

Running head: STRENGTH OF CANADIAN IDENTIFICATION AND CITIZENSHIP

STRENGTH OF CANADIAN IDENTIFICATION AND THE PREDICTION OF
ASIAN IMMIGRANTS' INTENTIONS TO BECOME CANADIAN CITIZENS:
A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Citizenship acquisition is often interpreted as indicating an immigrants' successful integration into their new society. The literature includes a variety of behavioural, but not psychological, indicators of integration in the prediction of citizenship acquisition. Using an intergroup relations perspective, this study examined Asian immigrants' intentions to become Canadian citizens. Social identity theory was used to conceptualize the formation of a Canadian identity as an indicator of psychological integration into Canada. It was hypothesized that the stronger immigrants identify with Canada, the more likely they will want to acquire Canadian citizenship. Perceived discrimination and cultural incompatibility, as acculturative barriers to the formation of a Canadian identity, were hypothesized to relate negatively to intentions to acquire Canadian citizenship. The relationship between immigrants' cultural identity and citizenship acquisition intentions was also explored, as was the importance of psychological predictors in relation to behavioural predictors of citizenship acquisition intentions.

One hundred and fourteen immigrants to Canada from Asia completed an Internet questionnaire about their experiences in Canada, and their intentions to become Canadian citizens. The results showed a positive relationship ($r = .55$) between respondents' strength of Canadian identification and their intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship, as well as an unexpected positive relationship ($r = .15$) between their perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in the Canadian labour market and their citizenship acquisition intentions. Cultural identity and perceptions of cultural incompatibility were unrelated to their citizenship acquisition intentions.

A hierarchical multiple regression showed that the combination of English ability, length of time lived in Canada, participation in Canadian society, Canadian Identification, and Perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in the labour market accounted for 36.5% of the variance in citizenship acquisition intentions. Only Canadian identification and perceptions of discrimination contributed uniquely to the variance. It was concluded that Canadian identity is importantly related to immigrants' citizenship acquisition intentions, and that psychological acculturation is relevant to the study of citizenship acquisition. These novel findings are important and expand the citizenship acquisition literature as well as contribute to the further development of social identity theory.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SIT – Social Identity Theory

TpB – Theory of Planned Behaviour

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

Imagine immigrating to a new country. Imagine the challenges you would face in finding a job, making new friends, maintaining psychological well-being, negotiating your new identity, and so on. Those challenges, and their outcomes, would likely factor into your decision to relocate to, settle in, and become a citizen of, your new country. Indeed citizenship acquisition can indicate an immigrant's successful negotiation of such challenges, and subsequent integration into their new society.

The decision to become a citizen is a significant one, as it requires a formal pledging of allegiance to a new country and a legal change in one's identity. While that legal change in identity is obvious, whether it translates to a psychological one is less clear. This thesis examined Asian immigrants' intentions to become a Canadian citizen from a social psychological perspective. The central question was "to what extent does an immigrant's social identification with Canada predict his or her intentions to become a Canadian citizen"?

Using social identity theory, and conceptualizing the formation of a Canadian identity as an indicator of psychological acculturation into Canada, it was hypothesized that the stronger an immigrant identifies with Canada, the more likely he or she will want to acquire Canadian citizenship. In addition, perceived discrimination and cultural incompatibility, as acculturative stressors and barriers to the formation of a Canadian identity, were hypothesized to relate negatively to intentions to acquire citizenship. The relationship between an immigrant's cultural identity and citizenship acquisition intentions was also explored. The theoretical and empirical rationalizations for these hypotheses will be explained in the pages to follow, beginning with a brief description of the process of acculturation and the relationship between acculturation and citizenship acquisition. Before proceeding however, it is important to clarify some conceptual definitions.

This thesis is situated in the social psychological framework of social identity theory. The classical definition of social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). That is, to which social categories does an individual feel (s)he belongs. In this thesis, I hypothesize about immigrants' "Canadian identity" and their "cultural identity", and argue that citizenship acquisition can be conceptualized as the behavioural expression of an immigrant's identification with and feeling of

belonging to their new country. From this point forward, where I refer to “identity”, I am referring to social identity as commonly defined and measured in the SIT tradition (Brown et al., 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Thus, I define “Canadian Identity” as a social identity reflecting an immigrants’ affiliation with Canada. (i.e., the strength of their social identification with Canada).¹ I define “cultural identity” as a social identity reflecting an immigrants’ affiliation with their cultural group (i.e., the strength of their social identification with their cultural group). Please note that, as per the social identity theory tradition, “Canadian” and “cultural group” is subjectively defined by the immigrants themselves. Thus, cultural group identification is not necessarily synonymous with identification with their country of origin and a “cultural group” subjectively defined may include members of a specific cultural group living in Canada, the immigrant’s country of origin as well as elsewhere in the world. Lastly, throughout the document, the terms cultural identity and heritage cultural group are used interchangeably.

Now that we have clarified what I mean when I refer to identity, we can proceed to a discussion about acculturation and its relevance to citizenship acquisition.

1.1 The Process of Acculturation

Once they arrive in their new country, immigrants begin making behavioural and psychological changes that result from their interactions within their new cultural context. That is, they begin the process of acculturation (Berry, 1997) to a sociocultural environment that differs considerably from the one in which they were raised. Indeed, while negotiating their new cultural milieu, immigrants face a variety of sociocultural, economic, and psychological challenges and eventually make adaptations in each of those domains. The acculturative adaptations that individuals make vary, and depend on a variety of personal and societal factors including the newcomer’s interactions with, and perceptions of their new country (Berry, 1997).

1.1.1 Domains of acculturation. Sociocultural adaptation refers to immigrants learning culturally specific knowledge and social skills that link them to their new cultural context (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Economic adaptation refers to the extent to

¹ Canadian identity is a specific example of what is referred to as a “national identity” in the intergroup relations literature. To avoid confusion, I have used the term “Canadian identity” throughout this document.

which an immigrant has secured satisfying and gainful employment in the new society (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Li, 2003). Both sociocultural and economic adaptations then, are *behavioural* in nature and refer to an immigrant's ability to participate in, and deal with daily problems in the new culture.

In addition to those behavioural challenges however, newcomers face *psychological* challenges as well. For example, they must cope with the stresses inherent in immigrating and relocating their family to a new culture (Berry, 1997). Therefore, in the short term successful psychological adaptation refers to maintaining psychological well-being during a stressful life event (Grant, 2007). However, in the longer term, successful psychological adaptation expands to include an immigrants' internalization of some of their host country's cultural beliefs and practices, and they develop a sense of belonging to and identification with their new country (Grant, 2007).

Thus, whereas sociocultural and economic adaptations are *behavioural* in nature and refer to an immigrant's ability to participate in their new culture, *psychological* adaptation refers, partly, to the changes that occur in an immigrant's self-concept to include a new identification with their new country (Grant, 2007). Certainly, both types of acculturative challenges and adaptations are of considerable psychological significance, and could reasonably factor into an immigrant's eventual decision of whether they will become a citizen of their new country.

1.1.2 Relating acculturation and citizenship acquisition. In many nations, especially Canada, citizenship acquisition is thought to symbolize the final stage in the immigration process, and represent an immigrant's successful integration into their new society (Tran, Kustec & Chui, 2005). Thus, citizenship acquisition is conceptualized through an "integrationist" framework. That framework postulates that when immigrants are integrated into their new society, they shift their identity to their new country and become a citizen of that country (Bloemraad, 2001; Tran et al., 2005; Yang, 2002).

While there is some evidence to suggest that an immigrants' behavioural integration into their new country is an important predictor of their citizenship acquisition, whether the same prediction holds for their psychological acculturation is unknown. In fact, there have been few empirical efforts examining the assumed identity shift as motivating citizenship acquisition.

Using a sample of recent immigrants from Asia, this thesis examined the strength of immigrants' social identification with Canada (*psychological acculturation*), as a predictor of their intentions to become Canadian citizens. In the sections that follow, the literature on citizenship acquisition will be summarized, and an argument will be made for the relevance of a social psychological inquiry into the relationship between an immigrant's new Canadian identity and their citizenship acquisition.

1.2 Some Reasons to Study Citizenship Acquisition

Generally, one might ask 'why is it important to study the prediction of citizenship acquisition'? In fact, understanding the variables that are importantly related to citizenship acquisition is important both practically and theoretically. It is practically important because it could inform governments and immigrant-serving agencies that work to facilitate the successful integration of new residents in Canada. Ultimately, governments want immigrants to become happy, committed, and contributing members of their new society. Understanding why some immigrants chose not to make the public commitment to their new nation, which citizenship implies (Evans, 1988), could illuminate some acculturative barriers. Once those acculturative barriers are illuminated, government policy and settlement program planning can then aim to ameliorate them (Frideres, Goldenberg, DiSanto & Horna, 1987). Theoretically, examining the social psychological predictors of citizenship acquisition intentions provides a basis for testing and expanding a prominent social psychological theory (i.e., social identity theory), and lends a social psychological perspective to the citizenship acquisition literature.

1.3 Review of the Citizenship Acquisition Literature

Before proceeding, it is important for me to acknowledge that the concept of citizenship, and what it means to be a citizen is contested (Hebert & Sears, 2001; Sanchez-Mazas & Klein, 2003b; Sears, 1996; Stockden, 2000). While that conceptual debate is timely and illuminating, it is not directly relevant to the notion of citizenship acquisition considered in this thesis. This thesis was concerned with the behaviour or the act of acquiring citizenship as a possible expression of a new social identity. The study of that behavior is considered independent from the debates about citizenship as a concept, and what constitutes citizenship. Thus, the literature review is limited to the literature specific to citizenship acquisition behaviour.

Because many immigrants to the traditional immigrant-receiving countries do not become citizens, a literature aimed at elucidating what factors relate to that decision has arisen (Bloemraad, 2000; DeSipio, 1987). That research in the traditional immigrant-receiving countries such as Canada, Australia, and the United States has primarily utilized a micro-level approach to investigating citizenship in which the focus is on the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of immigrants that may be related to their citizenship acquisition (Bloemraad 2000; 2002). Typically, those investigations have been sociological in nature, and have utilized large-scale census-type survey data to compare the characteristics and circumstances of those who have become citizens to those who have not.

1.3.1 Factors affecting citizenship acquisition. Empirical inquiries into the socioeconomic and cultural factors related to an immigrant's citizenship acquisition have been contradictory (DeSipio, 1987). First, not all studies use the same operational definitions and analysis techniques, and many studies include different variables altogether. Where they do use the same variables, not all variables are found to be significant predictors of citizenship across studies, and many of the socioeconomic and cultural variables yield small to moderate effects. Nevertheless, a number of immigrant characteristics have been found to be related to citizenship acquisition.

Specifically, education (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Liang 1994;), occupational status (Frideres et al 1987; Liang, 1994; Yang 1994, 2002), owning a house in the host country (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Liang 1994; Yang, 1994), and being married to a citizen of the host country (Frideres et al., 1987; Liang, 1994; Woodrow-Lafield, Xu, Kersen, & Pock, 2004) have all been shown to be positive predictors of citizenship acquisition.² Age has also been found to be a predictor in that the younger an immigrant is, the more likely he or she is to become a citizen of their host country (Diehl & Blohm 2003; Frideres et al, 1987; Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Tran, et al, 2005; Woodrow-Lafield et al, 2004), and, similarly, the younger a person is at the time of immigration, the more likely (s)he is to acquire citizenship (Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Liang, 1994; Yang, 2002). Citizenship acquisition has also been positively

² In contrast, Yang (1994; 2002) found a curvilinear relationship between an immigrants education and citizenship acquisition such that “education increases the odds of acquiring citizenship up to the completion of about high school after that point an additional year of schooling begins to decrease the odds of naturalization” (Yang, 1994, p 470).

related to an immigrant's intention to stay in their host country (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Freeman, Plascencia, Gonzalez-Baker, & Orozco, 2002; Wearing, 1985) as well as attitudes toward the host country; with positive attitudes predicting a greater likelihood of citizenship acquisition (Frideres et al, 1987).

By far however, the most consistent and largest effects across all of the studies are the positive predictive relationships for length of residence in the host country and an immigrant's English language ability. Specifically, the longer an immigrant resides in the host country the more likely they are to become a citizen of that country (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Frideres, et al, 1987; Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Liang, 1994; Tran, Kustec, & Chui, 2005; Wearing, 1985; Yang 2002). And, the greater an immigrants' ability to speak English, the more likely they are to become a citizen of their new English speaking country (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Liang, 1994; Yang, 1994, 2002).

1.4 Conceptual Frameworks from which to View Citizenship Acquisition

While there is some consistency to the strength and direction of the sociodemographic predictors and citizenship acquisition, how those findings are interpreted depends on the conceptual framework of the investigators and literature reviewers. There are three models reviewed in the literature that have been used at the micro-level to conceptualize and study citizenship acquisition: the cost-benefit, the integrationist, and the psychological models (Bloemraad, 2000). While there is no consensus in the field as to which model best conceptualizes citizenship acquisition, the cost-benefit and the integrationist models are the most common (Bloemraad, 2000), and the integrationist framework has definitely dominated the literature (DeSipio, 1987). Each of the three frameworks is briefly summarized next.

1.4.1 The Cost-Benefit Model. Proponents of the cost-benefit model argue that immigrants acquire a new citizenship if they perceive that the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs (Freeman et al., 2002; Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1986; Kelly & McAllister, 1982; Wearing 1985). Therefore, a cost-benefit analysis predicts that citizenship acquisition depends on the real and perceived economic, political, and social advantages and disadvantages to citizenship acquisition. For example, in their study with immigrants in Australia, Kelly and McAllistar (1982) concluded that length of residence was an important predictor of citizenship decisions

because it was related to the degree of investment that immigrants had made in their new country. The longer an immigrant lived in Australia, the greater their investment in Australia and consequently, the less attractive return to their home country had become (Kelly & McAllistar, 1982).

1.4.2 The Integrationist Model. This framework has dominated the literature, and is the one adopted, at least in part, in this thesis. Researchers adopting this framework view the acquisition of citizenship as the natural outcome of an immigrant's integration into the social, economic, and cultural structures of their new society (Aguire & Sanes, 2002; Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Evans, 1988; Frideres et al., 1987; Legengre & Shaffir, 1984; Liang, 1994; Tran et al, 2005; Yang, 1994; 2002). Proponents of this framework argue that the more culturally and socioeconomically integrated an immigrant is (*behavioural acculturation*), the more likely he or she is to become a citizen of their new country. Thus, citizenship acquisition is interpreted as an indicator of an immigrant's integration into society in general.

For instance, in contrast to Kelly and McAllistar's (1982) interpretation of length residence as an important predictor of citizenship acquisition, Liang (1994) interprets that variable from an integrationist perspective. Specifically, Liang argued that length of residence was the most important variable predicting citizenship decisions because the longer immigrants stayed in the United States, the more likely they were to adopt the norms and cultural values of American society. Consequently, he argued, the more likely they were to identify with American society by becoming a citizen of the United States. Notably, while these researchers speculate about the link between psychological integration (read: identification with their new country) and citizenship acquisition, they do not test that link empirically.

Indeed, as can be seen from the empirical research reviewed in the previous section, the indicators of acculturation that are traditionally used in the literature are behavioural in nature such as occupational status, citizenship of spouse, English ability (Liang, 1994; Yang 1994; 2002). With the exception of attitudes and intention to stay in the host country (Diehl & Blohm 2003; Frideres et al, 1987; Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Tran, et al, 2005; Woodrow-Lafield et al, 2004), psychological predictors of citizenship acquisition are absent from the citizenship acquisition literature.

Thus, the importance of *psychological* integration in predicting citizenship acquisition is currently unknown. This is a curious finding given the psychological significance involved in

legally changing one's identity, and the statements in the literature that assume a change in citizenship results from a change in psychological identification (Deihl & Blohm, 2003; Legendre & Shaffir, 1984; Tran et al., 2005). In the sections that follow, an argument will be made for the importance of a social psychological inquiry into psychological acculturation and citizenship acquisition, but first I will summarize what is currently said about the "psychological" model of citizenship acquisition.

1.4.3 The Psychological Model. A less explored approach to studying citizenship acquisition has been the so-called "psychological approach" which emphasizes the importance of an identity shift in immigrants' decision to acquire a new citizenship (Bloemraad, 2000). Researchers studying the psychological implications of attaining a new citizenship have argued that the transition represents an expression and confirmation of an immigrants' emotional link, sense of belonging, and identification with their new country (Legendre & Shaffir, 1984). In simple terms, they argue that citizenship results from immigrants changing their principle identity from their country of origin to their host country (Deihl & Blohm, 2004; Legendre & Shaffir, 1984; Frideres et al, 1987). Notably, the integrationist and psychological models of citizenship acquisition are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, this thesis integrated those models and conceptualized an immigrants' formation of a social identification with their new nation as an indicator of their psychological integration into their new nation.

1.5 A Case for an Adaptation and Integration of the Integrationist and Psychological Models of Citizenship Acquisition

In her narrative review of the citizenship acquisition literature, Bloemraad (2000) concluded that the psychological approach of explaining citizenship decisions has been the "least successful approach". She stated that there is "scant evidence that identity shift plays a crucial role in the decision to acquire legal citizenship" and that there is little empirical support for the psychological hypothesis (Bloemraad, 2000; p.15). My position however, is that without empirical evidence it is premature to draw such a conclusion, and that a synthesis of the integrationist and psychological models of citizenship acquisition may illuminate the hypothesized relationship between Canadian identification and citizenship acquisition.

There have been few investigations into the relationship between an immigrants' identification with the host country and their citizenship decisions, and even fewer have studied

that relationship statistically. Moreover, where statistical techniques have been used, identity change was conceptualized as a change in category membership and operationalized as a discrete variable, for example from Italian to Italian-Canadian, or Canadian. That type of operationalization fails to capture the subtleties inherently involved in the development of a new national identity in a multicultural nation such as Canada. A social psychological inquiry into the relationship between social identification and citizenship acquisition, can offer testable hypotheses to attempt to address the lack of evidence for the link between psychological variables to citizenship acquisition. Specifically, social identities (e.g., Canadian identity, cultural identity, etc.) are complex and manifold and may partially overlap at times; especially during the process of psychological acculturation in a multicultural country such as Canada where immigrants simultaneously identify with Canada and their home country (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). The present study differed from previous research in that it assessed quantitatively the relationships between an individual's Canadian identity, their cultural identity, (i.e., two partially overlapping social identities) and citizenship acquisition.

In this thesis, the traditional psychological and integrationist models of citizenship acquisition are synthesized. Specifically, the formation of a Canadian identity is conceptualized as an indicator of an immigrant's psychological integration into Canada. This is an expansion of the traditional integrationist approach to studying citizenship acquisition in that it explicitly considers psychological integration as a possible predictor of citizenship acquisition. This thesis also differs from the traditional psychological approach to studying citizenship acquisition (Bloemraad, 2000) in that it does not focus on an identity shift. This thesis focuses instead on the importance of the strength of an immigrant's identification with Canada, their maintained identification with their cultural group, and how those identities predict citizenship acquisition intentions. To my knowledge, the literature does not contain any studies with this multicultural focus. Thus, Bloemraad's (2000) conclusion that there is no relationship between an immigrant's identity and citizenship acquisition is premature.

1.5.1 The identity-citizenship acquisition research. The two studies that have focused on the identity model of citizenship acquisition were Canadian studies. First, Legendre and Shaffir (1984) conducted a qualitative study with sixty-two immigrants to Canada from Germany, Italy, and Britain. The purpose of their study was to inquire into why many immigrants to Canada were

reluctant to acquire citizenship³. They found that this reluctance was due, in large part, to a maintained sense of attachment to and reminiscence about the country of origin. Many of the participants reported that they were simply unwilling to forfeit their cultural identity in order to adopt a Canadian identity. Thus, the change in self-concept that the immigrants perceived as required in the transition from immigrant to citizen was an important psychological obstacle to citizenship acquisition (Legendre & Shaffir, 1984).

Inspired by the findings of Legendre and Shaffir, but using a quantitative methodology, Frideres and colleagues (1987) sought to clarify the role of changing national and ethnic self-conceptions of immigrants as they considered citizenship acquisition. They conducted interviews with 345 immigrants; both citizens and noncitizens. They operationalized “national self-identity” as Canadian, Italian, British, American (depending on their subsample), or hyphenated Canadian. They found that the possession of a Canadian national identity did indeed predict citizenship acquisition for their American and British sample, but not for their Italian sample (explaining 9% and 12% of the variance in citizenship acquisition respectively). Nevertheless, those authors concluded, “the focus on the slow acquisition of identity appears inappropriate in the Canadian context” (Frideres et al., 1987, p.113). They further reasoned that citizenship acquisition resulted from a number of structural and individual factors, and that immigrants must live in the host country for a long time before they build their commitment to it.

However, more recent analyses into citizenship acquisition in Canada found that recent cohorts of immigrants are becoming citizens much faster than their earlier counterparts. For example, 57% of newly eligible immigrants (those living in Canada 4-5 years) became citizens in 2001 compared to 42% in 1981 (Tran et al., 2005). Not only are immigrants becoming citizens faster, but more are making that decision. For example, in the late 1990s, 93% of immigrants eventually became citizens, whereas less than half of immigrants to Canada became citizens during the 1970s (Frideres et al., 1987; Statistics Canada, 2001).

Moreover, it appears that recent immigrants become committed to Canada earlier on in the acculturation process. After just six months of living in Canada, the majority (92%) of

³ This study was conducted during the 1970s – a time when less than half of the immigrants to Canada became Canadian citizens (Frideres et al, 1987). This is in contrast to more recent statistics that show that 94% of immigrants to Canada eventually become Canadian citizens (Statistics Canada, 2007).

immigrants indicate their intention to become a Canadian citizen once they become eligible (Tran et al., 2005). These findings parallel some recent social psychological findings, which suggest that immigrants begin to develop an identity with Canada soon after their arrival (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). These more recent findings suggest that the formation of a commitment to Canada may not require an extended period of time as Frideres and colleagues originally suggested. Further, psychological attachment to Canada happens early in the acculturation process, and may predict citizenship acquisition independent of behavioural acculturation indicators. More research is needed in order to understand the relationship between the development of a new Canadian identity (a new social identity) and citizenship acquisition in current immigration times.

1.6 Summary of Acculturation, Citizenship, and the Importance of Identity

When immigrants arrive in their new country they begin the process of acculturation. During that process, they adapt behaviourally to their new cultural environment (sociocultural adaptation) and to the labour market of their new country (economic adaptation). In addition to those behavioural changes, immigrants make a series of psychological adaptations including changes to their self-concept to include a new identification with their new country (psychological adaptation). The integrationist model of citizenship acquisition postulates that immigrants become citizens of their new nation once they are integrated into their new society. While there is evidence to support this behavioural integration argument, the importance of psychological integration in predicting citizenship acquisition has not been examined in depth.

Indeed, based on existing theoretical and empirical literature it is reasonable to theorize that the formation of identification with Canada might predict citizenship acquisition intentions independently of other behavioural indicators of integration. In this thesis, the integrationist and psychological models of citizenship acquisition are adapted and synthesized to examine citizenship acquisition intentions. It is argued that the strength of identification with Canada, as an indicator of psychological integration, will be an important predictor of citizenship acquisition intentions. Importantly, as will be explained, the “identity shift” notion of citizenship is not adopted here. Rather immigrants’ identifications with Canada and their cultural group are considered separately. That is, and these identities are thought not to be mutually exclusive as in the identity shift framework. Rather, they are conceptualized as partially overlapping, and

simultaneously held social identities. In the sections that follow, the links between social psychological variables and citizenship will be revealed. The theoretical framework proposed for the study will be explained, some conceptual definitions will be clarified, and some hypotheses and exploratory relationships will be proposed.

1.7 A Social Psychological Examination of Citizenship Acquisition

1.7.1 What can social psychology offer? Citizenship is essentially *membership* in a socio-political community (Bloemraad, 2000), a membership that requires a legal change in *identity* from that of foreigner to citizen (Legendre & Shaffir, 1984). The field of intergroup relations within social psychology is well positioned for the study of citizenship since the studies of group *membership* and *identity* are important focuses of that area of psychology. Indeed, social psychologists have studied the impact of group *membership* upon the individual for years (e.g., Allport, 1954; Barnes, Aubur, and Lea, 2004; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987), and have applied their theories to understand a wealth of social phenomena including ingroup bias, responses to conflict, attitudes, behaviour, and decision making (Brown, 2000).

Social psychologists argue that in fundamental ways, an individual's social identification is related to an individual's connection with their society (Deaux, 1996). Moreover, membership in social groups is an important basis for self-definition (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Either, 1995; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In terms of acculturation, immigrants' acculturation experiences depend, in large part, on their interactions with members of the host country (Berry, 1997; Colic-Peisker, & Walker, 2003). Given that social psychology is essentially the study of the influence of others on the individual (Allport, 1985), it follows that acculturative interactions and immigrants' perceptions of the host culture might plausibly affect the process of redefining immigrants' identities and whether they choose citizenship in their new culture.

Despite these inherent conceptual links between the discipline of social psychology and the study of citizenship acquisition, the citizenship acquisition literature does not include the dynamic social psychological variables that potentially influence citizenship acquisition intentions. Certainly, a social psychological analysis of citizenship acquisition would be an informative and complementary addition to the existent literature on the topic. Social identity theory provides a rich conceptual framework from which to examine identification with Canada

as an indicator of psychological integration, and its potential relationship to citizenship acquisition intentions.

1.8 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory, a prominent theory in social psychology, examines the categorizations and implications of membership in a social category. Social identity theory (SIT), the precursor of self-categorization theory, is a general theory of the psychology of intergroup relations that focuses on group membership and the contextual and fluid nature of identity (Brown, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999; Turner et al, 1987). According to SIT, the self-concept is comprised of a *personal identity* and a *social identity*. That is, in addition to those idiosyncratic attributes, traits, or characteristics that people use to describe themselves as unique individuals (personal identity), people classify themselves into numerous social groups or categories that they use as a means of organizing their social environment and locating their place within it (Deaux, 1996; Mael & Ashforth, 2001; Turner, 1999).

According to social identity theory, a person's group identity (e.g., Canadian) is an important part of their self-concept. As I mentioned, the classical definition of social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As originally formulated, SIT incorporated three main points: (a) people are motivated to maintain a positive self-concept, (b) the self-concept derives largely from group identification, and (c) people establish positive social identities by favourably comparing their in-group against an out-group (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

While SIT is a theory of intergroup relations, it has traditionally been utilized as a theory of intergroup differentiation with its primary dependent measures being those of ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination (Brown, 2000). Most commonly, SIT has been used to study group categorization and intergroup discrimination based on "ingroup" versus "outgroup" conceptualizations. Only recently were the content and function of social identities (Deaux, 1996), the possibility of overlapping multiple identities (Deaux, 2000; Grant 2007), and the

promise of applying and developing SIT in the context of acculturation discussed (Brown, 2000).⁴

Indeed Grant's recent work has demonstrated that one unique instance in which people hold partially overlapping social identities is the case of recent immigrants to Canada. He has shown that recent immigrants to Canada not only have a strong cultural identity, but also have a strongly emerging Canadian identity (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Thus, during the process of psychological acculturation, immigrants belong to two partially overlapping ingroups, both of which are important aspects of their self-concept (Grant, 2007). These important theoretical and empirical developments illuminate the weakness of the "identity shift" model proposed in the citizenship acquisition literature.

1.8.1 Social identity and citizenship. SIT provides a framework that allows for a more inclusive examination of the social psychological processes involved in acculturation (Padilla & Perez, 2003) including the psychological barriers to the formation of a new Canadian identity (Grant, 2007), and their relationships to citizenship acquisition. The promise of applying and developing SIT in the context of citizenship has also recently begun to be discussed.⁵ To date, however, there is only one instance in the literature of the empirical application of SIT to citizenship acquisition. In that study, Deihl and Blohm (2003) used social identity theory to hypothesize about the citizenship acquisition rates of Turkish migrants in Germany. Surprisingly, Turkish migrants, who were the least integrated and least accepted migrants in Germany and who maintained emotional attachments to their homeland, were the most willing to become citizens of Germany. That finding seemed to be in contrast to the predictions of both the cost-benefit and integrationist perspectives on citizenship acquisition.

Using SIT, Diehl and Blohm hypothesized that Turkish immigrants were more willing to become German citizens because it afforded them a means of transferring formal membership to

⁴ See Xenia Chysochoou's (2000) special issue of the *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, as well as Esses, Dovidio, and Dion's (2001) special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* for discussions about SIT in the context of immigration.

⁵ There is an entire special issue of a Belgian journal dedicated to applying SIT to the concept of citizenship; namely, Sanchez-Mazas & Klein's (2003b Eds) of *Psychologica Belgica*.

a group with higher social status; not because they were more integrated or perceived more tangible benefits to doing so. In other words, they hypothesized that, since a German social identity was associated with greater status than a Turkish social identity, Turkish migrants were motivated to become German citizens because it offered them an “exit option” changing their low status social identity to a higher one. The results of their study suggested that, while as a group Turkish immigrants were less integrated, those individuals who became citizens were highly behaviourally integrated. They concluded that Turkish immigrants who are behaviourally integrated into German society, become citizens to bring their felt identification in line with a legal one – that is Turkish immigrants become citizens to bring their legal group belonging in congruence with their achieved individual social status. While Deihl and Blohm did not measure social identity directly, they did demonstrate that social identity theory is relevant to the question of citizenship acquisition, and that it may apply to the prediction of citizenship acquisition.

1.8.2 Using the strength of Canadian identification to predict citizenship decisions.

Following migration to another country, the reconstruction and renegotiation of social identity is an inevitable part of the acculturation process (Colic-Peisker & Walker, 2003). Eventually, as part of the psychological acculturation process, immigrants to Canada develop an identity with their new country (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Since “action can be seen as the social expression of [social] identity” (Breakwell, 1986, p. 43), an immigrant’s new identification with Canada might reasonably predict their citizenship acquisition. Thus, citizenship acquisition can be conceptualized as the behavioural expression of an immigrant’s identification with and feeling of belonging to their new country (their social identity with Canada).

That notion is supported by the qualitative findings of Legendre and Shaffir (1984). The immigrants who they spoke to expressed a reluctance to take up citizenship because of their strong ties (identity) with their heritage culture, and the betrayal of that identity that they perceived citizenship acquisition symbolizing (Legendre & Shaffir, 1984). Further, a recent study of the psychological acculturation of African and Asian immigrants into Canada found that those individuals who had lived longer in Canada and who had become Canadian citizens identified more strongly with Canada (Grant, 2007). Whether that identification predicts citizenship acquisition intentions was the central question of this thesis.

Specifically, I used SIT to suggest possible social psychological predictors of citizenship acquisition. This approach extends the theoretical rationale outlined above (Grant, 2007) as well as the existing research that has touched on the area (Firderes et al, 1987; Legendre & Shaffir, 1984). Specifically I assessed the strength of identification with Canada as a predictor of immigrants' intentions to become Canadian citizens. This is an extension of SIT that focuses on the function of particular identities, and how they motivate specific actions.

1.8.3 The relevance of cultural identity. While the development of a new Canadian identity may be an important predictor of citizenship acquisition, it should not negate the importance and existence of other social identities (Deaux, 1996). People hold many social identities, and holding a strong Canadian identity does not imply that other partially overlapping cultural and religious identities are reduced in importance (Baubok, 2002; Grant, 2007). Certainly, an immigrants' cultural identity is an important part of their self-concept, and it is unlikely to wane in importance with the development of a new Canadian identity. This is especially true in Canada, a country with a federal policy of multiculturalism that actively encourages the celebration of multiethnic identities, and encourages immigrants to maintain their cultural identities (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004).⁶

Empirically, recent research shows that during the process of psychological acculturation, the strength of an immigrant's Canadian identity increases as time passes, while his/her cultural identity remains strong (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Again, these results illuminate the weakness of an "identity shift" conceptualization of citizenship acquisition, which hypothesizes that an immigrant's cultural identity is eventually replaced with a new Canadian identity. Since clearly an immigrant's cultural identity remains an important part of their self-concept throughout the acculturation process, the identity shift model seems inadequate to understand citizenship acquisition in the Canadian context. Indeed, little is known about the relationships between the simultaneous maintenance of overlapping national (i.e., Canadian) and cultural identities and citizenship acquisition. Thus, I consider both social identities (*Canadian* and

⁶ I acknowledge that there are compelling criticisms in the literature about multiculturalism as a federal policy (see Bissoondath, 2002; Baubok, 2002; Day, 2000; Kagitcibasi, 1997; and Joppke, 2004 for examples).

Cultural) to be of importance when attempting to predict citizenship acquisition in Canada. To date, SIT has not been applied to the examination of such relationships.

Given that cultural and Canadian identities are conceptually distinct and partially overlap, it is important to consider these variables separately when relating them to citizenship acquisition in Canada. Collapsing them into one variable (as in Frideres et al., 1987) may serve to occlude the relationship between Canadian identification and citizenship acquisition – especially for those immigrants who do identify with Canada, but identify more strongly with their heritage culture.

Based on this brief theoretical and empirical review, the following relationships were examined. First, it was hypothesized that as the strength of an immigrant's Canadian identity increases, so will his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen (**Hypothesis 1**). In terms of cultural identity, the relationship is less clear. That is because researchers have found that cultural identity has differential relationships with national (e.g., Canadian) identity based on a number of factors (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Nevertheless, others have found that because of Canada's Multiculturalism Policy an immigrant's cultural identity remains strong over time (Grant, 2007). Therefore, the relationship between immigrants' cultural identity and citizenship acquisition intentions was explored without making specific predictions (**Exploratory Relationship 1**).

1.8.4 Barriers to the formation of a Canadian identity as barriers to citizenship. In the previous section, the central line of reasoning was that the stronger an immigrant identifies with Canada, the more strongly (s)he will want to acquire a Canadian citizenship as that act symbolizes the behavioural expression of their new national identity. If that argument is correct, then barriers to forming a strong national identity should also be barriers to intentions to apply for citizenship. Immigrants' acculturative adaptations are shaped by their interactions with and perceptions of their host country (Berry, 1997). So too is the formation of a social identity a product of social interaction (Breakwell, 1986). The importance of the inclusion of variables that measure immigrants' interaction with the state and other social groups in citizenship acquisition studies has also been discussed (Bloemraad, 2000). Thus, this thesis considered barriers that interfere with the development of a Canadian identity as possible barriers to citizenship acquisition. Two important barriers are perceived discrimination and cultural incompatibility.

1.8.5 Perceived discrimination. Immigrants often experience discrimination as they acculturate to the host society – especially immigrants from “visible minorities” such as those emigrating to Canada from Asian and African countries. Moreover, the social category of “immigrant” may constitute a devalued social identity. Esses, Dovidio, Jackson and Armstrong (2001), found evidence of negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Canada. This may be especially salient for immigrants who are a member of a visible minority as these people are generally the targets of discrimination (Esses & Gardner, 1996). Indeed researchers have reported that the more an immigrant feels that immigrants-in-general are being discriminated against in Canadian society, the more likely (s)he was to identify with his or her cultural group (Grant, 2007, 2008; Grant & Nadin, 2007; Padilla, 1980 & 1987; as sourced in Padilla & Perez 2003).

Further, Grant (2007) found that for visible minority immigrants in Canada, their perception of discrimination against their cultural group in Canada slowed and possibly prevented their psychological acculturation (read: identification with Canada). Specifically, an immigrant’s perceptions of discrimination increased the strength of their own cultural identity and decreased the strength of their newly forming Canadian identity (Grant, 2007). Finally, Grant, McMullen, and Noles’s (2001) study found that one barrier that immigrants reported as an obstacle to the formation of a Canadian identity was the perception that their cultural group and immigrants in general are discriminated against in Canada.

While perceived discrimination against immigrants-in-general has been found to be a significant psychological barrier to both behavioural and psychological integration (Grant, 2007; Grant, McMullen, & Noles, 2001; Grant & Nadin, 2007) its relationship to citizenship acquisition is not known.⁷ This link between perceived discrimination and citizenship acquisition has never been directly tested, although others have noted the importance of doing so (Yang, 1994; 2002). Thus, I hypothesized that as immigrants’ perceptions of discrimination toward immigrants in Canada increase; their intention to become Canadian citizens will decrease (**Hypothesis 2**).

⁷ DeSipio (1987) alluded to its potential importance when he points out that Mexican immigrants, the immigrant group to experience the most discrimination in the United States, are also the least likely to become American citizens.

1.8.6 Cultural incompatibility. Grant (2007) argued that cultural incompatibility can be conceptualized as a threat to the emergent identity of recent Canadian immigrants. By threat to social identity he meant “some action or communication which directly or indirectly seems to undermine the value of being a group member. That is, it takes the form of an attack on central, shared ingroup attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and group practices -- rejecting and derogating their nature and importance.”(Grant & Brown, p.198).

Grant (2007) explained that the cultural backgrounds of recent immigrants to Canada (i.e., immigrants from Asia) are very different from that of Canadians and the traditional immigrants from Western Europe. He argued that such differences can make those recent immigrants feel less “at home” in Canada which can be experienced as an incompatibility – especially if the immigrants feel discriminated against for their cultural differences (Grant, 2007). Accordingly, he hypothesized that the stronger the threat to identity (i.e., perceived cultural incompatibility) the stronger an immigrant would identify with their culture and the less with their new country. Two recent studies have supported that hypothesis (Grant, in 2007 Study 1; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Those studies found that perceived cultural incompatibility is positively related to the strength of an immigrant’s cultural identity and negatively related to the strength of their Canadian identity; suggesting that the more an immigrant perceives his/her culture to be incompatible with Canadian culture, the less successfully they adapt psychologically.⁸

Based on the same premise used by Grant (2007), I examined the relationship between immigrants’ perceived cultural incompatibility and their intentions to become a Canadian citizen. Since perceived cultural incompatibility threatens immigrants’ new Canadian and cultural identities, I hypothesized that it may also cause a reaction against becoming a Canadian citizen as that act is considered to be a behavioural expression of an immigrants’ identification with Canada. Specifically, I hypothesized that the more an immigrant perceives his or her culture to be incompatible with Canadian culture, the less likely (s)he will be to intend to acquire Canadian citizenship (**Hypothesis 3**).

⁸ Indeed it could otherwise be that the more attempts to acculturate are rebuffed, the more the cultures are perceived to be incompatible.

1.9 Summary of the Application of Social Psychological Acculturation to Citizenship Acquisition

The process of acculturation is inherently social psychological as immigrants interactions with citizens of their new nation influence the adaptations they make. Since acculturation is importantly related to citizenship acquisition, then a social psychological examination of citizenship acquisition should be an important and complementary addition to the citizenship acquisition literature.

During the process of psychological acculturation, immigrants, while maintaining a strong cultural identity, begin to identify with Canada. Citizenship acquisition might be the behavioural expression of immigrants newly felt Canadian social identity. However, that identity with Canada does not negate the importance of an immigrant's cultural identity, and thus both identities should be considered separately. Finally, during the process of acculturation immigrants might encounter barriers to their psychological acculturation (e.g., perceived discrimination and cultural incompatibility). Those barriers diminish and may prevent psychological integration, and therefore may prevent immigrants from wanting to acquire Canadian citizenship.

1.10 The Present Study

Using an intergroup relations perspective, the present study examined Asian immigrants' intentions to become Canadian citizens in relation to the process of psychological acculturation. Synthesizing the integrationist and psychological conceptual frameworks of citizenship acquisition, I conceptualized an immigrants' formation of Canadian identity as an indicator of psychological integration into Canada. The main research question was to what extent does an immigrant's identification with Canada predict his or her intentions to become a Canadian citizen?

Additionally, two known barriers to the formation of a Canadian identity (perceived discrimination against immigrants-in-general and cultural incompatibility), as well as a variety of behavioural integration indicators were also examined for their relationships to citizenship acquisition. Also of interest was the relationship between an immigrant's maintenance of his or her own cultural identity and citizenship intentions.

1.10.1 Objectives of the study. The primary objective of this study was to test Hypothesis 1, and thereby answer the main research questions as to whether an immigrant's identification with Canada positively predicts his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen. The secondary objectives of this study were to test Hypotheses 2 and 3, and to explore Exploratory Relationships 1 and 2.

The study was designed therefore to examine how well the following psychological acculturation variables predict recent immigrants' intentions to become a Canadian citizen: Canadian identity, perceived discrimination, and perceived cultural incompatibility. This study also explored whether an immigrant's cultural identity is related to citizenship acquisition, and whether the psychological acculturation variables account for variance in citizenship acquisition over and above the variance attributable to measures of behavioural acculturation. The specific hypotheses and relationships are summarized next.

1.10.2 Hypotheses. Based on the preceding review, the following hypotheses were made:

1. As the strength of an immigrant's Canadian identity increases, so will the strength of his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen (**Hypothesis 1**).
2. As an immigrant's perceptions of discrimination toward immigrants in Canada increase, the strength of his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen will decrease (**Hypothesis 2**).
3. As an immigrant's perceived cultural incompatibility increases, the strength of his/her intention to become a Canadian citizen will decrease (**Hypothesis 3**).

1.10.3 Relationships Explored. Based on the preceding review, the following relationships were explored without making specific predictions:

1. The relationship between an immigrant's cultural identity and his/her intention to become a Canadian citizen (**Exploratory Relationship 1**).
2. Whether the psychological acculturation variables account for variance in citizenship acquisition over and above the variance accounted for by the behavioural acculturation measures (**Exploratory Relationship 2**).

CHAPTER TWO – METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodological Approach

The methodological approach adopted in this thesis is the hypothetico-deductive approach. Specifically, existing theory and research were used to formulate testable hypotheses and exploratory relationships about Asian immigrants' intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship. Quantitative data were gathered and aggregated to statistically examine the hypothesized and proposed relationships among variables of interest, and draw inferences about those relationships for this sample.

2.2 Method

In order to assess the relationships among the various psychological and sociological indicators of integration and citizenship acquisition intentions of new immigrants to Canada, a questionnaire was administered to recent immigrants to Canada from Asia.

2.3 Sample

The sample was a nonprobability (convenience) sample of “immigrants from Asia who have lived in Canada for at least two years, and have not already applied for Canadian citizenship”.

The sample was limited to immigrants (i.e., excluding refugees) as refugees' motivations for migration are very different from those of voluntary immigrants, and they likely face different, and perhaps more serious, acculturative problems. Consequently, the citizenship decisions of refugees and immigrants are likely differentially influenced. Both male and female immigrants were sampled because of the assumption that the national identification and citizenship acquisition processes are similar for both; indeed, there is no theoretical or empirical reason to assume otherwise (Grant, 2007; Liang, 1994).⁹

⁹ I acknowledge that acculturation experiences are often gendered experiences (e.g., the “double jeopardy” experience of visible minority women who are doubly disadvantaged because they are *women* and *a member of a visible minority group*). However, here I am referring specifically to an assumption of a similar pattern of relationship between psychological acculturation and citizenship intentions for men and women. Indeed a subsidiary analysis of this sample showed that women perceived higher levels of discrimination against immigrants in the labour market than men, and men had greater strength of Canadian identification than women did. However, there were no significant differences in citizenship intentions and its relationship

The sample was limited to immigrants from Asia because of the recognition that immigrants from different ethnic origins face different acculturative stressors, and undergo different acculturation processes. Narrowing the sample to immigrants from a particular part of the world allows for a more meaningful interpretation of the results of the study as well as practical applications. Asia was chosen as the target sample because most recent immigrants to Canada (i.e., 58%) come from Asian countries (Statistics Canada, 2003), and it is immigrants from those countries who are most likely to acquire Canadian citizenship. For example, 50% of immigrants from the United States and United Kingdom, and 90% of immigrants from China had become Canadian citizens after living in Canada for 6-10 years (Tran et al, 2005). Thus, the vast majority of this Asian sample would be inclined to be considering citizenship seriously.

The sample was limited to immigrants who have lived in Canada at least two years for several reasons. Firstly, many immigrants to Canada do not speak English well when they first arrive, and immigrants must be able to read English in order to complete the questionnaire. Secondly, the integrationist perspective adopted in this thesis requires that immigrants have lived in Canada for a sufficient length of time in order to detect meaningful relationships between the variables of interest. Thirdly, the Canadian government mandates that an immigrant must have lived in Canada for at least three years before they are eligible to apply for citizenship, thus, the research questions would not meaningfully apply to very recent immigrants (i.e., individuals living in Canada for less than two years). Finally, it is likely that individuals who have lived in Canada for two years or more are fairly committed to stay in Canada and, are thus, likely to be seriously considering citizenship applications which might be only one year away. I specified the criterion of “have not already applied for Canadian citizenship” because the focus of this thesis was on the variables related to citizenship acquisition prior to citizenship acquisition – not retrospective analyses (which characterizes the citizenship acquisition literature in the introduction of this thesis).

to citizenship acquisition between men and women. I also acknowledge that choosing to immigrate versus immigrating for family reasons (e.g., job prospects for one’s spouse) might well influence a person’s acculturation experiences and that a women might well immigrate for the latter reason more than men.

2.4 Participant Recruitment

Prior to the collection of data, the proposal for the present study was reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Participants were recruited from May 2007 to February 2008. The main method of recruitment was via immigrant-serving agencies. Specifically, emails were sent to several contact persons at various immigrant serving agencies across Western Canada and Ontario. The emails explained the purpose and procedure of the study, and asked for the staff/agency to assist participant recruitment (e.g., send recruitment emails through their email list serves, display recruitment posters, word-of-mouth, or any other way that was convenient for them). To supplement this recruitment procedure, newspaper and Internet based advertisements (i.e., on-line classified ads, chat room notices, and discussion group postings) were also circulated.

All recruitment materials indicated that researchers from the University of Saskatchewan were conducting a questionnaire study to examine Asian immigrants' experiences in Canada and their decisions to become Canadian citizens. The recruitment materials specified that the researchers were looking for immigrants from Asia who have lived in Canada for at least two years, and have not already applied for Canadian citizenship to complete an anonymous questionnaire (either on the Internet or a hard copy/mail survey version – their choice). As an incentive, the recruitment materials highlighted that people who complete the questionnaire would be entered in two draws to win \$50.00.

The recruitment materials provided potential participants with the Internet address for the online questionnaire, and information on how to obtain a hard copy (mail survey version) of the questionnaire should they prefer that method. Participants either visited the Internet address to complete the questionnaire, or obtained a hard copy (mail survey with return postage) version from their immigrant-serving agency. The introduction page of both versions of the questionnaire provided detailed researcher contact information, and outlined the various facets of informed consent, participant rights, and confidentiality. The paper version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

An Internet data collection procedure was implemented in the present study as it allowed access to a larger potential participant pool than the traditional face-to-face or community contact methods. Indeed, an Internet data collection procedure is especially beneficial when attempting to access particular cultural groups (Ahem, 2005). Two recent studies found the

Internet to be a useful and valid data collection tool for examining the acculturative experiences of Arab immigrants in the United States (Barry, 2001; Barry, Elliott & Evans, 2000). Those studies found no significant differences between a sample that was obtained via the Internet and a sample obtained by more traditional means. Furthermore, Barry (2001) sought feedback from his Internet sample of immigrants about the use of the Internet as a data collection tool. Those participants reported feeling that using the internet afforded them more anonymity, comfort, and convenience, as well as provided a new and creative way of participating in research – all of which increased their motivation to participate (Barry, 2001).

More generally, there is sometimes a concern about the general validity of web-based research. However, studies comparing data obtained online to data obtained via paper and pencil have shown the two sets of data to be psychometrically equivalent. Myerson and Tryon (2003) used structural equation modeling to evaluate the psychometric consistency between web-collected data and paper-and pencil data. They found that the internal consistency and internal validity of Internet data were equivalent to that of data obtained by means that are more traditional. Pettit (2002) compared tendencies for random responses, item non-responses, extreme responses, acquiescent responses, and response errors between web-based and paper-and-pencil questionnaires. He found that only a tendency for response errors, a situation in which a response is provided but cannot be used (e.g., illegible handwriting) was found to differ significantly between the two methods. Response errors were almost nonexistent in web-collected data.

2.5 Respondents

The participants in this study were 114 immigrants from Asia, who had lived in Canada for at least two years, and had not applied for Canadian citizenship. Approximately half of the respondents (52%) were female, and the majority were married (70%). The mean age of the respondents was 35 (SD = 9.3) years (range 22 to 66 years). The majority of the respondents were in their twenties or thirties (70%); less than one quarter were in their forties (21%), and a small percentage were age fifty or older (9%). These respondents were highly skilled as most had completed either an undergraduate (35%) or graduate level (42%) university degree. Most of the respondents (82%) had an annual family income of \$50 000 or less.

Most of the respondents (90%) had lived in Canada for six years or less (median = 36 months; SD = 24 months; range 2-11 years), and spoke English well or very well (86%). Of those respondents who answered the religion question ($n = 66$), 22% were Christian, 12% were Islamic, and 12% were Hindu.

The respondents most commonly immigrated from East (46%), South (35%), and South East (13%) Asia. Most of the respondents immigrated from China (35%), India (21%), Pakistan (9%), Taiwan (6%), Korea (5%), and the Philippines (5%). Just over half (53%) of the respondents were living in Ontario; 16% were living in Alberta, 12% in Saskatchewan, 11% in British Columbia, 3% in Manitoba, and 3% in Eastern Canada (Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia).

Approximately half (47%) of respondents came to Canada as Family Class Immigrants (i.e., sponsored by their family, church, or another agency), 28% came as Economic Class Immigrants (i.e., qualified under the points system), 18% came as students, and 6% came under a work visa. However, the majority of the respondents (77%) were Landed Immigrants (i.e., permanent residents) at the time of the study.

2.6 Measures

The self-administered questionnaire consisted of a mixture of well established scales, new scales, and demographic questions intended to measure the dependent variable, the independent variables that have successfully predicted citizenship acquisition in past research, and the psychological predictors proposed in this study. See Table 1 for a summary of these measurements, and the predictions made.

Table 1. Operationalization and Predicted Direction of Key Variables Used in Analyses

Variable (reported as)	Measurement	Variable Type	Predicted Direction
Dependent Variable			
Citizenship acquisition (Intent)	Mean Intention Score	Continuous	
Independent Variables			
<i>Measures of Behavioural Acculturation</i>			
<i>(Past Research)</i>			
Age at immigration (Ageimm)	Years	Continuous	+
Current age (Agenow)	Years	Continuous	-
Education (Educ)	1= <8yrs; 2=8-12 yrs; 3=graduated high school, 4=some post secondary, 5=undergraduate degree, 6=graduate degree	Continuous	+
Income (Incm)	Dollars	Continuous	+
English Language Ability (English)	Not well, Well, Very Well	Continuous	+
Homeownership (Ownhome)	1= Own Home in Canada, 0= Do Not	Dummy	+
Length of Residence (Lived)	Years	Continuous	+
Married to a citizen (CitSps)	1= Have/had a Canadian spouse, 0 = Not	Dummy	+

Variable (reported as)	Measurement	Variable Type	Predicted Direction
<i>Index Measure of Behavioural Acculturation</i>			
Participation in Canadian Society (AccCan)	Mean participation score	Continuous	+
<i>Measures of Psychological Acculturation (Present Study)</i>			
Canadian Identity (IdCan)	Mean identification score	Continuous	+
Cultural Identity (IdCult)	Mean identification score	Continuous	?
Cultural Compatibility (Incmt)	Mean perceived compatibility score	Continuous	-
Perceived Discrimination in Canadian Society (DAIIG)	Mean perceived discrimination score	Continuous	-
Perceived Discrimination in Canadian Labour Market (DAILM)	Mean perceived discrimination score	Continuous	-

2.6.1 The dependent variable. Citizenship acquisition was operationalized as an immigrants' *intention to apply for citizenship in the next year*, as specified in the theory of planned behaviour (TpB) (Ajzen, 1991). This is considered to be a valid estimation of actual citizenship acquisition behaviour for two reasons. One, in the TpB, intentions are the proximal determinant of the target behavior; and two, it has been shown that intentions to become a citizen, do predict actual citizenship acquisition behaviour (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Freeman, Plascencia, Gonzalez-Baker, & Orozco, 2002; Wearing, 1985).

While the TpB has not been applied to citizenship behaviour directly, it has been successfully applied to numerous behaviours ranging from simple strategy choices in laboratory games to actions of considerable personal or social significance (see Armitage & Conner, 2001 for a recent meta analysis). Moreover, the TpB has been successfully applied to a variety of cultural groups around the world (Bogart, Cecil, & Pinkerton, 2000; Salabarra-Pena, Lee, Montgomery, Hopp, & Muralles, 2003; van Hoof, Born, Taris, 2006; van der Flier, 2006; Wiggers, de Wit, Gras, Coutinho, & van den Hoek, 2003); including Asian immigrant groups (Liou & Contento, 2001).

Intention Scale

The intention scale was constructed for this study based on common ways of operationalizing TpB behavioural intentions (Ajzen, 2006) as well as operationalizations used in previous research with non-English speaking immigrants (Bogart, Cecil, & Pinkerton, 2000; Liou & Contento, 2001; Salabarra-Pena, Lee, Montgomery, Hopp, & Muralles, 2003). Specifically, intention to apply for citizenship was measured using a three-item scale in which respondents indicated (on a 7-point Likert scale) the extent to which they intend to, plan to, and are determined to apply for citizenship in the next year (higher scores indicate stronger intentions). These items intercorrelated, and the scale showed good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .89). Thus, the items were combined to create an intention index (i.e., a mean intention score derived from the three scale items).

The Independent Variables

2.6.2 Known predictors of citizenship acquisition In order to replicate past research and examine the additional predictive power of the variables proposed in the present study

(Exploratory Relationship 2), the following variables (shown in previous research to be significant predictors of citizenship acquisition) were measured. These demographic indicators of acculturation were measured in the present study in the ways consistent with past research; however, a multi-item behavioural acculturation scale was also included.

Age at immigration. A continuous variable – the respondents’ reported age (in years) when they immigrated to Canada.

Current age. A continuous variable – the respondents’ reported current age (in years).

Education. Respondents indicated their level of current education from a set number of categories (less than 8 years, 8-12 years, completed high school, some technical/college training, some university training, completed undergraduate degree, completed graduate degree). The data were used to create a continuous variable with the following codes: 1 = less than 8 years, 2= 8-12 years, 3 = graduated high school, 4 = some post secondary training, 5=undergraduate degree, 6 = graduate degree.

Income. Annual income was used to measure occupational status. Respondents were asked to indicate their annual personal income from a set of eleven categories ranging from <\$10 000 to >\$100 000 a year. These categories have been used in past research on the psychological acculturation of Asian immigrants to Canada (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). This was a continuous variable.

Homeownership. Respondents indicated whether they owned a home in Canada. These data were used to create a dummy variable with no homeownership as the reference category.

Length of residence. Respondents indicated the length of time they have lived in Canada. This is a continuous variable – number of years lived in Canada.

Language ability. Respondents were asked to indicate how well (not well, well, very well) they spoke English. This is considered a continuous variable in the present study with values ranging from 1 (do not speak English well) to 3 (speak English very well).

Married to citizen. Respondents that were married, widowed, or divorced, indicated whether their spouse is/was a Canadian citizen. A dummy variable was created for all participants with “no Canadian spouse” as a reference category (i.e., if the respondent was single, then they were coded as having “no Canadian spouse”).

2.6.3 Behavioural acculturation scale. An adapted version of The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VAI) – Participation in Mainstream Culture was used as an index of behavioural acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). This was included as an overall measure of behavioural acculturation to help explore whether the psychological acculturation is an important predictor of citizenship acquisition independent of behavioural integration (Exploratory Relationship 2). This measure was included to serve as a validated index of behavioural acculturation to overcome any potential psychometric weakness of the proxy demographic variables used in past research. This scale explicitly measures the degree to which immigrants participate in mainstream “North American” society, and asks questions such as “I often behave in ways that are typical of North Americans”, “It is important for me to maintain or develop the cultural practices of North Americans”, “I am interested in having North American friends”, etc. This is a 10 item unidimensional scale upon which respondents answer on a seven-point Likert type scale (higher scores indicate greater behavioural participation).

The VAI was developed and validated with Chinese, non-Chinese East Asian, and other non-English speaking immigrant groups in Canada (Ryder et al., 2000). This scale correlated positively with other validated acculturation scales as well as immigrants’ identification with North America; thereby, showing the scale is related to what it theoretically should be related to. The scale also correlated positively with immigrants’ percentage of time lived in North America and their English language ability further supporting the validity of the scale (Ryder et al., 2000). The adapted version substituted the word “Canadian” for “North American”, and measured the degree to which respondents participate in mainstream Canadian activities (Participation, Canadian Society).¹⁰

2.6.4 Measures of psychological acculturation.

Identity. An adapted version of a Brown and colleagues (1986) Group Identification Scale was used to measure the respondents’ strength of identification with Canada and with their cultural group. This scale has been used extensively in intergroup relations research and has shown good reliability and validity (Jackson & Smith, 1999). The adapted version is a 6-item

¹⁰ Because “Canadian” is not defined for the respondents in reference to this scale and the Canadian identity scale, respondents answer based on their subjective definition of “Canadian”. Similarly, respondents used their subjective definition of their own culture to answer the cultural identity scale.

scale. These items have previously been used with immigrants from Asia to measure their cultural and national identity, and have good reliability (Grant 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Respondents used the scale twice. Once to rate the strength of their identification with Canadians, and then the strength of their identification with members of their cultural group using a 7-point response format (greater scores represent higher identification). Respondents were asked to write the name of their cultural group at the top of the cultural identity scale. It was clear from their answers that this term meant different things to different respondents. For example, some respondents referred to a particular region of Asia (e.g., “South Asian”), others referred to a specific country (e.g., “Chinese” and “Pakistani”), while others referred to a religious group (e.g., “Islamic” or “Arabic”).

Cultural compatibility. The Incompatible Cultures Scale (Grant, 2007) was used to measure the extent to which respondents perceive their culture to be incompatible with mainstream Canadian culture. This scale measures common ways in which mainstream Canadian culture is not compatible with the respondents’ heritage cultures. The measure was developed by Grant (2007) based on a content analysis of in-depth qualitative interviews with first generation immigrants to Canada from Africa and Asia (Grant, McMullen, & Noels, 2001). The Incompatible Cultures Scale is a six item unidimensional 5-point Likert type scale with higher scores indicating greater perceived incompatibility. The scale has been used in previous research with immigrants from Asia and Africa; it has shown good reliability and validity in that it was found to be correlated positively with immigrants’ perceived discrimination and negatively with their identification with Canada and attitudes toward multiculturalism (Grant, 2007 Grant & Nadin, 2007).

Perceived discrimination. The Discriminatory Barriers to Integration Scale (Grant & Nadin, 2007) was used to measure the extent to which respondents perceive immigrants to be discriminated against in Canadian society. The scale consists of ten items asking respondents about “barriers to the integration of immigrants into the Canadian way-of-life”. Respondents answer on a five-point Likert type scale in which higher scores mean greater perceived discrimination. The scale consists of two correlated subscales ($r = .56$)¹¹: DAJLM which measures perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in the Canadian labour market (a 4-

¹¹ This correlation is from the present study, but it is similar to that obtained ($r = .41$) by Grant and Nadin (2007).

item subscale), and DAIIG which measures perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in general (a 6-item subscale). Like the Cultural Compatibility measure, the scale was developed based on in-depth interviews with immigrants to Canada (Grant, McMullen, & Noels, 2001), and has been shown to be reliable. Like the Cultural Incompatibility Scale, this scale has been shown to be a valid measure of perceived discrimination with immigrants from Asia in that it correlates positively immigrants' perceptions of cultural incompatibility and their negative emotions associated with discrimination, and negatively with their identification with Canada their attitudes toward multiculturalism (Grant & Nadin, 2007).

See Table 2 for a summary of the scales used and their psychometric properties.

Table 2. Reliabilities and Other Statistics for the Scales used in this Study.

Scale	Items	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Chronbach's Alpha (*CI)
Strength of Canadian Identification	6	1-7	4.42	1.21	114	.84 (.79 -.88)
Strength of Cultural Identification	6	1-7	4.91	1.28	111	.88 (.84 -.91)
Cultural Incompatibility	6	1-5	3.20	.599	114	.60 (.47 -.70)
Perceived Discrimination in Canadian Society	6	1-5	3.42	.739	114	.78 (.71 -.84)
Perceived Discrimination in Canadian Labour Market	4	1-5	4.27	.662	114	.75 (.67-.82)
Participation in Canadian Culture	10	1-7	4.76	.968	114	.87 (.84 - .91)
Intention to Apply for Citizenship	3	1-7	5.38	1.74	114	.89 (.85 -.92)

*95% Confidence intervals for alpha.

Note. The higher the score the stronger the respondents identified with Canada and their cultural group, the more they perceived their culture be incompatible with Canadian culture, perceived their group was discriminated against in Canadian society and labour market, participated in Canadian culture, and intended to apply for Canadian citizenship in the next year.

CHAPTER THREE – RESULTS

3.1 Eligibility of Respondents

While a total of one hundred and eighty nine (189) questionnaires were returned (thirteen paper copies; 176 electronic), only 115 of those met the eligibility requirements (two paper copies). The questionnaires that did not meet the eligibility requirements did not do so because the respondent was either a refugee ($n = 1$) or had lived in Canada for less than two years ($n = 22$), or had already applied for ($n = 24$) or obtained ($n = 27$) Canadian citizenship.

3.2 Data Screening

All variables to be included in the analyses were examined through SPSS frequencies and descriptives programs for accuracy of data entry and missing values. Missing values were left coded as missing (Age, Cultural Identity, and Homeownership had missing values of less than 5% of the cases; Income had missing values on 11% of the cases).

The variables were also examined through various SPSS programs for the fit between their distributions and the assumptions of the analyses to be conducted. Univariate outliers were detected through an examination of Z Scores ($> \pm 3.29$) and histograms (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). One case had a Z score exceeding the $Z=3.29$ cutoff on the “Length of time lived in Canada” variable. An examination of that histogram showed that the case was clearly separated from the rest of the distribution, and it was therefore removed from the dataset (the person had lived in Canada for 20 years). Multivariate outliers were screened using Mahalanobis Distance, ($p < .001$ criterion), and none were identified; leaving 114 cases for analysis.

A scatterplot of the residuals was used to assess for specification errors, normality, linearity, and homoscedacity. The scatterplot indicated a potential for slight nonnormality and heteroscedacity. As a follow up, the skewness and kurtosis of the continuous variables, and the ratio splits for the dummy variables (90:10 ratio split criterion) were obtained (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The results showed that Income, and Years lived in Canada were significantly positively skewed, and both were transformed using natural log transformations. Education was negatively skewed with a clear ceiling effect (this sample was highly educated).

Moreover, the Discrimination against Immigrants in the Labour Market, and the Intention to Apply for Canadian Citizenship variables, were significantly negatively skewed. Both scales

were reflected and transformed using a natural log transformation.¹² Thus, the direction of the interpretation of analyses using these reflected variables will be reversed as well. Since the scatterplot indicated that most of the residuals were scattered around zero, no specification error was detected.

3.4 Data Analysis¹³

3.4.1 Describing the social psychological variables. Table 2 presents the grand means and standard deviations for the psychological variables measured in this study along with the dependent variable. The values indicate the immigrants in this study are similar to those in past studies which measured these variables (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007). Specifically, they identified moderately with Canada ($M = 4.42$), and more strongly with their heritage culture ($M = 4.91$); $t(108) = -3.256, p = .002 (d = .63)$. These respondents also perceived that their cultural background was incompatible with Canadian culture ($M = 3.20$). They also perceived that immigrants are discriminated against by Canadian employers ($M = 4.27$), and by Canadians in general ($M = 3.42$); more by employers than Canadians in general, $t(113) = 31.672, p = .0001 (d = 5.96)$. However, despite those perceptions of discrimination and incompatibility, these immigrants did participate in Canadian society ($M = 4.76$), and they had strong intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship ($M = 5.38$). When explicitly asked, 61% of respondents indicate that they “strongly intend to apply for Canadian citizenship in the next year” (as indicated by a rating of 6 or 7 on a 7-point scale).

As can be seen in Table 3, the relationships among the psychological variables are consistent with past research (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007), and consistent with the

¹² The planned analyses were conducted using both the transformed and untransformed variables. The results of the analyses were slightly improved by using the transformed data, and it is those results that are presented in the thesis.

¹³ Both the Citizenship Acquisition Intention and the Perceived Discrimination measure were reflected before being transformed. Thus, the interpretation of the results had to be reversed. The results presented in the thesis (in tables and in text) for those variables have already been reversed. Thus in this report, high scores on the intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship and discrimination against immigrants in the Canadian labour market indicate greater intentions to apply for citizenship and amounts of perceived discrimination. Thus, for example, when reporting Identification with Canada as a positive predictor of citizenship intentions, the direction has been reversed – while the beta coefficient was negative in the SPSS output, it is presented as positive for ease of interpretation for the reader.

predictions derived from Social Identity Theory. Firstly, the strength of respondents Canadian identity was positively related to the strength of their cultural identity; $r = .24, p = .001$. This suggests that these two identities are related and compatible, but not closely linked. This finding supports the argument in the introduction of this thesis that people do not give up one identity when they take on another.

Table 3. Relationships among the Psychological Variables

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Strength of Canadian Identification		.24***	-.17**	-.28***	-.14*
2. Strength of Cultural Identification			.10	.02	.13*
3. Cultural Incompatibility				.29***	.26***
4. Perceived Discrimination in Canadian Society					.56***
5. Perceived Discrimination in the Canadian Labour Market					

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, one-tailed test.

Note: Correlations with Strength of Cultural Identification are based on $N=111$; all other correlations are based on $N=114$.

Also consistent with past research, the more the respondents perceived that immigrants were discriminated against in Canadian society and the labour market, the more they perceived their cultural background to be incompatible with Canada, $r_{DAIG} = .29, p = .001$, and $r_{DAILM} = .26, p = .002$. Further, the more they perceived discrimination against immigrants and cultural incompatibility, the less they identified with Canada $r_{DAIG} = -.28, p = .001$, and $r = -.17, p = .037$. Finally, there was a marginally significant trend that the more respondents perceived that immigrants were discriminated against in the labour market, the less they identified with Canada, $r_{DAILM} = -.14, p = .07$, and more strongly they identified with their heritage culture, $r_{DAILM} = .13, p = .087$.

These results replicate past research (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007), and support the positions proposed in the thesis. Specifically, the perceptions of discrimination against immigrants and cultural incompatibility are barriers to psychological acculturation as there are negatively related to the formation of a strong Canadian identity and positively related to the strength of their cultural identity. The formation of a strong Canadian identity is not mutually exclusive with maintenance of a strong cultural identity, and each should be considered independently in examinations of psychological acculturation and citizenship decisions.

3.4.2 Relationship between psychological acculturation and becoming a Canadian citizen.

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to test Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, and to examine Exploratory Relationship 1. Those results are presented next.

Hypothesis 1: *As the strength of an immigrant's Canadian identity increases, so will the strength of his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen.* A one-tailed test was used to examine the relationship between immigrants' Canadian identity and their citizenship intentions. As predicted, as immigrants strength of Canadian identity increased, so did their intentions to become Canadian citizens, $r(112) = .55, p = .0001$. Thus, these immigrants' intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship correlated positively and strongly with their Identification with Canada, and Hypothesis 1 was supported.

Hypothesis 2: *As an immigrant's perceptions of discrimination toward immigrants in Canada increase, the strength of his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen will decrease.* A one-tailed test was used to examine the relationship between immigrants' perceptions of discrimination in Canada and their intentions to become Canadian citizens. The results showed

that their perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in Canadian society did not correlate with their intentions to become Canadian citizens ($r_{DAIG}(112) = .07, p = .229$), but their perceptions of discrimination in the labour market did.

Perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in the labour market correlated positively with immigrants' intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship, $r(112) = .15, p = .056$. While this predicted relationship is statistically significant, the direction of the relationship is opposite of that predicted. Specifically, as an immigrants' perceptions of discrimination toward immigrants in the Canadian labour market increased, so did the strength of their intentions to become Canadian citizens. Thus, for this sample of immigrants, perceptions of discrimination toward immigrants in Canada is positively related to their intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship. This is counter to Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Hypothesis 3: *As an immigrant's perceived cultural incompatibility increases, the strength of their intention to become a Canadian citizen will decrease.* A one-tailed test was used to examine the relationship between immigrants' perceptions that their culture is incompatible with Canadian culture, and their intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship. The results showed that these two variables were unrelated for this sample, $r(112) = .04, p = .320$. Thus, for this sample of Asian immigrants, their perceived cultural incompatibility was unrelated to their intentions to acquire Canadian citizenship, and Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Exploratory Relationship 1: *The relationship between an immigrant's cultural identity and his/her intention to become a Canadian citizen.* A two-tailed test was used to examine the relationship between immigrants' identification with their heritage culture and their intentions to become Canadian citizens. The results indicated that these two variables were unrelated $r(109) = .15, p = .116$. Thus, for this sample of Asian immigrants, their cultural identity was unrelated to their intentions to become Canadian citizens.

3.4.3 Acculturative predictors of becoming a Canadian citizen. The results presented above outline the univariate relationships between the social psychological variables and citizenship intentions. Those results showed support for Hypothesis 1, but not for Hypotheses 2 and 3. Specifically, those results suggest that immigrants' Canadian identities are strongly related to their intentions to become Canadian citizens. Even though Hypothesis 2 was not supported, the results suggest that respondents' perceptions of discrimination against immigrants are importantly related to their citizenship intentions (albeit in an unexpectedly negative direction).

In addition to these univariate relationships, the predictive power of the various indicators of psychological and behavioural integration, and how those variables combine with each other to predict citizenship intentions were also of interest. In particular, the predictive power of the psychological variables in relation to the behavioural variables were examined in a hierarchical regression analysis. The results of those analyses are presented next.

Exploratory Relationship 2: *Whether the psychological acculturation variables account for variance in citizenship acquisition intentions over and above the variance accounted for by the behavioural acculturation measures.* As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, there are a number of sociodemographic variables that have been used in past research as measures of acculturation. Those variables are considered to be measures of behavioural acculturation (i.e., sociocultural and economic acculturation). Several measures of behavioural acculturation were included in this thesis to allow for an exploration of their relative ability to predict citizenship intentions.

Regression model 1. A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was employed to test hypotheses 1-3 more thoroughly and explore Relationship 2. The criterion was Intent to apply for citizenship (Reflected Natural Log). In the first step of the regression, the demographic variables established in past research as predictors were entered (i.e., age at immigration, age now, years lived in Canada (Natural Log), English ability, Education, Income (Natural Log), Homeownership, and citizenship of spouse). On the second step, the overall behavioural integration index was entered (Participation in Canadian Society). On the third step, the psychological acculturation variables were entered (Identification with Canada, Perceived discrimination in Canadian society and Canadian Labour market (Reflected Natural Log), and Cultural Incompatibility).¹⁴

This analysis strategy was intended to test whether the behavioural integration indicators shown in past research to be significant predictors of citizenship acquisition were significant predictors for this sample. Step 2 was intended to analyze whether the behavioural acculturation index accounted for variance in addition to that of the demographic predictors. Step 3 was

¹⁴ Originally, I planned to add cultural identity in the last step. However, since it did not correlate with Intentions it was not added.

intended to examine whether the psychological variables contributed significantly to the variance in citizenship acquisition over and above both sets of measures of behavioural acculturation.

However, prior to interpreting the regression analysis, the zero-order correlation matrix was inspected. As can be seen in Table 4, that correlation matrix revealed that many of the independent variables entered in the model were uncorrelated with the dependent variable, but correlated (sometimes very highly) with other independent variables. These uncorrelated variables were removed from the analysis.

Table 4. Relationships Among the Independent and Dependent Variables Entered in Regression Model 1 ($N = 101$)

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1 Intent		.23***	-.05	.01	-.03	.05	-.18**	.03	-.03	.35***	-.03	.19**	.54***	.12	.05
2 English			.13	.18*	.15**	.29**	.11	.23	.46***	.32***	.03	-.15*	.15*	-.04	.00
3 AgeNow				.09	.96***	.17**	-.22***	.07	-.13*	-.23***	-.09	.09	-.13	-.02	-.27
4 OwnHome					.07	.06	.02	.95***	.18	.05	-.10	-.01	.04	.02	-.03
5 AgeImm						.22***	-.38***	.05	.08	-.23***	-.11	.08	-.09	-.01	-.03***
6 Educ							-.33***	.04	.37***	-.07	-.14*	.07*	-.05	-.05	-.15
7 Lived								.06	.01	.05	.09	.03	-.19**	-.14*	.01
8 CitSps									.22***	.06	-.11	.0	.04	.06	.04
9 Income										.11	-.02	.05	.05	-.12	.03
10 AccCan											-.09	.06	.58***	.07	-.17**
11 DAIIIG												.54***	-.21***	.09	.28**
12 DAILM													-.05	.20**	.27***
13 IdCan														.18**	-.14*
14 IdCult															.13**
15 Icmpt															

* $p \leq .10$, ** $p \leq .05$, *** $p \leq .01$ two-tailed

Note. Intent = strength of respondents intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship; English = ability to speak english; AgeNow = current age; OwnHome = home ownership; AgeImm = respondents age at immigration; Educ = highest level of education completed;

Lived = length of time lived in Canada; CitSps = citizenship status of respondents spouse; Income = respondents annual family income; AccCan = behavioural participation in Canadian society; DAIIG = perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in Canadian society; DAILM = perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in the Canadian labour market; IdCan = strength of identification with Canada; IDcult = strength of identification with their cultural group; Icmpt = perceptions of cultural incompatibility.

Regression model 2. In this revised model, only those independent variables that correlated with the dependent variable were included. The zero-order correlations, beta coefficients, and semi-partial correlations can be seen in Table 5. Years lived in Canada (Natural Log) and English ability were entered in the first step. On the second step, the overall behavioural integration measure (Participation in Canadian Society) was entered. On the third and final step the psychological integration measures (Identity with Canada and Perceived Discrimination Against immigrants in the Labour market - Reflected Natural Log) were entered. The criterion was Intention to apply for citizenship (Reflected Natural Log).

Using this analysis, the first step aimed to replicate past research and test the importance of Years lived in Canada and English ability (behavioural integration) as predictors of citizenship acquisition. The second step examined whether the behavioural acculturation scale accounts for variance over and above that of the first two variables (demographic indicators of behavioural integration). Finally, the third step examined whether the psychological predictors are important in predicting citizenship intentions over and above the behavioural integration predictors.

Prior to interpreting the analysis, the dataset were checked to ensure that assumptions for multiple regression were met. Normality and homoscedacity were assumed (plotted residuals as criterion). No suppressor variables were found in an examination of the correlations and coefficients, and multicollinearity was not a problem (Condition Index > 30, and two variance proportions >.50 criterion). As can be seen in Table 5, all the predictor variables correlated significantly with the criterion. There were no missing data, thus the multivariate analysis included 114 cases.

Table 5. Regression Model 2. Behavioural and Psychological Predictors of Immigrants' Intentions to Apply for Canadian Citizenship ($N = 114$)

Variable	DAILM	Zero-Order Correlations					β^a	sr^a	R^2_{Change} ^b
		IdCan	AccCan	Lived	English	Intent			
English						.186**	.073	.068	
Lived				.067		-.117*	-.043	.051*	
AccCan				.046	.295***	.387***	.088	.124***	
IdCan			.591***	-.144*	.120*	.548***	.511***	.400	
DAILM		.139*	.103	.037	.132*	.148**	.217***	.212	
							Intercept =	1.951	
							$R^2 =$.365***	
							$R^2_{Adjusted} =$.336	

* $p \leq .10$, ** $p \leq .05$, *** $p \leq .01$ two-tailed

^a Semi-partial correlations and beta weights at the third step.

^b R^2_{Change} at each step.

Note. English = Immigrants Ability to Speak English; Lived = Years lived in Canada; AccCan = Behavioural Integration – Participation in Canadian Culture; IdCan = Identification with Canada; DAILM = Perceived discrimination against immigrants in the labour market. Basic descriptives and Cronbach's alpha are displayed in Table 2.

Regression model 2 results. After step 1, Years Lived in Canada and English ability accounted for 5% of the variance $R^2 = 5.1\%$, $F(2,111) = 3.010$, $p = .053$. An examination of the standardized beta coefficients revealed that only English ability made a significant contribution to the variance in Step 1, $\beta = .195$, $t(111) = -2.100$, $p = .038$. An examination of the semi-partial correlations showed that English ability accounted for 3.16% of the variance in this step of the regression ($sr^2 = .19^2 = .0361$).

Adding the behavioural integration scale (Participation in Canadian society) in the second step accounted for an additional 12.4% of the variance in citizenship acquisition intentions, Step 2, $F_{Change}(1,110) = 16.492$, $p = .0001$. An examination of the standardized beta coefficients revealed that English ability was no longer contributing to the variance. In this step, only Participation in Canadian Society (behavioural integration index) was a significant predictor of citizenship acquisition intentions, $\beta = .368$, $t(110) = -4.061$, $p = .0001$; uniquely accounting for 12.2% of the variance in this step ($sr^2 = .35^2 = 0.1225$).

Adding the psychological integration predictors of Canadian Identification and Perceived Discrimination in the third step added to the variance accounted for by a considerable amount; $R^2_{Change} = 19.0\%$, $F_{Change} F(2,108) = 16.141$, $p = .0001$. An examination of the standardized beta coefficients revealed that none of the behavioural acculturation variables were contributing to the unique variance accounted for in citizenship acquisition intentions. In this step of the analysis only the two psychological acculturation variables emerged as significant predictors of citizenship acquisition. Identity with Canada was a strong positive predictor ($\beta = .511$, $t(108) = 5.214$, $p = .0001$) uniquely accounting for 16% of the variance ($sr^2 = .40^2 = .16$). Perceived Discrimination against immigrants in the Labour Market was a small positive predictor, ($\beta = .217$, $t(108) = 2.759$, $p = .007$) uniquely accounting for 4.41% of the variance ($sr^2 = .21^2 = .0441$).

Together, the five predictors accounted for over a third of the variance in citizenship acquisition intentions, $R^2 = 36.5\%$ (adjusted $R^2 = 33.6\%$), $F(5,108) = 12.41$, $p = .0001$. The 95% confidence interval for R^2 extends from .232 to .498. The psychological integration predictors of Canadian identity and Perceived Discrimination were the only significant predictors with Identification with Canada having a strong positive effect, and Perceived Discrimination against immigrants in the Canadian labour market having a small positive effect over and above the behavioural acculturation variables.

3.5 Summary

For this sample of immigrants from Asia, identification with Canada and perceptions of discrimination positively predicted their intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship over and above behavioural acculturation. Cultural identity and perceptions of cultural incompatibility were unrelated to their citizenship acquisition intentions for this sample.

The sociodemographic indicators of integration were not significantly related to intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship in this sample. The respondents' behavioural participation in Canadian society was a significant predictor of citizenship intentions, but that unique predictive relationship disappeared once Canadian identity and perceived discrimination against immigrants in the labour market were added at the third step of the regression. That is, once the variance due to psychological integration is accounted for, the behavioural integration predictors do not account for any additional variance in intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship.

CHAPTER FOUR - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, citizenship acquisition was explored from a social psychological perspective. Specifically, social identity theory along with the integrationist and psychological models of citizenship acquisition were adapted and synthesized to examine a sample of Asian immigrants' intentions to become Canadian citizens. My basic assumption was that citizenship is a behavioural expression of immigrants' new social identification with Canada. The main research question was *does an immigrants' strength of identification with Canada predict his/her intentions to become a Canadian citizen?*

It was hypothesized that an immigrant's strength of identification with Canada, as an indicator of his/her psychological acculturation, would positively predict his/her citizenship intentions. It was also hypothesized that perceived discrimination and cultural incompatibility, as barriers to psychological acculturation, would negatively predict citizenship intentions. The relationship between immigrants' cultural identity and their citizenship intentions was also explored, as was the predictive power of psychological acculturation in relation to behavioural acculturation.

The findings of this thesis support the proposition that psychological acculturation is importantly related to citizenship acquisition. Based on these findings, the answer to the main research question posed in this thesis is: *"Yes. Strength of identification with Canada does importantly predict intentions to become a Canadian citizen for this sample of recent Asian immigrants"*. As for the subsidiary research questions, perceptions of discrimination against immigrants in Canada do predict citizenship intentions, but in an unexpectedly positive direction. Cultural identity and perceptions of cultural incompatibility were unrelated to their citizenship acquisition intentions. Finally, the results of this study suggest that psychological acculturation is a powerful predictor of citizenship acquisition; perhaps more powerful than the traditionally conceptualized behavioural indicators of integration.

4.1 Replicating the Sociodemographic Predictors of Citizenship Acquisition Established by Past Research

4.1.1 English Ability. The positive predictive relationship between English ability and citizenship acquisition found in this thesis is not surprising. Firstly, it is consistent with past citizenship acquisition research that has found moderate to large relationships between English

ability and citizenship acquisition (Acquire & Sanez, 2002; Liang, 1994; Yang, 1994; 2002). Secondly, immigrants who apply for citizenship are expected to be able to speak English well enough to communicate with people and have those people understand them (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).¹⁵ Thus, it is expected that those immigrants who intend to apply for citizenship would also have a sufficient level of English language ability. However, despite the replication of this finding, it is important to note that this study failed to replicate many of the other predictive relationships between the sociodemographic variables and citizenship acquisition reviewed in the introduction of this thesis.

4.1.2 Length of Residence. The unexpected findings related to length of residence require some discussion. Length of residence is the strongest and most consistent positive predictor of citizenship acquisition in the literature (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Frideres, et al, 1987; Kelley & McAllister, 1982; Liang, 1994; Tran, Kustec, & Chui, 2005; Wearing, 1985; Yang 2002). With odds ratios reaching as high as 9.71 in past research (Yang, 1994), the failure to replicate this relationship in this thesis was certainly surprising. Even more surprising was the marginally significant *negative* relationship obtained between length of residence and intentions to apply for citizenship [$r(112) = -.12, p = .10$] for this sample.

While initially curious, these unexpected findings are likely attributable to the differences between this particular sample and the samples of past research, as well as the recent Canadian literature illuminating the citizenship acquisition trends of Asian immigrants in Canada (Tran et al., 2005).

Firstly, most of the samples included in the previous citizenship acquisition research included large samples of different cohorts of immigrants living in their respective new nations for varying lengths of time (up to 40 years). This variability makes it more likely that a relationship between length of residence and citizenship acquisition will be revealed since eventually, given enough time, most immigrants do indeed become citizens (Tran et al., 2005).

In contrast to those of previous studies, the sample in this thesis consisted of a small number of recent immigrants to Canada. Ninety-seven percent (97%) of these respondents had lived in Canada 10 years or less (Median = 3 years, SD = 2.5, range 2-20 years). Moreover, 79%

¹⁵ Actually, immigrants intending to become Canadian citizens are expected to be able to speak either English *or* French. However, only English ability is relevant to this thesis.

of respondents had lived in Canada five years or less and 74% intended to apply for citizenship in the next year. Thus, there may not have been enough variability in this sample to detect a relationship between length of residence and citizenship acquisition.

Secondly, it is important to note the Canadian context of this study, and that there are only a few Canadian citizenship acquisition studies in the literature (Legendre & Shaffir, 1984; Frideres et al., 1987; Tran et al., 2005). While seemingly inconsistent with the previous research on citizenship acquisition in general, the findings of this thesis are actually consistent with the Canadian research on citizenship acquisition. Specifically, the Canadian study by Frideres and colleagues (1987), which used a sample of 345 randomly selected immigrants from Britain, Germany, and Italy, suggested that length of residence might have a small relationship with citizenship acquisition in Canada. Their multiple regression analyses showed that length of residence accounted for little variance in citizenship acquisition in their subsamples (ranging from 4% to less than 2% of the variance).

Moreover, it is important to note that this thesis used a unique sample of Asian immigrants to Canada. The findings from this study are consistent with recent national census type data, which shows that immigrants from Asia strongly intend to become Canadian citizens shortly after their arrival. Those data also show that immigrants to Canada from Asia become Canadian citizens very soon after they become eligible. For example, 62% of Asian immigrants become citizens after just 5 years of residence, compared to 38% of immigrants from Europe. For those immigrants who have lived in Canada 6-10 years, 90% of immigrants from Asia have become citizens, compared to 50% of those from Europe (Tran et al., 2005). Thus, based on national statistics, one would expect that the respondents in this study (i.e., recent immigrants from Asia most of whom have lived in Canada less than 5 years) would intend to become citizens. This of course would diminish the relationship between length of residence and citizenship acquisition for this sample.

Although the relationship was only marginally significant, and may therefore be anomalous, there was a trend for a *negative* relationship between length of residence and citizenship intentions for this sample. Given that most of the participants in this sample had lived in Canada for 5 years or less and intended to become citizens, perhaps those immigrants in this sample who had lived longer in Canada intend to never become Canadian citizens. That possibility would result in the obtained negative relationship between length of residence and

citizenship acquisition intentions, and would of course obscure the expected positive relationship between the variables. Indeed, that possibility is supported by the post-hoc finding that the negative correlation between length of residence and citizenship acquisition disappears when the analysis is conducted on the subsample who have lived in Canada for five years or less $r(88) = .104, p = .328$. Clearly, more research is needed to explore these findings in more detail.

4.1.3 Age, income, education, citizenship of spouse, and home ownership. Many of the other sociodemographic indicators of integration that were significant predictors of citizenship acquisition in past research failed to emerge as significant predictors in this study. Specifically, age, income, education, home ownership, and citizenship of spouse did not correlate with intentions to become a Canadian citizen for this sample. As a result, these variables were removed from the multiple regression analysis (Model 2). Removing them from the Model 2 analysis was necessary because they did not correlate with the dependent variable but they did improve R^2 in Model 1. This meant that those variables were acting as suppressor variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001; Woolley, 1997). Once identified, it is important to remove suppressor variables from subsequent analyses because they can change how the predictor variables combine to account for variance in the criterion, and therefore, completely change research outcomes (Woolley, 1997).

The failure of this study to replicate the relationships between sociodemographic predictors and citizenship acquisition found in previous research does not invalidate the findings of this study however. Indeed, given that past literature reviews have noted that research has been inconsistent in establishing predictors of citizenship in the past (DeSipio, 1987), it is not surprising that many of the relationships between demographic variables and citizenship acquisition were not replicated in the present study. This is because those demographic predictors (age, education, occupational status, homeownership, and citizenship of spouse) often had small individual predictive effects with Odds Ratios close to 1 (Acquire & Sanz, 2002; Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Kelley, & McAllister, 1982; Liang, 1994; Yang, 1994; 2002). Because those previous studies were based on large-scale survey data and had sample sizes in the thousands, then small relationships were statistically significant. With a sample of only 114 people, this study lacked the statistical power to reveal variables that have small relationships with citizenship acquisition.

As well, the responses to some variables in this study lacked sufficient variability to have the power to detect significant relationships. For example, the education measure showed a ceiling effect, and the income measure showed a floor effect. This severely limits the size of the correlations of these variables with citizenship intentions for this sample. Similarly, in terms of the dummy variables, most of the participants did not have a Canadian spouse, nor did they own a home in Canada.¹⁶

Despite the failure to replicate the abovementioned sociodemographic findings, this study did show that some variance was attributable to sociodemographic variables. Specifically, in the first step of the regression, the combination of English ability and length of residence accounted for 5.1% of the variance in citizenship intentions. This is consistent with the findings of Deihl and Blohm (2003) who reported that their combination of sociodemographic variables accounted for 2.1% of the variance in citizenship acquisition for their sample.¹⁷ Thus, while this study failed to replicate many sociodemographic variables of past research, this does not invalidate the findings of this study. The failure to replicate is likely due to the overall small effects of these variables, and the small sample of this study.

4.1.4 Summary. With the exception of English ability, this study failed to replicate many of the sociodemographic predictors of citizenship that have been established in previous research. This is likely due, in large part, to the small relationships that those variables actually have with citizenship acquisition as well as the small size and particular characteristics of this sample.

Despite its large effect size in the citizenship acquisition literature, length of residence did not emerge as a significant predictor for this sample. This is probably because this sample

¹⁶ Indeed, these two variables were almost the same in the study. The only respondents to own a home were those with a Canadian spouse.

¹⁷ Most of the regression analyses in the past research used logistic regression analyses techniques. Those procedures do not have a statistic equivalent to the R^2 statistic in linear regression. Thus, the strength of the relationship between the combined predictors and citizenship acquisition was rarely reported. One exception is the German study of Deihl and Blohm, (2003). Those investigators reported a Pseudo R^2 of 2.1%. That finding is consistent with the findings of this thesis that only 5.1% of the variance in citizenship intention is accounted for by the demographic variables.

consisted of recent immigrants to Canada from Asia who strongly intended to apply for citizenship. The Canadian literature suggests that length of residence is not a strong predictor of citizenship acquisition in Canada, and that Asian immigrants intend to become citizens soon after their arrival and become citizens quickly after they become eligible. However, there may not have been enough variation in the length of residency in this sample to detect a relationship between it and intentions to apply for Canadian citizenship. Clearly, more research is needed to explore this relationship in the Canadian context.

4.2 Acculturation and the Prediction of Citizenship Acquisition

During the process of acculturation, immigrants make a series of sociocultural, economic, and psychological adaptations (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Grant, 2007; Searle & Ward, 1990). Traditionally, the citizenship acquisition literature explained that citizenship acquisition is a result of an immigrants' successful integration into their new nation (Bloemraad, 2000). Once they are integrated, they shift their identity to their new nation, and legally adopt that new identity. Previous research has documented the relationships between sociocultural and economic indicators of integration and citizenship acquisition, but the relationship between psychological integration and citizenship acquisition has not been extensively examined.

This thesis viewed the formation of a Canadian identity as an important part of the acculturation process, and tested novel hypotheses about the relationships between psychological acculturation and citizenship acquisition intentions. The results of this study have implications for both the conceptualization and measurement of acculturation variables as related to citizenship acquisition.

4.2.1 The predictive power of behavioural integration. The findings of this study suggest important expansions of the integrationist model of understanding citizenship intentions. The pure integrationist perspective is that only after an immigrant is behaviourally integrated into their new nation do they chose to become a citizen of that nation. Contrary to that proposition, the results of this study suggest that the sociodemographic variables do not account for a large proportion of variance in citizenship acquisition intentions for this sample. Those findings suggest that the relationships between behavioural integration and citizenship acquisition might actually be small.

One way in which this thesis differed from the past research was by the inclusion of a recently developed scale measuring behavioural acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000). This measure accounted for a significant and substantial percentage (12.4%) of the variance in citizenship acquisition intentions over and above the demographic indicators commonly used in past literature. This may be because Ryder's behavioural acculturation scale is a more direct measure of behavioural integration than the demographic variables commonly used in past research. After all, the Ryder scale was constructed to measure the extent to which immigrants actually participate in a culture (Canadian culture in this case), and has been validated as such. This measure was developed in the Canadian context making it applicable to the behavioural acculturation (integration) of cultural groups in Canada, and measures the more subtle concept of participation in Canadian culture (versus the sociodemographic indicators). For example, it asks immigrants to indicate the extent to which they participate in the cultural traditions of Canadians, feel comfortable working with Canadians, behave in ways that are typical of Canadians, etc.¹⁸

Those types of questions measure behavioural integration more directly. To put it another way, an immigrant may not be "indicated" as behaviourally integrated on sociodemographic indicators such as occupational status, length of residence, etc. Nevertheless, he or she may be behaviourally integrated in the sense that they participate in Canadian culture. Thus, inclusion of this behavioural acculturation scale allows for a more complete measure of behavioural acculturation. The results of the present study showed that this measure accounts for more variance in citizenship acquisition than that accounted for by the sociodemographic variables. Thus, such a measure should be included when attempting to compare the effects of psychological acculturation in comparison to behavioural acculturation on citizenship acquisition.

¹⁸ The reader is reminded that an adapted version of the Ryder scale was used in the present study. In that scale, the words "North American" were replaced with "Canadian". Also, the word "typical" was replaced with "in general". Thus, where the original scale asked about "typical North Americans" this revised scale asked about "Canadians in General". How the respondents conceptualized Canadians-in-general is not known, but a great deal of research in the social identity theory tradition has established that people who identify with a group (in this case people who classify themselves as Canadians) take on consensually held traits, social norms and practices of that group, a process known as self-stereotyping (Brown, 2000). This research clearly demonstrates that people have no difficulty with scales that ask them to characterize members of a group-in-general.

4.2.2 The predictive power of psychological integration. One strength of this study is that it illuminated the importance of psychological integration in the prediction of citizenship acquisition. In this thesis, the integrationist model of citizenship acquisition was adapted to include psychological integration (i.e., the formation of a Canadian identity). This was a novel and important expansion of this framework that tested its implicit assumption about identity. Specifically, while the integrationist model implies that citizenship acquisition symbolizes a change in immigrants' psychological identity, that link had not been tested empirically.

The results of this study suggest that not only is psychological integration an important predictor of citizenship acquisition, but that it accounts for a significant and substantial percentage (19%) of the variance in citizenship intentions over and above the behavioural indicators of adaptation. Moreover, once the variance due to psychological acculturation is accounted for, behavioural acculturation may not account for any unique variance in citizenship acquisition intentions. These novel findings have implications for a broader conceptualization of acculturation as it relates to citizenship.

Specifically, these findings suggest that immigrants may choose to become citizens of their new nation before they are behaviourally integrated into Canadian society. This raises the question of whether it is necessary to become fully integrated behaviourally if you identify with Canada and feel Canadian. Clearly more research is needed to test this possibility with larger and more diverse immigrant samples. Nevertheless, these findings complement the existing sociological literature, and have implications for an expansion of the integrationist framework to more explicitly consider the psychological integration and citizenship acquisition relationship. These findings also suggest the importance of a social psychological perspective to the citizenship acquisition literature. A social psychological inquiry complements the sociological literature, and expands the conceptualization of such a complex phenomenon as the decision to become a citizen of a new country.

4.3 The Contributions of Social Identity Theory

In this thesis, social identity theory was the framework that was used to conceptualize psychological integration, and to hypothesize about citizenship acquisition intentions. The basic assumption was that the act of applying for Canadian citizenship is the behavioural expression of an immigrant's new social identification with Canada. This novel use of SIT proved to have

important implications for both understanding citizenship acquisition intentions and expanding the theory to consider overlapping social identities and their functions.

4.3.1 *Social identity theory and the functions of social identity.* In this thesis, social identity theory was used to conceptualize an immigrant's acquisition of a Canadian citizenship as a behavioural expression of their new social psychological identification with Canada. This thesis was an expansion of social identity theory, traditionally a theory of intergroup differentiation, which focused on the nature and function of social identities.

As originally proposed, the central function of social identity was the enhancement of self-esteem through favourable comparisons with an outgroup (Tajfel, 1978). Recently however, contemporary researchers in social identity theory have questioned that central function, and argued that group membership may serve a variety of functions in addition to enhancing self-esteem such as providing meaning and self-knowledge (Abrams, 1992; Deaux, 1993). In this thesis, I argued that an immigrants' social identification with Canada might function to predict their Canadian citizenship acquisition. The results of this thesis support the use of social identity theory in this new way, and suggest that the formation of identification with their new country may function to motivate an immigrant to acquire legal citizenship of their new nation. This conceptualization is also consistent with Diehl and Blohm's (2003) social identity theory explanations that Turkish immigrants in Germany become German citizens to bring their felt identification in line with their legal one – thus perhaps serving as a function of self-knowledge and meaning. While the results of my study support these propositions, more research is needed to test this hypothesis about the functions of a new Canadian identity with more diverse samples of immigrants in Canada.

4.3.2 *Social identity theory, and the nature of overlapping cultural identities.* In addition to adapting the integrationist model of citizenship acquisition to include social psychological identification, this thesis modified the traditional psychological explanation of citizenship acquisition as well. The traditional psychological explanation emphasized the importance of an identity shift in immigrants' decision to acquire a new citizenship (Bloemraad, 2000; Frideres et al, 1989; Legendre & Shaffir, 1984), and has been called the least successful approach in explaining citizenship acquisition (Bloemraad, 2000). One argument made in this

thesis was that conceptualizing identity as a discrete variable (i.e., identity shift) is limiting because it fails to recognize the fluid, contextual, and dynamic nature of social identities.

Indeed, a novel aspect of this study was the consideration of both immigrants' Canadian and cultural identities, and the finding that the former but not the latter was a strong predictor of citizenship intentions. That is, social identity theory was used to conceptualize Canadian identity and cultural identity as two separate but partially overlapping social identities of recent immigrants to Canada. This multicultural focus proved to be a useful conceptualization which highlighted the limitations of an identity-shift model of citizenship acquisition. Specifically, the results of this study show that immigrants simultaneously identify with Canada and their heritage culture.

These results, are not surprising and replicate the findings of Grant (2007, Study 1). - While these immigrants identified strongly with Canada and that identity was important related to their citizenship acquisition intentions, they identified more strongly with their heritage culture. Thus, formation of a Canadian identity, while indicating an immigrants' successful psychological integration into Canada, does not negate the importance of their cultural identity, (Grant 2007). In other words, these respondents did not "shift" their identity to Canada, but rather retained their strong cultural identity while developing a new Canadian identity – both important aspects of their self-concept in a multicultural nation. This is an important distinction because it means that these immigrants identify as both Canadian *and* Chinese (for example), and not as either Canadian, Chinese, *or* Chinese-Canadian. This conceptualization and operationalization has methodological uniqueness and strength over the discrete operationalizations of Frideres and colleagues (1987), and highlights the applicability of social identity theory in this novel way.

4.4 Unexpected Findings

4.4.1 Perceived discrimination and citizenship acquisition. The results of this study suggest that perceived discrimination against immigrants in the labour market is an important predictor of citizenship acquisition intentions. However, the unexpectedly negative direction of that relationship warrants some discussion and post hoc explanation. Specifically, the findings suggest that the more respondents perceived that immigrants were discriminated against in the Canadian labour market, the more strongly they intended to apply for Canadian citizenship.

Perhaps these respondents associated the discrimination with the fact that they were not yet citizens. That is, perhaps these highly skilled immigrants thought that they would gain access to the skilled labour market once they became citizens. Alternatively, perhaps they think that discrimination against non-citizens is in some sense a legitimate action by employers loyal to their country (Canada).

Yet another possibility is that the direction of the relationship is such that the more strongly they intend to become citizens, the more they notice the discrimination against immigrants. That is the more they identify with Canada, the more they notice the discrimination perpetuated by their in-group (Canadians) towards another in-group (their heritage culture). Further, because both groups are now overlapping parts of their self concepts, they are unlikely to interpret the discrimination in traditional “ingroup” versus “outgroup” terms. Rather, perhaps immigrants with a strong Canadian identity and strong intentions to apply for citizenship interpret the unfair treatment towards members of the heritage group as “well meaning albeit misguided actions of one’s new ingroup rather than discrimination toward their ingroup by an outgroup” (Grant, in press, pg.5). These are three possibilities that need further exploration. Clearly, more research is needed to examine this unexpected finding regarding the relationship between perceived discrimination and citizenship acquisition in more detail.

4.4.2 Cultural identities, incompatibility, and citizenship acquisition. Cultural identity did not prove to be an important predictor of citizenship acquisition for this sample; neither did cultural incompatibility (Hypothesis 3). I would argue however, that while cultural identity was unrelated to citizenship acquisition in this sample, it is still important to consider both cultural and Canadian identities when predicting citizenship acquisition. Indeed these respondents held both cultural *and* Canadian identities and belonged to two partially overlapping ingroups – a Canadian and a heritage group in a multicultural nation. Such a finding would not have been possible had I adopted the traditional identity-shift perspective of the citizenship acquisition literature.

The failure of the data to support Hypothesis 3 (i.e., that perceived cultural incompatibility would be negatively related to citizenship acquisition intentions), should be interpreted with caution. As can be seen in Table 2, the scale used to measure perceived cultural incompatibility had a Chronbach’s alpha value of .60. While this measure has shown much

higher reliability statistics in past research, this reliability statistic is too low to consider this a reliable measure for this particular sample. More research is needed to test Hypothesis 3 more thoroughly in the future.

4.5 Limitations and Future Directions

Of course, the decision to become a citizen of a new country is influenced by a myriad of factors including those related to the immigrants themselves and the larger political and cultural structures of their home and host countries (Tran, Kustec, & Chui, 2005; Yang, 1994, 2002). One limitation of this study was that it was narrow in focus, and only considered the immigrants' behavioural and psychological integration into Canadian society as possible predictors of citizenship acquisition. Obviously structural and other factors influence immigrants' decisions to become citizens of their new nation. However, this study investigated citizenship acquisition from a specific social psychological perspective, and therefore added one small piece to the puzzle of citizenship acquisition. As with any social psychological phenomenon, citizenship acquisition decisions are inherently rich and complex. Therefore, future research should be conducted to inquire into the topic using a variety of theories and methodologies.

In a related way, another limitation of this study was the purely quantitative focus. This study was highly quantitative in nature, and operationalized key social psychological variables using pre-established scales to test a priori hypotheses about citizenship acquisition. While this methodology was the appropriate one to use to answer specific research questions posed in this study, future more qualitative inquiries may highlight important factors that are importantly related to citizenship decisions that are not currently captured.

Moreover, future inquiry into the meaning of this new Canadian identity for immigrants and its qualitative relationship to citizenship acquisition would be illuminating. Many of the scales used in this study involved the respondents subjectively defining the constructs under examination. Specifically, when respondents were asked about their Canadian identities and participation in Canadian society, they were asked questions such as "to what extent do you feel strong ties with *other Canadians*", and "I believe in the values of *Canadians in general*". Thus, it is not known what the nature of "*Canadian identity*" is to these respondents, nor is it known how

they subjectively define “*Canadians*” *in general*.¹⁹ Perhaps future qualitative research could decipher such meanings. Indeed, future research should use a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to connect general psychological constructs with particular individual experiences to more fully understand the intricacies and contextual influences on citizenship acquisition decisions. Such studies might also help understand some of the unexpected findings obtained in this study, and aim to understand the subjective meaning of these constructs from the immigrants’ perspective.

A third limitation to this study was the small, unique, and homogeneous sample, and the subsequent implications for the generalizability of the results. A sample size of 114 is considerably smaller than that which was desired at the outset of this study. However, given that data collection had been ongoing for nine months, the decision was made to terminate data collection once the minimum number of eligible participants was recruited.²⁰ I suspect that this difficulty recruiting participants was a function of the researcher not having the ability to personally access this “hidden population” by having cultural contacts assist in data collection (Ahem, 2005). Although hiring research assistants from within the participants cultural groups has proved to be a successful way of more quickly collecting data from these populations in the past (Grant, 2007; Grant & Nadin, 2007), that was not an option for this study.

Thus, this study employed a new data collection and participant recruitment procedure whereby immigrant-serving agencies were asked to inform their contacts about the study, and the study was advertised on the Internet. Importantly, the immigrant-serving agencies acted as gatekeepers to the target sample population. Many agencies were not able to help in advertising this study through their contacts; thus, participant recruitment was limited in this way. It is interesting to note, that 17.5% of the sample lived in either Thunder Bay, Ontario or Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (cities in which the researcher has contacts). This compared to 15.7% of the sample who lived in either Toronto or Vancouver. This finding is inconsistent with the actual

¹⁹ I thank my committee members Dr. Kara Somerville and Dr. Ulrich Teucher for their insightful critiques in this regard.

²⁰ This is the minimum number of participants required to test for a medium effect size (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

proportions of immigrants living in those cities, and therefore, supports my argument that the reason I had difficulty collecting data was that I lacked the cultural contacts to do so.²¹

Because informing participants of their opportunity to participate in this research was essentially up to those gatekeepers, it is unknown how many potential participants would have been invited to participate in this study. Thus, it is unknown how the response rate to this questionnaire study compares to that of other Internet based questionnaire studies. While this recruitment method was limiting in the sense that I could not keep track of response rates, and it took a long time to collect the data, it is unclear whether this recruitment method limits the generalizability of the findings.²²

In addition to being recruited using the internet, this sample is unique in other ways as well. Specifically, this sample represents a highly skilled sample of recent Asian immigrants to Canada who have lived in Canada for only a few years, who perceived high levels of discrimination in the Canadian labour market and strongly intend to become Canadian citizens. Moreover, this was a homogeneous sample that showed little variability on many of the variables entered in the regression analysis. Taken together, all of these unique aspects of the study limit the generalizability of these findings. Clearly more research is needed to test these hypotheses using more diverse and variable samples of immigrants to Canada who are recruited using different procedures.

In a related way, this study did not differentiate between gender or immigration class in an examination of the main variables. Future research is needed to consider reasons for immigration and immigration class as possible moderators of citizenship intentions. For example, women who immigrate to Canada under the family class system (i.e., are sponsored by

²¹ Recent immigrants are more likely to live in either Canada's largest cities. Of those immigrants who arrived in Canada during the 1990s, 43% settled in Toronto, and 18% settled in Vancouver. Less than 2% of immigrants to Canada settled in either Saskatoon or Thunder Bay (Statistics Canada, 2001). Thus, it is likely that my contacts in Saskatoon and Thunder Bay worked harder to promote the study than did those in other centers because of my personal contact with them.

²² As outlined in Chapter Three, the relationships among the psychological acculturation variables are similar to those found in past research. Although this sample did perceive a higher degree of discrimination in the labour market. Thus, in that sense, this sample recruited using the Internet, does compare to other samples of recent immigrants from Canada recruited using other methods.

their spouse), may feel forced to immigrate so as to advance the career prospects of their spouse. Women who immigrate under those circumstances likely experience different psychological acculturative experiences than women who immigrate as economic class immigrants and are part of the skilled labour force. Inquiry into these factors as possible mediator and moderator variables would be informative.

Despite the limitations to this study, the findings do validly apply to the population from which they were obtained. The findings also provide novel explanations of citizenship acquisition intentions, and suggest avenues for future research.

4.6 Conclusions

This study adopted a unique approach to the study of citizenship acquisition. Using social identity theory, an immigrant's decision to take up Canadian citizenship was conceptualized as an indication of their successful psychological acculturation into Canadian society. It was argued that citizenship acquisition was the behavioural expression of an immigrant's social psychological identification with Canada (psychological integration). This approach is in contrast to the existent literature on citizenship acquisition. That literature commonly touts citizenship acquisition as an indicator of an immigrant's successful behavioural integration into Canadian society, and a subsequent shift in their identity from that of their heritage culture to Canadian. The results of this study strongly support the social psychological acculturation hypothesis that the stronger an immigrant identifies with Canada (social psychologically), the more likely they are to intend to become Canadian citizens.

Despite the failure of the sociodemographic predictors to emerge as significant predictors of citizenship acquisition in this study, the study is considered a valid examination of citizenship acquisition and a valid test of the hypotheses of this thesis. The results of this thesis suggest that the sociodemographic variables are weak predictors of citizenship intentions, and that a behavioural acculturation index (e.g., Ryder et al., 2000) measures behavioural acculturation more adequately. A novel aspect of this study was the inclusion of that behavioural acculturation index. That addition proved beneficial as it accounted for an additional 12% of the variance in citizenship intentions over and above the demographic variables. Future studies should include this scale.

This study was designed to test specific hypotheses about the importance of psychological acculturation in predicting immigrants' intentions to become Canadian citizens, as well as explore whether the psychological acculturation variables account for variance in citizenship acquisition over and above the variance attributable to measures of behavioural acculturation. The results from this study contribute to the citizenship acquisition literature by suggesting that psychological integration (Canadian identification) is a much more important predictor of citizenship intentions which, along with behavioural acculturation, account for over 30% of the variance in the citizenship intention measure. These findings are important contributions to the citizenship acquisition and social identity theory literature, and provide evidence for the importance of including a psychological perspective on citizenship acquisition inquiries.

Another novel aspect of this study was the consideration of both immigrants' Canadian and cultural identities as not mutually exclusive. This conceptualization proved beneficial as it reinforced the concept that, during the process of psychological acculturation, immigrants are members of two partially overlapping groups (Grant, 2007). Specifically, while immigrants do begin to identify with Canada, their cultural identity remains strong. Nevertheless, they strongly intend to become citizens. This finding has important implications for the identity-shift notion of citizenship acquisition, clearly immigrants cultural identities remain an important part of their self-concept, and they do not "shift" their identity from that of their cultural group to Canadian.

In summary, the results of this study support the main hypothesis in this thesis: as an immigrant's identification with Canada increases, so does his or her intentions to become a Canadian citizen. Thus, the taking up of Canadian citizenship is the behavioural expression of an immigrant's new social identification with Canada. Importantly, however, immigrants do not "shift" their identity to Canadian, but rather their cultural identity remains strong.

These findings have important implications for the citizenship acquisition and social identity theory literature. Specifically, during the process of psychological acculturation, immigrants belong to two partially overlapping ingroups (Canada and their cultural group). Their intentions to become Canadian citizens may be motivated by their newly emergent Canadian identity. This would represent a function of that identity, and a behavioural expression of it – something that requires further examination. Finally, these findings have important implications for the traditional behavioural integration conceptualizations of citizenship acquisition. The

findings of this thesis suggest that psychological acculturation is importantly related to citizenship acquisition, and may be more important than behavioural integration. More research extending these novel findings with more diverse samples is both important, and of great interest to those studying the decision to become a citizen of a new country following their initial life changing decision to immigrate.

CHAPTER FIVE - REFERENCES

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APPENDIX - QUESTIONNAIRE

Paper-and-Pencil Version of the Questionnaire

***EXPERIENCES IN CANADA and BECOMING A CITIZEN:
A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA***

You are invited to participate in a questionnaire study that examines your experiences in Canada and your intentions to become a Canadian citizen that is being conducted by:

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**UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN**

**ALL PARTICIPANTS WILL BE ENTERED IN TWO LOTTERY DRAWS FOR A
CHANCE TO WIN \$50.00**

Please detach this page and keep it for your records.

Your participation in this study requires only the completion of this questionnaire, and returning it to the researchers. The questionnaire will take no longer than 30 minutes to complete, and asks questions regarding your experiences in Canada and your intention to become a Canadian citizen as well as some demographic information. Your participation in this study will contribute to an understanding of why some people decide to become Canadian citizens.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any of the individual questions, and may discontinue the questionnaire at any time before submission. However, once you have submitted your data, you will no longer be able to withdraw it from the larger database. By completing and submitting the questionnaire, you are giving your permission to have your data included in a group database. Any answers that you provide be kept confidential. All data collected will be kept in a secure file, accessible only to the researcher, her supervisor, and his research team for a minimum of 5 years.

This research is being conducted as part of Shevaun Nadin's Masters thesis requirements and will be reported in her thesis report. The data may also be presented to immigrant serving agencies, at academic conferences, and in academic journals. All data will be presented in aggregate form. When the study is completed, a summary of the research findings will be available to you upon your request (via the researcher contact information above).

If you have any questions or concerns about this research, please contact the researchers using the contact information above. This research project was reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on April 16, 2007. Please contact the University of Saskatchewan Ethics Office (306-966-2084) to learn about your rights as a participant in this research study. Out of town participants can call collect.

If you prefer, this survey is also available for you to complete on the Internet at the following link:

<https://survey.usask.ca/survey.php?sid=5986>

If you know any other immigrants from Asia living in Canada who may be interested in completing this survey, please feel free to inform them about it.

Section 1
Immigrating to Canada and Becoming a Canadian Citizen

1. How old were you when you immigrated to Canada?

I was _____ years old.

2. How long have you lived in Canada?

I have lived in Canada for _____ years _____ months.

3. When you *first came* to Canada, what was your immigration status? (please circle one)

I WAS A VISITOR ON A VISA

I WAS A STUDENT

I WAS A FAMILY CLASS IMMIGRANT (sponsored by your family, church, or another agency)

I WAS AN ECONOMIC CLASS IMMIGRANT (I qualified under the points system)

I WAS A REFUGEE

4. What is your *current* immigration status? (please circle one)

I AM A VISITOR ON A VISA

I AM A STUDENT

I AM A FAMILY CLASS IMMIGRANT (sponsored by your family, your church, or another agency)

I AM AN ECONOMIC CLASS IMMIGRANT (I qualified under the points system)

I AM A LANDED IMMIGRANT

I AM A REFUGEE

I AM A CANADIAN CITIZEN

5. Have you applied for Canadian citizenship? (please circle)

YES (if yes, skip to question # 7)

NO

6. In the coming year, to what extent do you intend to apply for Canadian citizenship?
(please circle the appropriate number for you)

I do not intend to 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **I strongly intend to**

7. In the space provided below, please explain why you are (or are NOT) seriously considering becoming a Canadian citizen at this time?

Section 2
Canadian & Cultural Identification

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWERS

Your Identification with Canada

8. To what extent do you feel Canadian?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely**

9. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other Canadians?

no ties at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely strong ties**

10. To what extent do you feel pleased to be from Canada now?

not pleased at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely pleased**

11. How important to you is being Canadian?

not important at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely important**

12. How much are your views about Canada shared by other Canadians?

not shared by any 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **shared by all**

13. When you hear someone who is not Canadian criticize Canadians, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

not criticized at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely criticized**

14. How determined are you to apply for Canadian citizenship in the next year?

not at all determined 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely determined**

Your Identification with Your Cultural Group

15. What is the name of your cultural group? _____ (*please print your answer*)

16. To what extent do you feel a member of your cultural group?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely**

17. To what extent do you feel strong ties with your cultural group?

no ties at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely strong ties**

18. To what extent do you feel pleased to be from your cultural group?

not pleased at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely pleased**

19. How important to you is being a member of your cultural group?

not important at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely important**

20. How much are your views about your country of origin shared by other people from your cultural group?

not shared by any 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **shared by all**

21. When you hear someone who is not from your cultural group criticize people from your cultural group, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

not criticized at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **extremely criticized**

Section 3
Participation in Canadian and Your Heritage Culture

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWERS

22. In the coming year I plan to apply for Canadian citizenship

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

23. I often participate in my heritage culture traditions.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

24. I often participate in the cultural traditions of Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

25. I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

26. I would be willing to marry a Canadian person.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

27. I enjoy social activities with the people from the same heritage culture as myself.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

28. I enjoy social activities with Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

29. I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

30. I am comfortable working with Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

31. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my heritage culture.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

32. I enjoy Canadian entertainment (e.g., movies, music).

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

33. I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

34. I often behave in ways that are typical of Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

35. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture in Canada.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

36. It is important for me to maintain or develop the cultural practices of Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

37. I believe in the values of my heritage culture.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

38. I believe in the values of Canadians in general

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

39. I enjoy the jokes and humour of my heritage culture.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

40. I enjoy the jokes and humour of Canadians in general.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

41. I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

42. I am interested in having Canadian friends.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly agree**

Section 4
Cultural Compatibility

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWERS

43. I feel like a different person when I am with my Canadian friends compared to when I am with friends from my cultural group.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

44. I feel that Canadian family values are *NOT* compatible with the family values of my culture.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

45. I feel that the way Canadians raise their children is *NOT* compatible with the way children are raised in my culture.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

46. The way young women dress in Canada is *NOT* compatible with the custom in my culture.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

47. Canadians do not share their wealth and possessions with their family as much as people from my culture.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

48. I feel that my culture's values and beliefs are under attack in mainstream Canadian society.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

Section 5
Barriers to Integration

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWERS

49. Canada needs to provide more government programs to help new immigrants find a job that matches their qualifications and work experience.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

50. Immigrants' education and work experience are often not recognized in Canada.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

51. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination from potential employers because they do not have Canadian experience.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

52. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination when they seek employment.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

53. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination if they can not speak English very well.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

54. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination because of their accent.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

55. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination because of their race.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

56. In Canada, immigrants face discrimination because, when they arrive in Canada, they often have a low income.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

57. Canadians do not appreciate the cultural background and traditions of immigrants.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

58. Canadians feel that the education systems in other countries is inferior.

strongly disagree : disagree : neither : agree : strongly agree

Section 6
Background Information

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWERS

59. Are you MALE or FEMALE?

60. How well do you speak English?

NOT VERY WELL

WELL

VERY WELL

61. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Less than 8 years of schooling

8-12 years of schooling

Graduated from high school

Some technical college training (*please explain*): _____

Some university training

Completed an undergraduate degree

Completed a postgraduate degree (*please specify*): _____

62. What is your marital status?

SINGLE/DATING (*if single, skip to question 64*)

COMMON LAW

MARRIED

SEPARATED/ DIVORCED

WIDOWED

63. Is/was your spouse a Canadian citizen?

YES
NO

64. Do you own a house in Canada?

YES
NO

65. In which city do you currently live? (*please print*)

I live in _____

66. In the space below, please describe your current job (*please print*)

I am a _____

67. Please give me a rough idea of your personal annual income using the categories below:

LESS THAN \$10,000	\$50,000 to \$59,000
\$10,000 TO \$19,999	\$60,000 to \$69,000
\$20,000 TO \$29,999	\$70,000 to \$79,000
\$30,000 TO \$39,999	\$80,000 to \$89,000
\$40,000 TO \$49,999	\$90,000 to \$99,000
	\$100,000 OR MORE

68. How old are you right now?

I am _____ years old.

69. What is your religion (if you have one)?

70. Where did you live during most of your childhood years (your country of origin):

Section 7
Attitudes toward Canadians & Your Cultural Group

This last section of the questionnaire asks for your attitudes toward Canadians and members of your cultural heritage group. Below you will see two attitude thermometers. If you have a favourable attitude, you **circle** a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees and, if you have an unfavourable attitude, you circle a score somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees. Please be honest. Remember your responses are completely confidential.

71. CANADIANS-IN-GENERAL

100 degrees	extremely favourable
90 degrees	very favourable
80 degrees	quite favourable
70 degrees	fairly favourable
60 degrees	slightly favourable
50 degrees	neither favourable nor unfavourable
40 degrees	slightly unfavourable
30 degrees	fairly unfavourable
20 degrees	quite unfavourable
10 degrees	very unfavourable
0 degrees	extremely unfavourable

72. MEMBERS OF MY CULTURAL GROUP

100 degrees	extremely favourable
90 degrees	very favourable
80 degrees	quite favourable
70 degrees	fairly favourable
60 degrees	slightly favourable
50 degrees	neither favourable nor unfavourable
40 degrees	slightly unfavourable
30 degrees	fairly unfavourable
20 degrees	quite unfavourable
10 degrees	very unfavourable
0 degrees	extremely unfavourable

73. How did you hear about this study? _____

74. If you have any comments or suggestions about this survey, the study, or this topic in general, please write them below. Your opinions are very much appreciated.

75. If you would like to be entered in the two draws to win \$50.00, please provide your contact information below:

First Name: _____
Phone Number (and area code): _____
Email Address: _____
Mailing Address: _____

YOU ARE FINISHED!

***Thank you very much for participating!!!!
Your answers will be of great help!!!!***

Please return this questionnaire to the researchers by mail using the postage paid envelope provided to you with this questionnaire.