



The cultural narratives of Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers: Using a historical perspective to explore the relationships among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem

Evelyne Bougie¹, Esther Usborne^{2*}, Roxane de la Sablonnière²
and Donald M. Taylor³

¹Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

²Department of Psychology, Université de Montréal, Québec, Canada

³Department of Psychology, McGill University, Montréal, Québec, Canada

Responding to calls to contextualize social psychological variables in history, the present research examines the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem using a historical perspective. We hypothesized that collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during an important low-point in a group's history serves to define the group's current collective identity, which is in turn associated with collective esteem. In Study 1, cultural narrative interviews were conducted with Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers in order to identify key historical chapters for these groups and to examine the extent to which historical low-points were identity-defining features of their narratives. In Study 2, using the information obtained from these narratives, collective relative deprivation was explored across group members' perceived histories and related to current in-group entitativity and collective esteem. The relationship between collective relative deprivation thought to be experienced by one's group during a historical low-point and collective esteem was positive for both Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers and was mediated by in-group entitativity. Collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during a historical low-point serves to define one's collective identity, which is in turn associated with greater collective esteem.

Shared representations of history are central to the creation and maintenance of a group's identity (Gergen, 1973; Hammack, 2008, 2009; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Okazaki, David, & Abelman, 2008). A group member's collective or cultural identity is defined, at least in part, by his or her group's historical narrative (Hammack, 2008). Among social psychologists exploring issues of collective identity and collective esteem, there

*Correspondence should be addressed to Esther Usborne, Department of Psychology, Université de Montréal, C. P. 6128 Succursale Centre-Ville, Montréal, Québec, Canada H3C 3J7 (e-mail: esther.usborne@umontreal.ca).

is an increasing recognition that a group's history plays a key role in determining group members' definitions and evaluations of their collective identities (see Gjerde, 2004; Hammack, 2008; Okazaki *et al.*, 2008). However, research that sets out to empirically explore these factors most often measures them without anchoring them in the history of the group. In order to truly understand how group members define and evaluate their collective identities, a social psychological analysis must take perceptions of history into account.

Collective esteem refers to the extent to which one perceives one's group as having worth, respect, and value (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor, 1997, 2002), together with judgments of how good or worthy one is as a member of this social group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). One social psychological variable that has been found to be predictive of collective esteem is collective relative deprivation. It was originally theorized that collective relative deprivation, the subjective feeling of discontent that arises when group members engage in social comparison and perceive their group to be receiving less than what they feel they deserve, negatively affects collective esteem (Walker, 1999; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). Indeed, it makes intuitive sense that feeling deprived, a subjectively negative affective state, would be related to poor esteem. However, when measured empirically, primarily using methods that do not take a group's history into account, collective relative deprivation has actually been found to have inconsistent links with collective esteem. As was initially expected, the relationship between collective relative deprivation and esteem has often been found to be negative (e.g., de la Sablonnière, Tougas, & Lortie-Lussier, 2009; Zagefka & Brown, 2005). However, some studies have found no link between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem (e.g., Tougas & Veilleux, 1988; Walker, 1999) and still others have even found a positive relationship between these variables (e.g., de la Sablonnière & Tougas, 2008; de la Sablonnière, Tougas, *et al.*, 2009; Petta & Walker, 1992), whereby feeling relatively deprived was actually associated with *greater* feelings of collective esteem. This positive relationship is particularly surprising given that it is directly opposite to the original theorizing pertaining to collective relative deprivation. In the present paper, we explore a possible mechanism that might account for this non-intuitive positive relationship. We ask when and why feelings of collective relative deprivation would be positively associated with collective esteem.

In order to more thoroughly understand the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem, recent research has demonstrated that the historical context in which feelings of collective relative deprivation are situated must be taken into account (de la Sablonnière, 2008; de la Sablonnière, Taylor, Perozzo, & Sadykova, 2009). Such research has provided preliminary evidence for the idea that the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem might be affected by the nature of the historical period that serves as the base for judgments of deprivation. In the present research, we therefore explore feelings of collective relative deprivation measured within participants' perceptions of their groups' histories and examine their relationships with collective esteem. Furthermore, we seek to understand what the mechanism might be that is responsible for a positive relationship between historical collective relative deprivation and collective esteem.

Collective relative deprivation, collective esteem, and in-group entitativity

Recent research has begun to explore collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced at different points in a group's history, and related it to collective esteem

(de la Sablonnière, 2008; de la Sablonnière, Taylor, *et al.*, 2009). This research has demonstrated that: (1) it is important to use more than one point in time when predicting current collective esteem with collective relative deprivation, and (2) to have an impact on current collective esteem, the selected point in time has to be perceived as an important historical event for group members. That is, instead of an overall impression of a group's history, it is certain important events in the past that are the group's primary reference points against which their experience of collective esteem is assessed. What has not been explored in recent research linking historical collective relative deprivation to collective esteem is what makes an important historical period conducive to a positive relationship between these variables. We propose that in-group entitativity is the mechanism that is responsible for a positive relationship between perceptions of historical collective relative deprivation and collective esteem.

In-group entitativity is defined as the extent to which a group is perceived as having a real existence as a group, as being a real entity (Campbell, 1958; Castano, Yzerbyt, & Bourguignon, 1999; Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Sacchi, 2002). An entitative group is thought to endow its members with goals and an agenda, foster boundary definitions and provide a sense of security; whereas a non-entitative group does not fulfil these functions for group members (Castano, 2004). Sherman, Hamilton, and Lewis (1999) associate in-group entitativity with collective esteem by arguing that being a member of an entitative group involves feelings of commitment, permanence, and investment in that group, and that these features lead one to see the value of membership in such a group. They posit that perceiving an in-group to be highly entitative lends importance to that group, thereby enhancing its value.

We argue that, at important periods in a group's history, perceived feelings of collective relative deprivation might serve to increase in-group entitativity, which in turn, would be associated with greater feelings of collective esteem. Specifically, we posit that collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during an important historical low-point might be particularly influential in making that group's identity real, in defining what it is, and by extension, be associated with this identity having greater perceived value. Our reason for predicting that this relationship will manifest itself during historical low-points is that we believe such low-points, and the collective relative deprivation arising from them, are particularly important for defining one's collective identity. Indeed, a theme that appears repeatedly when examining the historical narratives of many groups is the group's relative stance compared to another group (Hammack, 2008), in particular their perception of being worse off compared to other groups. The Jewish Israeli identity, for example, is very much shaped by 'historical persecution and victimization', 'vulnerability', 'threat', and 'existential insecurity' (Hammack, 2009, p. 51). When a Jewish individual reflects back on a historical low-point, the Holocaust for example, feelings of collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced at this time might actually serve to define the current Jewish identity, that is make the Jewish group more of a real, coherent entity, and would thus be related to positive, present collective esteem.

We therefore hypothesize that, at a point in history that is considered by group members as an important historical low-point, in-group entitativity will *mediate* the relationship between collective relative deprivation and current feelings of collective esteem. For the context of the present study, we propose that this mediational relationship will be obtained for both Francophones and Anglophones when they are referring to a historical period that is an important historical low-point for the members of their respective groups.

Research context

The Canadian province of Quebec is often characterized by a struggle between the Anglophone and Francophone communities. The majority group, Francophones, can be viewed as the more historically disenfranchised group, for they have faced economic disadvantages and threats to their language and culture due to their minority status in English-dominated North America. Anglophones, on the other hand, have, at least in the past, enjoyed the privilege of being an elite minority in Quebec despite living in a predominantly French province where approximately 80% of the residents are Francophone (Statistics Canada, 2006). The growth of Francophone nationalism in the 1960s, however, has to some extent reversed the intergroup power distribution in Quebec, leaving Anglophone Quebecers feeling increasingly threatened (Bouris, 1994; Caldwell, 1984; Lepicq & Bourhis, 1995). There have been two emotionally charged referendums on Quebec sovereignty where French Quebecers voted on whether or not they wanted to secede from the rest of Anglophone Canada. In addition, there has been hotly contested legislation designed to protect the French language in Quebec (Bill 101 and Bill 178).

The Anglophone and Francophone identities have undoubtedly been shaped by their complex intergroup history. Exploring the psychology of these groups without taking into account this history would limit our understanding of who they are and how they feel in today's world. In Study 1, we therefore examine the cultural narratives of Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of this history, and to examine the extent to which historical low-points are important features of their narratives. In Study 2, we explore the relationships among feelings of collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced by one's group at different points in history, and current feelings of in-group entitativity and collective esteem. We examine if entitativity might be a mechanism that explains a positive relationship between collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during important historical low-points and collective esteem.

STUDY I

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the perceived history of Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers, we required a methodology by which participants could express their understanding of their groups' histories. A methodology from which we were able to draw was McAdams' (1996, 2001) seminal narrative approach to the study of personal identity. This approach rests on the assumption that a unified description of one's identity can be construed through a story, a spontaneous measure of identity. According to McAdams, individuals confer unity and meaning to their sense of self by constructing a coherent story that provides the individual with a purposeful self-history. McAdams (1996, 2001) has developed, and extensively used the Life Story Interview as a method of accessing people's representations of their personal identity. The Life Story Interview is a structured sequence of open-ended questions in which participants are first asked to divide their life into chapters and to then briefly describe the content of each chapter. Participants are also required to describe specific critical events, such as a most important experience and a nadir experience, an event representing a particularly low-point in an individual's story. In Study 1, a Cultural Narrative Interview, modelled on McAdams (1996, 2001) Life Story Interview, was developed. Each individual in the present study was asked to 'tell the story of your group', an internally represented

narrative of the particular cultural group of which he/she is a member (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

Study 1 had two goals. The first goal was to pinpoint the key historical periods for both Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers. The participants were therefore asked to divide the story of their cultural group into chapters and then to briefly describe the content of each chapter. Then, in Study 2, rather than simply choosing a certain number of historical periods or looking to the history books to select objectively important historical periods, we could use the historical chapters from Study 1 as time points in which participants could situate their judgments of collective relative deprivation.

The second goal of Study 1 was to begin to address our hypothesis by examining the extent to which participants' narratives were focused on historical low-points. After participants told the story of their cultural group, they were asked to describe (1) a particularly important event for one's group and (2) a nadir experience, a low-point in the history of one's group. If our hypothesis is correct, that collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during historical low-points serves to define a group's identity, participants' narratives should be spontaneously focused on important historical low-points, low-points that are characterized by feelings of collective relative deprivation. In addition, their reported 'most important event' should correspond to these historical low-points and their reported 'nadir experience' should correspond to their 'most important event', indicating that negative points in history are in fact considered by participants to be particularly important.

Method

Participants

Anglophone Quebecer participants were recruited by means of verbal announcements made in classrooms at a major metropolitan Anglophone university in Montreal, Quebec. Francophone participants were recruited by means of posters placed in two major metropolitan Francophone universities in Montreal. A total of 20 Francophone (10 men and 10 women) and 20 Anglophone (10 men and 10 women) Quebecers volunteered to participate in Study 1. The mean age for Anglophone participants was 20.2 years, ranging from 19 to 23 years old. The mean age of Francophone participants was 21.5 years, ranging from 18 to 25. All Anglophone participants reported speaking English as their mother tongue and 16 reported having lived in Quebec since they were born. Of the Anglophone participants, 2 were born in another Canadian province and had been living in Quebec since the age of 5 and 6 years old. The narratives of two Anglophone participants were eliminated because 1 chose to tell a cultural narrative related to his Asian-Canadian background and 1 focused on her personal narrative. A total of 18 Anglophone Quebecers (9 women and 9 men) were retained for analysis. All 20 Francophone participants reported speaking French as their mother tongue and had lived in Quebec since birth. The narratives of all 20 Francophone Quebecers were retained for analysis.

Materials and procedure

The Cultural Narrative Interview was a structured sequence of open-ended questions that asked participants to construct and narrate their group's collective story. One male and one female who were native speakers of English each interviewed five male and

five female Anglophone participants. Similarly, 1 male and 1 female who were native speakers of French each interviewed 5 male and 5 female Francophone participants. Participants took between 40 and 60 min to complete the Cultural Narrative Interview. All interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed.

Following McAdams' (1996) protocol, the Cultural Narrative Interview required participants to do three things. First, they were asked to divide the story of their cultural group into the number of chapters that they wished, and to briefly describe the contents of each chapter. Second, participants were asked to concentrate on 'a most important event' that, according to them, stood out in the story of their group as particularly important. An important event was described as a specific happening, a critical incident, or a significant episode in their people's past. Third, participants were asked to report a 'nadir' experience, an experience that they considered to be a low-point in their group's history, characterized by extremely negative emotions, such as despair, disillusionment, terror, or guilt.

Results and discussion

The first goal of Study 1 was to pinpoint the key historical periods for both Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers. In order to address this first goal, we analysed the content of the cultural narratives of Francophone and Anglophone participants. Here, we describe the chapters that emerged for both groups. The emergence of these chapters was determined by a qualitative analysis in which we documented the events that most commonly constituted chapters in Francophones' and Anglophones' narratives.

Goal 1: The key historical periods

Overall, Francophones and Anglophones reported similar historical events in the stories of their respective groups. A large number of participants, regardless of their group, reported events associated with the five following historical periods that, for ease of interpretation, we have labelled: The New World Era, The Conquest Era, the Duplessis Era, The Quiet Revolution era, and finally the Present Time.

Of Francophone participants, 100% described the arrival of French colonizers in North America as constituting their first chapter. All of the Francophone participants clearly perceived their cultural narrative beginning as early as the 1500s, with the discovery of the New World (the New World Era). Next, 95% of Francophone participants described one or more chapters having to do with early conflicts between French and English colonizers in new France, namely the 1754–1760 Conquest War, which resulted in Great Britain taking over New France, and or the Patriot's Rebellions, also resulting in a defeat of the French at the hands of the English (the Conquest Era). Of Francophone participants, 80% described events related to the theme of Francophone Quebecer nationalism as constituting one or more chapters in their people's story. Participants described the era when Maurice Duplessis was Quebec's Premier (the Duplessis Era; 1936–1939, 1944–1959), as well as the period of the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s which included the creation of the separatist party 'Parti Québécois' in 1968, the election of René Levesque as Quebec's Premier, and the general theme of political independence of Quebec from Canada (the Quiet Revolution Era).

For 81% of Anglophone participants, chapter 1 involved the description of European colonizers' arrival in North America (the New World Era), and/or the early interactions

and conflicts between French and English colonizers in the New World (the Conquest Era). The next important narrative building-blocks for Anglophones were events related to the era when Duplessis was Quebec's Premier (the Duplessis Era) and to the theme of growing Francophone nationalism from the 1960s on (the Quiet Revolution Era). Of Anglophone participants, 78% described the Francophone Quebecer separatist movement generally, the 1980 and 1995 referendums, and the introduction of education and language laws in the 1970s as constituting one or more chapters in their people's history.

These results demonstrated that both groups expressed noticeable areas of consensus regarding the basic outline of their respective group's histories. The fact that both Anglophones and Francophones included chapters related to a number of key periods or eras in their groups' histories, allowed us to, in Study 2, use these key periods to ask participants about their perceptions of collective relative deprivation during each of these periods, and to examine the relationships between these perceptions and both in-group entitativity and collective esteem.

Goal 2: The importance of historical low-points

The second goal of Study 1 was to examine if historical low-points were a central feature of participants' narratives. In order to accomplish this second goal, we first analysed the extent to which participants' overall narratives were spontaneously focused on historical low-points, characterized by the experience of collective relative deprivation. Second, we examined participants' responses to our specific requests to (1) describe a most important event for their group and (2) describe a nadir experience for their group. We wanted to examine the extent to which the most important events reported were in fact historical low-points. We also wished to explore the extent to which the nadir experiences corresponded to these important events. That is, were the lowest perceived points in a group's history also perceived to be the most important for group members?

Even though similar events emerged in the narratives of both Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers, the attention given to the reported key historical events differed between the two groups. Francophone participants spent much more time than Anglophones on the early conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones (the Conquest Era) in which the French fought and were defeated by the English. In contrast, Anglophones spent more of their narratives describing more contemporary historical events, such as the Quiet Revolution Era in which the Francophone Quebecers took power away from the previously advantaged Anglophone Quebecers. This was evidenced by the fact that for more than half (53%) of the Anglophone participants, chapter 2 was situated in the second half of the 1900s. That is, although Anglophone participants mentioned events associated with the New World Era and the Conquest Era in their first chapter, many of them spent the majority of their narratives explaining what happened during the Quiet Revolution Era. In contrast, for 100% of the Francophone participants, chapter 2 focused on events that took place before 1838, namely, the settling of the French people in Nouvelle-France and the inter-colonial conflicts (the New World and Conquest Eras). The majority of the Francophone narratives were spent explaining what happened when the English defeated the French in the early years of European colonization. In short, Anglophone Quebecers' narratives mostly took place after the 1960s-1970s (the Quiet Revolution Era); whereas, several important narrative building-blocks for Francophones refer to events that go back to the period ranging from the early 1500s to 1867 (The Conquest Era). In fact, both the Francophone and Anglophone

narratives were spontaneously focused on periods that represented historical low-points for their respective groups.

Further evidence for the importance of historical low-points in both the Anglophone and Francophone narratives comes from an analysis of participants' reported 'most important periods' and their nadir experiences. Events that Francophone Quebecers reported as being particularly important took place during the Conquest Era. They were most often the 1837–1838 Patriots Rebellions (40% of respondents) and the 1754–1760 British Conquest (another 40% of respondents). Interestingly, a quarter (25%) of Francophone participants also described the 1837–1838 Patriots Rebellions as constituting the darkest moment in their people's history (their nadir experience). For another 15% of Francophones, the 1754–1760 British Conquest constituted their people's nadir experience. The remaining Francophone participants reported a variety of other nadirs; however, none were reported by many participants.

Events that Anglophone Quebecers reported as being particularly important were, for the most part, events related to Francophone nationalism, beginning in the 1960s and continuing into the early 2000s, including the two referendums for Quebec sovereignty and the introduction of Bill 101 where Francophone Quebecers threatened the advantaged status of Anglophones (78% of Anglophone Quebecer respondents). For most Anglophones, their main narrative nadir also corresponded to these events. Their nadirs occurred in the 1970s for a third (33%) of them (including events such as the introduction of Bill 101 and the threat from Francophone nationalists), and between the years 1990 and 2002 for another third (33%) of them (including the two referendums on Quebec sovereignty). Other narrative nadirs included the 11 September terrorist attacks (24%) of respondents as well as a number of other events, each one reported by few participants.

These results indicate that the nadir experiences or historical low-points that we specifically asked participants to report corresponded, for the most part, to their reported most important periods, as well as to the spontaneous attention given to the different periods in their narratives. Francophone participants' narratives were primarily focused on a description of the early conflicts between Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers, during which the French were defeated by the English. Francophones also commonly described these early conflicts as being the most important events in their history, and indicated that their group's nadir experience occurred during this period. This perceived historical low-point, corresponding to the period labelled 'the Conquest Era', thus appears to be a particularly important, although negative event for Francophone Quebecers.

The narratives of Anglophone participants were heavily focused on a description of Francophone nationalismism (the Quiet Revolution Era), during which English-speaking Quebecers experienced a growing threat to their advantaged status. In addition, the majority of Anglophones indicated that events related to Francophone nationalismism were the most important events for their group. They also reported that their group's nadir occurred during a period of growing Francophone power. The chapter that we labelled 'the Quiet Revolution Era', an era corresponding to a rising threat from Francophone Quebecers, thus appears to be a particularly important, although negative event, for Anglophone Quebecers.

These results thus confirm our prediction that perceived historical low-points, in particular low-points characterized by feelings of relative deprivation compared to an important out-group, are perceived to be particularly important for a group's collective identity. Indeed, one of the foundations of a collective identity is the perception of a

shared history (Ashmore *et al.*, 2004; Hammack, 2008; Taylor, 1997, 2002), and one's identity is construed through a story documenting one's history (McAdams, 1996, 2001). A narrative that spontaneously focuses on describing historical low-points characterized by feelings of collective relative deprivation indicates that these low-points are important for defining, or making real, one's group's current collective identity. These results are consistent with Hammack's (2008) observation that a group's relative stance towards another group contributes to the definition of one's collective identity and his finding that perceptions of vulnerability and existential insecurity are common themes that shape, for example, the Jewish Israeli identity (Hammack, 2009). Here, such themes also appear to define the identities of Anglophone and Francophones.

In addition, from the cultural narratives, we were able to pinpoint which periods in the Francophone and Anglophone histories represented such important historical low-points. In Study 2, we therefore proceeded to test whether collective relative deprivation experienced during these low-points would actually serve to define a group's collective identity, which would in turn be predictive of positive collective esteem. We hypothesized that collective relative deprivation experienced during the Conquest Era for Francophones and during the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophones would be the most impactful in terms of defining the group's collective identity which in turn would be related to having a more positive evaluation of this group and one's membership in it.

STUDY 2

In Study 2, we examined collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced at different periods in a group's history. Based on the narratives of both Anglophones and Francophones obtained in Study 1, we created a measure that allowed a new group of Anglophone and Francophone participants to rate what they thought were their group's experiences of collective relative deprivation during these periods. We thus measured perceived collective relative deprivation at each of these key periods and examined its relationship with current feelings of in-group entitativity and collective esteem.

Method

Participants

A group of Francophone and Anglophone students who had been living in Quebec since birth participated in Study 2. Participants were recruited by verbal announcements made in classrooms, and by means of posters placed in one major Anglophone university, as well as two major Francophone universities in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers, between 18 and 27 years of age and of European descent, interested in completing a 'History and Well-Being' questionnaire were asked to contact the principal investigator to schedule an appointment.

A total of 61 Anglophone Quebecers (24 males and 37 females) and 61 Francophones Quebecers (18 males and 43 females) completed the questionnaire. All Anglophone participants reported English as their mother tongue and dominant language, and all Francophones reported French as their mother tongue and dominant language. The mean age for Anglophones was 20.9 years old (ranging from 18 to 27), and the mean age for Francophones was 21.5 years old (ranging from 18 to 27).

Measures

In Study 2, the key historical periods arising from the Anglophone and the Francophone Quebecer cultural narratives that were generated in Study 1 were integrated into a single summary of the narratives' shared points and then presented to both Anglophone and Francophone participants. While the methodology in Study 1 precluded the use of a large sample size, Study 2 used a questionnaire format, which allowed for the testing of a greater number of Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers. Self-report questionnaires assessed the constructs of collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced at different historical periods, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem.

In the first part of the questionnaire, participants were asked to read the summary of Quebec's history. Based on the cultural narrative interviews that were conducted with Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers in Study 1, the history of Quebec was divided into five chapters: The New World Era (chapter 1), The Conquest Era (chapter 2), the Duplessis Era (chapter 3), and The Quiet Revolution Era (chapter 4) and a chapter about the present (chapter 5). Each chapter was described as objectively and neutrally as possible by respecting facts and refraining from editorial comments. Following is a brief description of each chapter.¹

Chapter 1, 'The New World Era' ranged from the late 1400s through to 1754 and described the various European people who reached 'The New World'. Chapter 2, 'The Conquest Era' which ranged from 1754 to 1867, described the struggles between French and English colonies in the New World, which resulted in the domination of the English colonies over the French colonies in Quebec. Chapter 3, 'The Duplessis Era' ranged from the Canadian Confederation in 1867 through to the death of Premier Maurice Duplessis in 1959. Chapter 4, 'The Quiet Revolution Era' which ranged from 1960 to 1995, described the period of Quebec modernization and empowerment and discussed the arrival of the separatist party 'Parti Québécois' on to Quebec's political scene, the introduction of language laws aimed at making French the predominant language in Quebec, and the two referendums on Quebec sovereignty. Finally, chapter 5, 'The Present' alluded to the main issues faced by Quebecers today including Quebec's growing ethnic diversity; and the globalization phenomenon.

For each chapter, participants were first asked to read the short description of the chapter and then to answer questions pertaining to how they perceived what happened to their own group during this chapter. These questions assessed collective relative deprivation. This exercise was completed for all five chapters. Following is a detailed description of how we assessed collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during each chapter, and how we then measured current in-group entitativity and collective esteem.

Collective relative deprivation

Measures of collective relative deprivation used for chapters 1–5 were adapted from previous studies that assessed both the cognitive and evaluative components of collective relative deprivation (Dambrun, Taylor, McDonald, Crush, & Méot, 2006; de la Sablonnière & Tougas, 2008). The cognitive component of collective relative deprivation was assessed by asking participants to indicate 'the extent to which English/French Quebecers were advantaged or disadvantaged compared to French/English Quebecers in terms

¹A detailed description of the questionnaire is available upon request to the second author.

of . . . a) social rights, b) political leverage, c) economic prosperity and d) language and culture'. The scale for these questions ranged from -5 (*definitely disadvantaged*), to 0 (*equal*), to $+5$ (*definitely advantaged*). The following two questions evaluated the affective component of collective relative deprivation: 'To what extent are you satisfied with regards to the general situation for English/French Quebecers during this chapter.' (recoded); 'To what extent are you frustrated/angry with regards to the general situation for English/French Quebecers during this chapter.' The scale for these questions ranged from 0 (*totally satisfied/not at all frustrated*), to 5 (*moderately*), to 10 (*not at all satisfied/totally frustrated*). For these two last items, responses were recoded such that the scale ranged from -5 to 5 to be consistent with the cognitive component of collective relative deprivation. Responses to the four cognitive items were reverse coded, and the six items of collective relative deprivation were then added and averaged to form a composite score so that 5 indicated high relative deprivation. The Cronbach's alpha values for Anglophones' and Francophones' perceived collective relative deprivation were .79 for chapter 1, .95 for chapter 2, .89 for chapter 3, .94 for chapter 4, and .84 for chapter 5.

In-group entitativity

Current feelings of in-group entitativity were assessed after participants completed their ratings for each of the historical chapters. This concept was assessed using a shortened version of the in-group Entitativity Scale (Castano *et al.*, 1999; Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Sacchi, 2002). The scale comprised seven items such as, 'English (French) Quebecers have many characteristics in common' and 'the English (French) Quebecer community has a real existence as a group'. Participants responded using an 11-point Likert scale ranging from 0 'strongly disagree' to 10 'strongly agree'. One item was reverse scored and averaged with the other items to form a total in-group entitativity score so that a high score represented high in-group entitativity. The Cronbach's alpha for the in-group entitativity scale was .83.

Collective esteem

This concept was assessed using a shortened version of Luhtanen and Crocker's Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The scale was comprised three items from each of four subscales: membership, private, public, and importance to identity collective esteem. Membership collective esteem involves individuals' judgments of how good or worthy they are as members of their group and was measured with items such as 'I am a worthy member of the English (or French) Quebecer community'. Private collective esteem assesses one's personal judgments of how good one's group is (e.g., 'I feel good about the English (or French) Quebecer community'). Public collective esteem assesses individuals' judgments of how other people evaluate their group (e.g., 'Overall, the English (French) Quebecer community is considered good by others'). Finally, the Importance to Identity subscale assesses the importance of one's group membership to one's self-concept (e.g., 'Overall, my membership in the English (French) Quebecer community has very little to do with how I feel about myself'). Participants responded using an 11-point Likert scale ranging from 0 'strongly disagree' to 10 'strongly agree'. Appropriate items were reverse scored so that a high score indicated positive collective esteem. Scores on each of the subscales were averaged to form a total collective esteem score which had good overall reliability, $\alpha = .81$.

Analyses

Our analyses of participants' responses began with a descriptive analysis of all variables. Second, using group-based trajectory modelling (Jones & Nagin, 2007; Jones, Nagin, & Roeder, 2001; Nagin, 1999), we explored each cultural group's perceptions of collective relative deprivation across their histories. This was performed in order to determine if group members' perceptions of deprivation were consistent with what we would predict based on our analysis of participants' cultural narratives in Study 1. That is, the trajectory analysis helped us determine if the historical low-points pinpointed in Study 1, the Conquest Era for Francophone Quebecers and the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophone Quebecers, were indeed characterized by high perceived levels of collective relative deprivation. In addition, this analysis allowed us to examine if every member of a group perceived collective relative deprivation experienced during each chapter in a similar fashion. That is, we wanted to go beyond reporting mean levels of collective relative deprivation for each chapter, and instead examine if there was a consensus among group members, a shared representation of the collective relative deprivation experienced by one's group across history. Finally, we tested our main hypothesis that in-group entitativity acts as a psychological mechanism that mediates the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem for the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophones and the Conquest Era for Francophones.

Results and discussion

Descriptive analyses

Descriptive analyses of all variables are depicted in Table 1. These data revealed that Anglophones reported the highest levels of collective relative deprivation during chapter 4, the Quiet Revolution Era ($M = 1.9$, $SD = 1.7$) compared to their reported levels of collective relative deprivation for the other chapters. In contrast, Francophones reported the highest levels of collective relative deprivation during chapter 2, the Conquest Era ($M = 3$, $SD = 1.6$). For in-group entitativity, Francophones reported significantly more entitativity ($M = 6.81$, $SD = 1.30$) than did Anglophones ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.42$), $F(1,120) = 48.89$, $p < .001$. Additionally, the means for collective esteem indicated relatively high levels of collective esteem for both Anglophones and Francophones, as scores for both groups were situated well above the scale's mid-point.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for independent and dependent variables

	Anglophones ($N = 61$)		Francophones ($N = 61$)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Collective relative deprivation</i> (– 5 low; 5 high)				
Chapter 1: New World	–0.7	1.0	–0.8	1.7
Chapter 2: Conquest	–2.5	1.3	3.0	1.6
Chapter 3: Duplessis	–1.6	1.3	1.6	1.5
Chapter 4: Quiet Revolution	1.9	1.7	–1.8	1.6
Chapter 5: Present	0.8	1.7	–0.8	1.3
In-group entitativity (min. 0; max. 10)	5.1	1.4	6.8	1.3
Collective esteem (min. 0; max. 10)	7.4	1.4	8.2	1.1

An ANOVA comparing Anglophones and Francophones revealed a significant difference on collective esteem ($F(1,120) = 13.7, p < .001$), such that Francophone Quebecers had a higher level of overall collective esteem ($M = 8.2, SD = 1.4$) compared to Anglophone Quebecers ($M = 7.4, SD = 1.1$).

Trajectory analysis

In order to identify Anglophones' and Francophones' perceptions of collective relative deprivation over time, group-based trajectory modelling of participants' collective relative deprivation scores (Jones *et al.*, 2001; Nagin, 1999, 2005) was conducted. This analysis has been successfully used in previous work on relative deprivation (see de la Sablonnière, Taylor, *et al.*, 2009), and allowed us to explore the extent to which there was a consensus among participants about the levels of collective relative deprivation experienced by their group across history.

Group-based trajectory modelling provides a flexible method for identifying distinctive clusters of individual trajectories within a population. A finite mixture of specified probability distributions is used to determine, by maximum likelihood, the parameter estimates describing the model that best fits the data (Jones *et al.*, 2001; Nagin, 1999, 2005). Consistent with the recommendations of Nagin (2005), the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) was used to select the optimal model. The BIC closest to zero denotes the most appropriate model. As all the variables explored in the present study were measured using Likert-type scales, the censored normal distribution was used to estimate trajectories and group memberships (Jones *et al.*, 2001; Nagin, 1999, 2005). The program used to perform group-based trajectory modelling is a customized SAS-based procedure (PROC TRAJ; Jones *et al.*, 2001).

Table 2 reports BIC scores for different models tested. A model with two trajectories, model 4, was found to be the best fitting model as revealed by the BIC. Inspection of Figure 1 shows that this optimal model included two different trajectories of collective relative deprivation. Since each participant in the sample is assigned to the group with the largest posterior probabilities of group membership (Nagin, 2005), it is possible to determine if each trajectory was directly linked to a particular group. All Francophones, that is 100% or 61 people, were found to follow the first trajectory. A total of 98.4% or 60 Anglophones followed the second trajectory; whereas, 1.6% of the Anglophones, that is one Anglophone, followed the first one. This case was removed from further analysis because it differed significantly from other members of the group and thus, was considered an outlier. These results confirm that there was a consensus among group members regarding their group's experience of collective relative deprivation across history and the historical low-points identified in Study 1. The Conquest Era for

Table 2. BIC by model type

Model	K	Order	BIC
1	1	2	-1,368.93
2	2	2, 2	-1,358.50
3	3	2, 2, 2	-1,368.11
4	2	3, 3	-1,213.37

Note. K, the number of groups. The order indicates whether the trajectory was modelled using a quadratic (2), or a cubic (3) function.

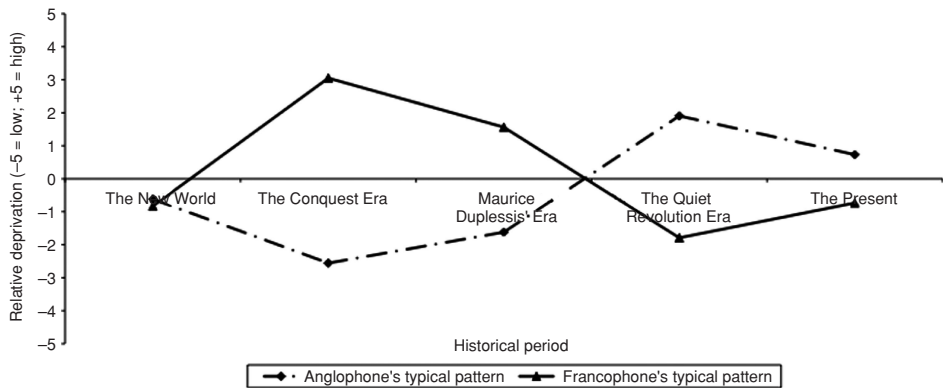


Figure 1. The trajectories of Francophone and Anglophone participants' feelings of collective relative deprivation across chapters.

Francophones and the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophones were indeed characterized by the highest levels of perceived collective relative deprivation by all Francophones and Anglophones, respectively.

Intercorrelations and mediation analysis

Next, we tested our hypothesis that in-group entitativity acts as a psychological mechanism that mediates the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem for the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophones and the Conquest Era for Francophones. We first examined the intercorrelations among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective self-esteem across all chapters in order to examine if these correlations might offer preliminary support for our hypothesis (see Table 3). For Francophones, we then tested the hypothesized mediational relationship for the Conquest Era, and for Anglophones, we tested the mediational relationship for the era of the Quiet Revolution.

Table 3. Correlations among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem by chapter

	Anglophones (N = 61)		Francophones (N = 61)	
	Collective relative deprivation–collective esteem	Collective relative deprivation–in-group entitativity	Collective relative deprivation–collective esteem	Collective relative deprivation–in-group entitativity
Chapter 1: New World	-.25*	-.08	-.21	-.21
Chapter 2: Conquest	-.31*	-.20	.44**	.41**
Chapter 3: Duplessis	-.06	.17	.26**	.26*
Chapter 4: Quiet Revolution	.31**	.48**	.08	.18
Chapter 5: Present	.25 ^t	.39**	.11	.12

Note. ^tp ≤ .10; *p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .001 (two-tailed).

For Francophones, the association between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem was strongly positive ($r = .44, p < .001$) for chapter 2, the Conquest Era and also positive, but smaller ($r = .26, p < .05$) for chapter 3. For chapters 1, 4, and 5, this relationship was non-significant. Furthermore, for chapter 2, the Conquest Era, collective relative deprivation was positively associated with in-group entitativity ($r = .41, p < .001$), as it was for chapter 3 ($r = .26, p < .05$). For all other chapters, the relationship between collective relative deprivation and in-group entitativity was non-significant. The relationship between current in-group entitativity and collective esteem for Francophones was positive and significant ($r = .56, p < .001$).

For Anglophones, the association between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem was positive and significant ($r = .31, p < .001$) only for chapter 4, the Quiet Revolution Era. For the other periods, this relationship was non-significant (chapter 3), marginally significant (chapter 5), or significantly negative (chapters 1 and 2). Furthermore, for chapter 4, the time of the Quiet Revolution, collective relative deprivation was significantly positively associated with in-group entitativity ($r = .48, p = .001$), as it was for chapter 5 ($r = .39, p < .001$). For all other chapters, the relationship between collective relative deprivation and in-group entitativity was non-significant. The relationship between current in-group entitativity and collective esteem for Anglophones was positive and significant ($r = .56, p < .001$).

Thus, the intercorrelations among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem provided preliminary evidence in support of our hypothesis. The relationships among these variables were positive and significant for Francophones when they were referring to the Conquest Era. Interestingly, they were also positive and significant when Francophones were basing their judgments of collective relative deprivation in the Duplessis Era. For Anglophones, the relationships among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity and collective esteem were positive and significant only when referring to the Quiet Revolution Era.

In order to specifically test the hypothesis that in-group entitativity mediates the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem, the ratings provided by Francophones for the Conquest Era were subjected to multiple regressions (Baron & Kenny, 1986; see Figure 2). Standardized coefficients (β s) are reported. In

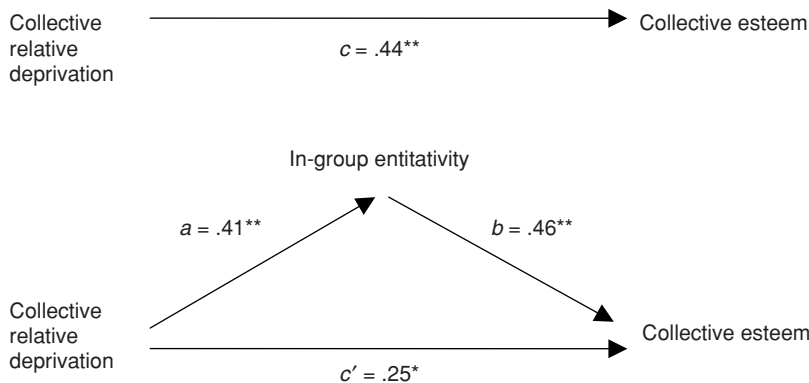


Figure 2. Relationships among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem for Francophone Quebecers during chapter 2 (the Conquest Era). Note. a, b, c, c' , standardized coefficients; $^{**}p < .001$; $^*p < .05$.

support of our hypothesis, we found that collective relative deprivation significantly predicted in-group entitativity ($a = .41, p < .001$) and collective esteem ($c = .44, p < .001$) when it was the only predictor. When in-group entitativity was introduced to the model, the direct effect of collective relative deprivation on collective esteem dropped ($c' = .25, p < .05$), and in-group entitativity significantly predicted collective esteem, $b = .46, p < .001$. We conducted a Sobel test and ran bootstrapping procedures with 5,000 samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) to test the significance of the indirect effect of collective relative deprivation on collective esteem via in-group entitativity. The indirect effect was significant, $z = 2.57, p < .05$; bootstrapping point estimate of .1198 with a 95% bias corrected and accelerated confidence interval (BCa CI) of [.0463, .2077], providing evidence for partial mediation. In-group entitativity partially mediated the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem for Francophone Quebecers during the Conquest Era. We also tested this relationship during the Duplessis Era, as the correlations among all variables were found to be positive and significant during this era as well. However, for the Duplessis Era, the indirect effect of collective relative deprivation on collective esteem via in-group entitativity was non-significant, $z = 1.88, ns$; bootstrapping point estimate of .0951 with a BCa CI of [-.0005, .2193]. The mediational model was not tested during the other periods due to the non-significant and/or negative initial relationships between variables.

The ratings provided by Anglophones for the era of the Quiet Revolution were also analysed using multiple regressions (see Figure 3). We found that collective relative deprivation significantly predicted in-group entitativity ($a = .48, p < .001$) and collective self-esteem ($c = .31, p < .05$) when it was the only predictor. When in-group entitativity was introduced to the model, the direct effect of collective relative deprivation on collective esteem dropped to non-significance ($c' = .05, ns$), and in-group entitativity was a significant predictor of collective esteem, $b = .54, p < .001$. The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of collective relative deprivation on collective esteem via in-group entitativity was significant, $z = 2.99, p < .01$, as did bootstrapping analyses (point estimate of .1871 with a 95% BCa CI of [.0774, .3111]). In-group entitativity mediated the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem for Anglophone Quebecers during the era of the Quiet Revolution. The mediational

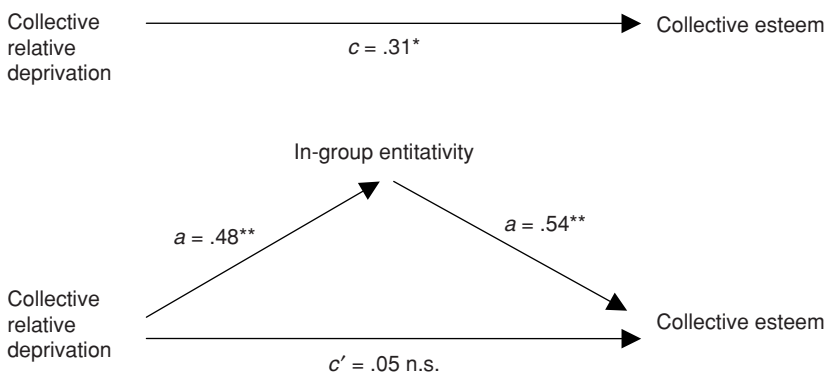


Figure 3. Relationships among collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity, and collective esteem for Anglophone Quebecers during chapter 4 (the Quiet Revolution Era). Note. a, b, c, c' , standardized coefficients; ** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$.

model was not tested during the other periods due to the non-significant and/or negative initial relationships between variables.

Overall, collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during the Conquest Era for Francophones, and during the Quiet Revolution Era for Anglophones, was positively related to their current feelings of collective esteem. For Francophone Quebecers, this relationship was partially mediated by in-group entitativity. Collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during an important historical low-point, at least in part, serves to define the Francophone identity in the present, which in turn is associated with greater present collective esteem. For Anglophone Quebecers, the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem was mediated by in-group entitativity. Again, for Anglophone Quebecers, collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during an important historical low-point might contribute to defining the current Anglophone Quebecer identity, which is then related to collective esteem.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Theoretical contributions and future directions

The present research reinforces current theorizing in relative deprivation research (see de la Sablonnière, 2008; de la Sablonnière, Taylor, *et al.*, 2009) in that it emphasizes the importance of key historical events when evaluating the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem. The traditional assumption that relative deprivation is negatively related to collective esteem (see Walker, 1999) was not supported here. Instead, our findings demonstrated that the direction of the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem differed depending on the historical period in which participants were basing their judgments of deprivation, highlighting the importance of measuring collective relative deprivation anchored in different periods in a group's history.

Our main finding was that collective relative deprivation perceived to have been experienced during an important low-point in a group's history appears to define, or make real, the group's current collective identity, which is in turn positively associated with present feelings of collective esteem. Although no causal relationships can be established here, our research points to the potential importance of historical low-points for defining that group's identity and thus producing higher levels of collective esteem. Indeed, these historical low-points appeared to largely shape participant's cultural narratives, pointing to their importance for defining their collective identities. Interestingly, it was not the most positive or the most recent events that were the most influential here. Instead, it was the historical low-points characterized by the experience of collective relative deprivation.

These results are reminiscent of Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey's (1999) rejection-identification model. Their research has demonstrated that minority group members' experiences of discrimination may have negative direct consequences for well-being, but positive indirect consequences for well-being through identification with the minority group. Although exploring a different phenomenon - collective relative deprivation as opposed to discrimination - our results also show that a subjectively negative group-based experience can actually have a positive effect on well-being given that such an experience creates feelings of 'groupness', feelings that are positively associated with well-being. In both cases, feeling part of a larger group appears to attenuate the potential negative impact of experiencing one's group as not receiving what it deserves.

However, the results of our study also suggest that further research needs to be conducted exploring the relationship between collective relative deprivation, in-group entitativity and collective esteem. Our findings demonstrated a positive relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem during perceived historical low-points. However, in Study 2, the relationship between these variables during other time periods varied – sometimes the relationship was negative, or non-significant, and in one case, among Francophones during the Duplessis Era, positive. Although we were successful in determining the mechanism explaining a positive relationship between collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during an important historical low-point and collective esteem, our analyses could not explain the differential relationships between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem at other points in a group's perceived history. Other recent research that takes a group's history into account has found a negative relationship between perceptions of collective relative deprivation anchored in important historical periods and collective esteem (see de la Sablonnière, Taylor, *et al.*, 2009; de la Sablonnière, Tougas, *et al.*, 2009); however these periods represented important positive events for the group and not historical low-points. Future research might shed more light on such inconsistent relationships by further exploring the nature of the key historical period in question combined with the eventual outcome of this period.

Indeed, all of the ratings in Study 2, and the ratings in de la Sablonnière, Taylor, *et al.* (2009) were made with the benefit of hindsight. There is undoubtedly an important role for knowing what happens next. The extent to which the period represents an eventual gain or loss for the group might influence the relationship between collective relative deprivation and collective esteem. For example, looking back on a historical low-point from a present point of privilege might lead to very different experiences of collective relative deprivation and current collective esteem than would living that low-point and rating current feelings of deprivation and esteem. Similarly, looking back at a historical high-point from a position of relative disadvantage would be quite a different experience than living that high-point. Since Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, and Williams (1949) originally discussed the contextualized nature of relative deprivation, empirical research has largely ignored this discussion, and explored relative deprivation in a decontextualized fashion (see de la Sablonnière, Tougas, & Perenlei, 2010). Although our studies began to explore the contextualized nature of collective relative deprivation and its relationship with collective esteem, more analysis is needed that anchors one's examination of collective relative deprivation and collective esteem in a group's history as well as its present situation.

Methodological contributions and future directions

Study 1 employed an underused, but promising methodology – the Cultural Narrative Interview. Hammack (2008) along with Ashmore *et al.* (2004) argue for the use of such a methodology when studying identity issues. Hammack (2008) posits that the use of narratives is an interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach to studying identity, while Ashmore *et al.* (2004), argue that a group's shared story is an important component of their collective identity. Inspired by McAdams Life Story Interview (1996, 2001), we introduced a narrative methodology and found that it had considerable benefits. It provided us with a nuanced understanding of each group's history, an understanding that was more complete than what we might have gleaned from a traditional approach to the study of collective identity. Rather than creating periods for use in Study 2, or

relying on history books, we were able to use these reported periods as time points in which participants could situate their judgments of collective relative deprivation. In addition, using the narrative methodology, we were able to obtain initial support for our hypothesis that historical low-points serve to define one's collective identity. We believe that the cultural narrative methodology has a great deal of potential for examining collective identity and related concepts. Future research would undoubtedly benefit from a cultural narrative methodology and could expand upon this initial use of such a methodology by exploring other social psychological variables situated in a group's perceived history.

Applied contributions and future directions

From the present research, it appears that collective relative deprivation perceived to be experienced during a historical low-point for one's group serves to define, or make real one's collective identity, which would in turn be associated with greater feelings of collective esteem. This finding points to the potential importance of recounting and referring to a group's history, particularly to times of historical hardship for collective esteem. For Jewish people, recounting the extremely negative events of World War II, although representing a dark and distressing historical period, might be extremely important for defining the identity of a modern Jewish person. Having a clearly defined Jewish identity would then be linked with positive feelings about this identity.

For groups faced with cultural identity challenges, for example, immigrants to a new culture, or groups struggling with a history of colonization or dramatic social change, articulating and defining an especially threatening historical event, perhaps one that the group has collectively overcome, might actually result in a redefinition of their collective or cultural identity. This redefinition would, in turn, lead to feelings of collective esteem. From revolutions, to wars, to natural disasters, dramatic social changes continue to occur across the globe and undoubtedly affect the collective identities of individuals who live them. Based on the results of the present research, we believe that perceptions of history, in particular, historical low-points might play a key role in understanding and ameliorating the identity issues faced by individuals who have lived through such change.

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