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**FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES**

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Expression and Suppression of Prejudice: Investigating Linguistic Intergroup Bias

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Expression and suppression of prejudice:

Investigating linguistic intergroup bias

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Post-Doctoral Studies of the University of
Ottawa as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Clinical Psychology



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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-74243-3
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-74243-3

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Abstract

The role of language in the transmission of prejudice has received much theoretical attention, including the features of the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989; 2000). The LIB model posits that a person's linguistic choices in describing others may reveal positive in-group and negative out-group biases (e.g., Maass, 1999). The following studies investigate specific intrapersonal and socio-contextual variables related to both the mitigation and maintenance of linguistic intergroup bias. The first study examines the acquisition of an out-group language and the subsequent development of out-group identity among minority Canadian Francophones as factors mitigating biased speech. Results reveal that second language (L2) confidence and out-group identification are both related to a decrease in negative out-group bias. However, these same factors appear to promote biased speech toward the in-group. This unexpected finding is understood in relation to the relative imbalance in social power between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians. A subsequent study expands upon these results, through investigation of the LIB in relation to relative group status. While some participants demonstrate a LIB effect, others show out-group favoritism, dubbed here as a reverse LIB effect. Moreover, minority-group members use linguistic bias differently than do majority-group members. These findings suggest that certain factors may in fact contribute to variations in the typical LIB effect. A final study explores the effect of an experimental manipulation of identity on the LIB. Among several revealing observations, analyses indicate that the priming of an inclusive, super-ordinate Canadian identity among minority group members has an effect on linguistic bias use. Results are discussed in the context of intergroup communication theory.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support, guidance and nurturance of many important people. I take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge their statistical, financial and emotional contributions.

I extend a special note of gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Richard Clément, for his thoughtful mentorship, patience, humour, and his ability to foster a sense of community among the members of his lab. Thank you for your presence and insight.

I thank the members of my thesis committee, Drs. Francine Tougas, Luc Pelletier, and Larry Vandergrift, for their valuable input and guidance. I am also appreciative of the time and feedback provided by my external examiner.

For their ongoing, professional and friendly assistance, I thank the faculty and support staff of the School of Psychology.

My labmates, Sara Rubenfeld and Katie Collins, are not just colleagues, they are also my friends. Sara, thank you for the laughter and conversation, both profound and light-hearted. Katie, thank you for always being available for statistical consultation. Your kindness and patience are very much appreciated.

Thank you to my friends Victoria McGlynn, Veronica Asgary-Eden and Catherine Kyeremanteng for helping me achieve work-life balance and showing me how to have fun while completing a doctoral degree. I am so thankful for your friendship.

I gratefully acknowledge the ongoing patience, endless encouragement, and love of my parents, Patricia O'Rourke and Dov Vinograd. I'm quite certain that I would not have made it through without you. I also thank the members of my family, Jonathan Vinograd, Kathryn Edge, Lynne, Barry and Joey Shulman, and Robyn and Jason Berman for their love and support.

Finally, I wish to thank my husband, Justin Shulman, for his patience, spontaneity, forgiveness, understanding and sensitivity. I am so fortunate to have you as my voice of reason, fierce supporter and loving partner.

Thank you!

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Introduction

Theories on the role of language in the transmission of stereotypes abound (e.g., Bourhis & Maass, 2004; Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Leets, 2003), and the problem of language as a discriminatory tool has been empirically examined by several investigators (von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997; Wigboldus, Spears, & Semin, 2005). Contemporary theoretical and empirical literature has uncovered the “subtle yet highly effectual ways” that bias is transmitted (Devine & Elliott, 2000, p. 98). The influential work of Maass and colleagues, in particular, has revealed compelling evidence in favour of the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm, which posits that linguistic decisions made when talking about the self and others reflect cognitive and affective preferences (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989; 2000).

Most prior LIB research has focused almost exclusively on hostile, tension-filled intergroup settings. Intergroup processes, however, are at play in all social contexts, both antagonistic and amicable. Whether traditional LIB predictions hold true within a bilingual community characterized by abundant opportunities for intergroup contact, second language (L2) acquisition, and out-group identity development, remains as yet unknown.

Consequently, this dissertation builds upon prior LIB research by exploring the use of linguistic bias among Francophone and Anglophone Canadians within a relatively harmonious intergroup contact situation. The objectives of this research are threefold: (1) to better understand one mechanism through which linguistic intergroup bias is communicated, (2) to investigate the socio-contextual factors and individual characteristics associated with the expression of linguistic bias, and (3) to explore the effect of a specific prejudice reduction intervention in altering perceptions of intergroup boundaries, thereby potentially mitigating the occurrence of biased discourse.

Language and Prejudice

Despite remarkable social and political progress that has resulted in the prohibition of overt ethnic discrimination, prejudice and intergroup bias persist, and may even be on the rise (Devine & Elliott, 2000). Prejudice is defined as the negative evaluation of an individual or social group on the basis of group membership, and typically consists of cognitive, affective, and behavioural components (Allport, 1954; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Paluck & Green, 2009).

Over the past century, prejudice has been examined from both intra-individual and contextual levels of analysis (e.g., Rokeach, 1960; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Attention to the motivational and cognitive aspects of intergroup bias, including the intersection between the two, has likewise been an essential focus of analysis (e.g., Fiske, 2000). From a motivational perspective, for instance, prejudice may be maintained through “a desire to confirm one’s expectancies, which may be stronger than the motive to assess the world accurately” (Fiedler, Bluemke, Freytag, Unkelbach, & Koch, 2008, p. 96). In other words, individuals tend to seek information in support of their personal conceptions, rather than noticing for contradictory or disconfirming evidence, thereby upholding potentially inaccurate ideas about out-group others.

Cognitive theories of prejudice, on the other hand, propose that biases “result from resource limitations that prevent people from systematic or exhaustive information processing” (Fiedler et al., 2008, p. 96). Social-cognitive theories of prejudice hold that bias persists given the universal human tendency to organize and simplify the complexities of the world through social categorization. That is, individuals rely upon their cognitive classifications of others as group members in informing subjective beliefs, attitudes, expectations, impressions and degree of subjective identification with both in- and out-group others (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Beginning in the late 1970s, theories regarding the particular mechanisms through which social cognition is accomplished and translated into intergroup behaviour began to emerge (e.g., Hamilton & Gifford, 1976; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wilder, 1978). Without doubt, social cognition is central in understanding the existence and maintenance of prejudice. More precisely, it is necessary to think, perceive, understand, remember and categorize in order for thought to influence attitudes, capacities which are uniquely human, and impossible without cognitive ability (Krauss & Fussell, 1996). While the study of these cognitive concepts has significantly advanced knowledge on the social psychology of prejudice, the focus nonetheless remained on the content of prejudices, rather than the processes central to their maintenance and transmission (Krauss & Fussell, 1996). As such, the precise mechanisms by which prejudiced thoughts are enacted within intergroup interactions remained, by and large, overlooked and therefore poorly understood.

In addressing the apparent gap between the experience and enactment of intergroup prejudice, social psychologists began to acknowledge the centrality of language and communication. As Krauss and Fussell (1996) observe, for instance, “communication is one of the primary means by which people affect one another” (p. 655). More recently, Sutton (2010) has corroborated this notion, asserting that “intergroup relations would be impossible without language” (p. 105). Language is the medium through which groups are formed and organized, provides the channels necessary for attaching and sharing social meaning, and the means for beginning and ending intergroup conflict (Sutton, 2010). In short, language is the predominant mechanism through which prejudice is communicated (e.g., Giles & Johnson, 1981; Maass, 1999; van Dijk, 1987), because it is “the primary means by which we gain access to the contents of others’ minds” (Krauss & Chiu, 1998, p. 41).

Indeed, language represents a shared symbolic system, used to communicate ideas from one person to another, and is integral in the construction and exchange of meaning within social contexts (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008). Language exchanges can be understood in terms of both intended and unintended consequences (e.g., Fiedler, 2008). The intended consequences result from overt behaviours that are under the conscious control of the speaker, while unintended consequences arise from behaviours that are not under a person's conscious control. As Holtgraves and Kashima (2008) explain, "a particular instance of speakers' language use can inadvertently affect the thoughts and actions of the speakers themselves, the recipients, and the collective that include both" (p. 73). In particular, the maintenance and transmission of prejudice is among the intended or unintended consequences of language use.

With respect to the intended consequences of one's linguistic decisions, the lexicon of a given language provides seemingly endless options with which to impart prejudice and stereotypes, including racial slurs, sexist and homophobic speech, and ethnophobias, the derogatory group labels used to define specific out-groups (Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2000). Such hateful labels, transmitted from one individual to another, from one generation to the next, are more common with respect to socially disadvantaged minority groups, in contrast to more powerful and privileged majority groups (Bourhis & Maass, 2004). Inter-generational mechanisms are perhaps likewise responsible for the maintenance and transmission of well-known sayings that disparage minority group members. More precisely, as Bourhis and Maass (2004) assert, "through observational learning, children will selectively 'absorb' these stereotypic expressions in the same active way they acquire many other kinds of information transmitted through the mother tongue" (Bourhis & Maass, 2004, p. 1593).

Conversely, unintended consequences may also arise as a function of language use. Bourhis and Maass (2004) highlight several ways in which language fulfills various social functions, including the often imperceptible and seemingly unintentional shaping of interpersonal and intergroup thought and opinion. In support of this argument, the authors underscore the capacity of language to elicit stereotyped judgments on the basis of accent or dialect, its capacity to activate specific out-group representations, and its capacity to enhance or reduce the visibility of social groups. At a relational level, for instance, speakers can gain dominance over out-group members through high rates of verbal participation, frequent speaking turns, and numerous interruptions (e.g., Reid & Ng, 1999). From an ecological level, on the other hand, powerful groups may exert control by imposing use of the dominant language as the standard. Over time, and perhaps tacitly, the prevailing language becomes increasingly embedded into the everyday discourse of the minority group. Thus, while prejudice is routinely communicated through interpersonal dialogue, it may also become a cultural artifact, infiltrating collective discourse through intergenerational transmission and media influence (Maass, 1999). As such, language may grow to become a cultural keepsake of long-established stereotypes and prejudices (Bourhis & Maass, 2004).

For reasons that include social norms, empathy, and egalitarianism, most people wish to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Individuals may therefore be motivated to inhibit and control the experience and expression of prejudice, which can occur both by means of intentional control over expressions of bias, as well as the deliberate inhibition of discriminatory thought and opinion. That is, in addition to reducing its overt expression through social control and the public rejection of prejudice, inhibition may also be manifested internally, through the personal denial of prejudice within oneself. Despite such motivated and

controlled attempts to reduce or eliminate prejudice, biased intergroup beliefs continue to spread in covert ways (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), including through subtle variations in discursive decision-making (Maass et al., 1989; 2000).

One might intuitively assume that oblique or indirect expressions of prejudice are less harmful than those that are explicit and directly injurious to the intended recipient. In contrast, however, research has consistently shown that subtly biased utterances may be as harmful as more obvious forms of prejudice (Leets, 2003). Moreover, speakers may inadvertently or unintentionally express personal biases that are perhaps not under conscious awareness. Because people may be unable to deliberately control certain linguistic features, a number of researchers have attempted to uncover the mechanisms through which subtle bias is expressed. An underlying goal of this research has been to “identify people’s true sentiments toward social categories in a subtle manner that renders socially desirable or politically correct responses unlikely” (Franco & Maass, 1996, p. 338). In particular, the LIB model predicts that degree of linguistic abstractness is related to beliefs and attitudes not otherwise detected by more overt measures. The LIB is explored in more detail, below.

The LIB Phenomenon

According to the linguistic category model (LCM; Semin & Fiedler, 1988), verbal expressions can be classified into four categories: (1) descriptive action verbs, (2) interpretative action verbs, (3) state verbs, and (4) adjectives. Each category represents a point along a continuum signifying sequential levels of language abstractness. On the concrete end are descriptive action verbs (DAVs), factual accounts of behaviour for which no inference of responsibility is required. DAVs are easily verifiable, as they explain discernible actions (e.g., ‘A talks to B’). Interpretive action verbs (IAVs) are likewise descriptive, yet require a certain degree

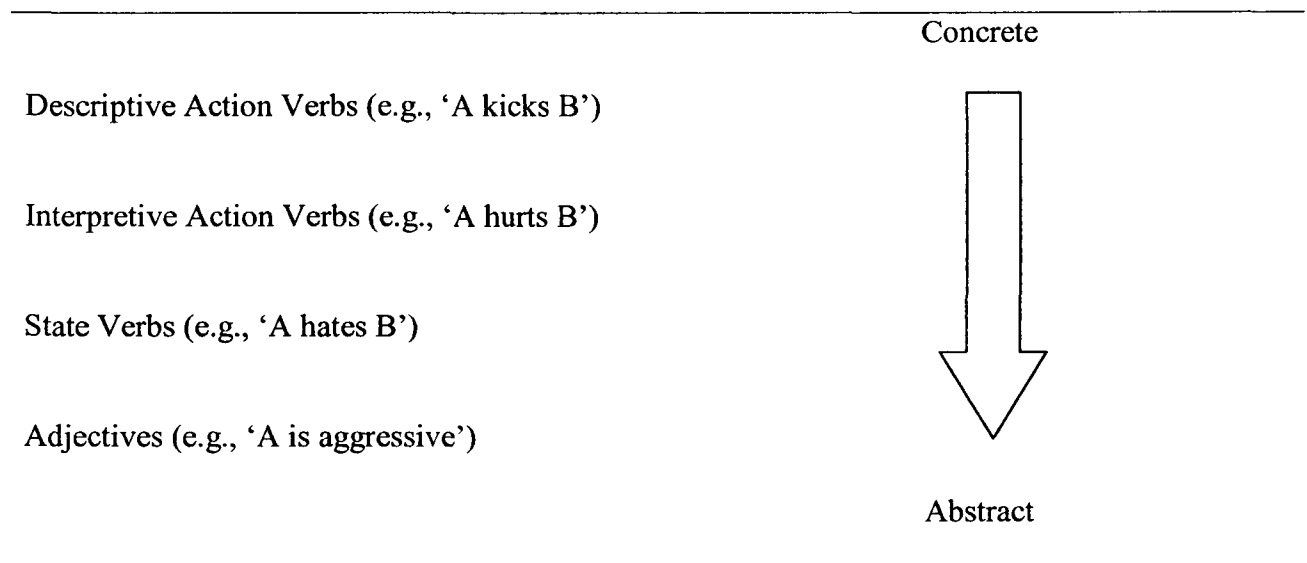
of interpretation and assignment of responsibility (e.g., 'A helps B'). State verbs (SVs) refer to enduring psychological states (e.g., 'A cares about B'), abstract statements which are not easily verifiable by others. The most abstract category, adjectives (ADJs), describes personal traits that are generally inflexible across time and situation (e.g., 'A is altruistic') (Maass, 1999; Maass et al., 2000; see Figure 1).

Based on the LCM, the LIB predicts a tendency of individuals to use dispositional terms (e.g., ADJs) to describe prosocial in-group and antisocial out-group behaviours, while antisocial in-group and prosocial out-group behaviours tend to receive fleeting, situation-specific descriptors (e.g., DAVs). In essence, the LIB proposes that enduring traits are more likely to be ascribed to positive in-group and negative out-group behaviours, while situational attributions are given to negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours.

While it is certainly possible to describe the same behaviour in a variety of ways, it is hypothesized that the linguistic choices a person makes correspond to distinct psychological connotations (Maass, Ceccarelli, & Rudin, 1996), particularly as they relate to subjective beliefs and attitudes. Because each linguistic category has "implications for attributions of causality and responsibility," one's linguistic decisions, whether intentional or inadvertent, may reveal subtle prejudiced beliefs about others, perhaps not otherwise known or detected (Semin & Fiedler, 1988, p. 558). The implications of describing a person or situation using abstract rather than concrete terms involve ascribing temporal stability to the behaviour or enduring qualities to the person described, thus implying generalizability across situation on the basis of a single behavioural event. The more abstract the statement, the stronger the inference about a person's character, and the more difficult it becomes to recognize contradictory evidence in the future (Maass et al., 2000).

Figure 1

The linguistic category model (LCM)



(adapted from Semin and Fiedler, 1988)

Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory (SIT) offers a motivational account for the occurrence of linguistic intergroup bias. The LIB functions an in-group protective mechanism by, essentially, casting the in-group in a favorable light, while disparaging against the out-group (Maass, Milesi, Zabbini, & Stahlberg, 1995). As such, language is strategically used to create and maintain a positive image of the self. Indeed, there is compelling evidence in support of the LIB phenomenon (e.g., Maass, Ceccarelli, & Rudin, 1996; Maass, Karasawa, Politi, & Suga, 2006; Wigboldus et al., 2005). Specifically, it has been observed in contexts characterized by intergroup hostility and strong in-group identification, for instance, among competing political parties, hunters and environmentalists, and rival athletic teams (Maass, 1999).

In comparison, the dynamics that evolve within a peaceful and relatively stable multicultural community remain less well understood. While the overt expression of prejudice may be thwarted by local norms, categorization and stereotyping remain basic cognitive mechanisms that inevitably come to bear on intergroup relations. The results of these processes must, however, be understood in terms of contextual influences which are different from the climate of hostility at play within typical LIB paradigm situations explained so far. A number of specific variables are, therefore, hypothesized to play an integral role in contributing to either the maintenance or mitigation of linguistic bias, all of which pertain to specific aspects of intergroup communication.

Communicative encounters in which intergroup differences are salient have generally been regarded as frustrating, low in intimacy, and potentially high in conflict (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Williams & Giles, 1996). Nonetheless, intergroup interactions may also be enjoyable and gratifying (Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci, 2005). Several individual and

socio-contextual factors are hypothesized to contribute to the valence of intergroup interaction (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Giles & Johnson, 1981). It may be argued that those variables which promote and advance mutual understanding in communicative interactions characterized by group difference are likewise instrumental in determining the extent to which individuals either engage in or abstain from expressing prejudice. The correlates to be studied herein include ethno-linguistic identity, intergroup contact and L2 confidence.

Ethno-linguistic Identity

Social identity has been explained by Tajfel (1978) as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 63). Often, as Côté and Clément (1994) have noted, language learning serves as a significant precursor in the development of an individual’s social identity. Indeed, L2 learners have been found to identify with the out-group in response to meaningful contacts and subsequent gains in language confidence (e.g., Berry, 1997; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Noels & Clément, 1996).

Following a situated approach to identity (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001), individuals are often inclined to establish positive identity through favorable comparison of the self in contrast to others (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As such, an individual’s identity may be understood as ever-adapting and changeable, varying in response to social and contextual determinants. As Clément and Noels (1992) suggest, ethno-linguistic vitality, the relative status of the in-group in comparison with the out-group, may be among the factors influencing identity development.

Asymmetries in the status and power between groups in contact can bring about in-group identity erosion, and may partially explain the finding that different patterns of identification

characterize members of majority and minority groups. Specifically, members of a linguistic minority group may develop a subtractive profile of identification, meaning that gains in incorporating the majority-group identity are made, to the detriment of the in-group identity (Lambert, 1978). In contrast, high vitality majority-group members can afford to learn the language of the minority group without undermining their own identity, an additive form of cultural identification (Landry & Allard, 1990).

With respect to the LIB, the specific issue of ethno-linguistic identity is of primary interest. In addition to changes in identification following exposure to an out-group, there is also the possibility that such changes impact an individual's subjective stance regarding members of the L2 out-group. As such, an underlying objective of the present research is to uncover the role of ethno-linguistic identity processes in the maintenance or mitigation of negative out-group bias. It is therefore expected that out-group identification will serve as a preventive factor in the use of linguistic bias.

Intergroup Contact

A strong line of research has underscored the importance of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice (e.g., Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Specifically, Allport's (1954) influential contact hypothesis proposes that frequent interaction between members of distinct groups leads to more amicable relations and to a reduction in biased attitudes (e.g., Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999; Kalin & Berry, 1982; Pettigrew, 1997).

Intergroup contact has likewise been discussed from a psycholinguistic perspective. Specifically, Clément's socio-contextual model of intergroup contact posits that frequent and enjoyable contact with the members of an L2 group are likely to foster positive intergroup attitudes which, in turn, promote further incentive to approach and learn more about the out-

group language and culture (Clément 1980; Clément & Gardner, 2001). It is therefore expected that L2 contact will enhance an individual's willingness to develop friendships and meaningful connections across ethno-linguistic boundaries (e.g., Lambert & Cazabon, 1994), a circumstance which is likely incompatible with linguistic bias.

L2 Confidence

In multilingual contexts, the successful acquisition and usage of a L2 represents a significant source of social currency and meaningful cross-cultural connection, at both individual and group levels (Edwards, 1994). L2 confidence refers to an assessment of one's ability to communicate effectively using a non-native language (Clément 1980; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Such perceptions comprise both a belief in one's capacity to adequately cope in intergroup contact situations, as well as one's subjective feelings of anxiety while speaking the L2 (Noels & Clément, 1996; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996).

Research conducted by Clément and his collaborators has investigated the influence of L2 acquisition, use, and perceived competence on the emergence of positive out-group attitudes. Indeed, Noels and Clément (1996) have observed a mediating effect of L2 confidence on frequency and amiability of contact with members of the out-group, in addition to identity development and adjustment. More positive out-group interactions have been observed to lead to an increased sense of communicative competence. In essence, frequent contact and self-perceived L2 confidence are probable precursors in the development of respect and kinship, circumstances that are likely contrary to the expression of negative out-group bias. It is therefore hypothesized that, in addition to more frequent L2 contact, greater L2 confidence will be related to less biased language use.

In Consideration of Context

The current research evolves within a relatively stable and peaceful bilingual (i.e., French-English) environment. Respect for diversity, in general, and bilingualism, in particular, are endorsed at both individual and ecological levels of analysis. More specifically, the Canadian government has recognized its citizens' ethno-linguistic diversity through legislation of the Official Languages Act in 1969, representing the country's movement toward enhancing and preserving the status and use of both French and English languages through the mandate of official bilingualism (Department of Justice, 1985). In view of legislative efforts aimed at fostering the harmonious coexistence of Canada's two official language groups, it is perhaps not surprising to note the frequent and, for the most part, amicable contact between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

Within the national capital region of Ottawa-Gatineau, in particular, daily intergroup interaction is widespread, and it is not uncommon for schools, workplaces, public spaces, and even private households to be linguistically diverse. When considered from a social psychological perspective (e.g., Allport, 1954; Clément, 1996), frequent intergroup contact likely precedes rapprochement and affiliations between the members of each group. In turn, the emergence of positive beliefs about and attitudes toward out-group members are likely to ensue. Such positive cultural representations of the out-group represent cognitive and affective conditions that are likely incompatible with the expression of prejudice. Nonetheless, asymmetries in social power and relative status persist, to the potential detriment of the vitality and status of French Canadians.

This Dissertation

Three studies were conducted in order to better understand the role of language in the transmission and preservation of linguistic bias. The first study (Shulman & Clément, 2008) was

conducted to better understand the factors influencing the communication of linguistic bias among Francophone participants. The LIB was assessed in relation to group identification and L2 confidence. Results highlight the intricate association between identity, L2 confidence and the expression of linguistic bias, and indicate that exploration of the LIB as a function of relative group status would be beneficial to the current investigation.

The second study responds to the need to investigate the LIB with attention to relative group status, by recruiting both minority-Francophone and majority-Anglophone Canadians as participants (Shulman, Collins, & Clément, 2010). This study investigates whether LIB predictions hold true when individuals are able to manipulate their communicative acts. This study also investigates individual and socio-contextual factors that give rise to linguistic bias. LIB predictions were confirmed, but with qualification, a finding which again highlights the need for further study.

The previous studies underscore the role of language and identity variables in intergroup attitude. The final study investigates whether an experimental intervention influences perceptions of identity and group boundaries, therefore contributing to a reduction in the expression of bias. Perceptions of group boundaries were therefore manipulated in order to determine whether facilitating a common, super-ordinate Canadian identity is related to less biased language use than when individual, subordinate identities (e.g., Francophone and Anglophone) are accentuated.

Study One

Expressing prejudice through the linguistic intergroup bias:

Second language confidence and identity among minority group members*

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University of Ottawa

* This study appeared in *Diversité Urbaine* (2008), *Automne*, 109-130.

Abstract

The role of verbal communication in the transmission of prejudice has received much theoretical attention (Hecht, 1998; Le Couteur & Augoustinos, 2001), including the features of the linguistic intergroup bias (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989), yet few studies have examined the acquisition of an out-group language as a factor in mitigating prejudicial speech. The conditions under which minority Canadian Francophones use linguistic bias when communicating about the in- and out-group (i.e., Canadian Anglophones) was investigated. Data was collected from 110 Francophone students. Predictions were confirmed but only when out-group identification was considered. Further, out-group identification and second language confidence were both related to a decrease in out-group derogation; however, the same factors appear to promote linguistically biased speech toward the in-group. Results are discussed within current intergroup communication theory.

Key words: linguistic intergroup bias, ethno-linguistic identification, second language confidence

Résumé

Le rôle de la communication verbale, incluant les aspects spécifiques du biais linguistique intergroupe (BLI)(Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989), dans la transmission des préjugés a reçu une attention soutenue (e.g., Hecht, 1998; Le Couteur & Augoustinos, 2001). Peu d'études ont cependant étudiées comment le BLI est reliée à des activités de communication susceptibles de réduire les préjugés, comme l'acquisition de la langue d'un exogroupe. Cette étude poursuit, par conséquent deux buts : (1) mieux comprendre sous quelles conditions des francophones canadiens minoritaires utilisent un subtil biais linguistique lorsqu'ils décrivent le comportement de leur endogroupe et de leur exogroupe (les Canadiens-anglais), et (2) examiner le rôle de la confiance langagière en langue seconde, de l'identité ethnolinguistique et des attitudes dans la communication des préjugés. Les données furent recueillies auprès d'un groupe de 110 étudiants francophones fréquentant une université située en milieu minoritaire. Les résultats ont confirmé les prédictions mais seulement lorsque l'identification à l'endogroupe était prise en compte. De plus, l'identification à l'exogroupe et une confiance langagière plus prononcée dans la langue de celui-ci étaient reliées à une expression moindre de préjugés à l'égard de l'exogroupe. Cependant, ces mêmes facteurs semblent promouvoir l'usage d'un biais linguistique à l'égard de l'endogroupe. Ces résultats sont interprétés dans le cadre des théories de la communication intergroupe.

Mots clés : biais linguistique intergroupe, identité ethnolinguistique, confiance langagière en langue seconde

Introduction

Stereotypes and prejudicial beliefs continue to spread within North America through subtle, yet compelling means (Devine & Elliott, 2000). Although blatant intolerance and discrimination are prohibited by law, the expression of prejudice is perpetuated in covert ways. Theories on the role of language in the communication and preservation of social stereotypes are numerous (e.g., Fiedler & Schmid, 2001), and the problem of language as a discriminatory tool has been empirically examined by several investigators (e.g., Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989, 2000; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997; Wigboldus, Spears, & Semin, 2005). From an alternative intergroup perspective, it has been proposed that the acquisition and usage of a second language has positive implications in the mitigation of cross-cultural conflict and the promotion of intergroup harmony (e.g., Rubinfeld et al., 2007; Wright & Tropp, 2005). Merging the two approaches, the primary goal of the present research is to assess the extent to which subtle prejudicial beliefs are communicated within a bilingual context, and to investigate the role of ethno-linguistic identity and second language confidence on the transmission of linguistic bias.

Linguistic Intergroup Bias

Because people may be unable to deliberately control certain linguistic features of speech, researchers have recently attempted to uncover the mechanisms through which covert biases are expressed (e.g., Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Maass, 1999; Maass et al., 2000; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997). An underlying goal of this research has been to identify people's "true sentiments toward social categories in a subtle manner that renders socially desirable or politically correct responses unlikely" (Franco & Maass, 1996, p. 338). This phenomenon can be explained by the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm, grounded in

Semin and Fiedler's (1988) linguistic category model. Its central premise posits that the degree of language abstractness used to describe the actions of others is related to social and intergroup appraisals. The implications of choosing to describe a person or situation using abstract rather than concrete terms involve ascribing temporal stability to the behaviour or enduring qualities to the person described, thus implying generalizability across situations (Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Maass, 1999). The more abstract the statement, the stronger the inferences about a person's character and the more difficult it becomes to imagine disconfirming or contradictory evidence (Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Semin & Fiedler, 1988). As such, prejudicial beliefs and cultural stereotypes may therefore become socially acceptable linguistic features, communicated from person to person, from one generation to the next (Maass, 1999; Bourhis & Maass, 2004).

According to Semin and Fiedler's model (1988), verbal expressions can be classified into four categories: (1) descriptive action verbs, (2) interpretative action verbs, (3) state verbs, and (4) adjectives. Each category represents a point along a continuum signifying sequential levels of language abstractness. As Maass et al. (2000) indicate, on the concrete end of the continuum are descriptive action verbs (DAVs), which represent objective descriptions of behaviour, for which no inference of responsibility is necessary. In other words, DAVs describe observable events, and are therefore easily verifiable (e.g., 'Isabelle talks to Vincent'). Interpretive action verbs (IAVs) are likewise descriptive in nature; however they do require a certain degree of personal interpretation and assignment of responsibility (e.g., 'Isabelle helps Vincent'). The third category consists of state verbs (SVs) which refer to the enduring psychological states of a person (e.g., 'Isabelle cares about Vincent'). In comparison with DAVs and IAVs, SVs are abstract, and their veracity is not easily verifiable by objective observers. The final and most abstract category,

adjectives (ADJs), describes traits or dispositions that are generally inflexible across time and situation (e.g., 'Isabelle is altruistic') (Maass, 1999; Maass et al., 2000).

On the basis of differential categories of descriptive abstractness, the LIB model describes a tendency to express desirable in-group and undesirable out-group behaviours in abstract terms (e.g., ADJs), and a tendency to describe unfavorable in-group and favorable out-group behaviours in concrete terms (e.g., SVs) (e.g., Maass, 1999, Maass et al., 2000, Maass, Karasawa, Politi, & Suga, 2006). According to Maass (1999), the prosocial behaviour of an in-group member may be described in a way which implies constancy across time and situation (e.g., helping a person in need is expressed as being 'altruistic'). Moreover, an in-group member engaging in an antisocial act can be described in temporary terms (e.g., shoving a person may be described as 'pushing'). In contrast, when describing an out-group member behaving in the exact same manner, the opposite is true. That is, an out-group member lending a hand to another may be described as "helping," thereby implying the transient nature of the behaviour, and the adverse action is expressed as being 'aggressive,' to convey the action in stable terms, thereby confirming negative perceptions or stereotypical beliefs about the out-group member (Maass, 1999). A number of empirical investigations provide evidence in support of the LIB phenomenon, which has been shown to function in intergroup situations, especially when both in-group identification and intergroup tensions are high, such as between rival athletic teams (Maass et al., 2000) and social collectivities in opposition (e.g., hunters and environmentalists)(Maass, Ceccarelli, & Rudin, 1996).

Combating Prejudice: The Role of Second Language Acquisition

Culturally diverse communities in which intergroup interaction is salient are also often characterized as bilingual or multilingual environments. In such contexts, residents of an ethno-

linguistically diverse community may acquire ability in the second language (L2), along with an appreciation of the out-group culture and its members. With frequent contact and exposure, linguistic confidence, and enhanced intergroup understanding, an empathic attitude toward the L2 culture is likely to ensue (Irishkanova, Röcklinsberg, Ozolina, & Zaharia, 2004; Wright & Tropp, 2005). Such positive social appraisals may subsequently facilitate the development of subjective identification to the out-group, thereby hindering the likelihood of using subtly biased language when describing the actions, behaviours and dispositions of the L2 group members.

Subjective beliefs and attitudes toward an out-group have indeed been recognized as outcomes of the development and maintenance of positive intergroup relations. A recent study examined the correlates of intergroup cultural representations and revealed that, among both Canadian Francophones and Anglophones, greater identification with the L2 group led to more positive attitudes and accepting views toward the members of that group (Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun & Auger, 2006). Following Gardner and Lambert (1972), a strong line of research has consistently found evidence supporting the notion that attitudinal variables are associated with an integrative stance toward the out-group, or L2 community (e.g., Clément, Gardner & Smythe, 1977; Rubinfeld et al., 2006). As such, positive social appraisals of the L2 group represent a fundamental component of harmonious intergroup relations.

Beyond the emergence of positive attitudes toward members of the second language group, interest in and acquisition of the L2 may also contribute to a learner's action tendencies, by influencing a desire to promote constructive intergroup interactions. For instance, Rubinfeld and her colleagues (2007) recently examined the role of language confidence in predicting one's tendency to intervene in cross-cultural conflict situations as a cultural intermediary. Findings revealed that L2 confidence was linked to the tendency to actively engage as a cultural mediator

with the intention of promoting social harmony between distinct cultural groups. Within a bilingual context, where majority and minority language speakers frequently interact, one's L2 confidence, competence, and degree of anxiety experienced when speaking the L2 represent central variables in influencing intergroup relations. These variables are therefore hypothesized to be related to the tendency to either communicate out-group bias or to use more neutral forms of expression. It is also expected that high L2 confidence will be related to a reduction in one's propensity to engage in linguistic bias, while those reporting low L2 confidence will demonstrate a tendency to engage in linguistic bias.

In terms of the operation of LIB, the specific issue of identification is of central concern to L2 acquisition. A number of authors contend that the development of an out-group identity may be an additional positive outcome of cross-cultural intergroup exposure. A long tradition of empirical research has revealed a link between cultural identity and patterns of linguistic behaviour (e.g., Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990). Within a bilingual context, individuals are exposed to and become familiar with the L2 group. Over time, and in response to the immediate linguistic environment, one's profile of linguistic identification has been found to develop and adapt (Clément & Noels, 1992; Noels & Clément, 1996), with particular attention to differentials in the vitality of each language group (e.g., Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). That is, members of a linguistic minority group may develop a subtractive profile of cultural identification, meaning that gains in incorporating the majority group language identity are made, to the detriment of the in-group identity (Lambert, 1978). In contrast, high vitality dominant majorities can afford to learn the language of the minority without undermining their own group identity, an additive form of cultural identification (Landry & Allard, 1990). Given their weaker group vitality,

minority groups may experience much assimilation pressures from the power of attraction of the dominant language and culture.

The question of which identification profile may relate to the most positive intergroup behaviour, however, remains whole. In the Rubinfeld et al. (2007) study, a strong L1 identity was related to greater likelihood of a mediating intervention between antagonistic minority group members. Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory (SIT), on the other hand, suggests that an individual's need for positive self-identity may be satisfied by identification with and membership in prestigious social groups. This need may therefore motivate a person to develop favorable behaviour toward the L2 group, thus enhancing positive attitudes to and identification with its group members. Finally, cross-cultural approaches to intergroup contact (e.g., Berry, 1990) would suggest that optimally harmonious intergroup relations follow from a double, integrated, identification to both L1 and L2 groups. Thus, another goal of the current study is to uncover which identity profile is linked to the tendency to engage in discriminatory linguistic devices such as the LIB.

The Present Study

The objectives of this research are twofold. The first is to determine whether individuals demonstrate variation in linguistic abstractness level (e.g., LIB), given their ethno-linguistic identification to either the in-group or the out-group, the category membership of the actor, and the social desirability of the actor's behaviour. In line with the LIB phenomenon, it is expected that participants will use a higher level of linguistic abstractness when describing the desirable behaviours of in-group actors and the undesirable behaviour of out-group actors. When describing the undesirable behaviour of in-group actors and the desirable behaviour of out-group actors, it is hypothesized that participants will use a lower level of linguistic abstractness.

A second research objective is to investigate whether L2 confidence is related to the tendency to use subtly discriminatory linguistic devices when communicating about the behaviours of the out-group. Specifically, L2 confidence is investigated as a contributing factor in determining one's propensity to engage in linguistic bias. It is expected that higher confidence in the L2 will decrease the likelihood of subtle linguistic bias use.

This research was conducted on the bilingual (i.e., French-English) campus of the University of Ottawa, located in the province of Ontario, Canada. Within this educational context, students are able to take courses in the language of their choice, and have numerous opportunities to interact with members of the second language group. Even though this institution's charter includes the protection of the French language and culture, it evolves in a demographic context where Francophones constitute a clear minority.

Speakers of French in Ontario encounter high levels of contact with the English language. Recent demographics estimate that fewer than 5% of Ontarians speak French (Statistics Canada, 2001). At the municipal level, despite the City of Ottawa's policy on bilingualism, which affirms a commitment to offer services in both official languages, English is undoubtedly the dominant language, a pattern reflected both provincially and nationally (de Vries, 1994). Indeed, in relation to majority Anglophones, the ethno-linguistic vitality status of Francophones in the province of Ontario in general, and the city of Ottawa, in particular, is relatively low. In the face of community systems and institutions which favour the English language, Franco-Ontarians are significantly restricted in the use of their first language (L1) (Mougeon & Beniak, 1991). Use of English in everyday life is common for Franco-Ontarians, many of whom are adept at code-switching to English when conversing with their Anglophone peers. Further, given the precedence of English in the media, institutional, and corporate life, it maintains some prestige,

to the potential detriment of the development of a Francophone cultural identity among Franco-Ontarians. Taken together, these realities highlight the relative imbalance in social power between the two ethno-linguistic groups under study (Brauer & Bourhis, 2006).

Method

Participants

Participants were eligible to take part in the study if their mother tongue was French, if they have spent most of their lives in Canada, and if they were enrolled in an undergraduate psychology course at the University of Ottawa at the time of questionnaire completion. The original sample was composed of 111 Francophone students. One multivariate outlier was detected, and was eliminated from the sample, leaving 110 participants. The majority of respondents were female (77%), and ranged in age from 16 to 37 years ($M = 19.11$; $SD = 2.59$).

While the majority of participants self-reported as Franco-Ontarians (70%), a number of participants were born in Quebec (25%), or in another province (5%). It may be argued that Quebecois Francophones display a dominant majority group psychology in comparison to minority Franco-Ontarians, thus potentially influencing their attitudes toward the Anglophone majority of Ontario. However, the decision was made to include Quebecois students in the present sample, given that a similar pattern of results was obtained when participants were separated by self-reported province of birth.

Materials

Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire package, in French, comprising a series of scales which examined their attitudes toward the L2 community, their confidence speaking English, and their degree of ethno-linguistic identification to both the in-group French minority and the out-group English Canadian majority (see Annex A). Additionally, participants

were asked to complete a measure of linguistic abstractness to assess use of subtle linguistic bias. Scales were presented in the order in which they appear in Annex A. The following scales were administered:

Attitude toward Anglophones. The Attitudes toward English Canadians scale (Clément & Baker, 2001), a 10-item self-report instrument, was used to measure participants' subjective feelings regarding the ethno-linguistic out-group (e.g., 'the Anglophone cultural heritage represents an important and precious part of our national identity'). The items are situated on a 7-point Likert-scale with options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, where a high score indicates more positive attitudes toward Anglophones. The internal reliability for this scale was found to be $\alpha = .83$.

Francophone and Anglophone identity. The Situated Ethnic Identity scale (Clément & Noels, 1992) is a 10-item self-report instrument developed to assess the degree of participants' identification with their own language community, as well as the Anglophone language community. The measure describes a number of daily situations (e.g., at home, while participating in cultural activities, reading or writing). For each situation, the items are situated on a 7-point Likert scale with options ranging from *not at all like a Francophone* to *very much like a Francophone* in the case of Francophone identity, and from *not at all like an Anglophone* to *very much like an Anglophone*, in the case of Anglophone identity. The reliability coefficient for Francophone identity was calculated to be $\alpha = .82$, and $\alpha = .84$ for Anglophone identity.

Confidence with English. Participants were asked to report the extent to which they are confident in their English-speaking capability, by means of a four-item scale (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985), related to four aspects of language ability: (1) writing, (2) reading, (3) oral comprehension, and (4) speaking. Participants indicated their perceived competence in all four

language abilities, ranging from *not at all fluent* to *completely fluent*, where higher scores indicate greater confidence in English. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha = .93$.

Anxiety speaking English. The English use Anxiety (Clément & Baker, 2001) scale was administered in order to assess participants' self-reported experienced anxiety in situations which call for the use of the second language (e.g., 'when I make a telephone call, I get confused when I must speak English'). The eight items are situated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, where a high score is indicative of greater anxiety. The reliability coefficient for this scale was $\alpha = .89$.

Linguistic intergroup bias. The tendency to use subtly biased language when describing members of the out-group was assessed by means of Maass and colleagues' linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm (e.g., Maass et al., 1989; 2000). Participants were presented with a series of four cartoon vignettes depicting actors engaged in either prosocial or antisocial behaviours, using two vignettes, respectively (Maass, personal communication, 1997). Four verbal descriptions accompanied each vignette, where each represented a distinct level of linguistic abstractness. Participants were asked to select the description which they believed best represented the story depicted in each of the four vignettes.

In order to denote ethno-linguistic membership of the characters, each actor was assigned a name which signifies their social category as either Anglophone or Francophone (e.g., Jennifer versus Mariève). Questionnaires were randomly assigned to participants so that equal halves of the sample received surveys depicting Francophone ($n = 55$) and Anglophone ($n = 55$) actors.

Once completed and returned, participant responses were coded for language abstractness. For each participant, level of abstractness was calculated according to Semin and Fielder's (1988) linguistic category model. Accordingly, each statement was assigned a value of

1 to 4 to denote degree of language abstractness, where a higher score is indicative of greater linguistic abstractness.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from those undergraduate psychology courses participating in the School of Psychology Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR) at the University of Ottawa. Students who met the inclusion criteria of this study were granted access to online questionnaires and study descriptions provided by means of Sona Systems, an online participant management service. An integral aspect of the ISPR system is that students receive one percentage point toward their academic course for each hour they devote to research participation.

Participants who self-selected to participate in this study indicated a date and time for their participation in the study, which was conveyed electronically to the researchers. During the specified timeslot, participants obtained a questionnaire package from a private on-campus research laboratory. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire package in the lab, or to complete it elsewhere and to return it once complete. Completion of all study materials took approximately 45 minutes.

Prospective participants were informed that their participation was optional and that all responses were confidential. To further protect confidentiality, participants returned completed surveys to the researchers in sealed return-envelopes.

Results

The overall objective of the present research was to examine the contribution of language, attitudinal and identity variables on the communication of subtle linguistic bias. As presented in Table 1, mean scores are comparable across actor groups. In each group, those who reported high Anglophone identification held more positive out-group attitudes, identified less

Table 1

Inter-correlations among variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Francophone Actor							
1. Attitude toward Anglophones	1.00						
2. Francophone Identification	-.170	1.00					
3. Anglophone Identification	.442**	-.220	1.00				
4. Confidence in English	.286*	-.294*	.474**	1.00			
5. Anxiety Speaking English	-.306	.162	-.387**	-.735**	1.00		
6. Prosocial Abstractness	-.149	.235	-.335*	-.191	.142	1.00	
7. Antisocial Abstractness	.006	-.248	.321*	.063	-.115	.144	1.00
Mean	4.28	5.15	3.89	6.01	2.73	2.91	2.60
Standard deviation	1.05	1.06	1.28	1.13	1.45	0.78	0.66
Anglophone Actor							
1. Attitude toward Anglophones	1.00						
2. Francophone Identification	-.449**	1.00					
3. Anglophone Identification	.414**	-.475**	1.00				
4. Confidence in English	.239	-.407**	.518**	1.00			
5. Anxiety Speaking English	-.299*	.301*	-.254	-.773**	1.00		
6. Prosocial Abstractness	-.123	.323*	-.125	-.105	-.054	1.00	
7. Antisocial Abstractness	-.018	.252	-.111	-.249	.261	.129	1.00
Mean	4.33	4.87	4.21	6.03	2.78	2.88	2.57
Standard deviation	0.80	1.23	1.21	1.01	1.41	0.82	0.66

** $p < .001$ * $p < .01$

with the in-group, and had higher confidence, and less anxiety when speaking the L2.

Francophone identification, on the other hand, was related to less positive attitudes toward the out-group, more English-speaking anxiety, and less L2 linguistic confidence.

Analysis of Variance

Prior to computing the analysis of variance, two independent variables were created by effecting median splits on the Francophone and Anglophone identity scores. Owing to the significant negative correlation between these two variables in the Anglophone actor condition, a log-linear analysis was computed on the three-way interaction between them and the group membership of the actor. This analysis produced a non-significant $\chi^2(4) = 4.36, p = .36$, and standardized residual frequencies smaller than 1.96. Therefore, it is concluded that the between-group factors were independent from one another.

To test the hypothesis that subtle linguistic bias use will vary as a function of one's ethno-linguistic group identity, a four-way, mixed-model, repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with behaviour desirability (prosocial, antisocial) as the within-group factor, and Anglophone and Francophone identity (low, high) and ethno-linguistic group membership of actors (Francophone, Anglophone) as the between-group factors, was computed.

Results reveal a significant main effect of behaviour desirability, $F(1, 102) = 10.62, p = .002$. This finding indicates that the vignettes depicting prosocial behaviours were interpreted using more abstract terms ($M = 2.89$) than were the vignettes depicting antisocial behaviours ($M = 2.61$). A main effect was also obtained for Francophone identity, $F(1, 102) = 6.72, p = .01$. Those who identify more strongly as Francophones ($M = 2.88$) tended to use more abstract depictions than those who identify less strongly ($M = 2.61$).

The ANOVA results also reveal a three-way interaction: desirability of actor's behaviour X Anglophone identification X ethno-linguistic group membership of the actor, $F(1, 102) = 13.48, p < .001$. The results of this analysis are presented in Figures 1 and 2; means were compared using Tukey's test of simple main effects. As seen in Figure 1, when the actor is a member of the Francophone in-group, and the participants do not identify with the Anglophone out-group, prosocial behaviour is described in more abstract terms than antisocial behaviour (the LIB effect). However, when the participants identify more strongly with the Anglophone out-group, abstractness of the Anglophone prosocial behaviour decreases significantly and abstractness of the antisocial behaviour increases significantly to the point where there is no difference between the two types of behaviour.

As seen in Figure 2, when the actor is an Anglophone, greater identification with the Anglophone groups results in more abstractness being expressed in the case of prosocial behaviour than in the case of antisocial behaviour (the LIB effect). No difference in abstractness rating is present when Francophones do not identify much as Anglophones.

Relations among Variables

The seven variables (e.g., Attitude toward Anglophones, Francophone Identity, Anglophone Identity, Confidence in English, Anxiety Speaking English, Prosocial Abstractness, and Antisocial Abstractness) were factor analyzed separately for the two questionnaire versions (e.g., Francophone versus Anglophone actors). For each sample, principal axis solutions with oblique rotation yielded three factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0.

Francophone Actor. Table 2 presents the factor matrix obtained for the participants who received questionnaires in which Francophones actors were depicted. These results can be found on the left side of Table 2.

Figure 1

Perceived degree of abstractness as a function of the prosocial versus antisocial behaviour of an in-group Francophone actor, as rated by Francophone participants whose identification as Anglophone is low versus high

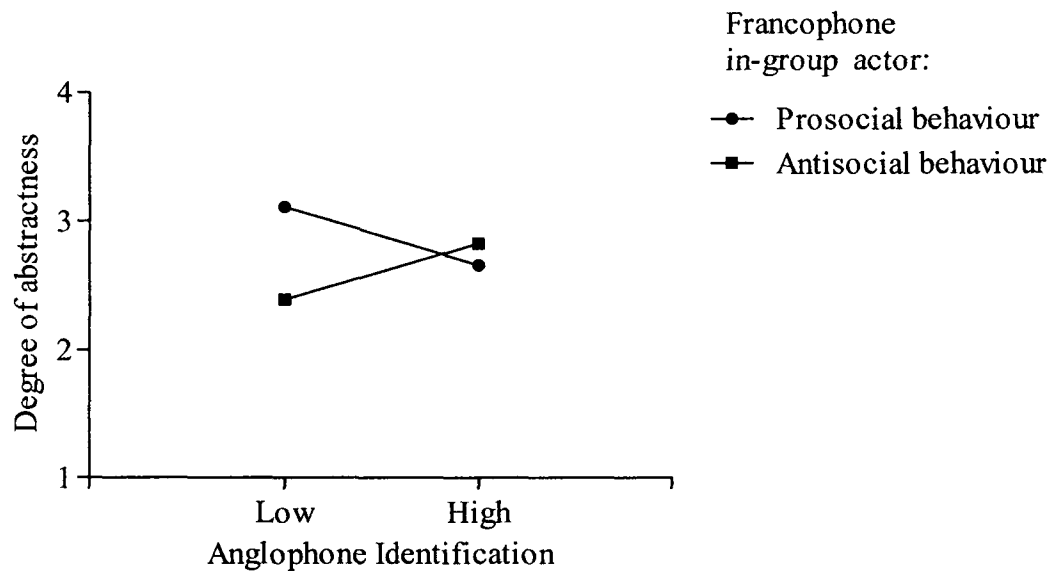


Figure 2

Perceived degree of abstractness (LIB) as a function of the prosocial versus antisocial behaviour of an out-group Anglophone actor, as rated by Francophone participants whose identification as Anglophone is low versus high

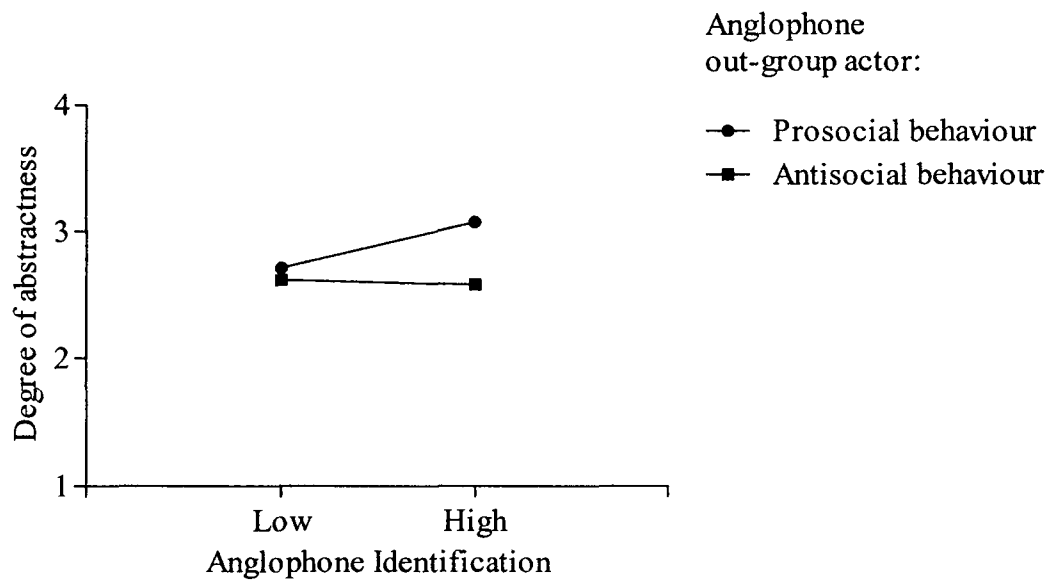


Table 2

Oblimin Rotated Factor Matrices

	Francophone Actor			Anglophone Actor		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1. Attitude to Anglophones	.35	.09	.47	.70	-.16	.22
2. Identification to Francophones	-.26	-.24	-.33	-.63	.67	-.38
3. Identification to Anglophones	.51	.38	.77	.59	-.31	.38
4. Confidence with English	.88	.16	.50	.41	-.28	.89
5. Anxiety Speaking English	-.84	-.18	-.39	-.32	.07	-.86
6. Prosocial Abstractness	-.19	.08	-.49	-.16	.46	-.04
7. Antisocial Abstractness	.15	.99	.03	-.03	.35	-.33

Factor I receives appreciable loadings (e.g., greater than $\pm .30$) from four of the seven variables. The composition of this factor suggests that the participants who are more confident in their English language abilities (Variable 4), and who experience less anxiety when speaking English (Variable 5), tend to identify more strongly with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3), and hold more positive attitudes toward Anglophones (Variable 1). Due to the dominance of variables related to linguistic confidence in English, this factor appears to be best described as a *Confidence with English* factor.

Factor II receives appreciable loadings from two variables. This factor suggests that individuals are more likely to use subtly biased language when describing the antisocial actions of an in-group member (Variable 7), when they identify strongly with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3). As such, this factor can be described as an *Antisocial Linguistic Bias* factor. Its composition links identification with the Anglophone out-group to more abstractness in describing antisocial behaviour committed by the Francophone actor.

Factor III receives appreciable loadings from six variables. The pattern of findings reveals that participants who identify strongly with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3), and who are confident in their English-speaking ability (Variable 4) tend to ascribe less temporal stability and cross-situational constancy to the prosocial behaviours of their Francophone peers (Variable 6), and have a more positive attitude toward the Anglophone out-group (Variable 1). These individuals also experience little anxiety when speaking the L2 (Variable 5), and tend to be less highly identified with the Francophone in-group (Variable 2). In view of these findings, Factor III can be understood as an *Anglophone Identification* factor, linking it to English confidence and less abstractness attributed to an in-group Francophone actor engaging in prosocial behaviour.

Anglophone Actor. The right side of Table 2 presents the factor matrix findings obtained for Francophone participants who received questionnaires in which the actors depicted in the vignettes were Anglophones.

Factor IV receives appreciable loadings from five of the seven variables. Specifically, participants who endorsed more positive attitudes toward Anglophones (Variable 1) were those who did not strongly identify as Francophones (Variable 2). Conversely, these individuals identified themselves more strongly with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3). Moreover, these results indicate that L2 confidence (Variable 4), and an absence of anxiety when speaking English (Variable 5), were salient features of this factor. As such, this factor can be conceptualized as a *Subtractive Bilingualism* factor.

Factor V receives appreciable loadings from four variables. The pattern of results obtained indicate that those participants who identified more strongly with the Francophone in-group (Variable 2), were more likely to describe both the prosocial (Variable 6) and antisocial behaviours (Variable 7) of out-group Anglophones using subtly biased language. Importantly, these individuals did not identify with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3). These results suggest that this factor represents a *Francophone Identification* factor. In other words, participants who identified strongly with the Francophone ethno-linguistic in-group, tended to describe both the positive and negative actions of Anglophones using language which implies cross-situational and temporal constancy.

Factor VI receives appreciable loadings from five variables. In this case, those who demonstrated more confidence in their English-speaking abilities (Variable 4) also showed less anxiety when speaking English (Variable 5). These Francophones identified more strongly with the Anglophone out-group (Variable 3), and less strongly with the Francophone in-group

(Variable 2). Moreover, these Francophones tended to use less discriminatory linguistic devices when asked to describe the antisocial behaviours of members of the Anglophone out-group (Variable 7), a finding linking second language abilities with the LIB. Factor VI can be conceptualized as a *L2 and LIB* factor.

As is evident from the description of the factors, usage of an oblique rotation to minimize cross-loadings nevertheless produced a solution where variables were shown to share variance with more than one factor. Such is the case, for example, for the variable ‘identification to Anglophones’ which loads on all factors. We propose that while factors may represent relatively coherent latent tendencies, they may share common variables attesting to their multiple functional influences. This interpretation will be reflected in our discussion of the results.

Discussion

The linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) phenomenon has previously been examined by studying sharply polarized, if not antagonistic groups. In contrast, this study focuses on a minority group which, by virtue of its continued exposure to and contact with a high-power majority, shows a wide spectrum of identification across both Francophone and Anglophone groups. The investigation of the LIB effect as a function of ethno-linguistic identity is therefore an original aspect of the current research.

The results obtained in this study support, but with qualification, the LIB effect (e.g., Maass et al., 2000). As expected, the degree of linguistic abstractness used in evaluating the behaviours of actors varies in relation to the actor’s group membership and the social desirability of the behaviour. Importantly, this finding is observed as a function of the degree of identification with the dominant out-group.

Over and above the importance afforded to out-group identity, it is interesting to note that identification as a Francophone minority is related to a higher degree of abstractness in describing both prosocial and antisocial behaviours of out-group members, a finding observed in the ANOVA, and corroborated by the factor analysis (Factor V). This finding diverges from previous LIB research which has found that desirable behaviours by out-group actors tend to be described in concrete terms, while undesirable behaviours by such actors are likely described using abstract terms.

One possible explanation of this seemingly discrepant result stems from literature on the fundamental attribution error, which predicts a tendency for individuals to ascribe their own behaviours to fleeting, situational conditions, while the actions of others are explained in terms of enduring characteristics (e.g., Jones & Nisbett, 1972; Seta, Schmidt, & Bookhout, 2006). As Brauer and Bourhis (2006) contend, differentials in social power may be seen as influencing the type of attribution made about members of high-power versus low-power groups. Specifically, members of high-power groups are often described using stable attributions, while members of low-power groups are likely to receive situational attributions (Overbeck, Tiedens, & Brion, 2006). Members of low-power groups, therefore, are more likely to evaluate and describe the behaviours of high-power group members using enduring attributes, regardless of the valence of the observed behaviour. It is possible that the LIB effect is limited by a pervasive tendency to attribute the behaviour of powerful out-group others to internal forces, and that this tendency is heightened the more one identifies with one's own, less powerful, group.

Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory may provide further explanation of the divergent finding obtained in the current study (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to SIT, group membership can contribute either positively or negatively to a person's concept of

self. Given that individuals strive to achieve a satisfactory self-image in relation to the world, a person may be motivated to seek belonging within a positively appraised, high-power social group (Tajfel, 1981). Thus, minority Francophones living within the predominantly English-speaking province of Ontario, may be motivated to perceive and evaluate members of the dominant majority in a favorable light, accomplished in this study by describing their desirable behaviours using lasting terms. This observed trend may be understood as an identity-management strategy used to promote the positive aspects of social identity by enhancing affiliation to the more powerful out-group. Such an interpretation is in line with Lambert and colleagues' classic finding using matched guise conditions, in which Francophone Québécois students evaluated Anglophone guises more favorably than the Francophone guises (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960), a finding which may also be interpreted within a SIT framework. Namely, according to Bourhis and Maass (2004), "these unfavorable own-group stereotypes were interpreted as reflecting the negative social identity of French Canadians who had internalized the negative views English Canadians had of them as members of the low-status majority within Quebec society" (p. 1589; see also Bourhis and Lopicq, 1993). Taken together, it would appear that dissociation from the in-group through social comparison and mobility is one consequence of a bilingual environment characterized by disequilibrium in social power.

Beyond investigating the circumstances under which prejudice is expressed, confidence speaking the out-group language was also examined as an integral aspect of intergroup interaction. The results obtained in this study corroborate prior research which reveals a strong relation between attitude, identity and L2 confidence (see Factors I and IV). Furthermore, those who reported greater L2 confidence were less likely to use subtly biased language to describe

out-group members (Factor VI). L2 acquisition may therefore be understood as a buffer against the propagation of prejudice toward an out-group.

In contrast to the apparent advantages of L2 acquisition is the potential consequence of in-group derision. Specifically, it was observed that those with less anxiety and more confidence speaking the L2 assigned less temporal stability to the positive behaviours of their Francophone peers (Factor III). Moreover, those who identified more strongly with the Anglophone than the Francophone group qualified the undesirable behaviour of in-group members in more permanent language (Factor II). For these minority Francophones, the seemingly counterintuitive consequence of frequent contact with Anglophones, including L2 confidence, is an increase in the communication of subtle linguistic bias toward their own ethno-linguistic group members.

The investigation of the LIB phenomenon within a sociolinguistic context characterized by an inherent disequilibrium in social power confirms its interdependence among a family of phenomena related to ethno-linguistic erosion (e.g., Lambert, 1978; Landry & Allard, 1990; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996). Over and above the development of positive social representations toward the L2 group, the consequences of second language acquisition and confidence include the loss of first language and culture. The findings obtained in the present study, therefore, expand upon previous research to include the linguistic aspects of prejudicial communication.

Conclusion

In providing insight into the expression of prejudice, this research expands upon existing educational orientations which portray L2 acquisition as enculturation into a diversified and open worldview. Beyond the strictly linguistic features of L2 confidence, the process of acquiring and

using a second language may counteract the tendency to use language that transmits stereotypical beliefs about an out-group.

In a sociolinguistic context where English predominates, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that the members of low vitality minority groups, who encounter frequent exposure to and contact, develop positive attitudes toward, and subsequent identification to members of the ethno-linguistic majority. The consequences, however, are viewed in the detrimental outcomes wrought on the judgments of one's own ethno-linguistic community members and an erosion of L1 culture and identity.

Undoubtedly, this is both a startling and puzzling finding, which may be understood as an attempt by Francophones to mitigate intergroup tensions through adaptation and positive social unison within an environmental context which favors the use of the high-power majority language. While an attempt to preserve intergroup harmony on the part of minority Francophones is certainly commendable, it may be argued that there are significant costs to this type of communication, particularly as it relates to in-group social appraisals, and the maintenance of a fortified and collective Francophone identity.

An important question which arises from the present study therefore remains unanswered. That is, how does one achieve a balance between communicating respectfully toward out-group members while maintaining a positive self-concept, strong in-group cultural identification, and a sense of pride in one's heritage and linguistic traditions? Further analysis of this complex intergroup environment is undoubtedly required in order to fully resolve such a weighty, yet significant, query. As such, directions for future research include exploring the factors which underlie the process of the expression of subtle linguistic bias toward members of the in-group, in an effort to mitigate the adverse consequences of ethno-linguistic identity erosion.

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Study Two

Expression and suppression of intergroup prejudice:

Re-examining the linguistic intergroup bias*

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*This manuscript has been submitted to the *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*.

Abstract

The role of language in the transmission of prejudice has received much theoretical attention, including the features of the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm. This study investigates whether LIB predictions hold true within a relatively harmonious bilingual (French-English) context. The LIB is examined as a function of intrapersonal and socio-contextual factors, including second language confidence, group identification, and group vitality. Results support, but with qualification, the LIB phenomenon. While some participants demonstrated a LIB effect, others communicated out-group favoritism. Minority-group members were observed to use linguistic bias differently than majority-group members. Results are discussed within the context of intergroup communication theories.

Keywords: linguistic intergroup bias, identity, second language confidence, relative group status

Introduction

Linguistic decisions made when describing the self and others reflect cognitive and affective preferences, and certain linguistic forms may influence stereotyped thinking and prejudicial behaviour (Fiedler, 2008). Much research has uncovered compelling evidence in favour of the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm, which posits that a person's linguistic choices in describing others may reveal a positive bias toward the in-group and a negative bias toward out-group others (e.g., Maass 1999). Prior LIB research has almost exclusively examined the phenomenon among sharply polarized, if not antagonistic groups. In comparison, the dynamics which evolve within a bilingual community with ample opportunity for intergroup contact, second language (L2) acquisition, and out-group identity development, remain less well understood. Further, there is evidence to suggest that specific socio-contextual and intrapersonal factors may contribute to variations in the typical LIB effect (e.g., Shulman & Clément, 2008).

This study builds upon prior research by exploring the use of linguistic bias in Francophone and Anglophone Canadians within a relatively stable and peaceful intergroup contact situation. Specific attention is given to three factors which may contribute to deviations from typical LIB predictions. These include: (1) L2 confidence and out-group identification, (2) relative group vitality, and (3) impression management.

The LIB Phenomenon

The degree of linguistic abstractness used in describing the behaviours of in- and out-group members reveals attitudes toward others that are perhaps not otherwise detected by more overt measures of prejudice (e.g., Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Maass, 1999; von Hippel Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997). Based on Semin and Fiedler's (1988) linguistic category model (LCM), which proposes a four-point continuum of linguistic abstractness, from concrete (e.g.,

descriptive action verbs) to abstract (e.g., adjectives), the LIB paradigm posits that prosocial behaviours of in-group members are described in stable, enduring terms (i.e., adjectives), while their antisocial behaviours tend to receive temporary descriptions (i.e., descriptive action verbs). The reverse is true when it comes to the out-group. They are more likely to receive enduring attributions when antisocial behaviours are described, yet prosocial actions are restricted to the present by the use of fleeting, situation-bound descriptors. In essence, enduring traits are ascribed to positive in-group and negative out-group behaviour, while situational attributions are given to negative in-group and positive out-group behaviour. Implications of this include a form of prejudice which implies generalizability of behaviour on the basis of a single event.

Second Language Confidence and Identity

The acquisition and use of a L2 have been related to identity development and the subsequent emergence of positive out-group attitudes (e.g., Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Indeed, Noels and Clément (1996) observed a mediating effect of L2 confidence on frequency and amiability of contact with out-group members, identity and adjustment, factors which are likely incompatible with the expression of linguistic bias.

A recent study (Shulman & Clément, 2008) investigated the intergroup situation within a bilingual Canadian context, and found that Francophone participants demonstrated a LIB effect when describing out-group behaviours. Importantly, the effect was detected only when participants' profiles of identification were taken into consideration. That is, strong identification to the in-group was related to a greater likelihood of a LIB effect when talking about out-group Anglophones, while identification with the out-group and higher L2 confidence were both related to mitigation in the expression of prejudice toward the out-group. Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, these same factors (i.e., L2 confidence and out-group identification)

appeared to promote biased speech toward members of the in-group. It appears that a sense of affiliation with the out-group is related to in-group identity erosion and a greater tendency to speak disparagingly about members of one's own linguistic group.

Shulman and Clément (2008) also observed that individuals who identified strongly as Francophones described both the undesirable *and* desirable behaviours of Anglophones using more abstract terms, meaning that all out-group actions were assigned cross-situational and temporal stability, regardless of behaviour valence. This unanticipated finding served to highlight the complex and multidimensional link between identity and the expression of linguistic bias, and was understood as a function of differentials in relative group vitality.

Relative Group Vitality

In addition to the influence of identity, the relative vitality of the groups in contact may likewise contribute to discrepancies in traditional LIB predictions. Brauer and Bourhis (2006) propose that members of high-power groups are likely to be described in terms of stable dispositions, while low-power group members are more likely to receive situational attributions, regardless of whether the behaviour described is prosocial or antisocial. Perceivers tend to make more dispositional attributions for powerful actors, whereas attributions about less powerful actors tend to be more situational in nature (e.g., Overbeck, Tiendens & Brion, 2006).

If, as Brauer and Bourhis (2006) contend, out-group evaluative appraisals vary in relation to an actor's group vitality, and as a function of the strength of identification to the perceiver's in-group, as discovered by Shulman and Clément (2008), it is reasonable to expect that under certain socio-contextual circumstances, and given specific individual factors, the LIB paradigm will diverge from traditional expectations. The LIB effect may, therefore, be qualified by the relative power positions of the groups in contact.

Impression Management

Beyond the intergroup nature of the LIB phenomenon, expressing a social evaluation of another is, in essence, an act of communication. As such, in assessing participant descriptions of behavioural events, attention to the notion of intended meaning becomes necessary.

Communicative inference refers to the process of making hypotheses regarding an individual's intended meaning (Slugoski & Hilton, 2001). In any communicative exchange, the recipient of a message is often required to go beyond explicitly provided information, and to make implicit judgments about their interlocutor's meaning, in order to reduce uncertainty or to fill in missing or unknown data. To reduce uncertainty for the message recipient, effective communicators work under the cooperative principle of communication (Grice, 1975), which encourages individuals to make their communicative contributions as required, and in view of such factors as the timing, pace, purpose and direction of a communicative act.

Although linguistic communication is partly code-based, as Noveck and Reboul (2008) assert "it cannot be reduced to a mere encoding-decoding process. It involves the attribution of mental states to the speaker" (p. 425). In other words, while the cooperative principle undoubtedly functions in the design of a well-articulated and informative message, the motivational forces which guide an individual in selecting lexical variations may simultaneously be at play. Whether advertently or inadvertently, individuals have the freedom to modify and manipulate their utterances to accomplish certain social and personal goals (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). When formulating a message about a member of an undesirable out-group, individuals are likely influenced by impression management forces (Dasgupta, 2004). Given awareness of one's audience, therefore, one's prejudices may be inhibited.

There is ample evidence to suggest that people can and do inhibit their biases (e.g., Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Monteith, Sherman & Devine, 1998; Wegner, 1994), including several measures of chronic motivation to suppress prejudice (e.g., Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). For instance, researchers have elicited reactions that would have otherwise been suppressed by imposing cognitive or emotional demands on participants (e.g., Macrae, Hewstone & Griffiths, 1993), and by eliciting negative social evaluations through unobtrusive methods (e.g., Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980). Research has likewise revealed a process of 'reverse discrimination,' in which individuals evaluate out-group members more favorably than members of the in-group. This pattern of findings is understood as an attempt to reconcile one's own prejudices by 'overcorrecting' in favour of prejudiced targets (e.g., Dasgupta, 2004). The occurrence of out-group favoritism suggests the ability of some individuals to self-monitor for prejudiced responses (Petty, Fleming, & White, 1999).

It is therefore possible that the LIB effect will diverge from traditional findings given a person's intentional and motivated control over his or her linguistic decisions, particularly when formulating spontaneous, unrestricted communicative acts. While most prior LIB researchers, including Shulman and Clément (2008), have used forced-choice response formats to assess degree of linguistic abstractness, it may be argued that this methodology limits ecological validity. That is, in real-world communicative exchanges, individuals are free to select from numerous options in articulating a message. The present study therefore investigates whether traditional LIB predictions hold true when participants are given the freedom to express social evaluations using their own words and descriptions.

The Present Study

This research was conducted on the bilingual (i.e., French-English) campus of the University of Ottawa, located in the province of Ontario, Canada. Within this educational and geographical context, the status of Francophones in the province of Ontario in general, and the city of Ottawa in particular, is relatively low. Anglophones, in comparison, enjoy a position of privilege. While bilingualism and respect for linguistic diversity are valued both by individuals and government, English remains the more frequently encountered language. As such, Francophones are significantly restricted in the use of their first language (L1; Mougeon & Beniak, 1991). Speaking English in everyday life is common for Franco-Ontarians, many of whom are adept at code-switching when conversing with Anglophones. Given the precedence of English in the media, local institutions, and corporate life, it maintains some prestige, to the potential detriment of a Franco-Ontarian cultural identity. Together, these realities highlight the relative imbalance in social power between Francophones and Anglophones.

The objectives of this study are threefold. The first is to investigate the LIB in relation to relative group status. Given the disequilibrium social power between the two groups under study, we attempt to determine whether minority- versus majority- status influences use of linguistic bias. In view of the relation between power and attribution (Brauer & Bourhis, 2006), it is expected that Francophone participants will use more abstract language to describe the behaviours of higher-power Anglophones. Moreover, given the finding that in-group identity erosion may be related to linguistic bias toward in-group members (Shulman & Clément, 2008), it is expected that some Francophones will demonstrate a pattern of communication reflective of out-group favoritism.

The second objective is to examine the intrapersonal variables related to either engaging in or refraining from communicating linguistic bias. In view of findings obtained by Shulman

and Clément (2008), it is expected that higher L2 confidence and greater identification with the out-group will decrease the likelihood of linguistic bias use.

A third objective is to determine whether a LIB effect is present in spontaneous speech production. Given such freedom of expression, it is expected that greater variability in participant response will be observed.

Method

Participants

Participants were Francophone and Anglophone students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses on the bilingual campus of the University of Ottawa. Respondents were eligible to participate if they had lived in Canada most of their lives, and were native speakers of French or English. A total of 336 students participated in the study (125 Francophones, 211 Anglophones). Most were female (79%) and ranged in age from 17 to 30 years ($M = 19.14$; $SD = 1.95$).

Measures

Linguistic intergroup bias. The tendency to use biased language was assessed by means of Maass and collaborators' LIB paradigm. Participants were presented with a series of 20 photographs depicting actors engaged in both prosocial and antisocial behaviours (10 images each). Stimulus material was pre-tested with an independent group of respondents, and was deemed to be satisfactory in eliciting a range of responses within the concrete-to-abstract continuum (see Annex B).

Participants were asked to describe, in their own words, the scene depicted in each of the 20 images. In order to convey ethno-linguistic group membership, each actor was assigned a name which signified their social category as either Francophone or Anglophone (e.g., 'Mariève' or

'Kimberley'). In order to minimize the potential for response bias, all names were verified for social desirability, and were deemed to be 'good names,' according to a website regarding the etymology and history of first names (i.e., www.behindthename.com). Participants were asked to respond to the following instruction: 'Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Mariève/Kimberley], the [wo/man] pictured in the above image.' Questionnaires were randomly assigned to participants so that equal halves of the sample received surveys depicting Francophone (51%) and Anglophone (49%) actors.

Confidence with the second language. A scale was administered to assess L2 confidence (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Participants were asked to report the extent to which they are confident using the L2 by means of a four-item scale, related to four aspects of language ability: (1) writing, (2) reading, (3) oral comprehension, and (4) speaking. Participants indicated their perceived competence in all four language abilities, ranging from *not at all fluent* to *completely fluent*, where higher scores indicate greater L2 confidence. Cronbach's reliability coefficient was $\alpha = .94$ for Francophones, and $\alpha = .97$ for Anglophones.

Francophone and Anglophone identity. The Situated Ethnic Identity scale provided a measure of in-group and out-group identities (Clément & Noels, 1992). This 10-item self-report instrument describes a number of daily situations (e.g., at home, while participating in cultural activities, reading or writing). For each situation, items are situated on a 7-point Likert scale with options ranging from *not at all like a French Canadian* to *very much like a French Canadian* in the case of Francophone identity, and from *not at all like an English Canadian* to *very much like an English Canadian*, in the case of Anglophone identity. Among Francophone participants, the reliability coefficients were calculated to be $\alpha = .74$ and $\alpha = .86$ for Francophone and

Anglophone identities, respectively. Among Anglophone participants, $\alpha = .87$ for Francophone identity, and $\alpha = .88$ for Anglophone identity.

Procedure

Potential participants were recruited from courses participating in the School of Psychology's Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR), an online participant management service. An integral aspect of the ISPR is that participants receive one percentage point toward their academic course for each hour of their research participation. Students who met inclusion criteria for the study were granted access to a study description and an electronic version of the questionnaire. Completion of study materials required approximately 45 minutes. Participants were informed that their participation was optional and that all responses are confidential. Respondent names were not collected. Surveys were completed in participants' L1. Scales were completed in the order in which they appear in Annex B. Francophone and Anglophone participants were randomly assigned to two groups, each of which described either Francophone or Anglophone actors engaged in both prosocial and antisocial behaviours, resulting in a mixed-model, repeated measures design.

Results

Index of Abstractness

Linguistic abstractness was determined according to the LCM and its associated scoring criteria (Semin & Fielder, 1988). Accordingly, each description received a value from 1 to 4, to denote the degree of linguistic abstractness, where a lower score represents concrete terms. To test the reliability of ratings, two independent raters used LCM scoring criteria to code all data. Inter-rater reliability coefficients were computed to verify inter-rater consistency of coding. Measure of agreement values ranged from $\kappa = .596$ to $\kappa = .945$. Two items were omitted from

further analyses, as kappa coefficients fell below the accepted critical cut-off value of .70 (Landis & Koch, 1977). Kappa coefficients for the remaining items ranged from .725 to .945.

An index of language abstractness was calculated, in order to differentiate those who did from those who did not use linguistic bias when describing the prosocial and antisocial behaviours of in-group and out-group members (Maass, Ceccarelli, & Rudin, 1996). In the case of participants evaluating the behaviours of in-group members, the mean of prosocial items was subtracted from the mean of antisocial items. Conversely, to create the LIB Index in the case of participants evaluating the behaviours of out-group members, the mean of antisocial items was subtracted from the mean of prosocial items. The range of scores on the LIB Index was found to be from -1.30 to 1.20 ($M = .018$, $SD = .427$), where higher scores correspond to greater linguistic bias.

Relative Group Status Comparisons

In order to assess the validity of the minority- versus majority-group distinction, a series of independent samples t-tests was computed in order to compare L2 confidence, out-group identification, in-group identification, and linguistic bias between the two participant groups. As reported in Table 1, a significant difference in L2 confidence was observed. That is, Francophone participants reported greater confidence in their L2 ability, in comparison with Anglophones. Significant differences were likewise detected in identification scores. With respect to out-group identification, Francophones reported that they identified more strongly with out-group others than did Anglophones. With respect to in-group identification, Anglophones identified significantly more strongly with the in-group than did Francophones. Finally, the LIB Index was submitted to a test of group differences. However, this final analysis did not yield significant differences between participant groups.

Table 1

Means and t-test results of socio-contextual variables for Francophones and Anglophones

	Participant group		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Francophone	Anglophone		
L2 Confidence	5.88 (1.10)	4.41 (1.68)	8.73**	334
Out-group Identification	3.91 (1.24)	2.81 (1.19)	8.02**	332
In-group Identification	5.63 (.792)	6.11 (.996)	-4.56**	334
LIB Index	.045 (.429)	.002 (.426)	.885	334

** $p < .001$

Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Linguistic Bias and Group Status

Prior to computing the analysis of variance (ANOVA), a categorical independent variable was created to differentiate participants who showed a tendency toward in-group favoritism (i.e., the LIB effect), from those who showed an alternate pattern of communication. Participants who scored greater than zero on the LIB Index were grouped in the LIB condition ($n = 64$ Francophones; $n = 95$ Anglophones), while those who scored lower than zero were assigned to the no-LIB condition ($n = 61$ Francophones; $n = 116$ Anglophones). A chi-square analysis comparing participant group to LIB group was non-significant ($\chi^2 = 1.20, p = .309$). Thus, in itself, group membership of participants was not directly related to using the LIB. A chi-square analysis comparing gender to LIB group was also non-significant ($\chi^2 = .264, p = .690$).

To test the hypothesis that linguistic bias varies as a function of a participant's relative group status, a four-way mixed-model, repeated measures ANOVA was computed, with participant group membership (Francophone, Anglophone), actor group membership (Francophone, Anglophone), and LIB Group (LIB, no-LIB) as the between-subjects factors, and desirability of behaviour (prosocial, antisocial) as the within-subjects factor. Results reveal a significant four-way interaction, $F(1,328) = 477.82, p = .000, \eta^2 = .593$.

After applying a Bonferroni adjustment to the significance level, post-hoc tests show that all simple main effects of desirability (prosocial, antisocial) in every condition of participant group and actor group are statistically significant. As shown in Figures 1a and 1b, both Francophone and Anglophone participants demonstrated a LIB effect. Specifically, prosocial in-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than antisocial in-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,328) = 19.13, p = .000, \eta^2 = .055$] and Anglophone [$F(1,328) = 85.34, p = .000, \eta^2 = .206$] participants, while antisocial out-group behaviour is described in more abstract

Figure 1a

The LIB Effect among Francophone Participants

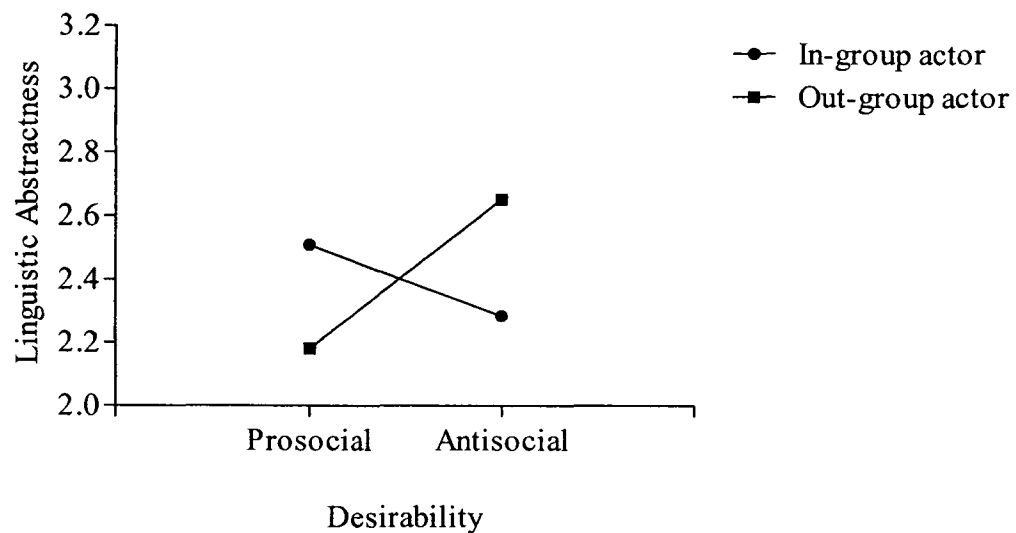


Figure 1b

The LIB Effect among Anglophone Participants

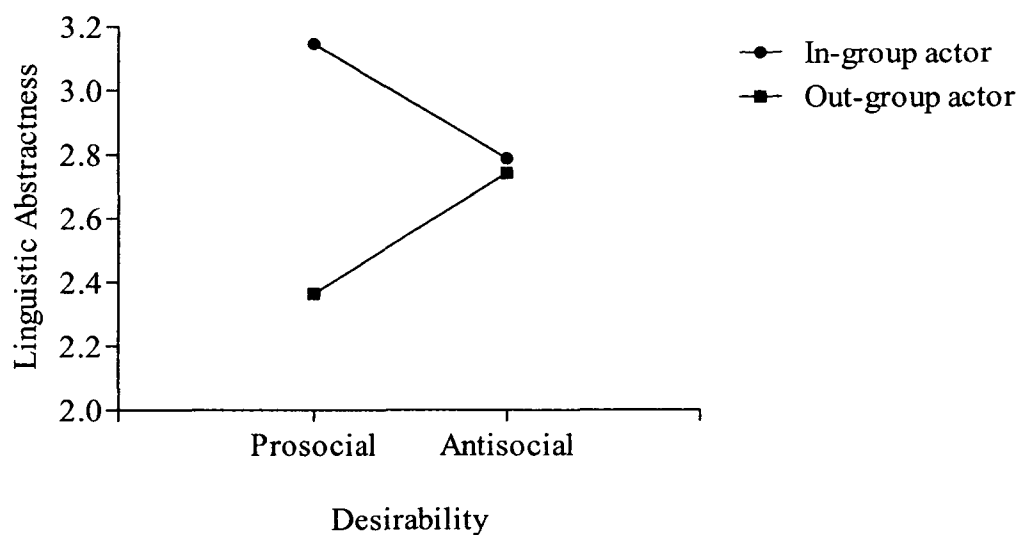


Figure 2a

The Reverse LIB Effect among Francophone Participants

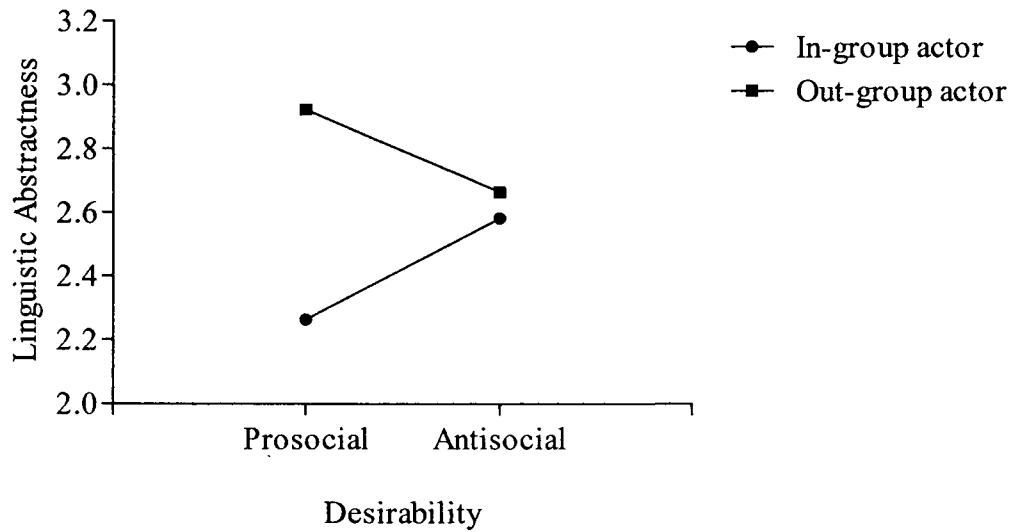
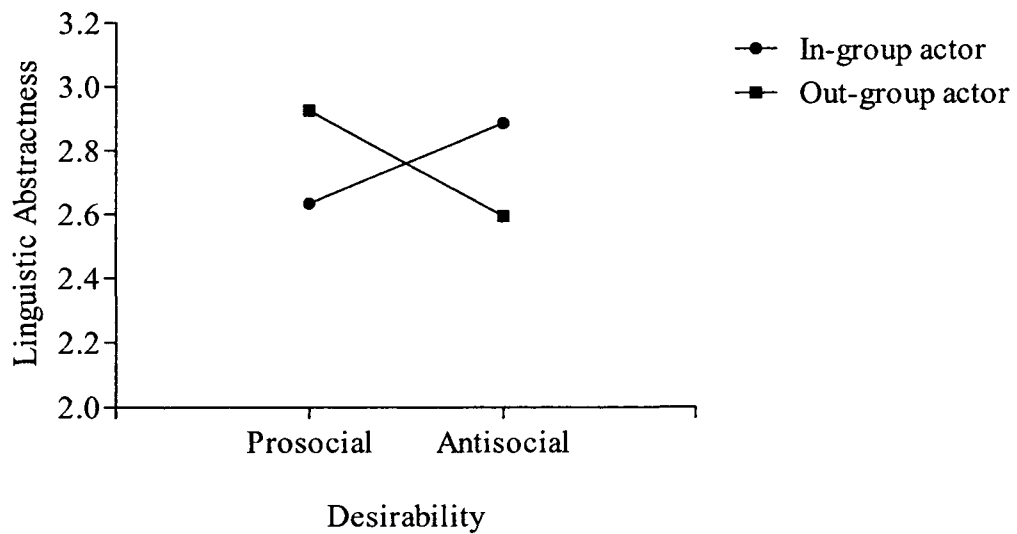


Figure 2b

The Reverse LIB Effect among Anglophone Participants



terms than is prosocial out-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,328) = 123.46, p = .000, \eta^2 = .273$] and Anglophone [$F(1,328) = 101.91, p = .000, \eta^2 = .237$] participants.

Surprisingly, as Figures 2a and 2b illustrate, distinct cohorts of Francophone and Anglophone participants demonstrate what appears to be a reverse LIB effect. Specifically, antisocial in-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than prosocial in-group behaviour, among both Francophone [$F(1,328) = 52.71, p = .000, \eta^2 = .138$] and Anglophone [$F(1,328) = 47.74, p = .000, \eta^2 = .127$] participants, while prosocial out-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than antisocial out-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,328) = 27.81, p = .000, \eta^2 = .078$] and Anglophone [$F(1,328) = 104.26, p = .000, \eta^2 = .241$] participants.

Additionally, there was a significant main effect of actor group for prosocial behaviours among Francophones who demonstrate a reverse LIB effect, $F(1,328) = 10.23, p = .002, \eta^2 = .030$. As shown in Figure 2a, in comparison with the prosocial behaviours of in-group members, prosocial out-group behaviours are described in significantly more abstract terms. A main effect of actor group for prosocial behaviours was likewise observed among Anglophones who demonstrate a LIB effect, $F(1,328) = 21.32, p = .000, \eta^2 = .061$. As can be observed in Figure 1b, when describing prosocial behaviours, in-group members are described in more significantly abstract terms than are out-group members. No other significant main effect of actor group was observed.

L2 Confidence, Identity and Linguistic Bias

Univariate ANOVAs were computed to test the hypothesis that L2 confidence, as well as out- and in- group profiles of identity are related to an individual's propensity to either engage in

or abstain from use of linguistic bias. First, categorical independent variables were calculated by effecting median splits on L2 confidence, out-group identity, and in-group identity scores.

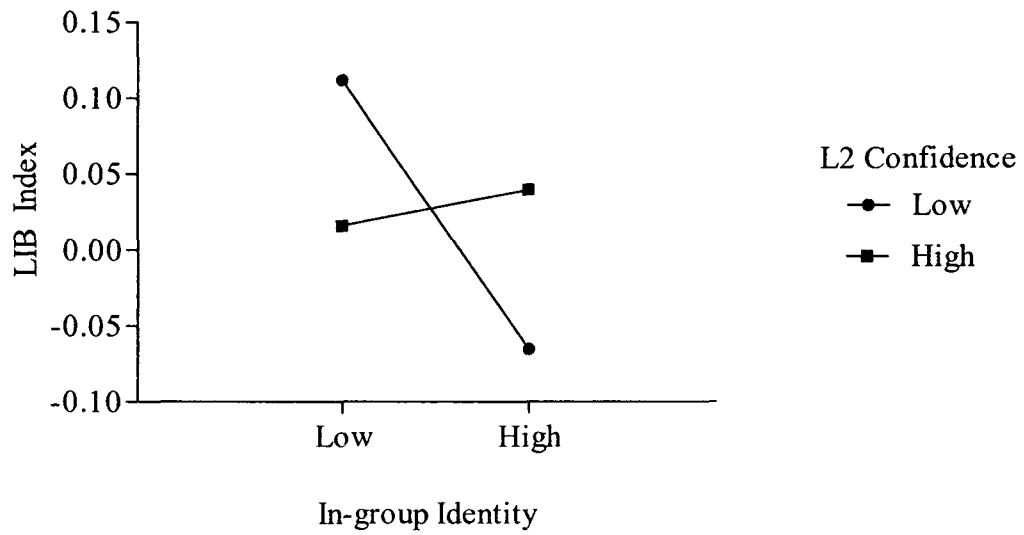
A three-way univariate ANOVA on the LIB Index with participant group (Francophone, Anglophone), out-group identity (low, high), and L2 confidence (low, high) as between-subjects factors was computed. The three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 334) = 1.36, p = .245, \eta^2 = .004$, as were all two-way interactions and main effects. A second three-way univariate ANOVA with participant group (Francophone, Anglophone), L2 confidence (low, high), and this time, in-group identity (low, high) as the between-subjects factors was computed. Although the three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 336) = 2.08, p = .151, \eta^2 = .006$, a significant two-way interaction between L2 confidence and in-group identity was detected, $F(1, 336) = 4.27, p = .040, \eta^2 = .013$. As seen in Figure 3, high L2 confidence is related to an absence of linguistic bias regardless of in-group identity, which was seen to contribute only at low levels of L2 confidence. Specifically, those who do not identify with the in-group engage in the LIB effect, while high in-group identity is related to the reverse LIB effect.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to understand how the LIB phenomenon diverges from traditional predictions, with attention to specific socio-contextual and intrapersonal factors. More specifically, the LIB was investigated as a function of relative group vitality, L2 confidence, and group identification. The results obtained in this study indicate that, as hypothesized, the LIB phenomenon is indeed subject to the influence of specific contextually-relevant factors. In particular, while some participants demonstrated a LIB effect, a substantial proportion of participants were observed to express a negative in-group bias, in effect, communicating out-group favoritism. Additionally, the LIB and its reverse pattern of communication appear to be

Figure 3

Linguistic Bias as a Function of In-Group Identity and L2 Confidence



expressed differently by minority-group members, in comparison with majority-group members. Finally, there is evidence to suggest that specific intergroup factors, including perceived competence in the L2, contribute to an absence of linguistic bias.

The results obtained in this study support, but with qualification, the LIB phenomenon (Maass et al., 1989; 2000). As expected, some participants demonstrated a LIB effect. In addition, but contrary to expectation, a separate cohort of participants engaged in what appears to be best described as a *reverse* LIB effect. One possible explanation for this seemingly discrepant result stems from literature on the suppression of prejudice, which proposes that individuals are able to exert intentional control over expressions of bias, through deliberate inhibition of discriminatory thought and opinion (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Because the expression of prejudice is perceived as socially undesirable, individuals may be motivated to control and correct their prejudicial beliefs (Dasgupta, 2004). Indeed, according to Motivation to Control Prejudiced Responses theory (Dunton & Fazio, 1997), if motivated to do so, individuals can and do inhibit prejudiced responses. The reverse LIB observed here may therefore represent a form of prejudice suppression. In other words, participants could have overcorrected in order to “compensate for potential bias” (Dasgupta, 2004, p. 158).

While linguistic bias is hypothesized to be under less intentional control when assessed using the customary forced-choice response format used in most LIB research (e.g., Douglas & Sutton, 2006), participants of the present study were afforded unrestricted freedom of expression in formulating social evaluations of others. Attention to the motivational forces which guide an individual in selecting lexical variations therefore becomes necessary. In essence, participants were able to modify their responses, thereby allowing them to accomplish certain social or personal goals (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), whether intentional or inadvertent. When

formulating a message about a member of an out-group, therefore, it is possible that individuals were influenced by impression management forces (Dasgupta, 2004). More specifically, as Douglas and Sutton (2006) contend, “people try to manage impressions of themselves by strategically presenting information about others” (p. 506). As such, when confronted with the task of evaluating the behaviours of out-group others, participants may have opted not to engage in linguistic bias. The unanticipated consequence of this, however, was the expression of out-group favoritism. That is, participants may have censored their prejudices, but in so doing, may “bend over backwards” in an attempt to compensate for their biases (Dasgupta, 2004, p.158).

Previous LIB research has typically studied groups in conflict, where tensions and intergroup animosity runs high. In contrast, the present research evolves within a relatively harmonious intergroup context. While tensions do exist, open hostility and antagonism are rare and not generally tolerated. Given the nature of this context, a face management view of politeness (e.g., Holtgraves, 2001) may provide a further explanation for the finding of a reverse LIB effect. According to Holtgraves (2001), the notion of face management is one of cooperation and mutual collaboration. When a person threatens the face of another, he or she essentially threatens his or her own face as well. As Holtgraves (2001) asserts, “by supporting the other’s face, one is supporting one’s own face” (p. 350). Politeness is the linguistic and communicative means by which individuals manage face, and this could be why some Francophones and Anglophones residing in a generally respectful context chose not use linguistic bias when speaking about the out-group. An amicable socio-linguistic climate, coupled with the desire to present oneself as non-prejudiced, may thereby qualify traditional LIB findings.

There is evidence to suggest that the LIB predictions are also subject to the influence of relative group vitality. In particular, we observed that minority-group Francophones engage in

the LIB effect differently than do majority-group Anglophones. While both groups use more abstract language to describe prosocial in-group and antisocial out-group behaviours, in comparison with antisocial in-group and prosocial out-group behaviours, Anglophone participants also give significantly more abstract descriptors to prosocial in-group behaviours, in comparison with prosocial out-group behaviours. When engaged in similar prosocial behaviours, in other words, in-group Anglophone actors are ascribed significantly more dispositional traits, in comparison with out-group Francophone actors. In essence, linguistic bias was observed as being *stronger* among majority-group Anglophones, in comparison with minority-group Francophones.

There is additional evidence to suggest that Francophone and Anglophone participants likewise demonstrate a divergent pattern of results when it comes to the reverse LIB effect. While both groups use more abstract language to describe out-group prosocial and in-group antisocial behaviour, in comparison with in-group prosocial and out-group antisocial behaviours, Francophone participants also give significantly more abstract descriptors to prosocial out-group behaviours, in comparison with prosocial in-group behaviours. When engaged in similar prosocial behaviours, in other words, out-group Anglophone actors are ascribed significantly more dispositional terms, in comparison with in-group Francophone actors. In other words, the reverse LIB effect was observed as being *stronger* among minority Francophones, in comparison with their majority Anglophone peers.

The finding that the LIB is communicated differently by Francophones in comparison with Anglophones is understood here with respect to differentials in social power. As Brauer and Bourhis (2006) contend, differentials in social power may be seen as influencing the type of attribution made about members of high- versus lower-power groups. Lower-power groups are

more likely to be described using situational attributions, while members of higher-power groups, who are perceived to be less constrained in their actions, tend to be described in terms of dispositional traits. This is congruent with the pattern of findings obtained for Francophones who show a reverse LIB effect, and that of Anglophones who engage in the LIB. That is, in both cases, the prosocial behaviours of the majority Anglophone actor received more enduring attributions.

Given their position of relative privilege within a primarily English-speaking community, it is possible that Anglophones, who engaged in a more prominent LIB effect, are less attuned to intergroup dynamics, and are therefore less aware of the adverse consequences of negative out-group bias. Francophones, who were observed to demonstrate a more pronounced *reverse* LIB effect may, either advertently or inadvertently, opt not to communicate prejudice toward members of the more powerful out-group through controlled inhibition of biased speech, for reasons of impression management, or to maintain peaceful intergroup interactions with a more powerful out-group. The consequence, however, is that they may fall victim to an ‘overcorrection’ effect, thereby re-directing linguistic bias toward the in-group.

In addition, minority Francophones may also be affected by social mobility concerns. Reid and Anderson (2010) have noted the possibility of a *reverse* LIB, particularly among socially mobile minority group members. Specifically, it is possible for individuals to overcome their socially disadvantaged group status by aligning themselves with the majority group, through cross-group friendships, L2 fluency, and the development of an out-group profile of identification. When it comes to linguistic bias, as these authors assert, socially mobile minority group members are expected to “negatively stereotype their in-group and describe negative and stereotypic in-group behaviours in abstract language” (Reid & Anderson, 2010, p. 98). In support

of this, we found evidence to suggest that minority-group Francophones undergo a process of subtractive bilingualism (e.g., Lambert, 1978). More precisely, Francophones demonstrate greater facility in the L2, and tend to identify more strongly with out-group members, in comparison with their Anglophone peers. Moreover, in concert with identification with the out-group, Francophones display an erosion of in-group identity. In comparison, this type of cultural loss was not observed among majority-group Anglophone participants.

In view of the socio-linguistic context under study, in which Francophones tend to be limited in their use of the L1 (Mougeon & Beniak, 1991), and given the preponderance of English language media, institutions, services and business, Francophones encounter many opportunities for the development of L2 confidence, cross-group friendships, and out-group profiles of identification. While opportunities do exist for Anglophones to immerse themselves in the Franco-Ontarian language and culture, the majority do not. The consequence of such a reality is the very real potential for L1 identity erosion among Franco-Ontarians. Taken together, these findings provide further understanding of why minority Francophones demonstrate a stronger reverse LIB effect, in comparison with their Anglophone peers.

An important corollary of the intergroup context under study appears to be the acquisition, use and development of L2 confidence, which represents a further qualification of the LIB phenomenon. More specifically, this research brings to light the benefits of bilingualism in the mitigation of biased language. Confidence in speaking the L2 is related to a decrease in the likelihood of linguistic bias, a finding that is corroborated by Noels and Clément (1996), who observed a mediating effect of L2 confidence on frequency and amiability of contact with out-group members. Importantly, however, this finding must be weighed against the consequences

for Francophones, who experience a process of subtractive bilingualism in conjunction with greater L2 facility.

Two unexpected findings were detected, which represent directions for future study. In particular, contrary to prediction, out-group identification was not found to mitigate the use of linguistic bias. Further, while the influence of high L2 confidence on the LIB effect has been elucidated, the precise interaction between low confidence and in-group identity remains less well understood. The finding that low L2 confidence in conjunction with a strong L1 identity is related to a reverse LIB effect is, at first glance, counterintuitive. One possible explanation of this unanticipated finding, however, is that strong L1 affiliation and subjective discomfort when interacting with the out-group others provokes feelings of threat, insecurity, and anxiety. Individuals may therefore undergo a process of prejudice suppression in order to inhibit biased language, which is overcompensated through the expression of out-group favoritism, in effect, the reverse LIB. Undoubtedly, further research is required in order to more fully understand the influence of identity on the LIB and its reverse pattern of communication.

Conclusion

In providing further insight into the expression of linguistic bias, this research provides evidence in support of the LIB phenomenon, despite a relatively peaceful intergroup context. Over and above the expected effect, however, there is strong evidence to suggest that the LIB phenomenon is subject to the influence of specific context-relevant variables, thereby revealing the centrality of socio-contextual and intrapersonal factors in the study of linguistic bias. This study is the first of its kind to demonstrate that, in addition to expected LIB outcomes, an opposite pattern of communication may likewise exist and operate in socio-linguistic contexts characterized by relative agreeableness, despite disequilibrium in social power. That is, the very

factors that promote positive intergroup interactions, may simultaneously contribute to out-group favoritism by means of a reverse LIB effect.

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Study Three

'Us' and 'them':

Identity, re-categorization, communication and the LIB

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*This manuscript has been submitted to *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*.

Abstract

Intergroup bias is communicated predominantly through language (Bourhis & Maass, 2004). The linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm, in particular, posits that a person's linguistic choices in describing others may reveal positive in-group and negative out-group biases (Maass, 1999). Previous studies (Shulman & Clément, 2008; Shulman, Collins, & Clément, 2010) have documented the existence of a reverse LIB effect whereby the out-group is favored while the in-group is denigrated. Furthermore, results have shown that LIB and reverse LIB patterns are related to degree of in- and out-group identification among minority and majority group members. This study investigates the effects of an experimental manipulation of identity, namely, re-categorization, on the occurrence of the phenomenon. Obtained results show that, as expected, distinct cohorts engaged in both the LIB and reverse LIB effects. In response to a re-categorization task, minority Francophones demonstrated the reverse LIB when a super-ordinate identity was primed, while there was little response to the identity re-categorization protocol among majority Anglophones. The centrality of linguistic confidence in attenuating the occurrence of linguistic bias was re-confirmed in a series of analyses demonstrating that, among Francophones, group identification variables, in combination with self-reported levels of second language confidence, moderate the expression of linguistic bias. These results are interpreted with attention to social context and group status differentials.

Introduction

Negative bias toward out-groups is at the root of all world conflicts. Theories on the role of language in the transmission and maintenance of bias abound, and reviews of the literature highlight the diverse ways in which this is so (e.g., Bourhis & Maass, 2004; Leets, 2003; Reid & Ng, 1999). Fiedler, for instance, has proposed that linguistic choices may reflect cognitive and affective preferences, and that certain forms of speech influence stereotyped thinking (e.g., Fiedler, 2008a; Fiedler & Schmid, 2001). Indeed, Maass and colleagues have demonstrated that a particular linguistic device, the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB), contributes to the expression of prejudice (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989; 2000). Specifically, the LIB paradigm proposes that a person's linguistic decisions when describing others reveal positive in-group biases and negative out-group biases.

Extending these findings, Shulman and colleagues (Shulman & Clément, 2008; Shulman, Collins, & Clément, 2010) have recently investigated the LIB phenomenon within a relatively peaceful bilingual (French-English) community, and have found evidence to suggest that certain contextual and individual characteristics contribute to variations in typical LIB findings. Group identification, second language (L2) confidence, relative group vitality and impression management, in particular, have been observed to moderate traditional LIB findings. Specifically, evidence of a *reverse* LIB effect has been observed, a finding that diverges considerably from previous LIB expectations. This study builds upon prior research by exploring further the correlates and antecedents of both the LIB and its opposite pattern of communication through an experimental manipulation of social identity.

Linguistic Intergroup Bias

The role of language in the expression of bias has received much theoretical attention, and verbal communication is seen as the predominant mechanism through which prejudice is transmitted (e.g., Giles & Johnson, 1981; Maass, 1999). Language represents a shared symbolic system used to communicate ideas from one person to another, and is integral in the construction and exchange of meaning within social contexts (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008). Language exchanges can be understood in terms of both intended and unintended consequences (e.g., Fiedler, 2008b). The intended consequences result from overt behaviours that are under conscious control. The unintended, or non-referential, aspects of language correspond to inferences about a given speech act that are not meant nor authorized by the source of the message (Fiedler, 2008b). Non-referential speech is made up of largely implicit cues that permit the construction of social meanings beyond information provided on the surface.

One approach to accessing the non-referential aspects of speech, the linguistic category model (LCM), proposes a four-point continuum of linguistic abstractness (Semin & Fiedler, 1988). Accordingly, one end of the continuum, adjectives, provides abstract information about the character and personality of individuals, traits that are generally stable across time and situation. At the other, concrete, end of the continuum are descriptive action verbs, which convey little dispositional information about a person, and permit no inferences about whether similar behaviours are likely under different circumstances, or in the future. The implications of describing a person using abstract rather than concrete terms involve ascribing temporal stability to the behaviour or enduring qualities to the person described, thus implying generalizability across situations. The more abstract the statement, the stronger the inference about a person's character, and the more difficult it becomes to conceive of contradictory evidence in the future (e.g., Maass, 1999). With increasing abstractness, behaviours are assigned "more weight and

higher informativeness” (Fiedler, 2008a, p. 183). By accessing the non-referential aspects of one’s linguistic choices, researchers are able to capture a person’s “true sentiments toward social categories in a subtle manner that renders socially desirable or politically correct responses unlikely” (Franco & Maass, 1996, p. 338). In essence, an individual’s social cognitions with respect to out-group others may be revealed by assessing the unintended meanings conveyed through the differential use of linguistic abstractness.

Using the LCM, the LIB refers to the tendency of communicators to express favorable in-group and unfavorable out-group behaviours in abstract terms (e.g., ‘the in-group member is responsible’ and ‘the out-group member is dishonest’), and a tendency to describe unfavorable in-group and favorable out-group behaviours in concrete terms (e.g., ‘the in-group member is pushing someone’ and ‘the out-group member is picking up a dropped book’)(e.g., Maass, 1999). Negative out-group and positive in-group behaviours are generalized across time and situation while descriptions of negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours are limited to specific circumstances, implying a prejudice against the out-group and for the in-group.

The Intricate Influence of Identity

Demonstrations of the LIB effect have so far emerged from contexts where, because of contentious issues, group identities are clearly defined and polarized. As a pivotal process of the LIB, it would, however, be expected that identity variations would have an immediate impact on the expression of prejudice. Social identity refers to an awareness of belonging to a social group and the emotional meaning and knowledge that results from group membership (Tajfel, 1978). Given that identity is flexible and can adapt over time and across situations, the capacity to identify with more than one cultural group has implications for social mobility (e.g., Reid &

Anderson, 2010). That is, belonging to a socially disadvantaged group can be overcome through alignment with a relatively more advantaged out-group (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Identification to an out-group may also give rise to specific interactive consequences. When intergroup contexts are multilingual environments, it is not uncommon for individuals to acquire ability, and a subsequent sense of linguistic confidence in speaking the out-group language, which has been observed to enhance and deepen one's out-group identity (e.g., Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Noels & Clément, 1996). The interface between out-group identification and L2 confidence may therefore be understood as a precursor to improved intergroup relations (Guimond & Palmer, 1993), a circumstance that is likely incompatible with the expression of negative out-group bias.

Carrying these language and identity issues forward, Shulman and colleagues (Shulman & Clément, 2008; Shulman et al., 2010) have recently investigated the LIB phenomenon within a bilingual (French-English) community, where the Francophones constitute a minority group. While evidence in support of the LIB was indeed detected, results confirm the centrality of identity and language in the expression of bias. More specifically, it was found that among Francophone participants, those who did not identify with the Anglophone out-group demonstrated a LIB effect. Greater L2 confidence and stronger out-group identification were found, on the other hand, to be important predictors of more limited linguistic bias use, and presumably, more positive cross-cultural interactions. The factors found to contribute to reduced linguistic bias when describing out-group members (i.e., L2 confidence and out-group identification), however, also appear to promote biased speech toward in-group members. For minority Francophones, a consequence of frequent contact and identification with the out-group

is the expression of negative linguistic bias toward in-group members, likely due to in-group identity erosion.

Strong identification as a member of a minority group was also observed to influence lexical decisions. Specifically, these participants used abstract language to describe both the prosocial and antisocial behaviours of the Anglophone out-group, a finding which diverges from previous LIB research. This unexpected finding was interpreted with respect to the relative power positions of the groups in contact. As Brauer and Bourhis (2006) contend, members of high-power groups are likely to be described in terms of stable dispositions, while low-power groups are more likely to receive situational attributions, regardless of behaviour valence. Because power holders are perceived to be unconstrained in their behaviour, they therefore tend to receive dispositional attributions for their actions, while the powerless, seen as being restricted in their conduct, tend to be described in situational terms. A person's social identity as belonging either to a majority or minority group may therefore determine the nature of the attributions made about others. Thus, in a context characterized by a relative imbalance of social power, it is reasonable to expect the LIB to be qualified by differentials in group vitality.

Further research was therefore conducted to assess the LIB as a function of participants' relative group status (Shulman et al., 2010). Results reveal that while a cohort of both Francophone and Anglophone participants produced a LIB effect, others demonstrated a *reverse* pattern of biased communication. That is, a distinct subset of participants, both Francophone and Anglophone, used negatively biased language when describing in-group behaviours. This unexpected finding was interpreted as a motivated and controlled attempt of individuals to suppress their negative biases about out-group members (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Dasgupta, 2004). Given that the expression of prejudice is socially undesirable, participants may

have inhibited such responses for reasons of impression management, but in so doing, overcorrected by engaging in out-group favoritism.

It was also observed that minority Francophones engaged in the LIB differently than did majority Anglophones. Specifically, there is evidence to suggest that Anglophones demonstrate a *stronger* LIB effect than do their Francophone peers, a finding that can be understood with respect to differentials in relative group vitality. Given their position of relative power within a primarily English-speaking community, Anglophone participants may be less attuned to intergroup dynamics, and are therefore less aware of the adverse consequences of negative out-group bias. As such, they may be more likely to use biased language when describing members of the less powerful out-group.

Francophone participants, in contrast, were observed to demonstrate a more pronounced *reverse* LIB effect. This finding may likewise be understood as a function of differences in social power. That is, minority Francophone participants may, either advertently or inadvertently, opt not to communicate prejudice toward members of the more powerful out-group through controlled inhibition of biased speech as a function of learning how to maintain peaceful intergroup interactions with a more powerful out-group. The consequence of this, however, is that they may show an overcorrection effect.

In settings characterized by groups in contact, it is not uncommon for positive and meaningful intergroup contact to foster a sense of identification to members of the out-group (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Noels & Clément, 1996). With respect to the LIB, the specific issue of out-group identity development is of primary interest. In addition to changes in identification following exposure to an out-group, there is also the possibility that such changes impact an individual's subjective stance regarding members of the L2 out-group. Specifically,

identity is likely associated with positive beliefs about and an empathic stance toward members of an out-group (e.g., Clément, Smythe, & Gardner, 1976; Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006). As such, an objective of this study is to assess the influence of out-group identity development on both the LIB, as well as the reverse LIB. It is expected that out-group identification will serve as a preventive factor in the expression of linguistic bias.

Facilitating a Common In-group Identity

While previous studies have underscored the role of language and identity in the expression and suppression of prejudice (e.g., Shulman & Clément, 2008; Shulman et al., 2010), the circumstances under which one refrains from using linguistic bias remain less well understood. It would follow, therefore, that a specific intervention on perceptions of identity and group boundaries could potentially reduce the expression of intergroup bias.

One reason for the persistence of prejudice is the biased categorizations made in relation to the self and out-group others, based largely on perceptions of social identity (e.g., Brewer, 1979; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Evaluations of in-group relative to out-group behaviours tend to be more favorable (Pettigrew, 1979), a notion consistent both with Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and the LIB phenomenon (Maass et al., 1989). That is, prejudicial beliefs arise when individuals think in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them,’ and see themselves as being distinct from, and perhaps even superior to, out-group others.

Identity may be understood as ever-adapting and changeable, varying in response to social and contextual determinants. Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) have proposed that if members of two or more groups are encouraged to perceive themselves as one inclusive, super-ordinate group, rather than as completely disparate groups, “attitudes toward former out-group members should become more positive through processes involving pro in-group bias” (p. 42). Thus,

shifting biased categorizations by manipulating who is an 'us' and who is a 'them' can potentially alter negative out-group attitudes, and in turn, linguistic bias.

One way of influencing perceptions of group boundaries, referred to as re-categorization, encourages individuals to "regard themselves as belonging to a common, super-ordinate group – one group that is inclusive of both members" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, p. 33). In essence, re-categorization involves having group members accentuate a common, super-ordinate group identity. Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, and Dovidio (1989) manipulated participants' perceptions of group boundaries in a series of laboratory studies. They found that those who maintained their distinct group categorization had greater levels of intergroup bias than did those whose perceptions of intergroup boundaries were altered through re-categorization strategies. More recently, Gonzalez and Brown (2006) found the manipulation of group boundaries to be related to positive effects in cooperative intergroup settings.

While the re-categorization hypothesis proposed by Gaertner, Dovidio and colleagues implies an accentuation of group similarities and a blurring of group differences from a cognitive perspective, Vanbeselaere (1996) extends this hypothesis by drawing attention to the motivational aspects of re-categorization. Consistent with SIT, this argument rests on the notion of social mobility by means of out-group identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In effect, given a pre-existing positive social identity as a function of membership in a socially advantaged group, majority-group members are likely unmotivated to bolster identity through super-ordinate group identification. Levels of bias are therefore predicted to remain unchanged, despite re-categorization. Members of socially disadvantaged groups, on the other hand, likely are motivated to overcome a less positive identity through identification with the super-ordinate group. Thus, levels of prejudice are expected to improve in response to re-categorization.

The Present Study

The current research evolves within the national capital region of Ottawa, Canada. Within this context, Francophone and Anglophone groups can be understood as unique and separate cultures (e.g., sub-ordinate identities), or as necessary and integral components contributing to the cultural fabric of a multicultural society (e.g., a super-ordinate identity). This study was conducted on the bilingual campus of the University of Ottawa where, despite an institutional mandate of bilingualism, English is the preferred language of over two-thirds of the students.

The objectives of this study are threefold. The first is to confirm the co-existence of the LIB phenomenon and its reverse effect in relation to relative group status. Given the imbalance of social power between the two groups under study, we attempt to determine whether minority versus majority status influences use of linguistic bias.

The second objective is to explore whether the experimental manipulation of identity impacts LIB. Specifically, this is a cross-sectional investigation of how categorization and re-categorization differentially influence the expression of biased language. It is expected that participants will demonstrate variations in level of abstractness based on the type of task completed (e.g., categorization versus re-categorization). Further, it is hypothesized that minority Francophones will be more responsive to the planned intervention in comparison with majority Anglophones.

A final objective is to examine the individual characteristics related to the LIB and its reverse effect. In view of previous findings (e.g., Shulman & Clément, 2008; Shulman et al., 2010), it is expected that greater confidence when speaking the L2 and greater identification with the out-group will decrease the likelihood of linguistic bias.

Method

Participants

Participants were Francophone and Anglophone students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses. Respondents were eligible to participate if they had lived in Canada most of their lives, and were native speakers of French or English. A total of 325 students participated in the study (104 Francophones; 221 Anglophones). Most were female (82%) and ranged in age from 16 to 43 years ($M = 18.94$; $SD = 2.77$).

Measures

Linguistic intergroup bias. Participants were presented with a series of 20 photographs depicting actors engaged in both prosocial and antisocial behaviours (10 images each), a type of research stimulus similar to Maass and colleagues' LIB paradigm (Maass et al., 1989; 2000). Four descriptions accompanied each photo, where each descriptor represented a distinct level of linguistic abstractness. Participants were asked to select the descriptor that they believed best described the image. Level of abstractness was coded according to the LCM (Semin & Fiedler, 1988), where a higher score corresponds to more abstractness (see Annex C).

In order to denote linguistic group membership, each actor was assigned a name that conveyed group membership as either Francophone or Anglophone (e.g., 'Benoît' or 'Andrew'). In order to minimize the potential for response bias, all assigned names were verified for social desirability, and were deemed to be 'good names,' according to a website regarding the etymology and history of first names (www.behindthename.com). Participants were asked to respond to the following instruction: 'Please select the option below which best describes the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Andrew/Benoît], the [wo/man] pictured in the above image.'

Questionnaires were randomly distributed so that equal halves of the sample received surveys depicting Francophone (49%) and Anglophone (51%) actors.

L2 confidence. L2 confidence was assessed using a L2 anxiety scale (Clément & Baker, 2001). Participants were asked to report the extent to which they are anxious when using the L2, by means of an eight-item measure, situated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, where higher scores indicate greater anxiety. Cronbach's reliability coefficient was $\alpha = .87$ for Francophones and $\alpha = .86$ for Anglophones.

Francophone and Anglophone identity. The Situated Ethnic Identity scale (Clément & Noels, 1992) is a 10-item self-report instrument developed to assess the degree of participants' identification with their own linguistic group, as well as the out-group language community. The measure describes a number of daily situations (e.g., at home, while participating in cultural activities, reading or writing). For each situation, items are situated on a 7-point Likert scale with options ranging from *not at all like a French Canadian* to *very much like a French Canadian* in the case of Francophone identity ($\alpha = .77$ for Francophone participants; $\alpha = .88$ for Anglophone participants), and from *not at all like an English Canadian* to *very much like an English Canadian*, in the case of Anglophone identity ($\alpha = .78$ for Francophone participants; $\alpha = .86$ for Anglophone participants).

Procedure

Potential participants were recruited from undergraduate university courses participating in the School of Psychology's Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR), an online participant management service. An integral aspect of the ISPR is that participants receive one percentage point toward their academic course for each hour of their research participation. Students who met the inclusion criteria for this study were granted access to a study description

and an electronic version of the questionnaire. Completion of all study material required approximately 45 minutes. Participants were informed that their participation was optional and that all responses would be kept confidential. Respondent names were not collected.

Surveys were completed in participants' L1 (i.e., first language), and scales were presented in the order in which they appear in Annex C. Francophone and Anglophone participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions (i.e., in-group prime, Canadian prime, no prime), a protocol similar to that of Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2006). Those assigned to the in-group identity prime group wrote a brief narrative regarding in-group identity (e.g., 'Please describe what it means to you to be an [Franco/Anglophone]. In formulating your answer, you may wish to consider the social aspects of [Franco/Anglophone] life, including music, sport, literature and art, or specific locations where you feel particularly connected to your [Franco/Anglophone] heritage').

Participants assigned to the Canadian identity prime group wrote a brief narrative regarding their Canadian identity (e.g., 'Please describe what it means to you to be Canadian. In formulating your answer, you may wish to consider the diverse social aspects of Canadian life, including bilingualism, the influence of Francophone and Anglophone cultures, multiculturalism, and human diversity'). Control group participants did not write narrative statements.

Participants first completed the identity manipulation, followed by the LIB stimulus material, and finally, measures of L2 confidence and group identification. Random assignment was used to distribute participants with respect to the LIB stimulus material. Accordingly, Francophone and Anglophone participants described either Francophone or Anglophone actors engaged in both prosocial and antisocial behaviours, resulting in a mixed-model, repeated measures design.

Results

An index of language abstractness was calculated, in order to differentiate those who did from those who did not use linguistic bias when describing the prosocial and antisocial behaviours of in-group and out-group members (Maass, Ceccarelli, & Rudin, 1996). In the case of participants evaluating the behaviours of in-group members, the mean of prosocial items was subtracted from the mean of antisocial items. Conversely, to create the LIB Index in the case of participants evaluating the behaviours of out-group members, the mean of antisocial items was subtracted from the mean of prosocial items. The range of scores on the LIB Index was found to vary from -1.50 to 1.40 ($M = -.034$, $SD = .469$), where higher scores correspond to greater linguistic bias.

Linguistic Bias and Group Status

Prior to computing the analysis of variance (ANOVA), a categorical independent variable was created to differentiate those participants who showed a tendency toward in-group favoritism (e.g., the LIB effect), from those who showed an alternate pattern of communication. Participants who scored greater than zero on the LIB Index were grouped in the LIB condition ($n = 54$ Francophones; $n = 116$ Anglophones), while those who scored lower than zero were assigned to the no-LIB condition ($n = 50$ Francophones; $n = 105$ Anglophones). A chi-square analysis comparing participant group to LIB group was non-significant ($\chi^2 = .009$, $p = .924$). Thus, in itself, group membership of participants was not directly related to using the LIB. A chi-square analysis comparing gender to LIB group was also non-significant ($\chi^2 = .939$, $p = .391$).

To test the hypothesis that linguistic bias varies as a function of a participant's relative group status, a four-way mixed-model, repeated measures ANOVA was computed, with participant group membership (Francophone, Anglophone), actor group membership

(Francophone, Anglophone) and LIB group (LIB, no-LIB) as the between-subjects factors, and desirability of behaviour (prosocial, antisocial) as the within-subjects factor. A main effect of desirability was observed, $F(1,317) = 10.64, p = .001, \eta^2 = .032$, indicating that antisocial behaviours were described in more abstract terms than were prosocial behaviours. Results also reveal a significant four-way interaction, $F(1,317) = 494.50, p = .000, \eta^2 = .609$.

After applying a Bonferroni adjustment to the significance level, post-hoc tests show that all simple main effects of desirability (prosocial, antisocial) in every condition of participant group and actor group are statistically significant. As shown in Figures 1a and 1b, both Francophone and Anglophone participants demonstrated a LIB effect. Specifically, prosocial in-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than antisocial in-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,317) = 12.17, p = .000, \eta^2 = .039$] and Anglophone [$F(1,317) = 52.31, p = .000, \eta^2 = .142$] participants, while antisocial out-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than is prosocial out-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,317) = 78.65, p = .000, \eta^2 = .199$] and Anglophone [$F(1,317) = 107.32, p = .000, \eta^2 = .253$] participants.

As Figures 2a and 2b illustrate, distinct cohorts of Francophone and Anglophone participants demonstrate what appears to be a reverse LIB effect. Specifically, antisocial in-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than prosocial in-group behaviour, among both Francophone [$F(1,317) = 91.29, p = .000, \eta^2 = .224$] and Anglophone [$F(1,317) = 135.41, p = .000, \eta^2 = .299$] participants, while prosocial out-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than antisocial out-group behaviour among both Francophone [$F(1,317) = 31.43, p = .000, \eta^2 = .090$] and Anglophone [$F(1,317) = 121.29, p = .000, \eta^2 = .277$] participants.

Additionally, all simple main effects of actor group for antisocial behaviours in every condition of participant group and LIB group are statistically significant. As shown in Figures 1a

and 1b, antisocial out-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than is antisocial in-group behaviour among both Francophones [$F(1,317) = 11.20, p = .000, \eta^2 = .034$] and Anglophones [$F(1,317) = 18.13, p = .000, \eta^2 = .054$] who demonstrated the LIB effect. Among those who demonstrated the reverse LIB effect, antisocial in-group behaviour is described in more abstract terms than is antisocial out-group behaviour, among both Francophone [$F(1,317) = 28.58, p = .000, \eta^2 = .083$] and Anglophone [$F(1,317) = 32.91, p = .000, \eta^2 = .094$] participants, as presented in Figures 2a and 2b.

Simple main effects of participant group were likewise computed. Of the eight possible effects, only one was found to be statistically significant. Specifically, among participants who demonstrate a reverse LIB effect, Anglophones use more abstract terms to describe prosocial out-group behaviours than do Francophone participants, $F(1,317) = 4.49, p < .05, \eta^2 = .370$.

Identity Re-Categorization

In order to better distinguish participants who engage in the LIB from those who demonstrate a reverse LIB effect, a 2 x 3 ANOVA using participant group and identity prime condition as the between-subjects factors was computed on the LIB Index. Results reveal a significant interaction, $F(2,319) = 3.38, p = .035, \eta^2 = .021$. Post-hoc tests show a significant simple main effect of participant group for the Canadian identity prime, $F(1,148) = 3.74, p = .05, \eta^2 = .025$. As shown in Figure 3, among those who received the super-ordinate prime, Anglophones tended to abstain from linguistic bias, while Francophones demonstrated a reverse LIB effect. Additionally, the simple main effect of identity prime condition for Francophone participants was significant, $F(1,74) = 5.78, p = .019, \eta^2 = .072$. Specifically, Francophone participants who received an in-group identity prime were more likely to engage in a LIB effect,

Figure 1a

The LIB Effect among Francophone Participants

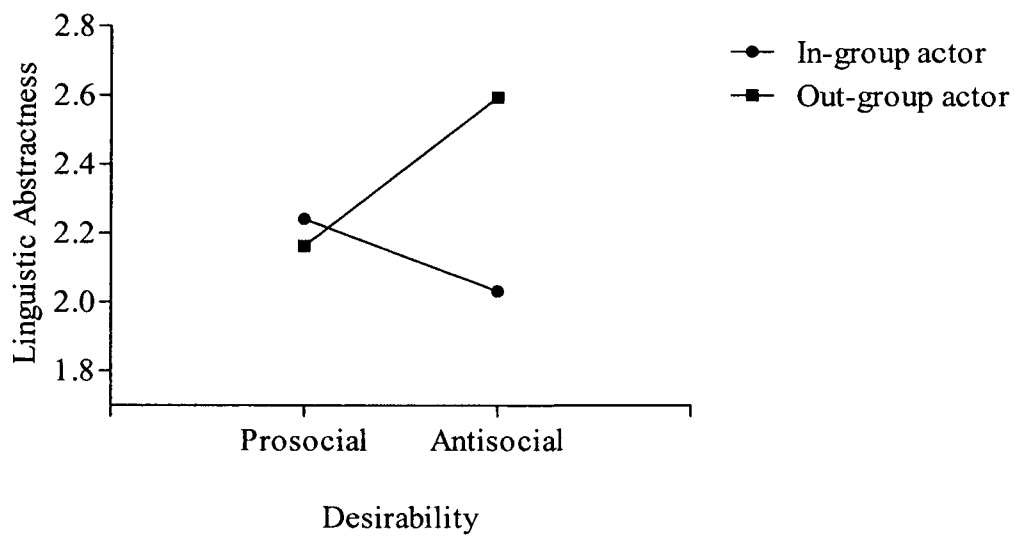


Figure 1b

The LIB Effect among Anglophone Participants

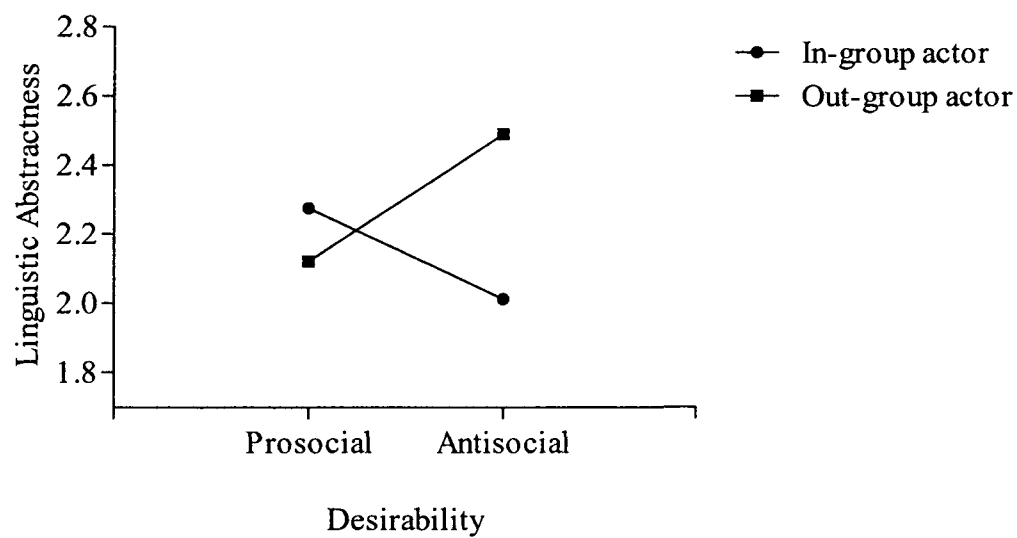


Figure 2a

The Reverse LIB Effect among Francophone Participants

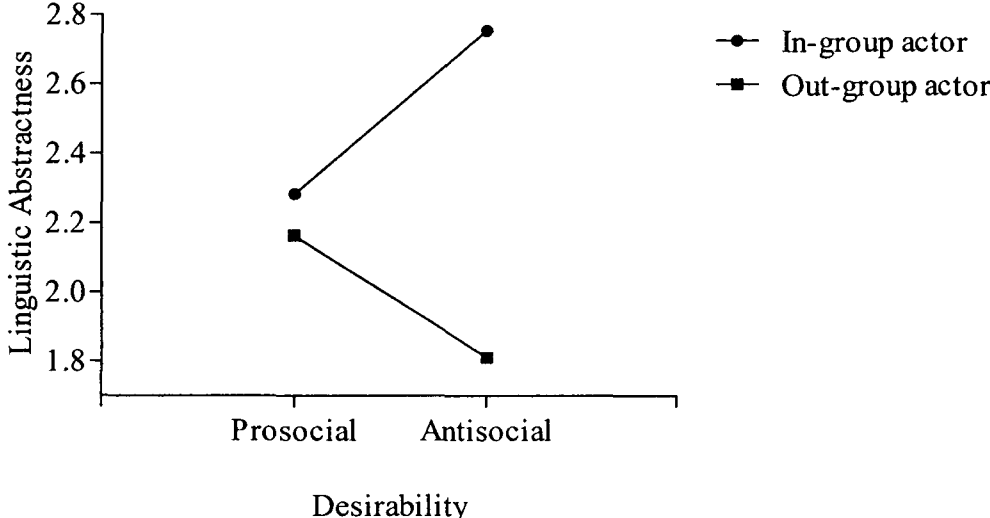


Figure 2b

The Reverse LIB Effect among Anglophone Participants

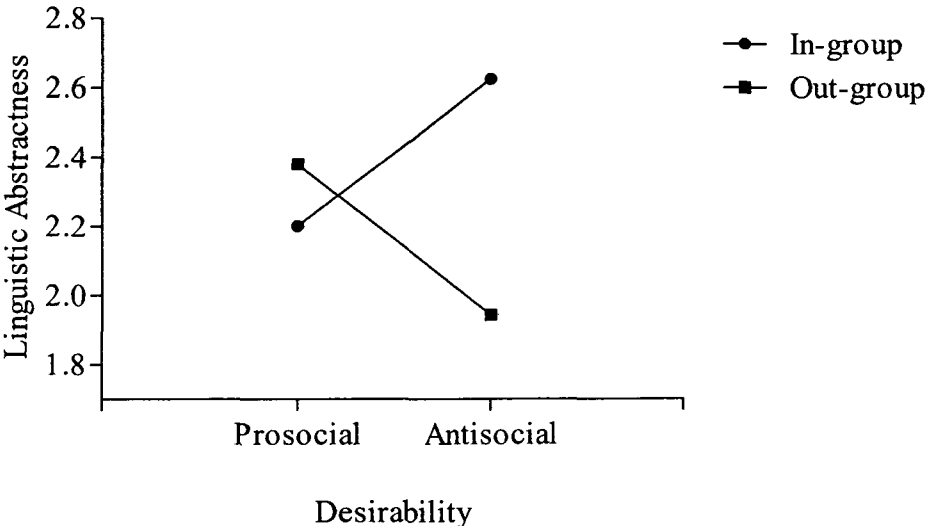
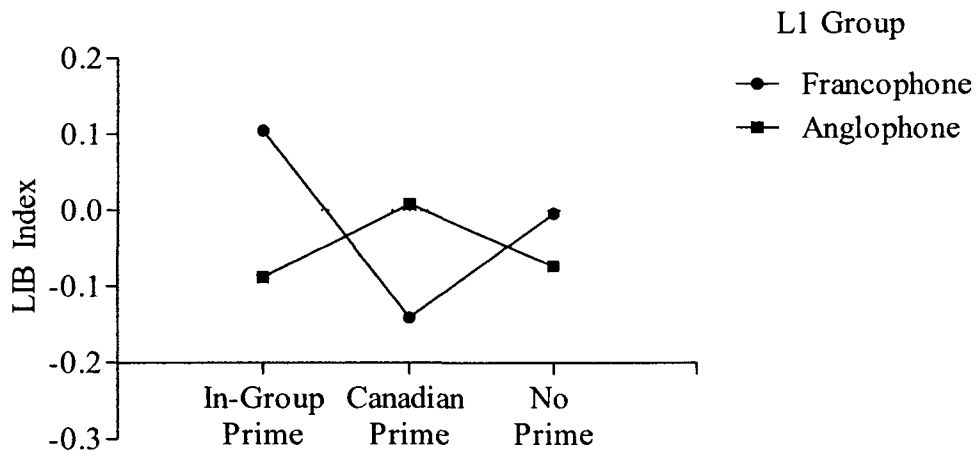


Figure 3

LIB Index as a Function of Identity Prime Condition and Participant Group



in comparison with those who received a super-ordinate prime, who were more likely to demonstrate a reverse LIB. In essence, this interaction is due to Francophones reacting to the priming conditions while Anglophone participants show no such effect and no significant difference with the no-prime group.

In order to assess the impact of identity priming, a series of 2 x 3 ANOVAs using participant group and identity prime condition as between-subjects factors was computed on measures of L2 confidence, in-group identity and out-group identity. Main effects of participant group were obtained in all analyses. Specifically, a significant difference in L2 confidence was observed, $F(1,319) = 59.93, p < .000, \eta^2 = .158$, such that, in comparison to their Francophone peers ($M = 3.47; SD = 1.37$), Anglophone participants reported less confidence when speaking the L2 ($M = 4.77; SD = .098$). A significant difference in in-group identification was likewise observed, $F(1,319) = 63.58, p < .000, \eta^2 = .166$. Specifically, Anglophones identified more strongly with the in-group ($M = 6.21; SD = .065$), than did Francophones ($M = 5.32; SD = .091$). Significant differences were likewise detected in out-group identification scores, $F(1,319) = 72.18, p < .000, \eta^2 = .185$. Specifically, Francophones identified more strongly with out-group others ($M = 3.88; SD = 1.19$) than did Anglophones ($M = 2.64; SD = .085$). None of the interactions pertaining to these variables were significant.

Identity and L2 Confidence

Univariate ANOVAs were computed to test the hypothesis that L2 confidence and out-group and in-group profiles of identification are related to the propensity to either engage in or abstain from use of linguistic bias. First, several categorical independent variables were calculated by effecting median splits on L2 confidence, in-group identity and out-group identity scores.

A three-way univariate ANOVA on the LIB Index with participant group (Francophone, Anglophone), in-group identity (low, high), and L2 confidence (low, high) as between-subjects factors was computed. The three-way interaction was statistically significant, $F(1,317) = 4.99, p = .026, \eta^2 = .016$. Post-hoc tests show that, among Francophone participants, the simple main effect of high L2 confidence across in-group identity is non-significant, $F(1,50) = .912, p = .344, \eta^2 = .018$. More specifically, as shown in Figure 4a, high L2 confidence is related to an absence of linguistic bias, regardless of the extent to which one identifies with the in-group. Also among Francophones, a significant simple main effect of L2 confidence was detected, $F(1,49) = 3.92, p = .053, \eta^2 = .074$. As presented in Figure 4a, strong in-group identity in conjunction with low L2 confidence is related to the reverse LIB effect. All simple main effects among Anglophone participants were non-significant (see Figure 4b).

A second three-way univariate ANOVA with participant group (Francophone, Anglophone), L2 confidence (low, high) and, this time, out-group identity (low, high) as the between-subjects factors was computed. The three-way interaction was statistically significant, $F(1,317) = 4.16, p = .042, \eta^2 = .013$. Post-hoc analyses reveal no effect of high L2 confidence on the LIB, $F(1,50) = .794, p = .377, \eta^2 = .016$. In other words, those who are confident in their L2 speaking ability do not demonstrate a LIB effect, regardless of their level of out-group identification. Also among Francophones, a simple main effect of low out-group identity was detected, $F(1,50) = 4.03, p = .050, \eta^2 = .075$. As seen in Figure 5a, participants who do not identify with the out-group and who are not confident when speaking the L2 are more likely to demonstrate a reverse LIB effect. All simple main effects among Anglophone participants were non-significant (see Figure 5b).

Figure 4a

LIB Index as a Function of In-Group Identification and L2 Confidence among Francophones

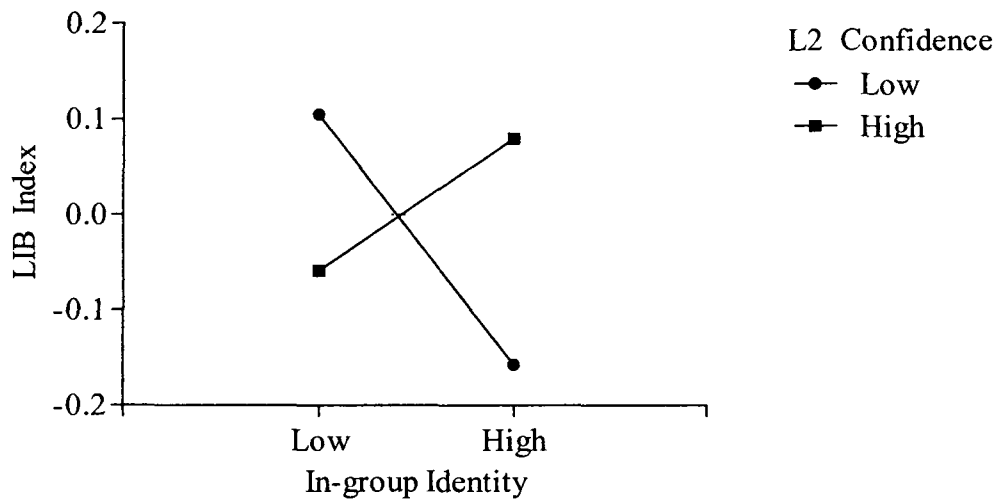


Figure 4b

LIB Index as a Function of In-Group Identification and L2 Confidence among Anglophones

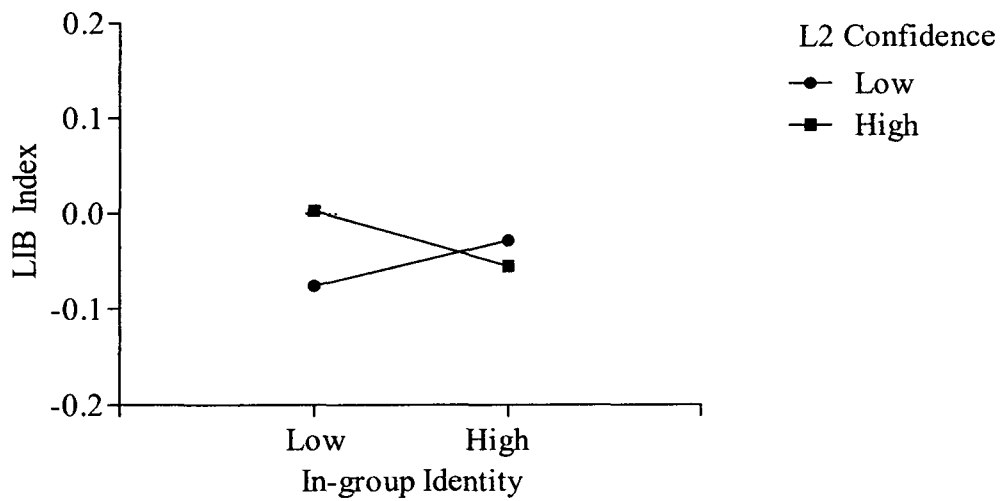


Figure 5a

LIB Index as a Function of Out-Group Identification and L2 Confidence among Francophones

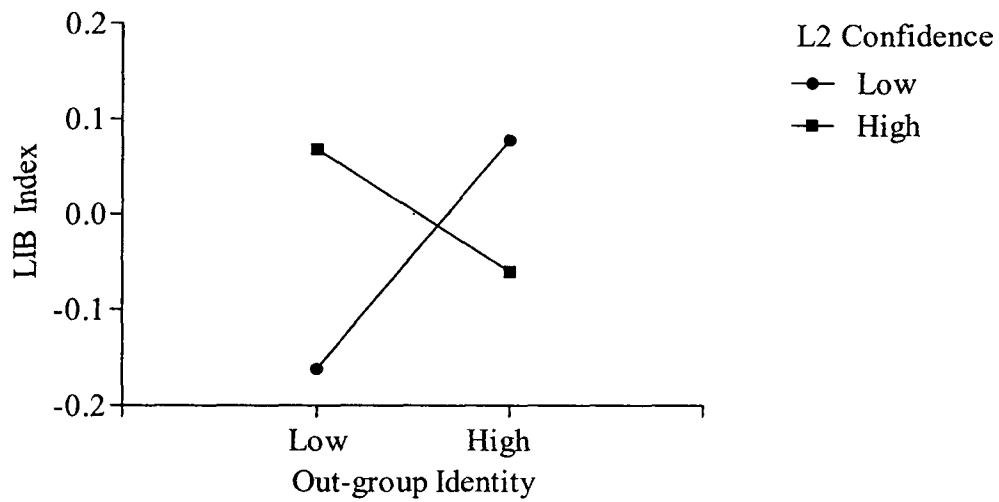
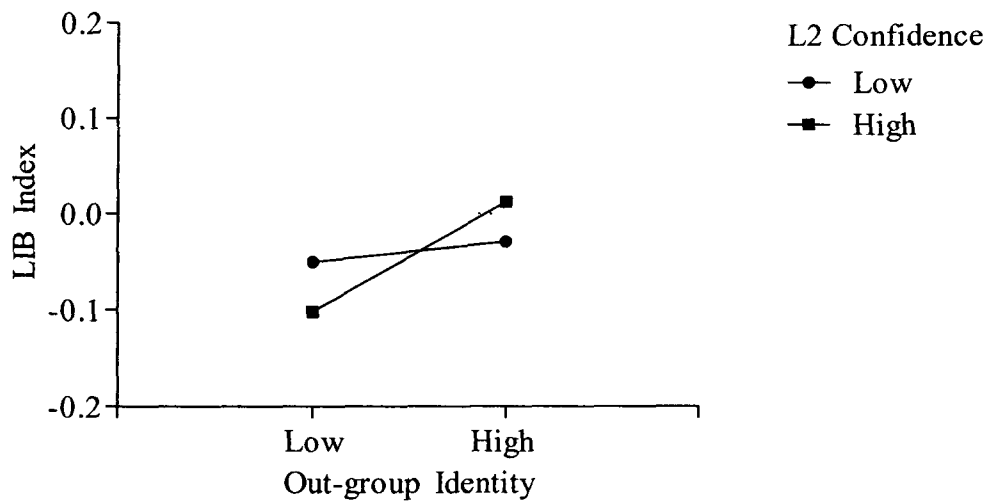


Figure 5b

LIB Index as a Function of Out-Group Identification and L2 Confidence among Anglophones



Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether and how the LIB diverges from traditional predictions, with specific attention given to the reverse LIB phenomenon. It was hypothesized that a manipulation aimed at altering identity patterns so as to change perceived group boundaries would affect LIB outcomes. In addition, several socio-contextual factors and individual characteristics were investigated as potential moderators of linguistic out-group bias and its opposite pattern of communication. Results obtained herein indicate that, as hypothesized, the LIB effect is indeed subject to a re-categorization intervention as well as to specific contextually-relevant factors. In particular, in-group identification, L2 confidence, and relative group status were explored as potential moderators of the LIB and reverse LIB effects, and were observed to contribute to a number of variations in traditional LIB findings. Additionally, an innovation of the present study was the inclusion of out-group identification as a factor potentially contributing to the occurrence of the reverse LIB.

While LIB and reverse LIB effects occurred as predicted, it was observed that, in comparison to the socially desirable, prosocial behaviours of actors, undesirable antisocial behaviours were described in more abstract terms. In the context of attribution theory, inferences are believed to vary as a function of behaviour valence, particularly when drawing conclusions on the basis of the perceived morality of an actor (e.g., Reeder, 1993; Reeder & Brewer, 1979). Because it is conceivable that both moral and immoral individuals engage in prosocial behaviours, but that it is only immoral individuals who engage in antisocial acts, “a target person’s immoral behaviour should lead to a relatively clear inference that the target has an immoral disposition, because only immoral persons are thought to engage in such behaviour” (Reeder, 1993, p. 587). Antisocial conduct is consequently perceived to be more diagnostic of an

individual's disposition, and is therefore ascribed more abstract, stable terms. Moreover, antisocial behaviours may be rendered less threatening and more predictable through the dispositional characterization of others. In other words, the portrayal of another as inherently immoral allows their antisocial actions to be more foreseeable and, presumably, less distressing. It is therefore not surprising that all antisocial behaviours were described in more abstract terms, in comparison with prosocial behaviours, regardless of participant group membership, actor group membership and LIB group.

As a qualification of the above, it was noted that among those evidencing a LIB profile, it was the antisocial behaviour of the out-group that was the object of more abstract descriptions. Conversely, the reverse LIB group expressed more abstract attributions toward antisocial in-group behaviour. It appears that the general outlook toward the other group reflected in the LIB-reverse LIB patterns would designate who is considered a potential threat. As seen here, the motivation to identify the source of antisocial behaviour can, in some cases, extend to the in-group.

As expected, a subset of participants, both Francophone and Anglophone, demonstrated a LIB effect. These participants selected more abstract terms in describing prosocial in-group behaviours, in comparison with prosocial out-group behaviours. Moreover, antisocial in-group behaviours received more concrete terms, in comparison with antisocial out-group behaviours. These results are in keeping with traditional LIB predictions (Maass et al. 1989; 2000).

A distinct cohort of participants, both Francophone and Anglophone, engaged in a *reverse* LIB effect. That is, a pattern of responding consistent with out-group favoritism was observed among this group. In contrast to traditional LIB predictions, these participants selected more abstract descriptors when evaluating antisocial in-group behaviours, in comparison with

antisocial out-group behaviours. Additionally, prosocial in-group behaviours received more concrete descriptors, compared to the prosocial behaviours of out-group members.

These results are of course intimately linked to the manipulation of participants' perceptions of in- and out-group boundaries. As expected, there was no effect on expression of linguistic bias when participants were not primed for a specific identity profile. Among participants who did complete a priming task, results reveal that there was little effect of the priming stimulus on the expression of linguistic bias among majority-group Anglophones. These findings are expected, given that they belong to an already positively evaluated group and may be unwilling to relinquish their position of power (Vanbeselaere, 1996).

Among minority-group Francophones, on the other hand, those who received the super-ordinate prime were more likely to engage in the reverse LIB. In comparison, Francophones whose sub-ordinate, in-group identities were primed were more likely to engage in linguistic bias. It would therefore appear that members of the minority group are more reactive to the priming stimulus, perhaps due to greater sensitivity to issues of ethno-linguistic identity, and their inherent capacity to flexibly adapt within intergroup situations, given knowledge of and confidence in both languages and cultures. These findings are consistent with observations made by Vanbeselaere (1996), who emphasized the possibility of divergent effects of re-categorization tasks on minority versus majority group members, given the inherently motivational aspects of social mobility (see Reid & Anderson, 2010).

Anglophone participants nevertheless engaged in a reverse LIB effect, which requires an explanation that is not related to the re-categorization task. In their case, the reverse LIB may be understood as a self-presentation strategy. Particularly in a normative context valuing equality and harmonious intergroup relations, the expression of negative out-group bias is perceived to be

socially unacceptable, and especially so coming from the higher status group. Anglophones demonstrating the reverse LIB may, therefore, have inhibited prejudiced thoughts and opinion through control of their biased beliefs (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). The reverse LIB may, consequently, represent a form of prejudice suppression in which participants overcorrected in order to “compensate for potential bias” (Dasgupta, 2004, p. 158), an interpretation of the results that is corroborated by the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Responses theory (Dunton & Fazio, 1997), which contends that if motivated, individuals can and do inhibit prejudiced responses.

Beyond providing additional evidence in support of both the LIB and reverse LIB effects, the results obtained highlight the centrality of identity and language variables in the expression of linguistic bias. Unexpectedly, the identity prime manipulation does not appear to have had an impact on the perception of identification to either group. Although no firm explanation of these results is put forward, one possibility relates to the relevance of the identity scales to the manipulation task. The latter refers to a global identity as either a sub-ordinate or a super-ordinate group member. The identity scale used herein, referred to as the Situated Ethnic Identity scale (Clément & Noels, 1992), however, refers to feelings of belonging in a series of specific day-to-day activities. Subject to further inquiry, it may, therefore, be the case that the experimental manipulation applied here did not elicit the specific reactions tapped by the identity measure.

Identity did, however, have an impact on LIB profiles. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that, among Francophone participants, group identification variables, in combination with self-reported levels of L2 confidence, moderate the expression of linguistic bias. Specifically, high L2 confidence neutralizes the effect of in-group identity on the LIB. In other words, regardless of degree of identification with the in-group, participants who are confident

speaking the L2 tend not to engage in either the LIB or reverse LIB effects. Low L2 confidence, in contrast, in combination with high identification to the in-group is related to a reverse LIB effect. Therefore, it would appear that when people perceive intergroup interaction as highly uncomfortable and unfamiliar, they tend to overcompensate for their biases through the expression of out-group favoritism.

In corroboration of the findings described above, a complementary pattern was obtained when considering out-group identification among Francophones. Results reveal that confidence speaking the L2 is related to an absence of linguistic bias, as well as its opposite pattern of communication, regardless of degree of identification to the out-group. Low L2 confidence, conversely, in combination with low out-group identity, is related to the tendency to demonstrate the reverse LIB. Those who are highly identified as minority-group members, and who report a subjective sense of unease when communicating using the majority-group language, appear to engage in what may be understood as an overcorrection for negative out-group biases (e.g., Dasgupta, 2004). Thus, this study provides evidence for a phenomenon extending the suppression of prejudice to its reversal.

While the influence of identity and language variables on the LIB is apparent among minority Francophone participants, such interactions were non-significant among Anglophones, a result that may be explained in terms of social context and in view of differentials in relative group status. Intergroup interaction variables are likely quite salient among minority-group Francophone participants, who are adept at code-switching when conversing with majority-group Anglophones. Given their position of relative privilege within a primarily English-speaking community, it is possible that Anglophones are less attuned to intergroup aspects of communication. In support of this hypothesis, we found evidence to suggest that minority-group

Francophones undergo a process of subtractive bilingualism (e.g., Lambert, 1978), presumably as a result of identification with the out-group majority. More precisely, Francophones report greater confidence speaking the L2, and tend to identify more strongly with out-group members, in comparison to their Anglophone peers (see also Clément & Noels, 1992). Moreover, in concert with identification to the out-group, Francophones display what appears to be a loss of in-group identity. In comparison, this type of cultural erosion was not observed among majority-group Anglophone participants. Therefore, membership in a majority group weakens the effect of socio-contextual factors on the expression of linguistic bias.

Conclusion

In order to successfully mitigate the occurrence of biased discourse, it is first necessary to understand the mechanisms through which it is sustained. In extending current understanding of the LIB phenomenon, the present study provides evidence in support of the LIB and corroborates the occurrence of its opposite pattern of communication, the reverse LIB. Our findings likewise highlight the centrality of identity and language in contributing to both the maintenance and reduction of linguistic bias. Over and above extending existing knowledge regarding the LIB and its correlates, we uncovered strong evidence to suggest that the saliency of super-ordinate identities has positive effects on the mitigation of linguistic bias.

This research was premised on the basis of the pernicious effects of the unintended biased messages conveyed through language. Although these are non-referential, these results show that they respond to a variety of well-known intergroup processes. According to Turner and Reynolds (2001), “social antagonism can be a (psychologically) rational reaction to people’s collective understanding of themselves in interaction with their theories of the social world and social

structural realities” (p. 148). Our results buttress their claim and further underline the essential role played by bilingualism in shaping intergroup relations.

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General Discussion

The primary goal of this thesis was to investigate the occurrence of a subtle form of prejudice, expressed through language, within a bilingual community. An additional goal was to better understand the socio-contextual and individual factors moderating both the expression and mitigation of biased discourse. The linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) paradigm provided the theoretical framework within which the present research evolved.

Proponents of the LIB model posit that the lexical decisions individuals make when talking about the self and others reflect their cognitive and affective preferences in the quest for a positive social identity (Semin & Fiedler, 1988; Maass, 1999; Maass et al., 1989, 2000). Specifically, it is proposed that positive in-group and negative out-group biases are reflected in the degree of linguistic abstractness used when evaluating the desirable and undesirable social behaviours of others. Much prior research has focused on the occurrence of the LIB within hostile social environments. This dissertation is innovative in that it explores the correlates of linguistic bias within a predominantly peaceful community.

Given this reasonably harmonious milieu, it was proposed that the findings obtained herein would diverge somewhat from traditional LIB observations. First, in accordance with typical LIB predictions, it was hypothesized that some participants, both Francophone and Anglophone, would engage in linguistic bias. It was also hypothesized that, contrary to traditional LIB findings, Francophone and Anglophone participants would demonstrate divergent patterns of biased communication. This conjecture arose in view of differentials in vitality and status between the two groups in contact, where Anglophones represent the more advantaged majority group. Specifically, we expected that while majority group members would engage in a LIB effect, Francophone participants, members of the relatively less powerful minority group,

were expected to use abstract language when describing out-group Anglophone behaviours, regardless of the valence of the behaviour described. This hypothesis stems from the observations of Brauer and Bourhis (2006), according to whom members of high-power groups tend to be described using stable attributions, while members of low-power groups are likely to receive situational attributions, a proposition empirically confirmed by Overbeck et al. (2006).

In addition, multilingual communities are frequently characterized by intergroup contact. Repeated and positive contact between members of distinct groups has been observed to foster positive out-group attitudes, a desire to learn more about the other culture, including L2 acquisition and use, and the emergence of an out-group profile of identification (e.g., Clément 1980; Clément & Gardner, 2001; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Ethno-linguistic identification, intergroup contact, and L2 confidence were assessed as potentially attenuating the experience of intergroup prejudice, thereby mitigating the expression of linguistic bias. In particular, it was expected that participants who identify strongly with the in-group would demonstrate a more pronounced LIB effect. In contrast to those with strong L1 affiliations, it was predicted that participants who are more familiar with and integrated within the L2 cultural group would hold more positive out-group representations, and would therefore abstain from use of linguistic bias. Three studies were conducted in order to test these hypotheses.

The results of this research have uncovered compelling evidence to suggest that the LIB phenomenon does indeed occur within a relatively harmonious community. In each of the three studies, both Francophones and Anglophones engaged in linguistic bias. Prosocial in-group and antisocial out-group behaviours were described using more abstract language, in comparison to antisocial in-group and prosocial out-group behaviours, which were described in more concrete terms. This pattern of findings was observed regardless of the type of LIB stimulus material

used. That is, a LIB effect was detected for both forced-choice and open-ended response formats. This observation suggests that, among those who hold prejudices toward members of the out-group, linguistic bias is expressed not only in a passive manner through experimentally-framed choices, but also more actively, through the lexical decisions made when describing the behaviours of others.

The findings also suggest, however, that the occurrence of the LIB is qualified as a function of several important factors, impinging on the construction of social identity. Antisocial behaviours were consistently described in more abstract terms compared to prosocial behaviours, regardless of participant or actor group membership. This finding is in accordance with attribution theory, particularly when it comes to statements regarding an actor's morality (e.g., Reeder, 1993). While this result was found across studies, one discrepancy, in particular, was observed. That is, only the results of Study Two reveal that prosocial in-group behaviours received more dispositional attributions among Anglophone participants who demonstrated the LIB effect, while prosocial out-group behaviours were ascribed more temporal stability among Francophones who engaged in a reverse LIB effect. This finding was understood in relation to the relative imbalance in social power between the groups under study (e.g., Brauer & Bourhis, 2006), where social mobility concerns may be at play among minority group members. These results may be viewed as complementary, therefore, in the sense that accuracy in person perception is qualified by the intergroup situation prevailing in this context.

Beyond the expected occurrence of the LIB, a distinct subset of participants, again both Francophone and Anglophone, engaged in what was dubbed a *reverse* LIB effect. In other words, these individuals expressed a negative bias toward the in-group, and a positive bias toward the out-group. The occurrence of a pattern of communication consistent with out-group

favouritism was interpreted within a prejudice suppression theoretical framework (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2004). That is, the reverse LIB was understood as a self-presentation bias, employed as a face-saving strategy to reconcile one's experience of negative out-group bias (e.g., Dasgupta, 2004; Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Prior research has explored the motivated and controlled inhibition of prejudice by eliciting reactions that would have otherwise been suppressed by imposing cognitive or emotional demands on participants (e.g., Macrae, Hewstone & Griffiths, 1993), and by eliciting negative social evaluations through unobtrusive methods (e.g., Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980). Graziano and Habashi (2010) have recently raised the possibility that social accommodation motives are inherently linked to the motivational processes described above. That is, the suppression of prejudice is thought to stem from the prosocial desire to preserve positive and agreeable relationships, in response to "other-oriented empathic concerns" (p. 316). In the present case, not only is there suppression, but complete reversal of the tendency, a phenomenon hitherto undocumented.

With respect to minority groups, Reid and Anderson (2010) had surmised the existence of a reverse LIB effect, given the potential for social mobility. Minority group members may overcome a socially disadvantaged status through identification and alignment with a more prosperous out-group. In-group identity erosion and out-group identity development, however, may precede out-group favouritism, as expressed by means of the reverse LIB. The results of the third study showing an effect of super-ordinate identity priming on the occurrence of the reverse LIB effect would constitute an instance of this phenomenon.

The prevailing situational norms of the current research context may offer partial explanation for the finding that some majority-group Anglophones also engaged in the reverse LIB. The mandate to protect and enhance the French language and culture on the bilingual

campus of the University of Ottawa affords Francophone students a position of importance and respect, one that is not necessarily reflective of the intergroup dynamic evolving beyond the university campus. Consequently, Anglophone students may demonstrate deference toward their Francophone peers, by engaging in the reverse LIB. Whether members of the more powerful majority group engage in a reversal of the LIB in social contexts where the minority group is not afforded priority status remains unknown, and further research is required to better understand this unexpected finding. It is apparent, though, that lexical choices are dependent on ethno-linguistic status interacting with the prescriptions of a particular normative context.

The LIB and reverse LIB are verbal manifestations through which communication is established with an interlocutor and identity is affirmed. This research, therefore, also highlights the complex and intricate relationship between group identification, L2 confidence, and the expression of bias, thus calling into question the simplified interpretation of social identity theory on which the LIB is based. It appears, indeed, that lexical decisions are at the intersection of linguistic confidence in a L2 and identity. Specifically, it was observed that those who are confident speaking their L2 abstain from any type of linguistic bias, reverse or otherwise. Among those who are not confident speaking the out-group language, on the other hand, high in-group identification and low out-group identification are related to a tendency to engage in the reverse LIB, buttressing our interpretation that it is an extreme form of bias suppression. These observations shed light on the importance of familiarity and integration within an out-group culture as factors moderating the experience of prejudice, and presumably the expression of negative out-group biases.

The dominant group perspective inherent to majority group membership likely contributed to two outcomes documented in the present studies. First, contrary to Francophones,

Anglophones' use of biased language seems to be unrelated to identity profiles or language confidence and unwavering by attempts at identity re-categorization. They also show less linguistic confidence. Second, while Francophones demonstrated variations in degree of linguistic bias in response to manipulation of group boundaries, similar effects were not observed among Anglophones. As shown in the mean analyses of studies Two and Three, members of the mainstream majority identify more with their own group and less with the other group than do minority group members. As such, the above-noted discrepancies are interpreted with attention to status differences. While Francophones are more likely attuned to distinctions in group boundaries, and are therefore more reactive to changes in these, majority Anglophones may be less motivated to undergo alterations in in-group perceptions, given their position of relative power within the community.

Ethno-linguistic status has, through years of research, been linked to a variety of outcomes ranging from attitudinal preferences to language proficiency (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). The above results suggest that, even in a harmonious environment with norms favouring mutual acceptance and openness, status differences also entail a series of consequences operating beyond the conscious control of the individual. It furthermore has an impact on the degree of reactivity to environmental contingencies, an aspect that will impact on the efficiency of eventual interventions.

Implications

While theoretical and empirical understanding of the content and origin of ethnic stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination is well-developed, comparatively fewer studies have examined the precise mechanisms through which such cognitive, affective and behavioural preferences are maintained and transmitted. In response to this apparent gap in knowledge,

scholars working within the social psychology of language have recently proposed that communication represents the primary means through which prejudicial belief and opinion is expressed (e.g., Fiedler & Schmid, 2000; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Maass, 1999; Reid & Ng, 1999). Although derogatory language is no longer used to blatantly disparage against the members of other groups (at least not publicly), personal biases on the basis of group membership have persisted, and are proposed to be maintained by means of more subtle and covert linguistic forms, including by means of the LIB phenomenon. This dissertation provides a more thorough understanding of one of the ways that subtle biases and prejudices are communicated through language, and offers compelling evidence to support the claim that degree of linguistic abstractness used in descriptions of others is related to an individual's beliefs about in- and out-group members. The study of the individual and socio-contextual factors related to linguistic bias further contributes to the importance of this line of research.

Prior to this point, empirical investigation of the LIB has focused almost entirely on communities that are high in intergroup tension and hostility. As such, little was known about the existence and variations of the LIB within a comparatively non-hostile environment, in which intergroup processes are nevertheless at play. The present research, therefore, is among the first to explore the mechanisms and processes of the expression of linguistic intergroup bias where cross-group interactions are largely respectful, members of the two groups co-exist peacefully, and the legacy of each group is actively fostered at all levels of government. With the growing diversity of numerous communities, cities, and countries throughout the world, in addition to the explicit rejection of hate speech and prohibition of overt ethnic discrimination, the implications of this research have the potential to be broad and far-reaching.

Given the centrality of communicative principles as uncovered herein, as well as the influence of linguistic factors in moderating the effect of linguistic bias, several applied implications and applications may be derived from the present research. Taken together, our results appear to favour the notion that intergroup contact, the development of an out-group profile of identification, and the acquisition of a L2 are related to positive social and intergroup outcomes. An intervention that promotes inter-cultural learning, as described below, may therefore lead to a more profound mitigation of intergroup bias.

According to Sachdev and Bourhis (1990), being versatile in more than one language affords speakers the ability to more easily converge toward those outside one's own social group. In essence, the ability to move beyond linguistic boundaries likely contributes to an enhanced understanding of and appreciation for an out-group, thus contributing to more frequent and enjoyable interpersonal connections with the members of that group. As such, language convergence may be understood as a necessary precursor to positive contact effects (e.g., Amir, 1969), with the ultimate outcome being improved intergroup relations (Guimond & Palmer, 1993). Indeed, the notion that more frequent intergroup contact has the potential to result in more positive out-group attitudes has a long-standing history within social psychology, and has been elucidated by means of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). Specifically, Allport's (1954) influential theory posits that increased contact between members of distinct groups leads to more amicable relations and a reduction in prejudiced attitudes. Indeed, numerous studies have confirmed this hypothesis (e.g., Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999; Kalin & Berry, 1982; Pettigrew, 1997).

The importance of increased intergroup contact has likewise been discussed within a psycholinguistic perspective. For instance, more frequent and positive contact with the L2 group

is central to Gardner's (1985; 2000) concept of *integrativeness*, described as comprising positive attitudes toward a language community, as well as an accompanying desire to initiate future contacts with members of the L2 group. Further, the interface between increased L2 confidence and more frequent out-group contact, may possibly lead individuals to begin to identify with the members of that group. The notion of integrativeness is also prominent in Clément's socio-contextual model of intergroup contact (Clément 1980; Clément & Gardner, 2001; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985), which posits that in settings characterized by groups in contact, integrativeness fosters positive contacts between group members which, in turn, are likely to promote a further incentive to approach and learn more about the other culture. Cross-group friendships have also been proposed as an additional precursor in the development of positive out-group attitudes (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003). Indeed, Wright and his colleagues have confirmed that forming friendships with an out-group member likely leads to development of positive attitudes toward that group in general (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997; Wright & van der Zande, 1999).

Given the frequency of contact between members of distinct ethno-linguistic groups, a language immersion regimen, that is, the existence of environmental contingencies fostering the acquisition and use of a second language, represents an ideal context for mutual language convergence, integrativeness, and cross-group friendships (e.g., Lambert & Cazabon, 1994). Arguably, such positive intergroup experiences are likely incompatible with the expression of either explicit or subtle out-group derogation.

As these studies demonstrate, minority Francophones are highly immersed in the L2 culture. Majority Anglophones, in contrast, are much less integrated within and attuned to the linguistic and cultural realities of their Francophone peers, as reflected in their comparatively

diminished reactivity to issues of intergroup identity. Motivation for and acceptance of an integrated, or dual, identity profile is likely impeded by the power and prestige afforded, and presumably enjoyed, by majority group members, making the task of enhancing intergroup harmony and cohesion all the more challenging.

A potential remedy to this obstacle to social change, not only within the present context, but also in multilingual and multicultural communities throughout the world, is the broad-based implementation of L2 immersion programs for majority group members at multiple levels of education, including primary, secondary and post-secondary institutions. Such a policy-level application is likely to contribute to shifts in perceptions of minority-majority dichotomies, thus fostering a more egalitarian stance with respect to groups in contact.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations of the present research which represent directions for future study. First, it must be noted that the recruitment of participants relied on self-selected sampling, rather than purposive sampling. Because a convenience sample was used, the findings are limited in terms of generalizability. More specifically, the participants of this research are exceptional in that they elected to attend a bilingual institution. Their selection of a post-secondary institution characterized by linguistic duality, respect for linguistic diversity, and defined by its mandate to uphold and protect the rights of both official language groups of this country sets them apart from students who opted to study at an exclusively English institution. Thus, there may be something fundamentally unique and distinct about the participants of this study, thereby limiting the generalizability of these findings to bilingual contexts in which groups in contact interact not by choice, but rather as a function of geographical proximity. Future research is required to explore the phenomena under study within other types of multicultural communities.

A second limitation is that the participants of these studies were all university students, a group of individuals who are not necessarily representative of the general population, given specific and inherent demographic variables including age, socioeconomic status, and level of education, characteristics which may set them apart from others. Future research may need to broaden the inclusion criteria, in order to determine whether similar patterns of findings are obtained within a more representative subsection of the population under study.

A further limitation is that the majority of the analyses conducted are correlational in nature. Therefore, causal inferences cannot be drawn from these results. Future research might employ a longitudinal design to better assess the cause-and-effect relationship between the individual and socio-contextual factors of interest and the expression of linguistic bias.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to provide a better understanding of how the LIB model functions within a bilingual community characterized by abundant opportunity for intergroup contact. The results demonstrate that the LIB effect is qualified in a number of important ways, when attention is given to specific intergroup and communication variables. They corroborate the contentions articulated through decades of research regarding the notion that language is the predominant means through which prejudice is communicated (see Bourhis & Maass, 2004; Fiedler & Schmid, 2001; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Leets, 2003; Reid & Ng, 1999; van Dijk, 1987). They further reinforce the proposition that the unintended meanings conveyed by involuntary lexical choices are related to intergroup relations. Finally, and most importantly, they link biased speech to the contextualized and interactive construction of identity. In so doing, these studies open the path to interventions into a subtle and elusive phenomenon which has so far been thought to be beyond explicit control.

References (Introduction and General Discussion)

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Annex A

Questionnaire used in Study One



DIRECTIVES

Merci de prendre le temps de répondre à ce questionnaire.

Vous devez répondre aux questions dans l'ordre dans lequel elles sont présentées. Des questions à choix multiples suivent les directives fournies pour chacune des sections. Veuillez être le plus précis possible et, s'il-vous-plaît, écrire lisiblement.

Évaluez votre compétence en anglais et en français en utilisant l'échelle suivante:

*1-Incapable 2-Grande difficulté 3-Avec difficulté 4-Plus ou moins bien
5-Assez bien 6-Très bien 7-Couramment*

3.1 Je lis l'anglais...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.2 Je comprends l'anglais...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.3 J'écris en anglais...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.4 Je parle anglais...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.5 Je lis le français...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.6 Je comprends le français...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.7 J'écris en français...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.8 Je parle le français...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

VEUILLEZ LIRE CES INSTRUCTIONS ATTENTIVEMENT AVANT DE POURSUIVRE

Le but de cette section du questionnaire est d'évaluer les relations interpersonnelles et l'identité ethnique en vous demandant votre opinion en regard de différents types d'interactions. Plusieurs chercheurs s'entendent pour dire que l'identité individuelle peut changer selon la situation dans laquelle une personne se trouve. Par exemple, vous pouvez vous considérer comme appartenant à votre groupe ethnique dans certaines situations, tandis que dans d'autres vous vous considérez comme appartenant à un autre groupe ethnique. Dans d'autres situations encore, il est possible que vous ne vous identifiez ni à l'un, ni à l'autre groupe. Votre propre groupe ethnique renvoie à l'origine culturelle que vous considérez vôtre.

Dans les pages qui suivent, vous trouverez plusieurs situations. Pour chaque cas, évaluez votre degré d'identification à chacun des deux groupes suivants: votre propre groupe ethnique et les Canadiens anglophones.

Par exemple, dans une situation, vous pouvez vous considérer comme étant très semblable aux « Canadiens francophones » et en même temps peu semblable aux « Canadiens anglophones ». Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur les échelles de la façon suivante :

1. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

Il se peut également que, dans certaines situations, vous ne vous identifiez pas à ces groupes : cela signifie que votre degré d'identification à un groupe culturel n'a que peu d'importance dans cette situation. Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur l'échelle de la façon suivante:

2. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

Toujours dans d'autres situations, vous pourriez vous identifier aux deux groupes en même temps. Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur l'échelle de la façon suivante :

3. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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Chaque échelle doit donc être traitée de manière indépendante. Cela signifie que vous pouvez vous sentir un peu comme les Canadiens anglophones, et en même temps vous sentir un peu comme les Canadiens francophones, selon votre propre bagage culturel et vos goûts.

Veillez donner votre première impression.**1. Lorsque je suis à la maison, je me sens...**

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

2. Lorsque je participe à des activités culturelles, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

3. Lorsque j'écoute de la musique, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

4. Lorsque je fais affaire avec des membres du personnel du collège/de l'université, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens Anglophones

5. Lorsque je cuisine, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

6. Dans mes relations sociales, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

7. Lorsque j'étudie, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

8. Lorsque j'écoute la radio, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

9. Lorsque je lis ou écris pour moi-même, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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10. Lorsque je pense à la politique, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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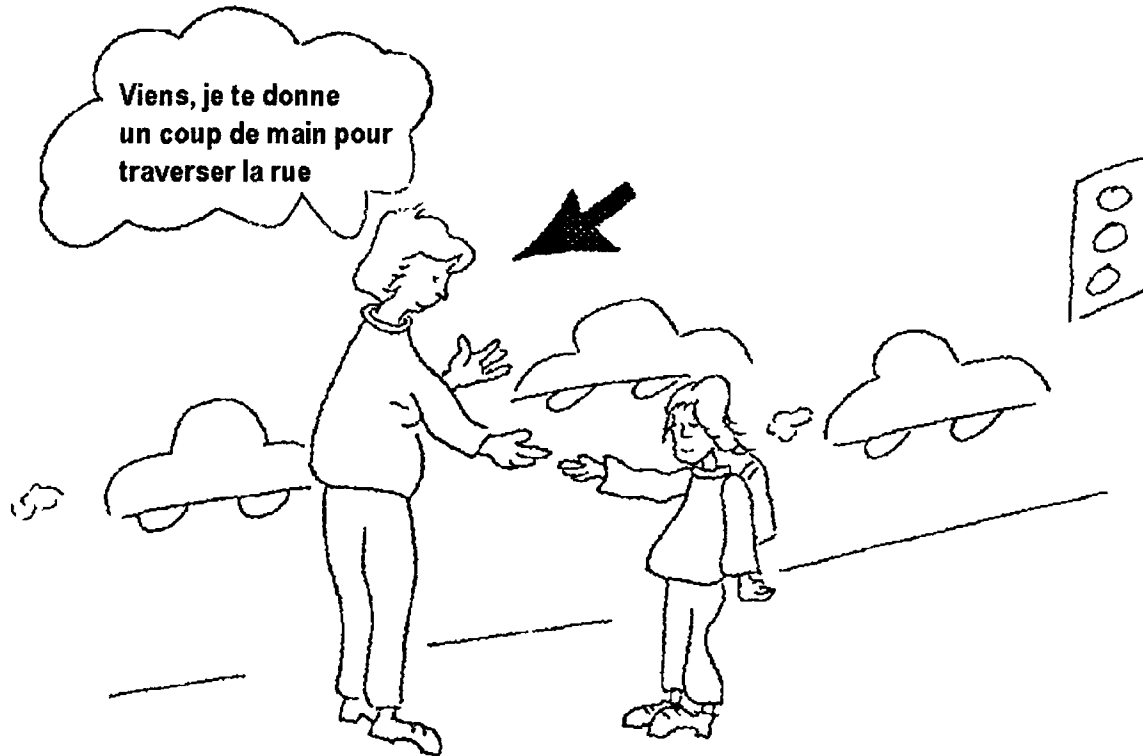
Indiquez à quel point vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec chacune des affirmations suivantes en indiquant le chiffre correspondant à votre opinion :

<u>(1)</u> Totalem en désaccord	<u>(2)</u> Fortement en désaccord	<u>(3)</u> Quelque peu en désaccord	<u>(4)</u> Je ne sais pas	<u>(5)</u> Quelque peu en accord	<u>(6)</u> Fortement en accord	<u>(7)</u> Totalem en accord
1. L'héritage culturel des Canadiens anglais est une partie importante et précieuse de notre identité nationale.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
2. Ce serait une grande perte si le Québec perdait la culture anglaise.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
3. J'aime les Canadiens anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
4. Les anglophones sont un élément stable et "fiable" de la population.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
5. Plus je connais les anglophones, plus je voudrais parler leur langue couramment.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
6. Le dévouement dont les anglophones font preuve pour le développement et l'amélioration du Canada devrait être apprécié par tous les francophones.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
7. Les députés Canadiens anglais sont parmi les meilleurs hommes politiques du Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
8. J'aimerais connaître plus d'anglophones.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
9. La plupart des anglophones sont tellement amicaux et conciliants que nous sommes chanceux de les avoir comme concitoyens.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
10. Les Anglophones sont sociables et sympathiques.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

Indiquez à quel point vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec chacune des affirmations suivantes en indiquant le chiffre correspondant à votre opinion :

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Totale- ment en désaccord	Fortement en désaccord	Quelque peu en désaccord	Je ne sais pas	Quelque peu en accord	Fortement en accord	Totale- ment en accord
1. Lorsque je place un appel téléphonique, je me mêle si je dois parler anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
2. Chaque fois que je rencontre une personne de langue anglaise et que je lui parle, je suis détendu(e).	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
3. Je me sens mal à l'aise toutes les fois que je parle anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
4. Je me sens calme et sûr(e) de moi quand je dois commander un repas en anglais dans un restaurant.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
5. Je me sens confiant(e) et détendu(e) quand je dois demander ma route en anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
6. Je me sens à l'aise lorsque je parle anglais dans une réunion d'amis où il y a des gens qui parlent anglais et des gens qui parlent français.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
7. Parler anglais avec un supérieur me gêne beaucoup.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
8. Je deviens nerveux(se) chaque fois que je dois m'adresser en anglais à un vendeur.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

Vous trouverez ci-dessous une série de caricatures. Pour chaque caricature, indiquer la déclaration qui reflète le mieux les actions des personnages désignés. Ce sont vos premières impressions qui nous intéressent.



Geneviève, désignée par la flèche :

- Aide la petite fille à traverser la rue
- Aide la petite fille
- Se préoccupe de la sûreté de la petite fille
- Est altruiste



Ce couple, Monique et Sébastien:

- **A préparé une pièce pour une amie**
- **Aide une amie**
- **Se préoccupe d'une amie**
- **Est hospitalier**



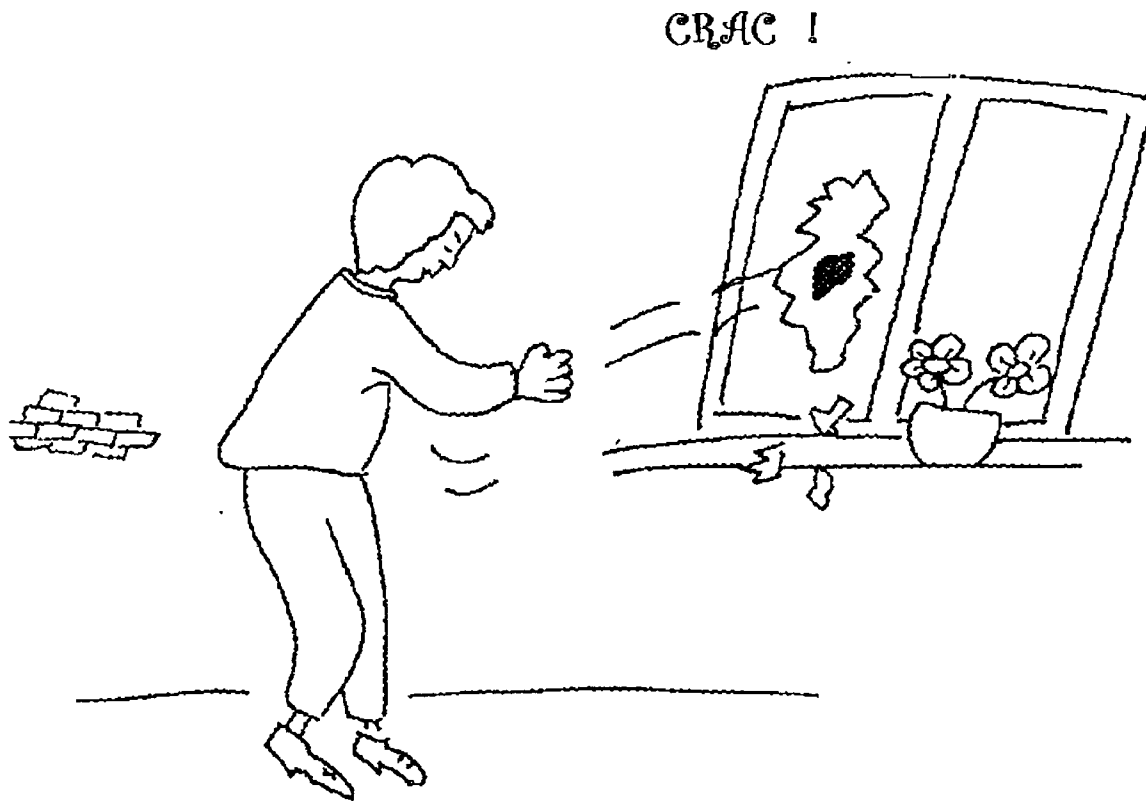
Renaud :

- **Boit et fume**
- **Gaspille son temps**
- **Rejette une vie saine**
- **Est dérangé**



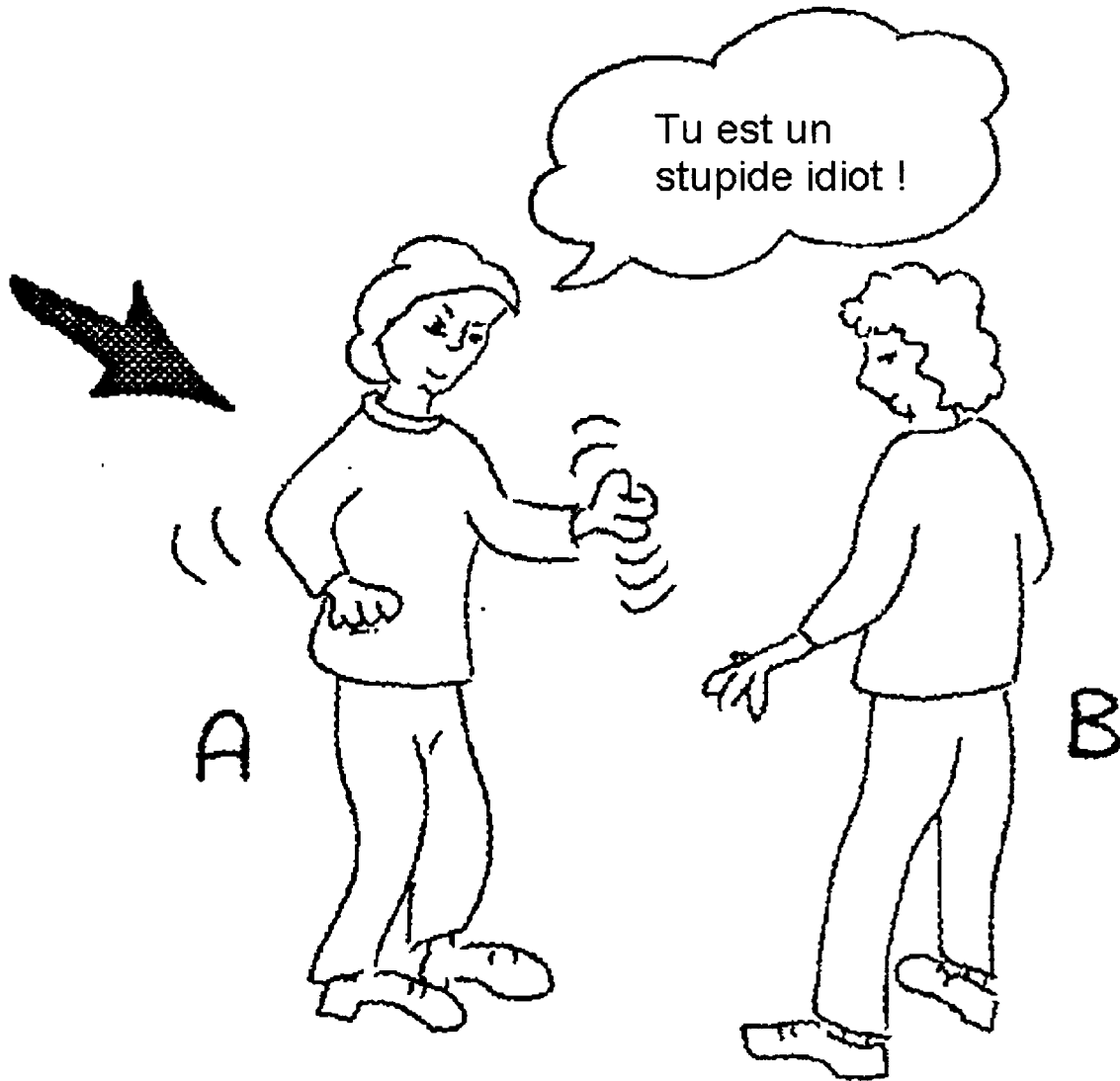
Maxime, la personne désignée par la flèche :

- Ne donne pas la main au vieil homme
- Maltraite le vieil homme
- Manque de respect pour le vieil homme
- Est impoli



Olivier :

- **Lance une pierre dans la fenêtre**
- **Endommage la fenêtre**
- **N'a aucun respect pour la propriété d'autres gens**
- **Est un vandale**



Étienne, la personne désignée par la flèche :

- Dit des mots abusifs à B
- Insulte B
- Importune B
- Est vulgaire



Maryse :

- **Lance des ordures sur le sol**
- **Salit le parc**
- **Manque de respect pour la nature**
- **Est un pollueur**



Antoine, la personne désignée par la flèche :

- Passé des informations aux autres**
- Trahit ses propres amis**
- Déteste ses propres amis**
- Est un traître**



Christiane :

- **Ramasse le papier**
- **Nettoie la forêt**
- **Respecte la nature**
- **Est consciencieuse**

RENSEIGNEMENTS GÉNÉRAUX

1. Âge : _____ 2. Sexe: _____
3. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e) ? _____
4. Si vous êtes né(e) au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
5. Dans quel pays votre mère est-elle née ? _____
6. Si elle est née au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
7. Dans quel pays votre père est-il né ? _____
8. S'il est né au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
9. Dans quelle ville avez-vous vécu le plus longtemps ? _____
Province: _____ Pays: _____
10. Quelle province considérez-vous comme chez vous ?
a) Québec
b) Ontario
c) Autre (veuillez préciser): _____
11. Quelle est votre langue maternelle ? (première langue apprise et toujours comprise)
a) Français
b) Anglais
c) Autre (veuillez préciser): _____
12. Quelle langue utilisez-vous présentement le plus fréquemment ?
a) Français
b) Anglais
c) Autre (veuillez préciser): _____
13. Parlez-vous une troisième langue? Oui _____ Non _____
Si oui, veuillez préciser: _____
14. Veuillez identifier le groupe ethnique ou culturel auquel vous appartenez :

15. Veuillez identifier votre programme académique :
a) psychologie
b) éducation
c) Autre (veuillez préciser): _____

Annex B**Questionnaire for Study Two (English version)****INSTRUCTIONS**

Thank you for taking the time to respond to this questionnaire.

Generally, you should answer the questions in order. For multiple choice questions, follow the instructions that are provided for each separate set. Try to be as precise as possible.

Please enter your 5-digit ID code: _____

Note: Your 5-digit ID code was assigned to you by the **Integrated System of Participation in Research** (i.e., it is not your student number). If you don't know your ID code, you may login to the system and click on "My Profile" to access it.

Because this is an online study, it may take up to 72 hours for your participation credit (1% of final course grade) to appear in the system. Please be patient, and do not complete the study again.

Evaluate the following aspects of your English and French proficiency:

*1-Not at all 2-Great difficulty 3-With difficulty 4-More or less
5-Well enough 6-Very well 7-Fluently*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I read English... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2. I understand English... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3. I write English... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4. I speak English... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5. I read French... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 6. I understand French... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 7. I write French... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 8. I speak French... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

PLEASE READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY BEFORE CONTINUING

The purpose of this section of the questionnaire is to examine interpersonal relations and ethnic identity by asking your opinions regarding different types of interactions. Several researchers agree that an individual's identity may change depending upon the situation that he/she is in. For example, in some situations you could identify yourself as belonging to the English-speaking Canadian group and other situations as belonging to the French-speaking Canadian group, and, in still others you may not identify with either of these groups.

On the pages that follow, you will find several situations. In each case, evaluate your level of identification to each of the two groups: English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians.

For example, in one situation you may identify yourself as very much "like English-Canadians" and as somewhat "like French-Canadians." In this case you would mark the scale in the following manner:

1. I am visiting a neighbour and talking about my children, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6) X	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2) X	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians

In other situations you may not identify with either of these two groups: that is, your language group identity may not be important in this situation. In this case you would use the two scales in the following manner:

2. I am visiting a neighbour and talking about my children, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1) X	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2) X	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians

In other situations, you may identify with both groups at the same time. In this case you would use the two scales in the following manner:

3. I am visiting a neighbour and talking about my children, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) ~~(7)~~ Very much like English-Canadians

Not at all like French-Canadians (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) ~~Very much like French-Canadians~~

Each scale, therefore, can be used independently of the other. That is, if you feel slightly “like French-Canadians” you may also feel slightly “like English-Canadians,” which ever may apply to your own unique background and inclination.

Please give your first impression.**1. When I am at home, I feel...**

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

2. When I participate in cultural activities, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

3. When listening to music, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

4. When I deal with college/university personnel, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

5. When I prepare food, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

6. With my social contacts, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

7. When I study, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

8. When I listen to the radio, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

9. When I read and write for myself, I feel...

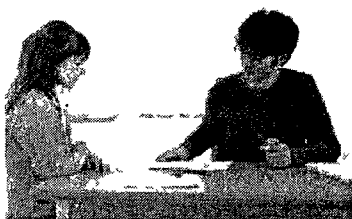
Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

10. When I think about politics, I feel...

Not at all like English-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like English-Canadians
--------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------------------------------

Not at all like French-Canadians	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Very much like French-Canadians
-------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------



1. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Andrew/Benoît], the man pictured in the above image:



2. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Blake/Serge], the man pictured in the above image:



3. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Kyle/Pascal], the man pictured in the above image:



4. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Jason/Julien], the boy pictured in the above image:



5. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Angela/Adèle], the woman pictured in the above image:



6. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Sherri/Chantal], the woman holding the camera in the above image:



7. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [**Dustin/Frédéric**], the man in the above image:



8. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [**John/Jean-Pierre**], the man on the right in the above image:



9. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [**Anna/Martine**], the woman of the left in the above image:



10. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Emma/Renée], the woman in the above image:



11. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Cindy/Marie-Pierre], the woman in the above image:



12. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Shane and Benjamin/Alexandre et Nicolas], the boys on the left in the above image:



13. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Andrea/Michèle], the woman in the above image:



14. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Ashley/Élodie], the woman on the left in the above image:



15. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Kevin/Philippe], the man in the above image:



16. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Kimberley/Josée], the woman on the left in the above image:



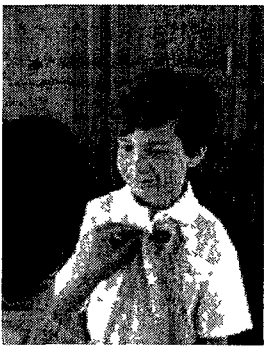
17. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Jacob/Yvon], the man in the above image:



18. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of [Jesse/Rémi], the boy on the left in the above image:



19. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of **[Keisha/Dominique]**, the woman who is standing in the above image:



20. Using your own words and expressions, describe the behaviours, actions, or traits of **[Brian/Sébastien]**, the man in the above image:

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Age: _____ 2. Gender: _____
3. In what country were you born? _____
4. If you were born in Canada, in what province were you born? _____
5. In what country was your mother born? _____
6. If she was born in Canada, in what province? _____
7. In what country was your father born? _____
8. If he was born in Canada, in what province? _____
9. In what city have you lived the longest? _____
Province: _____ Country: _____
10. In what province do you consider yourself at home?
d) Quebec
e) Ontario
f) Other (please specify): _____
11. What is your mother tongue? (first language spoken and still understood)
d) French
e) English
f) Other (please specify): _____
12. What language do you currently use most frequently?
g) French
h) English
i) Other (please specify): _____
13. Do you speak a third language? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please specify: _____
14. Please indicate within which ethnic or cultural group you self-identify:

15. Please indicate your academic unit:
a) Psychology
c) Other (please specify): _____

NOTE: Because this is an online study, it may take up to 72 hours for your participation credit (1% of final course grade) to appear in the system. Please be patient, and do not complete the study again.

Annex C

Questionnaire used in Study Three (French version)

INSTRUCTIONS

Merci de prendre le temps de répondre à ce questionnaire.

Vous devez répondre aux questions dans l'ordre dans lequel elles sont présentées. Des questions à choix multiples suivent les directives fournies pour chacune des sections. Veuillez être le plus précis possible.

S'il vous plaît indiquer votre code d'identification numérique à 5 chiffres : _ _ _ _ _

Note : Votre code d'identification à 5 chiffres vous a été assigné par **Le Système intégré de participation à la recherche** (i.e., ce n'est pas votre numéro d'étudiant). Si vous ne connaissez pas votre code d'identification, vous pouvez accéder au système et cliquer sur « Mon Profil » pour le connaître.

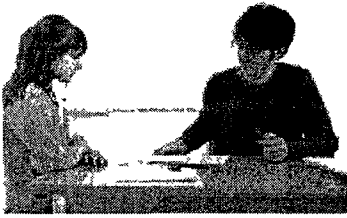
Parce que ceci est une étude en ligne, jusqu'à 72 heures peuvent s'écouler avant que votre crédit de participation (1% de la note finale de cours) apparaisse au système. S'il vous plaît soyez patient, et ne compléter pas l'étude à nouveau.



En utilisant vos propres mots et expressions, veuillez décrire **ce qui signifie pour vous d'être canadien(ne)**. En formulant votre réponse, considérez les aspects sociaux de la vie au Canada, y compris le bilinguisme, les influences des cultures francophones et anglophones, ainsi que le multiculturalisme et la diversité culturelle



En utilisant vos propres mots et expressions, veuillez décrire **ce qui signifie pour vous d'être francophone**. En formulant votre réponse, considérez les aspects sociaux de la vie en français, y compris la musique, le sport, la littérature et l'art, ainsi que les endroits où vous vous sentez particulièrement proche à votre patrimoine francophone.



1. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits d'[**Andrew/Benoît**], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :
 - a. **Benoît** regarde le morceau de papier.
 - b. **Benoît** aide la femme en jaune.
 - c. **Benoît** se préoccupe de la femme en jaune.
 - d. **Benoît** est gentil.



2. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [**Blake/Serge**], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :
 - a. **Serge** pointe un endroit sur la carte.
 - b. **Serge** aide la femme a trouver sa route.
 - c. **Serge** se préoccupe de la femme.
 - d. **Serge** est serviable.



3. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [**Kyle/Pascal**], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :
 - a. **Pascal** casse la fenêtre de l'auto.
 - b. **Pascal** vole l'auto.
 - c. **Pascal** manque de respect.
 - d. **Pascal** est un vandale.



4. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Jason/Julien], le garçon dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Julien** regarde le travail de la fille.
- b. **Julien** plagie le travail de la fille.
- c. **Julien** ne se préoccupe pas d'être honnête.
- d. **Julien** est un tricheur



5. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Angela/Adèle], la femme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Adèle** tient le bac à recyclage.
- b. **Adèle** collecte du recyclage de ses collègues.
- c. **Adèle** se préoccupe de l'environnement.
- d. **Adèle** est consciencieuse.



6. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Sherri/Chantal], la femme à droite dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Chantal** prend une photo.
- b. **Chantal** aide les touristes.
- c. **Chantal** se préoccupe des autres.
- d. **Chantal** est amicale



7. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Dustin/Frédéric], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus .

- a. **Frédéric** boit du lait.
- b. **Frédéric** a très soif
- c. **Frédéric** manque de respect pour les gens avec qui il vit.
- d. **Frédéric** est paresseux.



8. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [John/Jean-Pierre], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Jean-Pierre** tient la main de la fille.
- b. **Jean-Pierre** aide la fille à se remettre debout.
- c. **Jean-Pierre** se préoccupe de la fille qui est tombée.
- d. **Jean-Pierre** est compatissant.



9. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Anna/Martine], la femme à gauche dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Martine** lit à la femme plus âgée.
- b. **Martine** passe du temps avec la femme plus âgée.
- c. **Martine** se préoccupe de la femme plus âgée.
- d. **Martine** est charitable.



10. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Emma/Renée], la femme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Renée** met de la viande dans sa sacoche.
- b. **Renée** vole de la viande.
- c. **Renée** manque de respect pour les lois et les règles.
- d. **Renée** est voleuse.



11. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Cindy/Marie-Pierre], la femme dans l'image ci-dessus :

1. **Marie-Pierre** tend sa main.
2. **Marie-Pierre** aide son ami à traverser le ruisseau.
3. **Marie-Pierre** se préoccupe de son ami.
4. **Marie-Pierre** est serviable.



12. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Shane and Benjamin/Alexandre et Nicolas], les garçons dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Alexandre et Nicolas** poussent l'autre garçon.
- b. **Alexandre et Nicolas** font mal à l'autre garçon.
- c. **Alexandre et Nicolas** n'aiment pas l'autre garçon.
- d. **Alexandre et Nicolas** sont des brutes.



13. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Andrea/Michèle], la femme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Michèle** souffle de la fumée dans le visage de l'homme.
- b. **Michèle** est intimidante.
- c. **Michèle** manque de respect.
- d. **Michèle** est grossière



14. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de Ashley/Élodie], la femme à gauche dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Élodie** se penche pour obtenir de la nourriture de la table de buffet.
- b. **Élodie** bouscule une personne pour obtenir de la nourriture.
- c. **Élodie** manque de respect pour les autres.
- d. **Élodie** est impolie.



15. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Kevin/Philippe], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Philippe** parle à l'étudiant.
- b. **Philippe** enseigne à l'étudiant.
- c. **Philippe** se préoccupe de l'étudiant.
- d. **Philippe** est solidaire



16. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Kimberley/Josée], la femme à gauche dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Josée** frappe l'autre femme.
- b. **Josée** maltraite l'autre femme.
- c. **Josée** déteste l'autre femme.
- d. **Josée** est violente.



17. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Jacob/Yvon], l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Yvon** hurle.
- b. **Yvon** maltraite verbalement d'autres conducteurs.
- c. **Yvon** est en colère contre les autres conducteurs.
- d. **Yvon** est agressif.



18. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de [Jesse/Rémi], le garçon à gauche dans l'image ci-dessus :

1. **Rémi** donne un coup de pied au petit garçon.
2. **Rémi** maltraite le petit garçon.
3. **Rémi** déteste le petit garçon.
4. **Rémi** est abusif.



19. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de **Keisha/Dominique**, la femme qui se tient debout dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Dominique** donne quelque chose aux gens asis dans la rue.
- b. **Dominique** aide les gens dans la rue.
- c. **Dominique** se préoccupe des gens dans la rue.
- d. **Dominique** est altruiste.



20. Veuillez indiquer l'option qui décrit mieux les comportements, les actions, ou les traits de **[Brian/Sébastien]**, l'homme dans l'image ci-dessus :

- a. **Sébastien** boutonne la chemise de son fils.
- b. **Sébastien** aide son fils à s'habiller.
- c. **Sébastien** prend soin de son fils.
- d. **Sébastien** est tendre.

VEUILLEZ LIRE CES INSTRUCTIONS ATTENTIVEMENT AVANT DE POURSUIVRE

Le but de cette section du questionnaire est d'évaluer les relations interpersonnelles et l'identité ethnique en vous demandant votre opinion en regard de différents types d'interactions. Plusieurs chercheurs s'entendent pour dire que l'identité individuelle peut changer selon la situation dans laquelle une personne se trouve. Par exemple, vous pouvez vous considérer comme appartenant à votre groupe ethnique dans certaines situations, tandis que dans d'autres vous vous considérez comme appartenant à un autre groupe ethnique. Dans d'autres situations encore, il est possible que vous ne vous identifiez ni à l'un, ni à l'autre groupe. Votre propre groupe ethnique renvoie à l'origine culturelle que vous considérez vôtre.

Dans les pages qui suivent, vous trouverez plusieurs situations. Pour chaque cas, évaluez votre degré d'identification à chacun des deux groupes suivants: votre propre groupe ethnique et les Canadiens anglophones.

Par exemple, dans une situation, vous pouvez vous considérer comme étant très semblable aux « Canadiens francophones » et en même temps peu semblable aux « Canadiens anglophones ». Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur les échelles de la façon suivante :

4. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

Il se peut également que, dans certaines situations, vous ne vous identifiez pas à ces groupes : cela signifie que votre degré d'identification à un groupe culturel n'a que peu d'importance dans cette situation. Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur l'échelle de la façon suivante:

5. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

Toujours dans d'autres situations, vous pourriez vous identifier aux deux groupes en même temps. Dans ce cas, vous feriez vos croix sur l'échelle de la façon suivante :

6. Je rends visite à un voisin et, parlant de mes enfants, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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Chaque échelle doit donc être traitée de manière indépendante. Cela signifie que vous pouvez vous sentir un peu comme les Canadiens anglophones, et en même temps vous sentir un peu comme les Canadiens francophones, selon votre propre bagage culturel et vos goûts.

Veillez donner votre première impression.**11. Lorsque je suis à la maison, je me sens...**

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

12. Lorsque je participe à des activités culturelles, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

13. Lorsque j'écoute de la musique, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

14. Lorsque je fais affaire avec des membres du personnel du collège/de l'université, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens Anglophones

15. Lorsque je cuisine, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

16. Dans mes relations sociales, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

17. Lorsque j'étudie, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

18. Lorsque j'écoute la radio, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones

19. Lorsque je lis ou écris pour moi-même, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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20. Lorsque je pense à la politique, je me sens...

Pas du tout comme les Canadiens francophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens francophones
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Pas du tout comme les Canadiens anglophones	<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>	Très semblable aux Canadiens anglophones
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Indiquez à quel point vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec chacune des affirmations suivantes en indiquant le chiffre correspondant à votre opinion :

<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(7)</u>
Totalem ent en désaccord	Fortem ent en désaccord	Quelq ue peu en désaccord	Je ne sais pas	Quelq ue peu en accord	Fortem ent en accord	Totalem ent en accord
1. Lorsque je place un appel téléphonique, je me mêle si je dois parler anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
2. Chaque fois que je rencontre une personne de langue anglaise et que je lui parle, je suis détendu(e).	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
3. Je me sens mal à l'aise toutes les fois que je parle anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
4. Je me sens calme et sûr(e) de moi quand je dois commander un repas en anglais dans un restaurant.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
5. Je me sens confiant(e) et détendu(e) quand je dois demander ma route en anglais.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
6. Je me sens à l'aise lorsque je parle anglais dans une réunion d'amis où il y a des gens qui parlent anglais et des gens qui parlent français.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
7. Parler anglais avec un supérieur me gêne beaucoup.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7
8. Je deviens nerveux(se) chaque fois que je dois m'adresser en anglais à un vendeur.	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

1. Âge : _____
2. Sexe : _____
3. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e) ? _____
4. Si vous êtes né(e) au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
5. Dans quel pays votre mère est-elle née ? _____
6. Si elle est née au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
- 6a. A quel groupe linguistique votre mère appartient-elle ?
 - i. francophone canadienne
 - ii. anglophone canadienne
 - iii. autre (veuillez préciser): _____
7. Dans quel pays votre père est-il né ? _____
8. S'il est né au Canada, dans quelle province ? _____
- 8a. A quel groupe linguistique votre père appartient-il ?
 - i. francophone canadien
 - ii. anglophone canadien
 - iii. autre (veuillez préciser): _____
9. Dans quelle ville avez-vous vécu le plus longtemps ? _____
Province: _____ Pays: _____
10. Quelle province considérez-vous comme chez vous ?
 - g) Québec
 - h) Ontario
 - c) autre (veuillez préciser): _____
11. Quelle est votre langue maternelle ? (première langue apprise et toujours comprise)
 - j) anglais
 - k) français
 - l) autre (veuillez préciser): _____
12. Quelle langue utilisez-vous présentement le plus fréquemment ?
 - a) anglais
 - b) français
 - c) autre (veuillez préciser): _____
13. Parlez-vous une troisième langue? Oui _____ Non _____
Si oui, veuillez préciser : _____

14. Veuillez identifier le groupe ethnique ou culturel auquel vous appartenez :

- a) francophone
- b) anglophone

15. Veuillez identifier votre programme académique :

- a) psychologie
- b) autre (veuillez préciser): _____

16. Etes-vous inscrit dans le régime d'immersion offert par l'Institut des langues officielles et du bilinguisme (ILOB) ?

- a) Oui
- b) Non

17. Prenez-vous couramment des cours en anglais ?

- a) Oui
- b) Non

Si oui, en ce moment, combien de cours prenez-vous en anglais ? _____

Dans votre carrière universitaire à date, combien de cours avez-vous pris en anglais? _____

18. Veuillez décrire votre formation en langue anglaise (cliquez toute les options applicables) :

- a) anglais de base dans une école française
- b) école d'immersion française
- c) cours primaire en anglais
- d) cours secondaire en anglais
- e) cours primaire et secondaire en anglais
- f) cours universitaires principalement en anglais
- g) autre (veuillez préciser): _____

19. Si vous avez été inscrit dans un programme d'immersion, quel type l'était ?

- a) immersion complet
- b) immersion partiel
- c) autre (veuillez préciser): _____

20. Avez-vous participé à un programme d'échange dans lequel vous avez vécu dans une communauté anglaise ?

- a) Oui
- b) Non

Si oui, pendant combien de temps avez-vous habité dans cette communauté ?

Jours: _____ Mois: _____ Ans: _____

Si oui, quand était l'échange (dates) ? _____