

This article was downloaded by: [York University Libraries]

On: 10 April 2009

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 791654267]

Publisher Psychology Press

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



International Journal of Psychology

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title-content=t713659663>

An Intergroup Perspective on Immigrant Acculturation with a Focus on Collective Strategies

Richard N. Lalonde ^a; James E. Cameron ^a

^a Department of Psychology, York University, North York, Canada

Online Publication Date: 01 February 1993

To cite this Article Lalonde, Richard N. and Cameron, James E. (1993) 'An Intergroup Perspective on Immigrant Acculturation with a Focus on Collective Strategies', *International Journal of Psychology*, 28:1, 57 — 74

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/00207599308246918

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00207599308246918>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

An Intergroup Perspective on Immigrant Acculturation with a Focus on Collective Strategies

Richard N. Lalonde and James E. Cameron

Department of Psychology, York University, North York, Canada

This study adopted an intergroup perspective on immigrant acculturation, which views immigrants as members of a disadvantaged social category. Its primary purpose was to relate the relative disadvantage of certain immigrant groups to a preference for collective acculturation strategies. Questionnaires were administered to immigrants from four ethnic groups, two of which (blacks from the Caribbean, and Chinese) were considered to be relatively more "stigmatized" within the Canadian context than the other two (Greeks and Italians). In addition, a cross-generational methodology provided comparisons between first-generation immigrants ($n = 116$), and their adult children ($n = 133$). It was hypothesized and found that the more "stigmatized" immigrants perceived themselves to be at a greater social disadvantage and were more supportive of a collective integration orientation than less stigmatized immigrants. Parents were more likely to endorse a collective acculturation orientation and exhibited a stronger ethnic identification than their children. The results are interpreted using an intergroup approach to immigrant acculturation.

Cette étude examine l'acculturation d'immigrants en utilisant une perspective intergroupe qui identifie les immigrants comme membres de groupes désavantagés. Le but primaire de l'étude était de faire le lien entre le niveau de désavantage de différents groupes d'immigrants et une stratégie d'acculturation collective. Quatre groupes ont reçu un questionnaire: deux groupes (immigrants noirs des Caraïbes et Chinois) ayant une "position" sociale considérablement moins élevée dans le contexte Canadien que les deux autres (Grecs et Italiens). En plus, une méthodologie trans-générationnelle a permis la comparaison entre des immigrants de première génération ($n = 116$) et leurs enfants adultes ($n = 133$). Les résultats ont appuyé l'hypothèse que les immigrants ayant une "position" inférieure se perçoivent comme étant plus

Requests for reprints should be sent to Dr Richard N. Lalonde, Department of Psychology, York University, North York (Ontario), Canada M3J 1P3.

We would like to thank Regina Schuller, Ali Moghaddam and Doug McCann, as well as two anonymous reviewers, for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. We also thank Wendy Craig, Evelyn Pepe, Tim Quek, and Renate Korn for their help in various aspects of the study. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in the form of a research grant and a Canada Research Fellowship to the first author.

désavantagés et plus en faveur d'une stratégie d'acculturation collective que les immigrants ayant une "position" plus élevée. De plus, les parents sont plus en faveur de stratégies d'acculturation collective et ont une identité ethnique plus forte que leurs enfants. Les résultats sont interprétés en fonction d'un cadre théorique intergroupe.

INTRODUCTION

There have been a number of approaches to the study of immigrant acculturation within psychology and sociology (e.g. Berry, 1986; Glazer & Moynihan, 1970). A recent line of research adopts an intergroup relations approach to immigrant acculturation (Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1988; 1992; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987). Within this perspective, it is proposed that individuals who immigrate will identify with, or are identified by others as belonging to, the social category of immigrant. Furthermore, when intergroup social comparisons are made, immigrants can often be in a disadvantaged position, relative to groups that have been established in the receiving society for a number of generations. An immigrant's social disadvantage is multifaceted. On arrival in a host country, immigrants often lack financial, emotional (e.g. social support), and cognitive (e.g. knowledge of social bureaucracy), resources. Much of their disadvantage, however, stems from their minority status. Their ethnicity, race, colour, religion, language and/or dress will often distinguish them from the host country's culture. Immigrants from various groups differ on these characteristics, however, and certain immigrants are likely to be more disadvantaged than others.

The purpose of this study is to compare the acculturation patterns of immigrant groups that differ in terms of their relative position of social disadvantage. Two related factors that may contribute to disadvantage are immigration policies and majority attitudes within the host culture. One premise of this paper is that Chinese and black Caribbean immigrants are at a greater social disadvantage in Canada than Italian or Greek immigrants. From an historical perspective, the majority of Canadian immigrants came from European countries. This was due, in part, to early immigration policies that discriminated against groups such as blacks and Asians (Whitaker, 1987), and only in the past few decades have individuals from these groups had freer access to Canada (Richmond, 1988). In the case of the Chinese, for example, there were severe restrictions on the number that were permitted to enter the country until 1962 (Lai, 1971). In terms of majority attitudes towards ethnic groups, a national survey of majority Canadians conducted by Berry, Kalin, and Taylor (1977), indicated that non-white ethnic groups were less favourably viewed than most white ethnic groups. Even within non-white ethnic groups, there is evidence indicating that some immigrant groups perceive themselves as being the victims of discrimination more often than others; Taylor et al. (1990) found that

Haitian women in Montreal reported greater amounts of discrimination than Indian women, and attributed this finding to the fact that the Haitians were more numerous, more racially visible, and more recent immigrants than the Indians. On the basis of the aforementioned information, it is argued that black Caribbean and Chinese immigrants represent more “stigmatized” groups within the Canadian context than Italian and Greek immigrants. Berry (1990) has referred to group social disadvantage as being an “acceptance” or “prestige” variable in acculturation research. Central to this study, then, is the expectation that the relative position of social disadvantage of a group will be systematically related to patterns of acculturation.

Moghaddam (1988) proposed a mobility model of social integration for immigrants. The major assumption of his model (Moghaddam, 1988, p. 70), is that: “immigrants are motivated to improve their life conditions and to get ahead in the adopted land”. He further suggests the existence of two bipolar strategies for the improvement of an immigrant’s economic and social status: one is an assimilationist strategy, which involves the abandonment of heritage culture in favour of the host culture, and the other is a cultural maintenance strategy.¹ These strategies are particularly relevant from the perspective of theories of intergroup relations because they represent two important classes of behaviour. Assimilation represents an individual strategy whereas heritage culture maintenance represents a collective strategy. Most theories of intergroup relations discuss individual and collective strategies as options available to socially disadvantaged individuals who desire a change in their social status (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). In the case of immigrants, Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) social identity theory seems to be particularly relevant.

Social identity theory is rooted in the assumption that individuals have a fundamental need for a positive sense of self and that part of one’s identity is derived from social group membership (i.e. social identity). Individuals tend to engage in social comparisons between their ingroup and relevant

¹ Moghaddam’s model can be examined within the context of Berry’s model, which identifies four modes of acculturation (integration, separation, assimilation, & marginalization) as a function of the individual’s desire to maintain heritage culture identity, and to maintain positive relationships with the dominant culture (e.g. Berry, 1990). This is a general model that can be applied to a variety of groups in a multicultural context (ethnic groups, native peoples, immigrants, sojourners, & refugees). In the case of immigrants it can be argued that the only reasonable modes of acculturation are integration and assimilation, because an immigrant’s contact with the host culture is voluntary and because there is a desire (we assume) to become a participant in the host culture. Whereas the options of separation and marginalization may be more meaningful for other groups (e.g. ethnic & native), they do not seem as viable for immigrants. Similarly, Berry et al. (1989) have argued that separation is unlikely for recent and voluntary migrants. In the case of immigrants, therefore, Moghaddam’s “heritage culture maintenance” can be equated with Berry’s “integration”, and both models would define assimilation in the same way.

outgroups; if the results of such comparisons are positive, individuals should perceive no need for a change in their social identity. If, however, such comparisons lead to the perception of a disadvantaged status (i.e. a negative social identity), the theory predicts that individuals will be motivated to engage in strategies that will help rectify this status. The types of strategies that will be used will depend on the types of beliefs individuals have concerning social mobility. Individuals who believe that the boundaries between social groups are permeable will adopt an individual mobility strategy where an attempt is made to become a member of the advantaged group, whereas individuals who believe group boundaries are impermeable will be more likely to engage in collective efforts to change the status of their group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

For first-generation immigrants, ethnicity should be a particularly salient social identification. As immigrants from stigmatized groups are more likely to experience prejudice and discrimination than immigrants from less stigmatized groups, they may be more likely to perceive group boundaries as impermeable and the existing intergroup situation as illegitimate. Our hypothesis, therefore, is that: *Black Caribbean and Chinese immigrants will be more supportive of collective acculturation strategies than Italian and Greek immigrants.* These latter groups should perceive less need for collective strategies if they perceive that an individual mobility strategy is possible. A corollary hypothesis is that black Caribbean and Chinese immigrants will perceive their group as being more socially disadvantaged than Italian and Greek immigrants.

THE INDIVIDUAL-COLLECTIVE DISTINCTION IN RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANTS

Whereas many social scientists have referred to an individual-collective distinction in behaviour (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990), its application to the study of immigrant acculturation is recent. In one of the first studies to make this distinction, Moghaddam, Taylor, and Lalonde (1987) asked Iranian immigrants in Montreal two questions beginning with the phrase: "In order for me to get ahead in Canada it is important that . . .". One question stressed working individually (i.e. "I go it alone"), whereas the other emphasized a collective strategy (i.e. "I work with others in the Iranian community"). Evidence for the predictive validity of these questions was provided by the finding that Iranians who were members of a cultural organization were more supportive of a collective strategy and less supportive of an individual strategy than were non-members. Non-members also believed it was more important to establish contacts for getting ahead in the outgroup communities (an individual mobility strategy), than in the ingroup community (a collective strategy). Lalonde, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1988) used the

same questions that were asked by Moghaddam, Taylor, and Lalonde (1987) in a study that focused on two groups of immigrant women: Haitians and Indians. Haitian women showed a stronger preference for a collective strategy than the Indian women, who in turn showed a greater preference for the individual approach. Whereas both samples were believed to represent immigrant groups who were quite disadvantaged, it was apparent from the results that they differed in their preferences for individual and collective strategies.

The studies of Moghaddam and his colleagues indicate that the individual-collective distinction provides a viable construct for understanding the process of immigrant acculturation. Their findings, however, are limited in two respects. First, these strategies of acculturation were measured with only two items. A second limitation is that they focused on relatively disadvantaged immigrant groups and provided no contrasts with immigrant groups having a European background (e.g. Italians). One goal of this study was to address these limitations. Before the study is described, however, another problem in this area needs to be addressed.

Whereas Moghaddam (1988) presents individual and collective approaches to acculturation as bipolar strategies, this may not be an accurate description. Kağıtçıbaşı (1987) has argued that individualism and group loyalty (i.e. collectivism), do not represent incompatible orientations and that a unidimensional representation may be an inappropriate assumption made by Western world theorists. In fact, a further inspection of the Lalonde et al. (1988) data revealed that responses to the items pertaining to: "Going it alone", and "Working with others", were not that strongly correlated ($r = -0.35$ & $r = -0.22$ for the Haitian and Indian samples respectively). It seems reasonable, therefore, to conceptualize and construct separate measures of individual and collective strategies of acculturation. In the present study, the focus was exclusively on a collective orientation. The reliability and validity of a multi-item measure, assessing a *collective acculturation orientation*, were examined. Individuals endorsing this orientation believe that it is by working within their ethnic community that they can better the status of their group as well as their personal position.

CORRELATES OF A COLLECTIVE ACCULTURATION ORIENTATION

The previous hypotheses assume that a collective acculturation orientation will be observed at a group level. It should be recognized, however, that there will be individual differences in collective orientations within immigrant groups. Berry (1990) has indicated that acculturation differences will be observed both at population and individual levels of analysis. He also noted that the process of acculturation will be observed not only in the

behaviours of individuals, but also in their identifications, values, and attitudes.

At the individual level of analysis, it was expected that a greater perception of group disadvantage would be associated with greater support for a collective acculturation orientation. It was also expected that a collective orientation would positively correlate with expressed ethnic identification. In a recent review of the literature on ethnic identity, Phinney (1990) suggested that ethnic involvement may be a potential indicator of ethnic identity. Tajfel (1978) also has argued that a greater salience of social identity will be positively associated with the likelihood of engaging in group oriented behaviour.

Finally, the relationship between a collective acculturation orientation and certain social attitudes was examined. Attitude towards multiculturalism (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977), for example, represents an important variable with respect to immigration, as a favourable attitude reflects the belief that ethnic groups should retain their culture, and that culture retention is good for a country. It is expected, on the basis of Moghaddam's (1988) immigrant mobility model, that a positive attitude towards heritage culture maintenance should be positively related to a collective acculturation orientation. Attitude towards women (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973) may also be important with regard to the immigration experience. Immigrants often talk about the conflict of old world values with new world values, and attitudes towards the role of women in society may be one expression of such value conflicts (see Fong & Peskin, 1969; Pichini, 1987).

RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PARADIGM

This study is set in Canada's largest city, Toronto. Immigration is one of the major sources of population growth in Canada and the majority of its population, outside of native Indians and the Inuit, are the descendants of immigrants. Immigrants from four identifiable groups were examined: Blacks from the Caribbean, Chinese-speakers, Italians, and Greeks. In addition, a cross-generational methodology was adopted, where the responses of immigrants and their adult children were collected. There is a rich sociological tradition of examining the process of immigrant acculturation from a generational perspective, which demonstrates that important social psychological changes take place over time. The cross-generational design of the study permitted a test of a number of additional hypotheses. First, given that ties to the ethnic group of origin tend to become weaker over time, it was predicted that immigrant parents will be more likely than their children to have a strong ethnic identification and a collective acculturation orientation. Past research demonstrating generational effects has been conducted in the United States (e.g. Alba, 1990; Glazer & Moynihan, 1970), however, and it is possible that Canada's official policy of multiculturalism may mitigate the effects of time. It was also predicted that the children of immigrants would have a more non-traditional view of the role of women in

society and a more favourable attitude towards multiculturalism than their parents, as these attitudes reflect the normative beliefs that have been taught within the new host culture. It should be noted that the design used in this study permitted the additional test of interaction effects between ethnic background and generation in explaining acculturation behaviours, although no predictions were made with regard to such effects.

METHOD

Respondents

The study was completed by 133 university students (23 black Caribbean, 22 Chinese, 26 Greek, 62 Italian), and 116 parents (20 black Caribbean, 19 Chinese, 21 Greek, 56 Italian). There were fewer parents than children because some students did not return the parent questionnaire. Approximately 80% of students and 70% of parents were female. The groups were similar in age, with students having a mean age of 20 and parents having a mean age of 47. Most of the students lived at home with their parents (91%), and were born in Canada (70%). The majority of parents were now Canadian citizens (83%).

Materials

A four-part questionnaire was given to participants. The first part, which accounted for approximately 75% of the items, provided the data for this study. There were four questionnaire versions, one for each group under investigation. For the Chinese, Greek, and Italian samples, a parent questionnaire was available in English or in the native language (the latter being developed using a back-translation procedure). Items were answered using a 7-point Likert scale where 1 was defined as: "strongly disagree", and 7 was defined as: "strongly agree". Items comprising the scales defined in the following were arranged in a fixed random order. Cronbach reliability coefficients were calculated for each scale and are reported separately for students and parents.²

²Two other measures were taken in the study but will not be reported. The 17 items reported by Triandis et al. (1986) were used to assess components of individualism/collectivism. Whereas Triandis and his colleagues have extracted some similar factors from their items, the factors and the items defining them are not fully consistent across studies (Triandis et al., 1986; 1988; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). The most consistent factor has been an individualism factor called *self-reliance*. On the basis of Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990), 10 items were combined into a measure of self reliance, where a high score was indicative of a more individualistic attitude (student $\alpha = 0.65$, parent $\alpha = 0.55$). No generational or immigrant group effects were associated with this measure, and it did not correlate significantly with any other measures. A second measure, *desire for social change*, consisted of four items designed to tap the extent to which respondents wanted changes in Canada that would improve the situation of the ingroup. Although there were significant effects involving this measure, the internal consistency of the measure was not sufficiently strong to warrant its inclusion in the study (student $\alpha = 0.58$, parent $\alpha = 0.38$).

Collective Acculturation Orientation. Fifteen items (see Appendix in this paper) assessed the extent to which the respondent supported strategies that benefited the ingroup's social position (e.g. "I would lobby the government to improve the position of Chinese people in Canada"). Items were developed in an earlier pilot study (Lalonde, 1988). A high score on this measure was indicative of a strong collective orientation (student $\alpha = 0.90$, parent $\alpha = 0.85$).

Group Identification. An 8-item measure (4 positive, 4 negative), taken from a scale developed by Lalonde (1988) tapped the extent to which individuals identified with their group. Responses were totalled such that a high score was indicative of a stronger group identification. The items reflected the individual's sense of belonging (e.g. "Being Caribbean is part of my personality"), and attitude towards the ingroup (e.g. "I enjoy the time spent with other Greeks, more than the time spent with others of different backgrounds"; student $\alpha = 0.74$, parent $\alpha = 0.66$).

Perception of Group Disadvantage. A 14-item measure (8 positive, 6 negative), taken from Lalonde (1988) assessed the perception of one's group as being at a social disadvantage within the Canadian context (e.g. "Italians are at a real economic disadvantage in Canada"). A high score indicated a perception of greater group disadvantage (student $\alpha = 0.87$, parent $\alpha = 0.85$).

Attitude towards Multiculturalism. Six items (3 positive, 3 negative), taken from Berry, Kalin, and Taylor (1977) were combined such that a high score was indicative of a more favourable attitude towards multiculturalism (e.g. "Canada would be a better place if members of ethnic groups would keep their own way of life alive"; student $\alpha = 0.71$, parent $\alpha = 0.43$).

Attitude towards Women. Ten items (5 positive, 5 negative), were taken from the Attitudes Toward Women scale developed by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1973). A low score indicates a traditional attitude, whereas a high score reflects a more profeminist view (e.g. "Women should worry less about their rights and more about being good wives and mothers"; student $\alpha = 0.70$, parent $\alpha = 0.72$).

Procedure

Subjects were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses, as well as from the student newspaper, and offered a CAN \$15.00 incentive. There were two conditions for participation. One was that the subject's parent(s) had immigrated from Italy, Greece, the Caribbean, or a Chinese-speaking country. The other was that one parent living in the area could serve as a

cohort. Students were given a questionnaire individually at our campus laboratory. Following completion of the questionnaire, they were provided with a parental version of the questionnaire which they administered to a parent. They selected a language version with which they felt the parent would feel most comfortable. On returning the parental questionnaire, subjects were paid for their participation and given an oral and written debriefing.

RESULTS

Demographic Differences

Given the changing pattern of the background of incoming immigrant groups to Canada, as well as the criteria used for their admission, differences were expected between the first generation immigrant groups. Comparisons were made between the parent samples using a one-way ANOVA procedure on a number of key demographic characteristics. Pairwise comparisons of means were conducted using the Tukey-Kramer procedure ($\alpha = 0.05$) as described by Kirk (1982). An important difference was observed for the number of years parent groups had been residing in Canada (Caribbean $M = 20.4$, Chinese $M = 14.3$, Greek $M = 21.6$, Italian $M = 28.8$), $F(3,109) = 23.38$, $P < 0.01$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that the Italian parents had been residing in Canada longer than any other group, and that the Caribbean and Greek samples were there for a significantly longer period than the Chinese sample.

First generation immigrants also differed in their level of educational attainment ($F(3,107) = 5.62$, $P < 0.01$), with significantly higher levels of educational attainment for the Caribbean ($M = 3.50$) and Chinese ($M = 3.42$) in comparison to the Italian sample ($M = 2.75$). The Greek sample ($M = 3.26$) did not differ from any of the other groups. A final difference was obtained for the self-report measure of socio-economic status ($F(3,107) = 4.17$, $P < 0.01$). The Chinese sample reported a higher socio-economic level than the other three groups, who were not found to differ from each other.

A search for gender differences was conducted for parents and their children on all of the primary measures. The only significant difference to emerge was for the student sample in which females were found to have less of a traditional attitude towards women than were men ($t(125) = 3.42$, $P < 0.001$).

Predictive Validity of the Collective Integration Orientation Scale

It was expected that immigrants belonging to an ethnic ingroup organization would be more supportive of a collective acculturation orientation than

would non-members of such organizations. This prediction was supported, as parents who were members of organizations ($M = 73.22$) had significantly higher collective orientation scores than non-members ($M = 66.94$), $t(109) = 1.99$, $P < 0.05$.

Primary Analyses

All measures were analyzed in a series of Group (Caribbean, Chinese, Greek, Italian) by Generation (child, parent) ANOVAs, where the latter factor was treated as a within-subject variable. Significant group effects were obtained for two of the five measures and generation effects were found for four of the five measures. No significant interaction effects were obtained for any of the measures. Degrees of freedom vary slightly for the different measures because of some missing observations.

Immigrant Group Differences. It was predicted that parents and children from "stigmatized" immigrant groups would perceive their groups as being at a greater social disadvantage, and would be more supportive of a collective integration orientation than individuals from less "stigmatized" groups. These predictions were supported. With regard to the *perception of group disadvantage* ($F(3, 110) = 21.18$, $P < 0.001$), a Tukey-Kramer procedure revealed that Caribbeans ($M = 61.80$) scored significantly higher than the Chinese ($M = 49.38$), who in turn were significantly higher than the Italians ($M = 39.00$) and Greeks ($M = 37.64$) ($P < 0.01$). For the *collective acculturation orientation* ($F(3, 109) = 9.59$, $P < 0.001$), tests of mean differences revealed that the Caribbean sample ($M = 76.64$) was more supportive than either the Greek ($M = 63.30$) or Italian ($M = 60.24$) samples. In addition, the Chinese ($M = 70.34$) were more supportive of a collective acculturation orientation than the Italians ($P < 0.05$).

Generational Differences. The predicted Generation effect for the *collective acculturation orientation* measure was obtained ($F(1, 109) = 13.87$, $P < 0.001$), as parents ($M = 69.09$) scored significantly higher than their children ($M = 61.10$). Whereas this generation effect did not interact with Group, an examination of cell means revealed that this effect was most pronounced for the Italian sample, where the Tukey procedure revealed a significant parent-child difference ($M = 65.52$ vs. $M = 54.96$, $P < 0.01$).

There was a significant generational difference for the *group identification* measure ($F(1, 112) = 8.72$, $P < 0.01$). As predicted, parents ($M = 45.04$) had a stronger group identification than their children ($M = 41.24$). Although

the Group by Generation interaction effect was not significant for the identification measure, a *post-hoc* examination of the cell means using a Tukey procedure ($\alpha = 0.05$) revealed that the generational difference was significant for Greeks ($M = 44.52$ vs. $M = 40.00$) and Italians ($M = 45.98$ vs. $M = 40.93$), but not for the Caribbean ($M = 45.25$ vs. $M = 43.00$) and Chinese ($M = 42.59$ vs. $M = 41.68$) groups.

Generational differences were also found for the two attitude measures. Children ($M = 29.63$) had a more favourable *attitude towards multiculturalism* than their parents ($M = 27.86$; $F(1, 112) = 6.43$, $P < 0.05$), but this effect should be interpreted with caution given the poor reliability of this measure for the parent sample. With regard to *attitude towards women*, children ($M = 54.52$) were more liberal in their attitudes than their parents ($M = 44.89$; $F(1, 110) = 49.59$, $P < 0.001$).

Controlling for Time Spent in Host Country

The generational effects that were obtained suggest that time may have an important effect on the perceptions and attitudes of immigrants from different generations. In addition, the number of years that parents had been living in Canada were found to be positively correlated with both parent's and children's collective acculturation orientation ($r = -0.21$, $P < 0.05$ & $r = -0.35$, $P < 0.01$, respectively), and perceptions of group disadvantage ($r = -0.21$ & $r = -0.19$, $P < 0.05$, respectively). Because the groups differed in the length of time they had been residing in Canada, the immigrant group differences that were observed in the primary analyses could be attributed to the time of residence, rather than a relative position of social disadvantage as hypothesized. In order to control for the potential effects of time of residence in the host country on the results of the earlier analyses, the same Group by Generation ANOVAs were conducted including the number of years parents had been living in Canada as a covariate. All of the aforementioned effects were found again, suggesting that the observed effects could be attributed to something more than the period of residence in the host country.

Correlational Analyses

The relationship between individual scores on the five measures were calculated using within-cell correlations because of the differences obtained between the four immigrant groups on some of the measures. These correlations are presented in Table 1, where correlations in the lower part of the matrix are associated with the first generation (parent) scores, correlations in the upper part of the matrix are associated with second generation (child)

scores, and correlations between parents and their children are presented in the diagonal of the matrix.³

It can be seen in Table 1 that parents and their children shared a significant amount of variability in terms of their collective acculturation orientation, their perception of group disadvantage, and their attitudes towards multiculturalism and women. There was no significant relationship between parent scores and child scores for the identification measure. Other findings of note in Table 1 are the significant relationships between identification and collective acculturation orientation for both children and parents, and the presence of significant relationships between the two attitude measures and group identification for children but not their parents.

It is interesting to observe that whereas immigrant group differences were obtained for the perception of group disadvantage and the collective acculturation orientation, the relationship between these two variables at the individual difference level was only significant for the first generation sample. It is possible, however, that the relationship changes as a function of the ethnic group of the individual. To explore this possibility, a regression approach to ANOVA was used for the prediction of the collective acculturation orientation; the predictor variables entered into the equation were group membership, the perception of group disadvantage, and the interaction of the two variables. This analysis was conducted separately for each sample. In the case of the first generation sample, the only significant predictor of a collective acculturation orientation was the perception of group disadvantage ($F(1, 106) = 4.09, P < 0.05$), suggesting that this variable has precedence over group membership in predicting a collective acculturation strategy. For the second generation sample, there were effects for the perception of group disadvantage ($F(1, 124) = 3.21, P < 0.10$) and the interaction of this variable with group membership ($F(3, 124) = 2.61, P < 0.05$) in predicting collective acculturation. An inspection of the interaction revealed that whereas there were positive linear relationships between the perception of social disadvantage and a collective acculturation orien-

³In order to determine if demographic variables collected from parents (number of years in Canada, level of education, and social class) operated as confounding variables in the relationships reported in Table 1, within-cell correlations between these demographic variables and the primary measures were computed. No significant correlations were obtained. The age of the first-generation immigrants also did not correlate significantly with any of the primary measures. For the second generation sample, however, it was found that older students were more likely to perceive their ethnic group as being disadvantaged ($r = 0.30, P < 0.01$). The Belief in a Just World scale (Rubin & Peplau, 1975), which was given only to students, was found to correlate solely with the perception of group disadvantage ($r = -0.37, P < 0.01$). This latter finding demonstrates the discriminant validity of the scales used in this study, as the significant relation that was obtained is the only one that would be predicted by the Just World theory.

TABLE 1
Within-Cell Correlations between Primary Measures

	CAO	GID	PGD	AMU	AWO
Collective Acculturation Orientation (CAO)	0.34**	0.64**	0.11	0.33**	-0.23*
Group Identification (GID)	0.47**	0.14	0.02	0.20*	-0.24**
Perception of Group Disadvantage (PGD)	0.21*	-0.06	0.45**	-0.16	-0.27**
Attitude towards Multiculturalism (AMU)	0.18	0.17	0.02	0.25**	0.17
Attitude towards Women (AWO)	-0.21*	-0.06	-0.17	-0.02	0.29**

Note: Parent/child correlations are presented in the diagonal ($n = 113$), parent correlations are below the diagonal ($n = 114$), and child correlations are above the diagonal ($n = 132$).

* $P < 0.05$; ** $P < 0.01$

tation for the Caribbean ($\beta = 0.59$, $P < 0.01$) and Chinese ($\beta = 0.34$, ns) students, these relationships were virtually nil for the Greeks ($\beta = -0.12$, ns) and Italians ($\beta = -0.02$, ns).

DISCUSSION

Immigrant Group Differences: An Intergroup Analysis

An intergroup perspective on immigrant acculturation was adopted in this study. Within this perspective, immigrants are seen as being in a socially disadvantaged position within the receiving society. It was argued, however, that some immigrant groups would be at a greater disadvantage than others. Specifically, it was predicted that more "stigmatized" immigrant groups (non-whites immigrants in the Canadian context), would perceive themselves as being at a greater disadvantage and would be more likely to support a collective approach to acculturation than less "stigmatized" immigrant groups (i.e. immigrants of European origin).

The results of the study provided strong support for these hypotheses. With regard to the basic assumption, it was found that black Caribbean and Chinese-speaking immigrants perceived themselves to be at a greater disadvantage in Canada than Italian and Greek immigrants. Furthermore, this was true for both first- and second-generation immigrants. More importantly, group membership was found to be systematically associated with the endorsement of a collective acculturation orientation. Immigrants from the more disadvantaged groups were more likely to endorse behaviours representing a collective acculturation orientation than immigrants from relatively less disadvantaged groups. These results are generally congruent with

predictions made by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to Moghaddam's (1988) mobility model of immigrant acculturation, the greater disadvantage experienced by certain immigrant groups does not permit them easily to adopt an individual acculturation orientation (i.e. assimilation), and the more viable alternative is a collective acculturation orientation. Berry et al. (1989, p. 197) have made similar arguments in the context of their model of acculturation: "Assimilation may be virtually impossible for Australian Aborigines, Canadian Indians or Korean-Canadians because of their racial distinctiveness and the associated barriers (prejudice, discrimination) to their full participation in the larger society."

There are, of course, alternative explanations that can be offered for the aforementioned findings. One interpretation is that because there was a negative relationship between the time of residence in the host culture and a collective acculturation orientation, certain immigrant groups may be more collective because they have been in Canada for a shorter period of time. This interpretation can be ruled out, however, because the same immigrant group differences were found when the number of years first-generation immigrants had been living in Canada was controlled for.

Some of the group differences that were observed may have been due, in part, to cultural differences. It is possible, for example, that the Caribbean and Chinese immigrants came from more collectivistic cultures, whereas the Italian and Greek cultures may be more individualistic. Some evidence for this interpretation comes from Hofstede (1980) who scored Italy higher on individualism than Chinese-speaking countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. Data from both Hofstede (1980) and Triandis et al. (1986), on the other hand, indicates that Greece and Hong Kong are similar in terms of individualism. Whereas culture differences may help explain some of the differences that were observed with regard to a collective acculturation orientation, its role at this point remains unclear. Furthermore, one cannot assume that immigrants are representative of their culture of origin with regard to the dimension of individualism-collectivism; Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990) suggested that people who migrate to other countries are more individualistic than those who do not.

Whereas "stigma" was used to classify the immigrant groups in the study, this classification should be seen only as a guide that helps interpret some aspects of the acculturation process. The differences between more or less stigmatized groups in this study were not always clear-cut. Chinese-speaking immigrants were less likely to perceive their group as socially disadvantaged than black Caribbean immigrants. In addition, there was no difference between the Chinese and the Greeks regarding their collective acculturation orientation. Nonetheless, one finding of the present study that is consistent with past research (e.g. Taylor et al., 1990) is that the stigma of being black

in North America may be stronger than the stigma of being a member of other "visible" groups.

Generational Effects

In addition to the observed group differences, the results pertaining to generational differences and similarities are quite informative. Given the different experiences of first- and second-generation immigrants, it was not surprising to observe a number of generational effects. As predicted, immigrants were found to have a stronger ethnic identification and collective acculturation orientation than their adult children. The children of immigrants, on the other hand, were found to have more favourable attitudes toward women and multiculturalism. Although these differences were found, however, there was still evidence of a relationship between the views of immigrant parents and their children *within* families. Significant positive correlations were observed between parents and their children in terms of their collective acculturation orientation, perception of group disadvantage, attitude towards multiculturalism, and attitude towards women. These relationships, which cut across a variety of behaviours, are probably reflective of the impact of social learning that occurs within immigrant families.

The obtained relationships between the various measures are also of interest. It was found, for example, that ethnic group identification correlated positively with a collective acculturation orientation for both generations, thus supporting Phinney's (1990) belief that a collective orientation can be indicative of one's identity. The results also suggest that the context of social development can have some influence on the relations between variables involved in the acculturation experience given that relationships were found between the attitude measures and the identification and acculturation orientation measures for the children of immigrants, but not their parents. It can be argued that because these variables developed concurrently for second-generation immigrants, they are more likely to be related.

One prediction in this study was that individuals who perceived their group as being socially disadvantaged would be more likely to support a collective acculturation orientation. There was only a weak relationship between these variables for the first-generation sample. Whereas this relationship was not evidenced for the second-generation sample, a more detailed analysis revealed that the relationship varied across the different groups under investigation. In fact, the only group for which a significant relationship was obtained was the black Caribbean students. This result suggests that individual differences may be more likely to reveal themselves in groups that are in a more disadvantaged position. In order to understand this finding, it may be useful to view collective behaviour as possibly stemming from a number of motivations. In the case of the black Caribbean students a political motivation may be more salient (i.e. a collective orientation may be equated with social action). For the other groups, a salient

motivation for a collective orientation may have been the maintenance of heritage culture. This motivation seems to be particularly likely given the strong relationships observed between a collective orientation and group identification. One direction for future research will be the identification of the motivational components underlying collective acculturation strategies.

In summary, the results of this study indicate the usefulness of an inter-group relations approach to the study of immigrant acculturation. By looking at immigrant groups within a hierarchy based on social advantage, it is possible to make predictions with regard to their preferred modes of acculturation. The mode of acculturation under scrutiny was a collective acculturation orientation. Whereas the measure that was used in this study holds some promise, it is limited in that all items are positively worded and may be sensitive to a response bias. More research is needed to develop measures that will reliably tap the individual acculturation strategies which are used by immigrants, as it is likely that individual and collective strategies are not in bipolar opposition. It would be beneficial to examine a variety of situations (e.g. family, work) that can be tied to individual and collective orientations in the lives of immigrants, and to see how these modes of acculturation relate to the transition difficulties experienced by immigrants.

Manuscript first received July 1991

Revised manuscript accepted February 1992

REFERENCES

- Alba, R. D. (1990). *Ethnic identity: The transformation of white America*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
- Berry, J. W. (1986). Multiculturalism and psychology in plural societies. In L. Ekstrand (Ed.), *Ethnic minorities and immigrants in a cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 35–51). Lisse, Switzerland: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Berry, J. W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation: Understanding individuals moving between cultures. In R. W. Brislin (Ed.), *Applied cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 232–253). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada*. Ottawa: Supply and Services.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38, 185–206.
- Fong, S. L. M., & Peskin, H. (1969). Sex-role strain and personality adjustment of China-born students in America. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 74, 563–567.
- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. (1970). *Beyond the melting pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York city* (2nd Ed.). Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.
- Kağitçibaşı, C. (1987). Individual and group loyalties: Are they compatible? In C. Kağitçibaşı (Ed.), *Growth and progress in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 94–103). Lisse, Switzerland: Swets & Zeitlinger.

- Kirk, R. (1982). *Experimental design: Procedures for the behavioral sciences* (2nd Ed.). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Kluckhohn, F., & Strodtbeck, I. (1961). *Variations in value orientations*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lai, V. (1971). The new Chinese immigrants in Toronto. In J. L. Elliott (Ed.), *Minority Canadians 2: Immigrant groups* (pp. 120-140). Toronto: Prentice-Hall.
- Lalonde, R. N. (1988). *Studying social mobility in the field: The immigrant example*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Montreal, Canada.
- Lalonde, R. N., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1988). Social integration strategies of Haitian and Indian immigrant women in Montreal, Canada. In J. W. Berry & R. C. Annis (Eds.), *Ethnic psychology: Research and practice with immigrants, refugees, native peoples, ethnic groups and sojourners* (pp. 114-124). Lisse, Switzerland: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Lalonde, R. N., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1992). The process of social identification for visible immigrant women in a multicultural setting. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 23, 25-39.
- Moghaddam, F. M. (1988). Individualistic and collective integration strategies among immigrants: Toward a mobility model of cultural integration. In J. W. Berry & R. C. Annis (Eds.), *Ethnic psychology: Research and practice with immigrants, refugees, native peoples, ethnic groups and sojourners* (pp. 69-79). Lisse, Switzerland: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Moghaddam, F. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1987). The meaning of multiculturalism for visible minority immigrant women. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 19, 121-136.
- Moghaddam, F. M., Taylor, D. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1987). Individualistic and collective integration orientations among Iranians in Canada. *International Journal of Psychology*, 22, 301-313.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Pichini, C. (1987). Two generations in conflict: Sex role expectations among Italian-Canadian women. *Canadian Women Studies*, 8(2), 22-23.
- Richmond, A. H. (1988). *Immigration and ethnic conflict*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Rubin, Z., & Peplau, L. A. (1975). Who believes in a just world? *Journal of Social Issues*, 31(2), 65-89.
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R., & Stapp, J. (1973). A short version of the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS). *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 2, 219-220.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Interindividual behaviour and intergroup behaviour. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 27-60). New York: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1987). *Theories of intergroup relations: International social psychological perspectives*. New York: Praeger.
- Taylor, D. M., Wright, S., Moghaddam, F. M., & Lalonde, R. N. (1990). The personal-group discrimination discrepancy: Perceiving my group, but not myself, to be a target for discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 16, 254-262.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Betancourt, H., Bond, M., Leung, K., Brenes, A., Georgas, J., Hui, C. H., Marin, G., Setiadi, B., Sinha, J. P. B., Verma, J., Spangenberg, J., Touzard, H., & de Montmollin, G. (1986). The measurement of etic aspects of individualism and collectivism across cultures. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 38, 257-267.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323-338.

- Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 1006-1020.
- Whitaker, R. (1987). *Double standard: The secret history of Canadian immigration*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys.

APPENDIX

Collective Acculturation Orientation Scale

1. In order for me to get ahead in Canada it is important that I work with others in the ingroup community, rather than "go it alone".
2. I think that ingroups can better their social position if they organize and work together.
3. I feel there should be a stronger representation of my ethnic group in the political sector
4. I would like to have a position of importance in order to help other ingroups.
5. It is important for ingroups to work as a group in order to improve their economic position
6. I support financial institutions run by ingroups.
7. I help other ingroups find jobs.
8. I would participate in a peaceful demonstration aimed at bettering the position of ingroups in Canada.
9. I would give up some of my personal time in order to help out people in the ingroup community.
10. I help organize ingroup community events.
11. I vote for a political candidate if ingroup problems are one of his/her serious concerns.
12. I would give money to an organization that helps ingroups get established in Canada.
13. I would work for a political party if one of its main objectives was to fight for ethnic minority rights.
14. I try to shop in stores that I know are owned by ingroups.
15. I would lobby the government to improve the position of ingroups in Canada.

Note: In using this scale the word ingroup is replaced with the name of the group under investigation.