

## **“To See Ourselves as Others See Us”: On the Implications of Reflected Appraisals for Ethnic Identity and Discrimination**

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*This study examined how immigrants’ feelings of ethnic identity align with their perceptions of how other people see them, and how these reflected appraisals from others contribute to immigrants’ experience of discrimination. First-generation (N = 94) and second-generation (N = 140) Chinese Canadians completed a questionnaire which assessed their ethnic identity and the reflected appraisals of members from Chinese and Anglo Canadian communities across four situational domains (family, friends, university, community). The results showed that both generations generally felt that they were regarded by both Chinese and Anglo Canadians as more Chinese than they felt themselves but indicated few discrepancies between self- and reflected appraisals of Canadian identity. Reflected appraisals were associated with the experience of personal discrimination only in the second-generation group. The discussion emphasizes the importance of a situational perspective on ethnic identity and underscores important differences between generational groups in their experience of identity and discrimination.*

Emigrating from one’s home country and entering a new, unfamiliar one, entails adapting in many ways, including changing patterns of identification

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Financial support for this project was provided by grants to the first two authors from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

with different ethnic reference groups. The reconfiguration of ethnic identity, however, is generally not a straightforward choice that individuals make once they arrive in new surroundings. Immigrants may be constrained by circumstances and compelled by other people to adopt particular roles in different situations, and these enactments may alter the way they think about themselves. The purpose of this study is to examine the ethnic identity of Chinese immigrants to Canada and to consider how others' appraisals of their identity as Chinese and Canadian are linked to their personal experience of discrimination. We assume that many people can be implicated in this process: in addition to members of the receiving society, family members and other members of the heritage ethnic community can contribute to how people define themselves. Moreover, we will consider the possibility that foreign-born immigrants and the offspring of immigrants (i.e., first-generation [G1] and second-generation [G2] Chinese Canadians), respectively, differ in their identity profiles, and that they may be differentially affected by the appraisals of family, in-group, and out-group members.

### **Ethnic Identity: A Situated Perspective**

Ethnic identity has been defined in numerous ways (see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004, for an overview of definitions of collective identity), but a common element in many of these definitions concerns the subjective experience of belonging to one or more ethnic groups (cf. Barth, 1969). Like many other acculturation and ethnic minority theorists (e.g., Berry, 1997), we maintain that at least two ethnic reference groups contribute to ethnic self-definition, including the ethnic group of origin and any other relevant ethnic group, which, in the case of immigrants, is often the majority ethnic group in the receiving society. This bidimensional perspective on identity allows for the possibility that within any group of immigrants, some potentially identify relatively more strongly with one or the other ethnic group, others may identify to the same degree with both groups, and still others may identify with neither group at all.

Over the years, considerable discussion has been directed toward understanding ethnic identity as a situationally variable experience, linked to the dynamics of the social context (Christian, Gadfield, Giles, & Taylor, 1976; Okamura, 1981; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Rosenthal, Whittle, & Bell, 1989). This interest comes from a variety of theoretical positions, including social identity and related theories (Ellemers, van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), symbolic interactionist theories (e.g., Burke, 2004), and sociocognitive perspectives on culture that highlight the propensity of bicultural people to switch cognitive frames in response to cultural primes (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). In a related vein, Yip and her colleagues have demonstrated through diary and experience-sampling studies that heritage ethnic identity becomes more salient

when the ethnic composition of the situation favors the heritage group, when family members are present, and when the heritage language is used (Yip, 2005; Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Our own perspective on situated ethnic identity derives from social psychological and sociolinguistic theories of second-language learning and bilingualism, theories of intercultural communication, and conceptions of acculturation developed by cross-cultural psychologists (Clément, 1980; Clément & Noels, 1992; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Noels, Clément, & Gaudet, 2004). Similar to many other approaches to the self (e.g., Burke, 1991; Deaux, 2006; Deaux & Perkins, 2001), our situated identity approach represents identity as a composite of multiple potential self-representations and self-categorizations. Consistent with the premises of self-presentation and impression management perspectives on the self (Schlenker, 1985), identity is a product of negotiations between individuals in a given situation. Individuals have many goals in any social interaction and act in the manner that will best support the identity image that will help attain those goals. Whether or not an identity is achieved depends, at least partially, upon the acceptability of that image to the interactants, such that the self is “formed and maintained through actual or imagined interpersonal agreement about what the self is like” (Schlenker & Weigold, 1989, p. 245).

This negotiation process takes place in specific social interactions. Following the work of researchers interested in the social nature of communicative behavior (e.g., Brown & Fraser, 1979; Hymes, 1972), we define situations primarily in terms of the setting, the relationship between interlocutors, and the purpose of the interaction (i.e., the activity or topic of conversation engaged in). Moreover, although many situational domains can be normatively identified, they generally vary in their level of intimacy (Côté & Clément, 1994; Noels, Saumure, Clément, & MacIntyre, 2009). An important implication of this variation is that individuals are likely to encounter fewer members of other ethnic groups in relatively private domains (e.g., with family and friends) than in more public domains (e.g., work and school). As a result of different opportunities for intercultural interaction, acculturative pressures on identity will be less evident in private than in public domains (cf. Edwards, 1985).

The impact of the immediate social situation on feelings of ethnic identity may be moderated by other aspects of the context (Clément & Noels, 1992; Noels & Clément, 1996), one of which, in the case of immigration, is the generational status of the group considered. There is some indication that G1 and G2 individuals report different patterns of identification, usually suggesting that while G1 individuals retain stronger ties with their heritage culture, G2 individuals report that they feel they belong to both cultural groups (e.g., Lay & Verkuyten, 1999). Such studies, however, have only looked at general measures of ethnic identity, and to the best of our knowledge, there has been less effort to understand how

these two generational groups differ in patterns of identification across situations. In line with Noels et al. (2009) and Clément, Singh, and Gaudet (2006), it might be expected that foreign-born immigrants, who likely have less contact with members of the receiving society overall and particularly in situations involving family and friends, would evidence stronger identification with their heritage group and weaker identification with the mainstream group, particularly in these more intimate settings. The offspring of immigrants, who were born and raised in Canadian society, may have more friends and possibly family members from outside the heritage community. Corresponding with these differences in interaction patterns, although identification with the heritage culture may be stronger than identification with the mainstream culture (particularly in the more intimate domains), the difference between identities should be attenuated relative to the G1 group.

### *An Empirical Analysis of Situational Variations in Identity*

*Method.* To examine this issue, we asked 234 Chinese Canadian students enrolled in introductory psychology courses at a western Canadian university to complete a questionnaire for course credit. They ranged in age from 17 to 24 years, with a mean age of 18.83 years ( $SD = 1.36$ ). Forty percent ( $n = 94$ ) were G1 and 60% ( $n = 140$ ) were G2 Canadians, and approximately 58% of each group was female. Most (80%) of the G1 group were born in China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Taiwan, and the rest were born in other East Asian nations, including Malaysia, South Korea, and Vietnam. The length of time lived in Canada ranged from 1 to 20 years ( $M = 11.36$ ,  $SD = 4.92$ ). Approximately 80% ( $n = 89$ ) of the G1 participants spoke a variant of Chinese as their native language, 9.6% ( $n = 9$ ) spoke both Chinese and English as native languages, and the remainder spoke Chinese and another Asian language. All of the G2 participants were born in Canada and had at least one parent with Chinese ancestry who was born outside Canada, and 51% ( $n = 72$ ) spoke a variant of Chinese as their native language, 24.3% ( $n = 34$ ) spoke both Chinese and English as their native languages, and the rest spoke English as their native language.

We focused our research on Chinese Canadians because, after British- and French-origin Canadians, they comprise the largest ethnolinguistic group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2010), and of this population of more than a million, 25% were born in Canada (Chui, Tran, & Flanders, 2005). The first major wave of Chinese migration to Canada began in the latter part of the 1800s and regular migration continues to the present day, such that the community comprises both newcomers and families who have been in Canada for multiple generations. Because Chinese Canadian communities are well established in many Canadian cities, many Chinese Canadians have the opportunity to pursue much of their daily lives in Chinese or in English. Moreover, although Chinese Canadians are

perceived by other Canadians in a positive light relative to many other ethnic minority groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995), they have still been the victims of much discrimination, both historically and currently (Li, 1998). Given their large numbers and ethnolinguistic status in Canada, it would seem reasonable to think that Chinese Canadians would evidence a diversity of acculturative experiences relating to ethnic identity.

We asked these students to complete the Situated Ethnic Identity Scale (SEIS; Noels et al., 2009), which includes 16 hypothetical scenarios related to social interactions in community, university, friend, and family situational domains. An example scenario from the university domain is, "I am at university, talking with a teaching assistant about a course assignment. I feel. . ." Participants indicated the degree to which they identified with each ethnic group on two separate 7-point scales (from 1 = *not at all Canadian/Chinese* to 7 = *very strongly Canadian/Chinese*). Mean scores were calculated separately for Chinese and Canadian identity across each of the four situational domains.

*Results and discussion.* A  $2 \times 4 \times 2$  mixed model ANOVA was computed, with identity (Chinese vs. Canadian) and situational domain (family vs. friends vs. school vs. community) as within-subjects factors and generational status (G1 vs. G2) as a between-subjects factor. The results yielded a significant main effect for situational domain,  $F(1,696) 65.99, p < .001, \eta^2 = .22$ , and significant interaction effects for identity  $\times$  domain,  $F(3,696) = 170.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .42$ , and identity  $\times$  situational domain  $\times$  generational status,  $F(3,696) = 7.31, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$ . No other effects were significant. The three-way interaction indicated that Canadian and Chinese identities varied depending upon the situation, in different ways across the two generations (see Figure 1). Although both generations felt more Chinese than Canadian in the family situation, the G2 group felt more Canadian in this situation than the G1 group. In the friendship domain, both groups felt their Chinese identity was weaker and Canadian identity was stronger than in the family situation. The groups differed, however in that the G1 group felt their two identities were relatively equivalent, but the G2 group felt their Canadian identity was stronger than their Chinese identity. In the more public contexts of the university and the community, both groups felt their Canadian identity was stronger than their Chinese identity, and generally felt their Chinese identity was weakest in these domains.

These findings are consistent with other research that has shown that, in everyday situations, people generally adopt identities consistent with those of others around them (e.g., Clément et al., 2001; Noels et al., 2004; Rosenthal et al., 1989; Yip, 2005; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Moreover, consistent with the expectation that the two groups would have different experiences of contact with members of

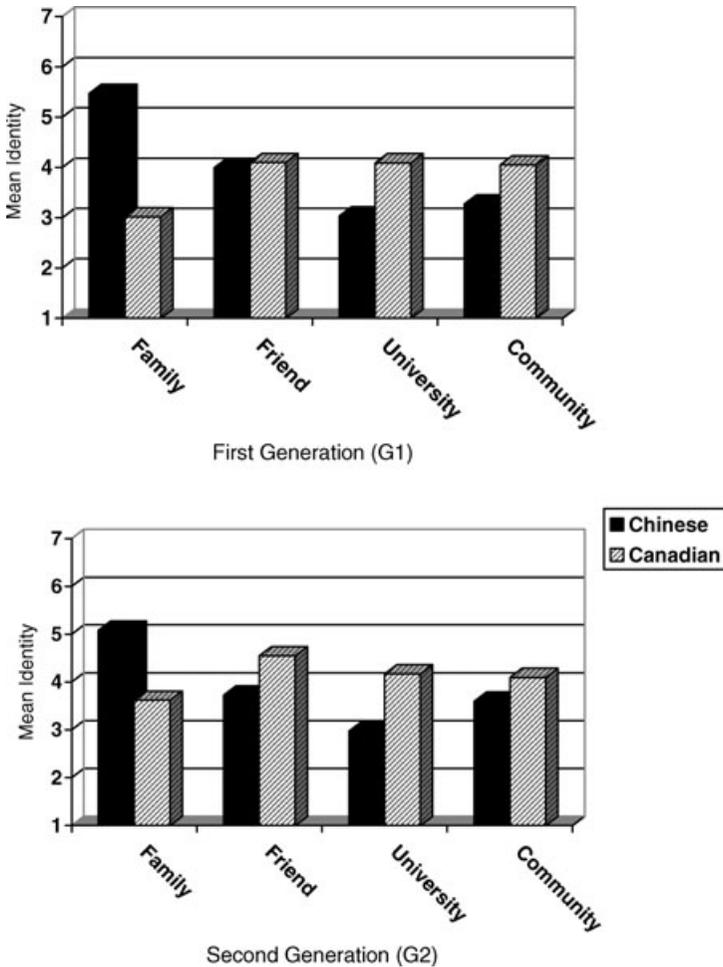


Fig. 1. Mean ethnic identity as a function of identity type, situational domain, and generation.

Canadian society,<sup>1</sup> G2 participants felt more Canadian in private domains than did G1 participants.

<sup>1</sup> Information was collected regarding the frequency of contact with Anglo Canadians using a single 7-point item for each of the friendship, university, and community domains. The results of a 2 × 3 mixed model ANOVA, with situation as a within-subjects factor and generation (G1 vs. G2) as the between-subjects factor, yielded significant situation and generation group main effects,  $F(2,460) = 54.03, p < .001$ ;  $F(1,230) = 9.81, p = .04$ , but no significant interaction effect,  $F(2,460) = 1.23, ns$ . The G2 group had more contact with Anglo Canadians than did the G1 group ( $M = 6.01, SD = 0.99$ ; and  $4.48, SD = 1.31$ , respectively), and there was more contact in the university ( $M = 6.14$ ,

**Table 1.** Correlations between Canadian and Chinese Identities as a Function of Situational Domain and Generational Status

	Family	Friends	University	Community
First generation	-.33*	-.03	-.07	-.04
Second generation	.00	.36*	.24*	.14

\* $p < .05$ , 2-tailed.

Although the mean analyses tend to indicate that identification with one group is generally stronger than identification with the other group, correlational analyses indicated that these identities are not necessarily in opposition. As can be seen in Table 1, for the G1 group, the two identities are negatively correlated only in the family domain, such that being Chinese precludes feeling Canadian. In the home, it is possible that Canadian practices are discouraged to ensure the continuation of heritage cultural practices and traditions, and identity patterns correspond with these practices. In other domains, the correlations are nonsignificant, indicating that the two identities are not incompatible. In more public spheres it may be functional to adopt Canadian practices and take on a Canadian persona in order to efficiently interact with Anglo Canadians to meet a variety of everyday needs (cf. Kim, 1988). The acquisition of a new cultural referent group in these circumstances need not imply a lessening of identification with the heritage cultural group.

For the G2 group, there is no indication that the two identities are in opposition. In the family context, feelings of Chinese identity are unrelated to Canadian identity, suggesting that the retention of heritage cultural practices (e.g., language, traditions) and identities are not compromised by Canadian practices and identities. In the other domains, there is a positive correlation between the two identities (although nonsignificant in the community setting), such that feeling more Chinese means also feeling more Canadian. This positive association is consistent with the notion that these G2 bicultural individuals, who have lived their whole lives interacting with the members of two cultural groups, experience mutually supportive identities (cf. Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) that might be described as fused or hyphenated (cf. Deaux, 2006; Lafromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

### Reflected Appraisals of Identity

The notion of situated identity is based on the assumption that identity is negotiated between interactants, which in turn implies that the impressions of others are important predictors of self-identification. This premise is well articulated in

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$SD = 1.22$ ) and community domains ( $M = 6.16$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ) than in the friendship domain ( $M = 5.22$ ,  $SD = 1.68$ ).

symbolic interactionist accounts of social identity, beginning with the work of Mead (1934) and particularly Cooley (1902), whose notion of the “looking glass self” suggests that by imagining how we appear to and are judged by others, we develop our own sense of ourselves.<sup>2</sup> This process thus involves three components, including (1) one’s self-appraisal, (2) the actual appraisal of significant others, and (3) one’s perception of the other’s appraisal, known as the reflected appraisal (cf. Khanna, 2004), and some empirical evidence supports the claim that reflected appraisals mediate the relation between others’ appraisals and self-appraisals (Bois, Sarrazin, Brustad, Chanal, & Trouilloud, 2005; Schafer & Keith, 1985; but see Felson, 1989).

Reflected appraisals may be particularly important in situations where there is uncertainty or ambiguity regarding one’s status or role, as may be the case with ethnicity. Khanna (2004) found that the ethnic identities of multiracial (Asian-white) adults were more strongly shaped by reflected appraisals regarding their appearance and cultural knowledge than by their own degree of cultural exposure and language proficiency. Reflected appraisals, however, do not perfectly predict self-appraisals. Indeed, in the present study, correlations between the reflected and self-appraisals computed separately for each generation, identity, situation, and appraisal origin (i.e., 28 correlations) ranged from .24 to .69 with a mean of .50.

Given the important but imperfect correspondence between reflected and self-appraisals, the question arises of whether these appraisals differ from each other in a systematic fashion. More specifically, do Chinese Canadians feel that they are regarded as more or less Chinese (or Canadian) than they see themselves? If so, are some people believed to be more accurate in their appraisals than others? Jaret, Reitzes, and Shapkina (2005) maintain that others encountered in the public sphere (e.g., the workplace) have less individuated information about the person and rely on stereotypes and positional roles to form appraisals. Hence their appraisals are likely to be less accurate than those encountered in private spheres (e.g., friends and family).

We also wondered whether in-group members (i.e., other Chinese) might be more accurate in their perceptions than out-group members (i.e., Anglo Canadians). Some evidence suggests that interactions with in-group members may sometimes be problematic, particularly for G2 individuals. For instance, Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found that relative to G1 individuals, G2 individuals report more in-group hassles (e.g., communication difficulties and not feeling accepted by members of the heritage community). It might be expected then that G2 individuals may experience greater appraisal discrepancies with in-group members than G2 individuals. Moreover, although both groups may

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<sup>2</sup> In this article we emphasize the importance of reflected appraisals for self-definition, although we recognize that people likely arrive at their sense of self through many avenues, including self-assessments, objective indices, and so on.

encounter appraisal discrepancies with Anglo Canadians, these discrepancies might be greater for foreign-born individuals due to language barriers, lesser familiarity with mainstream cultural practices, and so on.

### *An Empirical Analysis of Differences between Self- and Reflected Appraisals*

*Method.* To answer these questions, we asked the same participants to assess not only their own feelings of ethnic identity but also how they think other people would assess their identity. We altered the items on the SEIS so that they referred to the appraisals reflected from people with whom the participants interacted in each situational domain. An example is, “I am talking with my Anglo Canadian teacher in his/her office about an upcoming test. This person perceives me as. . .” Reflected appraisals were measured with regard to both the participant’s ethnic group of origin (i.e., Chinese) and the majority ethnic group (i.e., Anglo Canadians), using the same two scales as were used to assess self-appraisals of ethnic identity (i.e., Chinese and Canadian identity). The Chinese reflected appraisals were assessed across the family, friends, university, and community domains, and the Anglo Canadian reflected appraisals were assessed across the friends, university, and community domains.

*Results and discussion.* A series of 2 (identity: Chinese vs. Canadian)  $\times$  2 (appraisal type: self vs. other/reflected)  $\times$  2 (generation: G1 vs. G2) mixed model ANOVAs were carried out separately for each type of interaction partner (family members; Chinese friends, university, and community members; and Anglo Canadian friends, university, and community members). The results suggested that, in most interactions, Chinese Canadians felt that there were significant discrepancies between how they see themselves and how they thought others perceived them (see Tables 2a and 2b).<sup>3</sup>

In the public domains of the university and community, there were consistent discrepancies between self- and reflected appraisals of Chinese identity, and of Canadian identity from Chinese group members. Typically G1 participants felt people at university and in the general community saw them as more Chinese than Canadian, and G2 participants felt others saw them as equally Chinese and Canadian, despite the fact that both generations saw themselves as more Canadian than Chinese in these domains. It is noteworthy that appraisals of Canadian identity from Anglo Canadians were generally consistent with the both G1 and G2 participants’ self-appraisals. Discrepancies revolved primarily around Chinese identity. This finding suggests Anglo Canadians are not perceived as denying identity claims of “Canadianness” but rather as assuming more “Chineseness” than is felt by the participant. This pattern might be argued to reflect some degree of

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<sup>3</sup> More information regarding the statistical effects can be obtained from the first author.

**Table 2a.** First Generation Chinese Canadians: Appraisals of Chinese and Canadian Identity as a Function of Situational Domain and Origin of Appraisal

Origin of Appraisal	Chinese Identity		Canadian Identity	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Family				
Self	5.47	1.36	3.01	1.25
Family	4.91	1.49	4.05	1.61
Friend				
Self	4.00	1.51	4.10	1.44
Chinese	4.98	1.48	3.93	1.50
Anglo Canadians	4.07	1.29	4.22	1.31
University				
Self	3.04	1.57	4.09	1.49
Chinese	4.71	1.34	3.91	1.30
Anglo Canadians	4.06	1.29	4.00	1.21
Community				
Self	3.27	1.37	4.05	1.36
Chinese	4.76	1.19	3.68	1.28
Anglo Canadians	4.29	1.28	3.88	1.24

*Note.* The scales range theoretically from 1 to 7, such that 7 indicates strong identity.

**Table 2b.** Second Generation Chinese Canadians: Appraisals of Chinese and Canadian Identity as a Function of Situational Domain and Origin of Appraisal

	Chinese Identity		Canadian Identity	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Family				
Self	5.08	1.52	3.62	1.38
Family	4.26	1.43	5.07	1.44
Friend				
Self	3.72	1.58	4.55	1.55
Chinese	4.25	1.53	4.51	1.46
Anglo Canadians	3.69	1.41	4.61	1.39
University				
Self	2.97	1.62	4.17	1.78
Chinese	4.20	1.22	4.33	1.25
Anglo Canadians	3.98	1.17	4.26	1.25
Community				
Self	3.60	1.48	4.09	1.58
Chinese	4.36	1.33	4.14	1.31
Anglo Canadians	4.29	1.21	3.95	1.29

*Note.* The scales range theoretically from 1 to 7, where 7 indicates strong identity.

inclusion into Canadian society, at least to the same level as participants report for themselves.

The claim of Jaret et al. (2005), which the reflected appraisals of intimates may be more accurate than those of others in more public domains received mixed support. Although Anglo Canadian friends' appraisals were congruent with self-appraisals, Chinese friends' reflected appraisals suggested that the participants were more Chinese than they saw themselves. It may be that interactions with Chinese friends take place in Chinese settings and/or that these friends have a vested interest in emphasizing a common identity to ensure cultural continuity. In either case, the setting may emphasize Chinese ethnicity and by extension the reflected appraisal of that identity.

In the family domain, there were also discrepancies between self- and reflected appraisals, in a manner quite different than in the other social situations. Participants felt that family members saw them as less Chinese and more Canadian than they saw themselves. For the G1 group, this discrepancy might be considered relatively minor, since the reflected profile resembled their own self-appraisal of greater Chinese than Canadian identity, if somewhat attenuated. For the G2 group, family members' reflected profile was completely incongruent with the participants' own appraisal: whereas G2 individuals felt more Chinese than Canadian, they felt their family members saw them as more Canadian than Chinese. This inconsistency, experienced with others who might be presumed to know the participant very well, might signal a context where there is misunderstanding and tension between parents/grandparents and their young adult offspring.

In sum, these results suggest that when there are differences between reflected and self-appraisals, Chinese Canadians tend to feel that others assume that they are more Chinese and, less consistently, less Canadian than they see themselves (except in the case of G2 Canadians with family members, where the pattern is reversed). Consistent with our hypothesis, G1 individuals experienced greater appraisal discrepancies with Anglo Canadians relative to G2 individuals, particularly in more public domains. G2 individuals, however, experienced greater discrepancies with in-group members, particularly family members, than did G1 individuals.

### **Reflected Appraisals and Discrimination**

Some have suggested that reflected appraisals have important implications for well-being (e.g., Burke, 1991, 2004), and our final question concerned the significance of reflected appraisals for the experience of discrimination. Reflected appraisals serve to validate one's identity, and by extension they limit the possible identity claims that one can make (Brown, 1998; Weinreich, Luk, & Bond, 1996). Helms (1990) points out that others convey ethnicity-related messages that shape how individuals perceive their own value and worth. In the case of

stigmatized groups, negative reflected appraisals might contribute to experience of low collective self-esteem and racism (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

The reflected appraisals may be most problematic when they result in an “undesired differentness” from what might be expected (Goffman, cited in Brown, 1998). Gaps between reflected and self-appraisals have been related to the experience of depression (Jung & Hecht, 2008) and discrimination (Wadsworth, Hecht, & Jung, 2008). In previous research that examined the psychological implications of appraisal incongruities, we examined the relation between appraisals of ethnic identity and discrimination in a group of East Indian immigrants to Canada (Clément et al., 2001). Our results showed that reflected appraisals of ethnic identity from Canadians were only related to perceptions of discrimination once self-appraisals of identity were controlled, suggesting that discrimination is associated with that part of reflected appraisals that are inconsistent with one’s own feelings of ethnicity. More specifically, we found that discrimination was experienced when participants believed that others saw them as more Indian than they actually felt.

We wished to extend this research in several ways. Previous research has generally focused on global indices of ethnic identity, despite some indication that the impact of reflected appraisals may depend on contextual features. For instance, Jaret et al. (2005) found that others’ reflected appraisals in terms of social roles (some of which may be negatively viewed) impact negatively on self-esteem, particularly in work or public situations where others have little specific information about the individual. Elsewhere Brown (1998) argued that although reflected appraisals in interethnic interactions might contribute to feelings of stigmatization, interactions with same-ethnicity persons may be more positive. We hypothesized that generational status might moderate this pattern: Given that G2 individuals reported clear inconsistencies between self- and reflected appraisals with family members, it is possible that such discrepancies are linked with the experience of discrimination from family members.

### *An Empirical Analysis of the Relation between Appraisals and Discrimination*

*Method.* To pursue this issue, we assessed the degree to which the participants perceived discrimination from Chinese and Anglo Canadians by adapting Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, and Lalonde’s (1990) personal discrimination index. For each 4-item scale, participants rated the extent to which they had been discriminated against on the basis of physical appearance, cultural characteristics, newcomer status, and language skills. Each item was rated from 1 (*definitely no*) to 6 (*strongly yes*), such that a high mean score indicated a high level of perceived discrimination.

*Results and discussion.* We then computed a series of hierarchical multiple regressions to predict discrimination levels from the appraisal scores. In line with Clément et al.'s (2001) strategy, on the first step the self-appraisal was entered into the regression equation, and on the second step the reflected appraisal was entered.<sup>4</sup> This procedure allowed us to examine whether reflected appraisals are associated with discrimination, after taking into account the relation between reflected and self-appraisals.<sup>5</sup> If a relation exists, then it would suggest that discrimination is associated with that part of a reflected appraisal that is incongruent with one's own identity.

Systematic relations between the reflected appraisal and personal discrimination (controlling for the variance accounted for by the self-appraisal) were only observed in the G2 group (see Table 3). For this group, the more Anglo Canadians (particularly in public domains) were believed to perceive participants as more Chinese and less Anglo Canadian (particularly in friendship and community domains) than the G2 group saw themselves, the more discrimination they experienced from that group. Discrimination from Chinese was related to feeling that one was perceived as less Chinese (across all domains) and more Canadian (particularly in public domains) than one actually felt.

Although the findings of Jaret and colleagues (2005) might suggest that reflected appraisals of an ethnic identity would have greater significance for stigmatization and distress in public domains, our results indicated that reflected appraisals in more private domains also contribute to feelings of discrimination. Moreover, reflected appraisals were not only associated with discrimination from the Anglo Canadians, but also with discrimination from Chinese.

It was not expected that reflected appraisals would be unrelated to discrimination for the G1 group. Perhaps an explanation can be garnered from Wadsworth et al.'s (2008) study of international students, in which they likewise found no relation between identity gaps and perceived discrimination (see also Alvarez & Helms, 2005), although such relations were evident with established ethnic minority groups (Jung & Hecht, 2008). They suggest that recent arrivals (who are perhaps in this respect similar to G1 immigrants) already anticipate that members

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<sup>4</sup> This approach was chosen in view of the many critiques formulated against the use of a simple difference score (e.g., Gardner & Neufeld, 1987). The latter is claimed to be unreliable in evaluating differences at different levels of equal appearing interval scales. The approach taken here circumvents these problems by taking into account the variance of each variable, and by rephrasing the question not in terms of difference but in terms of what the reflected appraisal contributes to discrimination after accounting for self-appraisal. The residual reflected score is then interpreted as corresponding to the incongruity between self and reflected appraisal (Cronbach & Furby, 1970).

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of only two correlations (each of  $|.17|$ ), none of the 16 correlations between self-appraisals of identity and perceived discrimination were significant, for either the G1 group (mean  $r = |.09|$ ) or the G2 group (mean  $r = |.09|$ ). Moreover, apart from these two exceptions, none of the regression analyses indicated a relation between self-appraisals and perceived discrimination. Thus feelings of Chinese and Canadian identity were not directly connected to feelings of discrimination from either Chinese or Anglo Canadians.

**Table 3.** Second Generation Chinese Canadians: Beta Weights for Reflected Appraisals from Final Step of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Discrimination from Self- and Reflected Appraisals

Self- and Reflected Appraisal Discrepancy		Discrimination from Anglo Canadians	Discrimination from Chinese
Anglo Canadians			
Chinese identity	Friends	ns	ns
	University	0.30*	ns
	Community	0.40*	ns
Canadian identity	Friends	-0.30*	ns
	University	ns	ns
	Community	-0.29*	ns
Chinese			
Chinese identity	Family	ns	-0.22*
	Friends	ns	-0.19*
	University	ns	-0.19*
	Community	ns	-0.28*
Canadian identity	Family	ns	ns
	Friends	-0.23*	ns
	University	ns	0.24*
	Community	ns	0.24*

*Note.* Numbers represent beta weights associated with the reflected appraisal after controlling for the self-appraisal.

\* $p < 0.05$ .

of the receiving society have inaccurate appraisals of them due to perceptible differences in appearance, cultural practices, communication limitations, and so on. Hence, differences between reflected and self-appraisals are expected, and ultimately discounted, since these other differences are such salient grounds for discrimination. In contrast, for G2 Canadians, who are more intimately acquainted with Canadian cultural practices and speak English fluently, discrimination cannot be attributed to such characteristics. Thus appraisal discrepancies may be viewed as particularly prejudicial and disconcerting.

### General Conclusion

This research with G1 and G2 Chinese Canadians underscores three important points with regards to the ethnic identity of immigrants and their offspring. First, global measures do not capture the complexity of ethnic identity as it is experienced on a moment-to-moment basis. Rather, a situational analysis suggests that

ethnic minorities might sometimes identify with the heritage group more than the mainstream society, sometimes identify with the mainstream group more than the heritage group, and at other times feel that they belong to both groups equally. Consistent with Yip and Fuligni (2002), we found that these shifts in identity correspond with the ethnicity of interlocutors and the language and cultural practices that are normative in each situation. This pattern of findings may bear witness to the potential efficacy of many communities' efforts to maintain heritage identity by developing sheltered contexts in which intraethnic interactions and traditional cultural practices are encouraged, such as heritage language educational contexts, community associations, and so on (cf. Clément & Noels, 1992). To the extent that policy makers wish to foster strong and vital ethnic communities, resources should be directed at supporting these efforts.

Second, generational status also contributes to identity variation, and to differences in patterns of relations between the two identities. We saw little evidence of identity opposition in the group of Chinese Canadians that we examined; except in the case of G1 individuals with family members, the two identities are independent or positively correlated. It is plausible that the pattern of identity fusion that is evident in the G2 group would be most evident in cultural groups that are relatively well received by the mainstream society; Berry and Kalin (1995) report that Canadians' attitudes toward those of Chinese ancestry are as positive as attitudes toward European ancestry groups and that, more generally, people born and raised in Canada tend to be viewed more positively than those who are foreign born. Moreover, this identity profile may be particularly well supported in a country such as Canada where policies such as the Multiculturalism Act officially encourage intercultural integration.

Despite the possibility that the pattern of findings reported here may be specific to this immigration context, the point remains that, regardless of the group and country under consideration, identity must be viewed as a dynamic process and considered across social situations that are relevant to the group at hand (cf. Phalet, Baysu, & Verkuyten, *in press*). Moreover, it is critical to differentiate generations to gain a clearer understanding of identity processes in ethnic minority groups (cf. Wiley, Perkins, & Deaux, 2008). Future studies involving cross-national comparative analyses with multiple ethnic groups would provide greater insight into the impact of governmental policies and societal attitudes regarding immigration and integration on identity processes.

Third, we maintain that reflected appraisals are an important mechanism by which ethnic identity is constructed, validated and constrained. Our research indicates that these Chinese Canadians believe that there are systematic biases in how others perceive them, such that others tend to reflect identities that are more Chinese and (to a lesser extent) less Canadian than people claim for themselves. Moreover, this pattern is evident not only with regards to interactions with Anglo Canadians, but also interactions with other Chinese. This pattern of reflected

appraisals may contribute to the segregation of immigrants from Canadian society in two ways. First, Anglo Canadian biases may create barriers preventing G1 and G2 Canadians from fully engaging in mainstream society. Similar patterns of bias from Chinese might also imply limited support for people who wish to loosen or redefine ties with the Chinese community. Indeed, for G2 individuals, reflected appraisals that are not in line with one's feelings of ethnic identity are linked to feelings of discrimination. Stated otherwise, discrimination not only limits what one can do, but who one can be.

Transposed at the level of policy, the phenomena described here suggest a relatively contrived situation where the international image of Canada as an officially multicultural country nevertheless clashes with the impact of discrimination on identity cohesion. Following through with the identity appraisal analysis presented here, the problem appears to rest not only with reflected appraisals from majority (or "host") groups, but also internally from the appraisals shown by members of the minority group. While the continued promotion of multiculturalism and the implementation of the multicultural education of majority groups remain a priority, it may be indicated to also apprise newcomers of the impact of coming to a foreign country, particularly one representing itself as valuing diversity. Expectations of welcome may be at variance with acculturation experiences, resulting in much discomfort and alienation. This would justify interventions with immigrating groups both before immigration and, then, on a continuing basis after immigration. Because clashes with the family might be expected, these interventions should also include G2 individuals.

In conclusion, the present study extends previous research by considering how ethnic identity varies depending upon the situation, and when and how the reflected appraisals of others in these situations contribute to the experience of discrimination. Moreover, the results underscore the importance of investigating separately G1 and G2 immigrants because of their different experiences of identity and discrimination. We maintain that such contextualization, here defined in terms of situation and generation, is essential to better understanding ethnic identity as a jointly negotiated, normatively constrained social process between individuals in particular contexts.

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