JULY, 1988

Excerpts From The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, July, 1988

WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada provides that every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination and that everyone has the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, and association and guarantees those rights and freedom equally to male and female persons;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes the rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada and the official Language Act provide that English and French are the official languages of Canada and neither abrogates or derogates from any rights or privileges acquired or enjoyed with respect to any other language;

AND WHEREAS the Citizenship Act provides that all Canadians, whether by birth or by choice, enjoy equal status, are entitled to the same rights, powers and privileges and are subject to the same obligations, duties and liabilities;

AND WHEREAS the Canadian Human Rights Act provides that every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make the life that the individual is able and wishes to have, consistent with the duties and obligations of that individual as a member of society, and in order to secure that opportunity establishes the Canadian Human Rights Commission to redress any proscribed discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin or color;

AND WHEREAS Canada is a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which Convention recognizes that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination, and to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which Convention provides that persons belonging to ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or to use their own language;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, color and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada;

(1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to
(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledge the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resources in the shaping of Canada's future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic ad political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition of the diverse cultures of Canadian society an promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of these cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of language of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall:

(a) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions;

(b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

(c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of the Canadian society;

(d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(e) make use, as appropriate, of all the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and

(f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

APPENDIX B

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF CANADA

Table B-1

The Top Ten Source Countries of Immigration: Selected Years

1951	1968	1984	1991
Britain	Britain	Vietnam	Hong Kong
Germany	U.S.A.	Hong Kong	Poland
Italy	Italy	U.S.A.	Lebanon
Netherland	Germany	India	Philippines
Poland	Hong Kong	Britain	India
France	France	Poland	Vietnam
U.S A.	Austria	Philippines	Britain
Belgium	Greece	El Slavador	China
Yugoslavia	Portugal	Jamaica	Portugal
Denmark	Yugoslavia	China	U.S.A.

Source: Immigration Statistics: Employment and Immigration Canada

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Table B-2

Immigration Statistics: The Top 10 Source Countries of Immigration: Selected years

	1967		1980		1991	
Country	%	**Country**	%	**Country**	%
Britain	28.0	Vietnam	17.9	Hong Kong	14.2
Italy.	13.5	U.K.	12.7	India	6.4
U.S.A.	8.5	U.S.A.	6.9	Poland	5.7
Germany	5.3	India	5.9	U.K.	5.7
Greece	4.8	Hong Kong	4.4	Philippines	5.2
France	4.5	Laos	4.4	U.S.A.	4.1
Portugal	4.3	Philippines	4.2	Portugal	4.0
W. Indies	3.8	China	3.4	Vietnam	3.8
Hong Kong	2.6	Portugal	2.9	Jamaica	2.4
India	1.8	Cambodia	2.3	Iran	2.3
Total Immigrants	222,876		143,287		160,768	

Source: Immigration Statistics: Employment and Immigration Canada

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS

Table C-1

Prototype Image of Apple, Astronaut and Canadian

(N = 389)

"Other" = Mixed, Undecided

APPLE:		n	%
Q 1) Is this Apple on a tree	TREE	13	3.34
or in a grocery store?	GROCERY	9	2.31
	OTHER	364	93.57
Q 2) Does this APPLE have	YES	89	22.84
a leaf (or leaves)?	NO	300	77.72
	OTHER	0	0
Q 3) Is this APPLE **RED?**	YES	297	76.35
	NO	87	22.36
	OTHER	5	1.28

ASTRONAUT			
Q 4) Is this ASTRONAUT wearing	YES	371	95.37
a space suite?	NO	13	3.34
	OTHER	5	1.28
Q 5) Is this ASTRONAUT floating	YES	30	7.71
inside a space shuttle?	NO	358	92.03
	OTHER	1	.26
Q 6) Is this ASTRONAUT a **MALE**?	YES	321	82.52
	NO	25	6.43
	OTHER	43	11.05

CANADIAN			
Q 7) Is this person wearing glasses	YES	29	7.45
	NO	358	92.03
	OTHER	2	.51
Q 8) Is this person smiling?	YES	213	54.75
	NO	168	43.19
	OTHER	8	2.08
Q 9) Is this person a female?	YES	67	17.22
	NO	313	80.46
	OTHER	9	2.31
Q 10) Is this person **CAUCASIAN**	YES	324	83.29
i.e., WHITE?	NO	56	14.39
	OTHER	9	2.31

Table C-2

Distribution of Ethno-cultural self-defintions (4 categories) and Descent (4 categoreis)

		DEFINITIONS			
	N= 59	*Cdn* n = 41	*Eth-Cdn* n = 20	*Eth* n = 9	*MIX* n = 1
	European n=33	21	7	4	1
DESCENT	*Non-European* n=13	2	8	3	0
	Canadian n=10	10	0	0	0
	MIX n= 3	1	1	1	0

Table C-3

Distribution of Self-definitions (4 categories) and Race (5 categories)

		DEFINITION			
	N=71	CANADIAN n = 41	ETH-CANADIAN n = 20	ETHNIC n = 9	MIX n = 1
	CAUCASIAN n=48	35	8	5	0
	ORIENTAL n=12	3	7	2	0
RACE	*BLACK* n=1	1	0	0	0
	S.E. ASIAN n=4	0	4	0	0
	MIX n=4	1	0	2	1

Table C-4

Distribution of Self-defintions (4 categories) and Race (2 categories)

		DEFINITION			
		CANADIAN n = 41 58%	ETH-CANADIAN n = 20 29%	ETHNIC n = 9 13%	MIX n = 1 1%
	CAUCASIAN n=48	35 (85%) (73%)	8 (40%) (17%)	5 (55%) (10%)	0
RACE	*VISIBLE* n=21	5 (12%) (24%)	11 (55%) (52%)	4 (44%) (19%)	1
	Other +Missing n= 2				

Table C-5

Self-definitions and Importance rating

(1 = Very Important, 11 = Not Important at all)

S#	Self-definition	Rating	S#	Self-Definition	Rating
1	Canadian	7	38	German-Norwegian	3
2	Canadian	10	39	Canadian	3
3	Australian-Canadian	2	40	Canadian	9
4	Portuguese-Canadian	2	41	Canadian	6
5	Anglo-Indian	6	42	English	1
6	Greek-Canadian	5	43	Scottish	4
7	Canadian	6	44	Canadian	10
8	Canadian	3	45	Canadian	1
9	English-Canadian	5	46	Canadian	3
10	Sikh	1	47	East-Indian	6
11	Canadian	4	48	Canadian	8
12	European	9	49	Canadian	3
13	Canadian	7	50	Canadian	10
14	Metis-icelandic	1	51	South-African	3
15	Korean-Canadian	2	52	Canadian	5
16	Chinese-Canadian	1	53	Jewish	5
17	Canadian	4	54	European/native Indian	10
18	Chinese-Canadian	1	55	Canadian	3
19	Chinese-Canadian	3.5	56	French-American	11
20	Chinese-Canadian	3	57	Anglo-Canadian	10
21	Indo-Canadian	6	58	Canadian	4
22	Canadian	3	59	English	5
23	Chinese	1	60	Chinese-Norwegian	4
24	British-Canadian	8	61	Canadian	8
25	East-Indian	6	62	Canadian	8
26	Canadian	3	63	Euro-Canadian	11
27	Anglo-Canadian	8	64	English-Canadian	7
28	Canadian	6	65	Canadian	1
29	Indian-Canadian	6	66	Canadian	2
30	Scottish	5	67	English-Canadian	3
31	Canadian	9	68	Anglo-Canadian`	9
32	Canadian	11	69	Canadian	1
33	Canadian	11	70	Canadian	9
34	Canadian	5	71	Swiss-Canadian	10
35	Taiwanese	9	72	Chinese	1
36	English-Canadian	6	73	Canadian	8
37	Danish	5	74	Chinese-Canadian	6

(Continued on Next Page)

Table C-5 (continue)

S#	Self-definition	Rating	S#	Self-Definition	Rating
75	Canadian	6	126	Chinese-Canadian	3
76	Chinese-Canadian	4	127	Dutch-Canadian	8
77	Chinese-Canadian	7	128	Dutch-Canadian	11
78	Filipino-Canadian	7	129	East Indian	2
79	Canadian	5	130	Chinese-Canadian	11
80	Chinese-Canadian	11	131	Canadian	9
81	American-Canadian	3	132	European-Canadian	10
82	East Indian	4	133	Welsh-German-Canadian	9
83	Scottish-Canadian	8	134	Anglo-Canadian	9
84	Italian	3	135	Dutch-Canadian	5
85	Chinese-Canadian	4	136	Canadian-English	4
86	Russian-Canadian	7	137	Canadian	11
87	Canadian	3	138	Vietnamese-Canadian	10
88	Canadian	11	139	European-Canadian	11
89	Euro-Asian	4	140	Canadian	11
90	Canadian	11	141	English-Canadian	9
91	Canadian	4	142	British-Canadian	3
92	Canadian	9	143	Chinese	8
93	N.American	11	144	Chinese	6
94	Canadian	8	145	English-Canadian	9
95	British-Canadian	8	146	Chinese-Canadian	8
96	East Indian	2	147	Afro-European	2
97	Chinese	7	148	Native-Canadian	3
98	Canadian	9	149	French-Canadian	10
99	Canadian	11	150	Irish-Spanish-Cdn	5
100	Canadian	2	151	Dutch-Canadian	5
101	Canadian	6	152	Scottish	9
102	Scandinavian-Canadian	4	153	Canadian	8
103	European-Canadian	3	154	Canadian	10
104	Mexican	7	155	Irish-Canadian	9
105	English-Canadian	6	156	Jewish (European)	3
106	Canadian	9	157	Filipino-Canadian	7
107	Ukrainian-Canadian	6	158	Scottish-Canadian	3
108	Canadian	6	159	French-Canadian	5
109	East Indian	6	160	Croatian	3
110	Canadian	9	161	Scottish-Canadian	11
111	Canadian	10	162	European-Canadian	5
112	Bri-Amer-Canadian	11	163	Arab	6
113	Canadian	11	164	Euro-Canadian	10
114	Canadian	6	165	Italian-Canadian	7
115	Canadian	8	166	English-Canadian	7
116	Chinese	9	167	Canadian	3
117	Canadian	10	168	British-Canadian	2
118	Chinese-Canadian	6	169	Chinese-Canadian	8
119	Native-Canadian	5	170	Chinese-Canadian	4
120	East-Indian Canadian	1	171	Canadian	11
121	Chinese-Canadian	11	172	Canadian	4
122	Canadian	11	173	South American	10
123	Canadian	11	174	European-Canadian	11
124	Canadian	11			
125	Chinese-Canadian	6			

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE MAIN STUDY

STUDY OF SELF AND SOCIAL ISSUES

The aim of this study is to investigate how people think about themselves, about others, and about various social issues. The study is divided into five parts. Instructions for responding to each part are provided. There are no right or wrong answers. Please respond with your first thoughts and give your honest responses. Try not to mull over any item.

You must complete each part in the order it appears. This questionnaire has 14 pages. <u>DO NOT FLIP THROUGH THE PAGES</u>, but complete your task on each page before turning on to the next page.

This is an anonymous study. Your responses will remain confidential. You are requested not to write your name anywhere on the Questionnaire. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw anytime you wish.

You may start now ----->

PART I

Take a moment to think about yourself. Of all the talents and abilities you possess, what is your best and most important talent or ability? In other words, what is the one thing you do best and are most proud of? State your answer below. Be specific.

I am best at

Now estimate the <u>% of Canadians</u> who are very good at the ability you have stated.

_____ %

In the following, six abilities are listed. Indicate your level of each of these abilities by circling the appropriate number on the rating scale. Then indicate how many **% of Canadians would be like you,** in that they share the same level of this ability as yours. Complete each item before moving on to the next.

1) Making other people feel comfortable

```
      1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9   10   11
Very                                                    Very
Poor                                                    Good
```
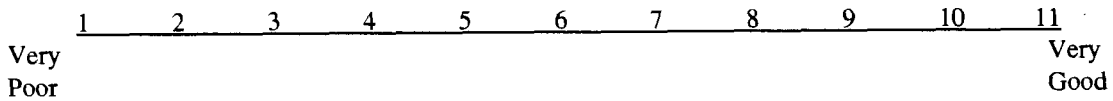
_____ % of Canadians

2) Being sensitive to the feelings of other people

```
      1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9   10   11
Very                                                    Very
Poor                                                    Good
```
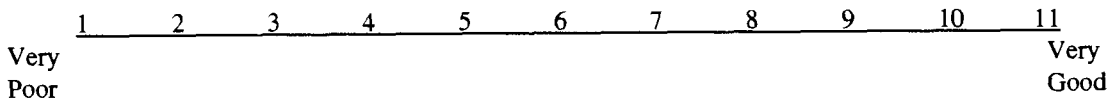
_____ % of Canadians

3) Being a good friend

```
      1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9   10   11
Very                                                    Very
Poor                                                    Good
```
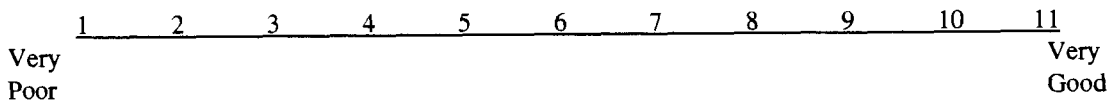
_____ % of Canadians

4) Being a good listener

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
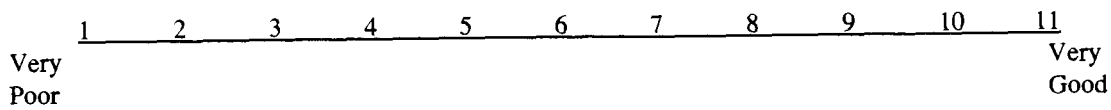
Very
Poor

Very
Good

_____ % of Canadians

5) Being kind and caring

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
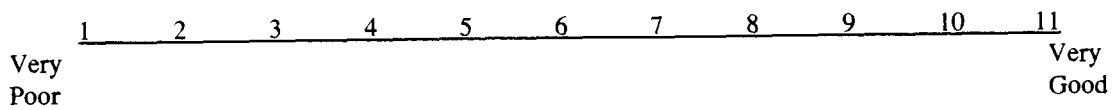
Very
Poor

Very
Good

_____ % of Canadians

6) Being helpful

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
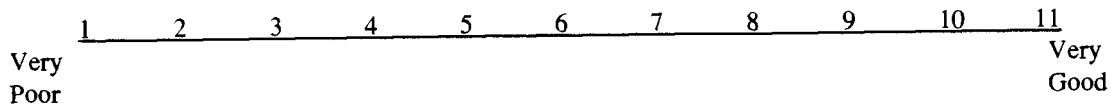
Very
Poor

Very
Good

_____ % of Canadians

PART II

Take a moment once again to think about yourself. Of all the opinions you have on various issues, what is the one opinion you have that is very important to you and that you feel very strongly about? In the space below, state your opinion in a logical sentence. The opinion issue can be related to school, government, society, moral values etc. Be specific.

I think that

Now, estimate the <u>% of Canadians</u> who would agree with your opinion.

_____ %

The following are six opinion issues. Read each statement carefully and indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statement by circling appropriately. Then indicate your estimation of the **% of Canadians who would give the same response as you did.** You must complete each item before moving onto the next.

1)   **If Quebec separates, Canada will suffer**

      Agree / Disagree

      _____ % of Canadians

2)   **Our welfare system encourages people to depend on the government rather than take responsibility for their own misfortunes.**

      Agree / Disagree

      _____ % of Canadians

3)   **God exists and is a part of everyone's life.**

      Agree / Disagree

      _____ % of Canadians

4) **Canada should never have sent its military forces to the Gulf war.**

Agree / Disagree

_____ % of Canadians

5) **An easy access to abortion encourages an irresponsible attitude towards pregnancy.**

Agree / Disagree

_____ % of Canadians

6) **Some people have unusual mental powers such as foreseeing future events.**

Agree / Disagree

_____ % of Canadians

PART III

When asked to describe themselves, people use a variety of labels. One important label seems to be related to one's ancestral or ethnic roots. Some people use a combined label such as "Japanese-Canadian" or "Swiss-Canadian", whereas some people use their original ethnic label such as "German" or "Punjabi", and some describe themselves as "Canadian".

A)   If you had to choose <u>only one</u> label to describe your ancestral or ethnic root, which label would you consider to be the **most appropriate description of yourself?**

I am _____

B)   How important is this label to you for defining who you are?
(Please circle the appropriate number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

NOT   VERY
IMPORTANT   IMPORTANT

PART IV

A) Please indicate your responses to the following

      Your Gender: Male/ Female

      Your Age: _____

      Your first language _____

      Your second language (if any) _____

      Length of Residence in Canada _____ years

B) Which of the following would describe you <u>most appropriately</u>? Choose only one and indicate your answer by circling

      a) Caucasian

      b) Oriental

      c) Black

      d) South East Asian (ancestry in Indian subcontinent)

      e) Other (Specify) _____

PART V

How would you describe a Canadian? State your answer in point form giving a list of

characteristics. You may list as many characteristics as you wish.

___ 1)

___ 2)

___ 3)

___ 4)

___ 5)

___ 6)

___ 7)

___ 8)

___ 9)

___ 10)

___

___

___

___

Now indicate how similar you are to this image of a Canadian that you just described. (Cirlce a number appropriately on the rating scale)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

NOT
SIMILAR

VERY
SIMILAR

Now go back to your list of characteristics that you provided to describe a Canadian (page 12) and indicate for <u>each of the characteristic</u> if it is **positive**; (i.e., desirable/good), or **negative**; (i.e., undesirable/bad), or **neutral** (i.e., neither good nor bad). Indicate your responses in the space provided to the left of the listed numbers by marking "**+**" if you consider it a positive characteristic, "**-**" if you consider it a negative characteristic and "**0**" if you consider it a neutral characteristic.

* * * * * THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION * * * * *

APPENDIX E

PERCEIVED AGREEMENT ON SIX LISTED OPINION ISSUES

Table E-1

Participants' Agreement and Disagreement on listed Opinion Issues

ISSUE	Agree	Disagree	Missing
1) If Quebec separates, Canada will suffer.	167 65.2%	89 34.8%	0 0%
2) Our welfare system encourages people to depend on the government rather than take responsibility for their own misfortunes.	155 60.5%	99 38.7%	2 .78%
3) God exists and is a part of everyone's life.	124 48.4%	128 50.0%	4 1.6%
4) Canada should never have sent its military to the Gulf war.	93 36.3%	162 63.3%	1 .39%
5) An easy access to abortion encourages an irresponsible attitude towards pregnancy.	80 31.2%	174 68.0%	2 .78%
6) Some people have unusual mental powers such as foreseeing future events.	164 64.1%	91 35.5%	1 .39%

Table E-2

Means and SD for Estimated percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 1: "If Quebec separates, Canada will suffer"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	61.6	56.7	64.4	58.8	60.0	63.2
	SD	14.5	11.5	12.6	14.7	16.1	17.9
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	55.0	72.0	66.1	68.2	65.1	60.6
	SD	22.9	24.2	14.6	5.6	17.4	13.8
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table E-3

Means and SD for Estimated percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 2: "Our welfare system encourages people to depend on the government rather than take responsibility for their own misfortunes."

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUCN	Mean	56.5	56.7	45.6	53.8	59.1	56.5
	SD	19.8	25.2	17.4	17.0	27.8	20.4
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	70.0	81.0	49.1	66.6	57.4	57.2
	SD	0.0	16.1	19.1	17.4	16.2	16.8
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	$p<.0206$	Definition X Race	NS
Race	$p<.0232$	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table E-4

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 3: "God exists and is a part of our everyone's life"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	52.5	41.7	52.2	49.8	52.3	56.5
	SD	22.2	29.3	31.8	19.1	22.2	20.4
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	68.3	50.0	59.2	60.0	51.9	63.9
	SD	16.1	34.9	20.8	20.2	22.2	24.5
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table E-5

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 4: "Canada should never have sent its military forces to the gulf war"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	58.7	51.7	61.7	54.7	54.5	52.6
	SD	15.5	7.6	19.0	17.1	13.7	18.1
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	55.0	66.2	54.2	58.6	52.6	50.6
	SD	13.2	21.4	25.2	14.6	18.1	17.8
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table E-6

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 5: "An easy access to abortion encourages an irresponsible attitude towards pregnancy."

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	53.6	53.3	61.7	57.9	56.4	55.0
	SD	12.9	11.5	18.5	14.7	15.0	16.3
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	60.0	63.7	55.7	63.1	55.8	62.8
	SD	10.0	11.1	16.5	13.7	14.2	15.6
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table E-7

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Candians with Similar Opinion

Issue 6: "Some people have unusual mental powers such as foreseeing future events."

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	55.8	35.0	56.6	45.2	48.2	39.3
	SD	28.6	39.0	22.3	20.2	24.3	21.4
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	60.7	60.0	59.2	40.3	46.3	43.9
	SD	50.8	35.6	25.7	21.8	18.6	27.1
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0312$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

APPENDIX F

PERCEIVED UNIQUENESS: MEANS AND SD FOR ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF SIMILAR CANADIANS ON THE SIX LISTED ABILITIES

Table F-1

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self

Ability 1: "Making other people feel comfortable"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	44.5	34.3	34.9	52.9	62.7	60.4
	SD	24.7	22.9	27.2	21.4	18.5	15.1
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	35.0	43.8	45.8	62.8	51.4	56.1
	SD	27.8	36.4	20.4	20.8	24.4	23.6
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race		NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender		NS
Gender	$p<.0001$	Race X Gender		NS
		Definition X Race X Gender		NS

Table F-2

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self:

Ability 2: "Being sensitive to the feelings of other people"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	45.6	28.3	29.0	47.1	52.3	59.0
	SD	24.2	17.6	21.0	21.5	16.0	16.9
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	45.0	38.8	37.7	60.0	41.3	48.3
	SD	13.2	27.8	16.7	13.2	23.1	19.0
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition x Race		NS
Race	NS	Definition x Gender		NS
Gender	$p<.0016$	Race x Gender		NS
		Definition x Race x Gender		NS

Table F-3

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self

<u>Ability 3</u>: "Being a good friend"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	50.7	55.0	40.6	59.8	60.3	62.7
	SD	24.2	26.0	33.0	21.3	16.8	20.4
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	70.0	47.5	52.7	72.3	60.1	63.3
	SD	17.3	39.3	21.6	14.3	19.6	24.6
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition x Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0265$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table F-4

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self

<u>Ability 4</u>: "Being a good listener"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	44.4	40.0	35.0	47.6	53.8	55.2
	SD	22.6	21.8	21.8	21.8	27.8	23.8
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	28.3	30.0	42.3	60.0	45.2	52.2
	SD	7.6	36.7	25.0	16.6	22.8	20.9
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0011$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table F-5

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self

Ability 5: "Being kind and caring"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	47.0	38.3	37.2	56.3	69.9	62.5
	SD	21.8	20.2	21.8	20.9	20.3	21.6
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	55.0	47.5	49.9	72.2	56.9	56.1
	SD	13.2	43.5	24.2	13.0	21.7	23.4
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0003$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table F-6

Means and SD for Estimated Percentage of Canadians with Similar Level of Ability as Self

Ability 6:"Being helpful"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	48.2	45.0	43.9	56.6	61.8	62.3
	SD	24.3	26.0	26.1	19.3	20.0	20.0
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	63.3	43.8	45.9	65.6	51.1	55.0
	SD	11.5	36.4	21.2	17.4	19.6	19.2
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0185$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

APPENDIX G

MEANS AND SD FOR SELF-RATINGS ON SIX LISTED ABILITIES

Table G-1

Means and SD for Self-rating

<u>Ability 1</u>: "Making other people feel comfortable"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**	**Cdn**	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**
CAUC	Mean	8.2	10.0	7.8	8.5	8.1	9.0
	SD	1.8	1.0	3.7	1.5	1.7	1.3
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	7.3	8.5	8.2	8.7	8.0	9.0
	SD	3.1	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	$p<.0315$
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table G-2

Means and SD for Self-rating

<u>Ability 2</u>: "Being sensitive to the needs of others"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**	**Cdn**	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**
CAUC	Mean	8.4	8.7	8.1	8.9	8.4	8.9
	SD	1.6	2.1	2.7	1.7	2.0	1.5
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	8.0	6.2	8.3	9.4	9.8	8.8
	SD	2.6	2.9	1.4	1.4	.6	1.7
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0026$	Race X Gender	$p<.0373$
		Definition X Race X Gender	$p<.0585$

Table G-3

Means and SD for Self-rating

<u>Ability 3</u>: "Being a good friend"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	9.4	10.0	9.4	9.4	8.1	9.0
	SD	1.1	1.0	2.9	1.3	1.9	1.6
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	9.3	8.8	9.6	10.2	9.3	9.9
	SD	2.9	1.9	1.1	.7	1.1	.9
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	$p<.0167$
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table G-4

Means and SD for Self-rating

<u>Ability 4</u>: "Being a good listener"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	8.9	8.3	8.4	9.1	9.3	9.1
	SD	1.3	2.5	2.7	1.6	1.7	1.3
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	10.7	7.5	9.0	9.7	9.4	10.3
	SD	.6	2.9	2.1	1.3	2.1	.7
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	$p<.0552$	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table G-5

Means and SD for Self-rating

Ability 5: "Being kind and caring"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**	**Cdn**	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**
CAUC	Mean	8.8	7.3	9.4	8.8	8.7	8.7
	SD	1.4	2.1	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.6
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	9.0	8.8	8.3	9.7	8.2	9.6
	SD	1.0	2.6	1.7	.7	1.1	1.2
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race		NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender		NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender		NS
		Definition X Race X Gender		NS

Table G-6

Means and SD for Self-rating

Ability 6: "Being helpful"

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**	**Cdn**	**Eth-Cdn**	**Eth**
CAUC	Mean	8.6	9.0	8.7	8.5	8.4	8.4
	SD	1.4	2.0	1.9	1.4	1.6	1.8
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	9.7	9.8	8.0	9.0	8.2	8.9
	SD	.6	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.6
	n	3	4	9	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race		NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender		NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender		NS
		Definition X Race X Gender		NS

APPENDIX H

SUBJECTIVE IMAGE OF "CANADIAN"

Table H-1

Means and SD for the Proportion of Positive Traits of Canadian

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	.76	.80	.70	.76	.61	.55
	SD	.24	.24	.40	.25	.36	.28
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	.42	.42	.62	.81	.63	.81
	SD	.32	.33	.37	.21	.19	.21
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	$p<.0023$
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table H-2

Means and SD for the Proportion of Negative Traits of Canadian

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	.07	.04	.03	.07	.13	.23
	SD	.15	.08	.06	.14	.17	.24
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	.00	.25	.21	.09	.12	.09
	SD	.00	.29	.25	.13	.17	.17
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	$p<.0617$	Definition X Race	NS
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	$p<.0207$
		Definition X Race X Gender	$p<.0259$

Table H-3

Means and SD for the Proportion of Neutral Traits of Canadian

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	.18	.21	.30	.16	.19	.22
	SD	.24	.18	.42	.22	.31	.18
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	.39	.33	.07	.10	.24	.10
	SD	.25	.45	.09	.18	.21	.11
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	$p<.0289$
Race	NS	Definition X Gender	NS
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS

Table H-4

Means and SD for the Rating of Similarity between Self and the Subjective Image of

Canadian

(1 = Not Similar, 11 = Very Similar)

		MALE			FEMALE		
		Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth	Cdn	Eth-Cdn	Eth
CAUC	Mean	8.6	10.3	9.6	9.1	8.1	6.8
	SD	2.0	.6	1.2	2.1	2.7	3.1
	n	36	3	9	94	11	24
VISB	Mean	6.7	8.0	7.2	8.6	8.2	7.8
	SD	4.9	1.8	2.9	1.6	1.7	3.0
	n	3	4	12	9	16	9

Definition	NS	Definition X Race	NS
Race	$p<.035$	Definition X Gender	$p<.0132$
Gender	NS	Race X Gender	NS
		Definition X Race X Gender	NS