M.A. PSYCHOLOGY

Andrew Yackley

INTER-ETHNIC GROUP COMPETITION AND LEVELS OF ASPIRATION

The present study examines cultural variations of aspirations in a competitive situation, using 9-11-year-old French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) boys from similar social class backgrounds who were assigned to teams for a table hockey tournament. Teams were composed solely of either FCs or ECs. Each team played two other teams, one comprising members of the same culture (SC) and another of players from the different culture (DC).

It was found that (a) FC Ss have generally higher aspirations i.e., they expect to score more points, than EC Ss when competing against both DC and SC teams; and (b) FC Ss have highest aspirations specifically when competing against DC (i.e., EC) teams. These aspirations not only appeared to be unrealistic but proved to be so in light of actual performance in competition. One explanation relates social evaluation theory, as developed by Pettigrew, to level of aspiration studies. It is argued that FCs in contrast to ECs feel "relatively deprived," inducing them to over emphasize affective rather than cognitive factors when setting aspirations. The generally higher aspirations of FCs were discussed in terms of childrearing values and practices (e.g., the greater father dominance of FC families) and societal influences which discourage the development of need achievement.

INTER-ETHNIC GROUP COMPETITION AND LEVELS OF ASPIRATION

by

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INTRODUCTION

The application of psychological methodologies to cultural studies has become a standard procedure for both anthropologists and psychologists (e.g., Singer, 1961; Kluckhohn, 1954; De Vos & Hippler, 1969; Inkeles & Levinson, 1954, 1969; McClelland, 1961). Many of these cross-cultural studies have been based on psychoanalytic theories and have used projective techniques, such as the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), to get at modal personality structures within cultures. Notwithstanding certain basic criticisms of the application of these procedures across cultures on grounds of validity and comparability, their use has produced some very consistent and useful findings (e.g., Kogan & Wallach, 1967; Kaplan, 1961).

For example, using both the TAT and a content analysis of achievement imagery found in children's readers, McClelland has attempted to relate achievement motivation to entrepreneurial success in different countries (1961). Further, cultural art forms, as expressions of achievement imagery, have been effectively used as indices of the general level of achievement motivation for a culture. This liberalisation of methodology allows one to estimate the level of need achievement (n-Ach) at different periods in a civilization's evolution, since art forms constitute a major portion of history's artifacts. Using adaptions of this technique, it's been shown that the expansion of commerce in ancient Greece was preceded by an increase in n-Ach. Studying Pre-Incan Peru, two time periods of high n-Ach were followed by periods of commercial growth as indexed by

the rate at which public buildings were erected. Low periods were correspondingly followed by invasions by foreign civilizations (Brown, 1965).

Achievement motivation, despite some methodological problems in its measurement, now appears to be one of the essential factors which helps define culture. Another factor is level of aspiration, and it too has received considerable attention from psychologists in the past forty years. This line of investigation has clarified the ways in which levels of aspirations relate to such diverse matters as group norms, socio-economic background, broad personality dispositions, and cultural influences (e.g., Zander, 1968; Gould, 1941; Feather, 1965; Meade, 1968; Lambert & Klineberg, 1963).

Before discussing representative research on this topic, the notion of aspiration level can be made clear with an example developed from a scheme of Lewin, Dembo, Festinger and Sears (1944).

> Joe has just tossed 4 out of 10 horseshoes around the stake. He says to himself, "I'll try for 7 next time." He throws another set of 10, but makes only 5. "I'd better try for 5 next time," he thinks, having seen that 7 out of 10 is a little too difficult.

The important steps involved in this sketch are the following: (1) past performance (Joe made 4 out of 10 the first time); (2) a goal is set ("try for 7 next time"); (3) present performance (he puts 5 around the stake); (4) another goal is set ("only 5 next time"); (5) reaction ("a little too difficult").

These steps can be translated to a time line (Figure I-1). At

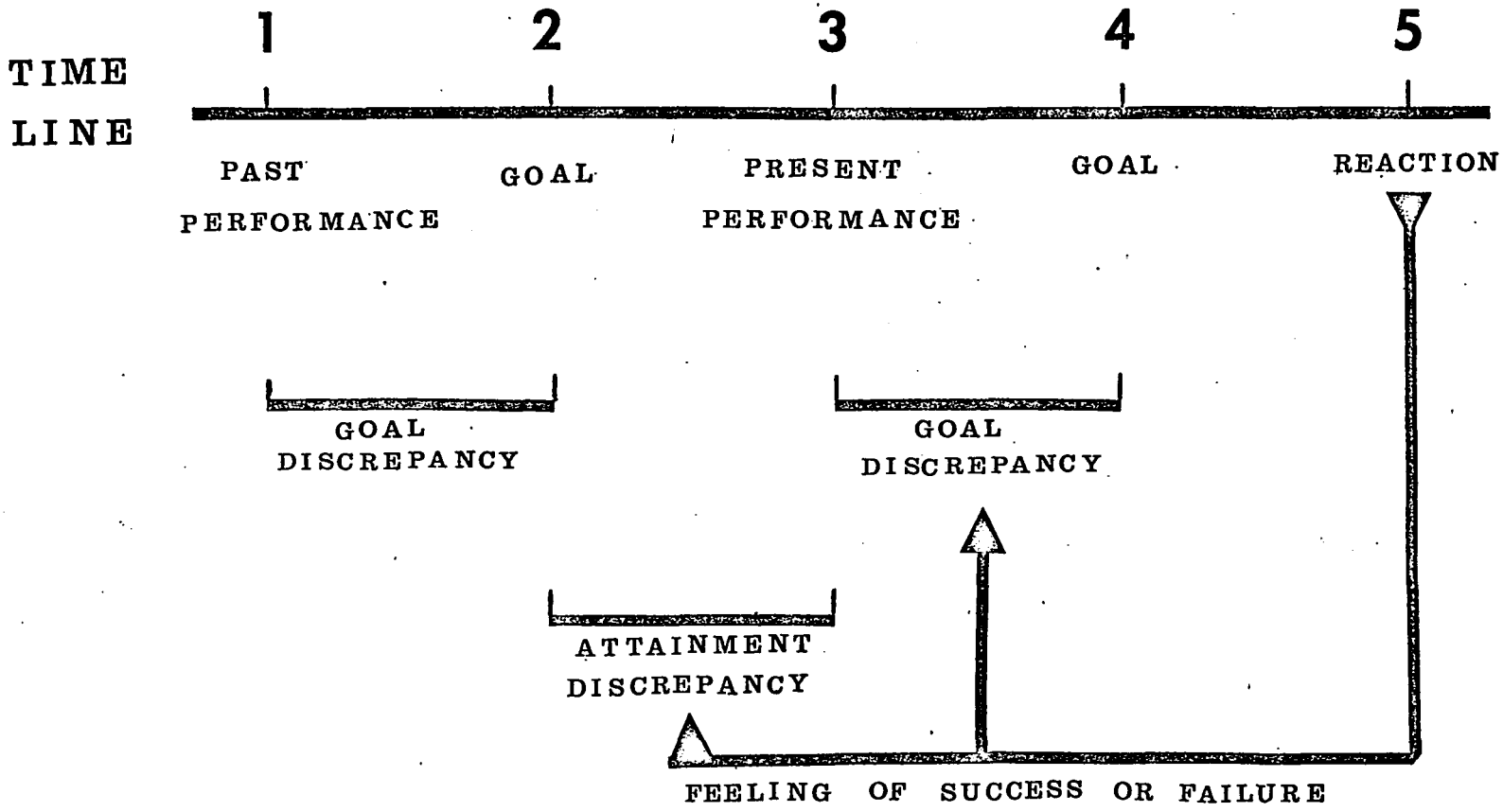
TIME
LINE
1
2
3
4
5
PAST
PERFORMANCE
GOAL
PRESENT
PERFORMANCE
GOAL
REACTION
GOAL
DISCREPANCY
GOAL
DISCREPANCY
ATTAINMENT
DISCREPANCY
FEELING OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE

FIGURE I-1

point 1 Joe has tossed 4 horseshoes on the stake. At point 2 he sets another goal. This difference between the future goal and the past performance is called his goal discrepancy. A goal discrepancy is said to be positive if the future aspiration is above the past performance, and negative if it is below. Secondly, its magnitude can vary. The level of aspiration can be much greater than the past performance, or very close. Thus a goal discrepancy has two components --direction, either positive or negative, and magnitude. In Joe's case, he has a goal discrepancy of +3, that is, 7 - 4.

The next step is the individual's present performance. He succeeds in tossing 5 out of 10 horseshoes. The difference between his goal and actual present performance is called the attainment discrepancy. Like goal discrepancy, the attainment discrepancy has two components, direction and magnitude. In our example, it is -2, that is, 5 - 7, indicating that Joe fell short of his goal by 2 points. He then sets another goal, and the cycle is almost complete except for his reaction, "a little too difficult." Part of his next aspiration is based on his reaction to his past experience. Hence there are three essential elements to consider: goal discrepancy, attainment discrepancy, and one's adjustment to these two.

The relationship between levels of aspiration and achievement has received extensive theoretical consideration (Atkinson, 1957). Using the model of Lewin et al. (1944), Atkinson tried to explain why high need achievers tend to set more realistic aspirations,

i.e., why their aspirations are closer to past performance and more flexible in that adjustments correspond to past success or failure. A person high in n-Ach who wants to succeed in a skill-demanding task will set a moderately high goal, close to his past performance. In such cases, it is assumed that consideration is given to the probability of success and failure for each level of difficulty, and to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction attached to each level. A goal set too high would be very rewarding, but too difficult to achieve, i.e., it would have a low probability of success. A goal set too low would give little satisfaction yet would be quite easy to achieve (i.e., would have a high probability). Theoretically, a person using this strategy of selecting intermediate goals would be successful half the time.

The above applies to high need achievers. A person low in n-Ach, or alternatively, highly motivated to avoid failure, will behave differently. Such a person can avoid failure either by setting his goals too low, thus ensuring success, or setting them so high that he need not face failure since no one could have succeeded. In brief, such a person chooses the extremes, either unusually difficult goals or very easy ones, and avoids the intermediate range, considered to be more realistic.

Atkinson concludes that the value of a goal is inversely proportional to the probability of attaining it. That is, those things that are hard to get (low probability) are highly valued and

those easy to attain (high probability) have less value. Thus, those who are motivated to succeed will more likely set realistic intermediate aspirations whereas those motivated to avoid failure will set unrealistic extreme aspirations.

What are "realistic" and "unrealistic" aspirations? A person sets his goals realistically to the extent that he objectively weighs the factors that bear on the decision, e.g., past performance, probability of success, the nature of the competition, etc. Realistic goals are determined by small goal discrepancies, that is, when future expectations are not too different from past performance. "Unrealistic" goals, on the other hand, are determined more by affective than cognitive factors, or in accordance with what one "wants" or "wishes" to happen, rather than what one actually expects to happen.

With an ingenious set of studies, Irwin (1944) showed how these cognitive and affective factors operate. In his view, a person who is realistic will have goals that flexibly respond to feedback, or knowledge of performance. People who are unrealistic set goals that vary, not as adjustments to past performance, but in concordance with their wishes of how well they would <u>like</u> to do. To test this, he collected data on two groups of subjects (<u>Ss</u>). One group was asked the question, "How well do you <u>intend</u> to do?" and the other, "How well would you <u>like</u> to do?" The performance of the groups was prearranged and highly varied, thus ensuring that <u>Ss</u> could adjust their future goals to past performances. He found that the "Intend" group had

goal levels that correlated highly with levels of performance in that if performance was high on one trial, the goal for the next trial was also high, and vice versa, for a low level of performance. The goals of the "Like" group, on the other hand, correlated very little with past performance but very highly with past goals. That is, their wishes remained relatively constant, as expressed by the constantly high levels of their goals, compared with their performance which was quite varied.

More recently, Weiss (1961) factored the components that affect goal setting, using ten questions commonly used in expectations studies, for example, "How well do you actually expect to do," "How well do you hope to do," "...intend...," "...try...," "...satisfied with...," etc. The results were clear, and in line with Irwin's work: two factors emerged, one had heaviest loading of "actually expect" type questions, the second, of "like" questions. Thus, Irwin argued that there are at least two factors operating and Weiss approaching the problem independently found that those two factors sufficiently account for most of the variation in actual studies of goal setting.

With these terms in mind, one can begin a serious search for external variables that affect expectations. The first possibility is the socio-economic status of the person under investigation. Gould (1941) formed two groups of Ss, one High and one Low in terms of goal discrepancy scores for six unrelated tasks. Differences between the two groups were distinct: the Low discrepancy Ss had

greatly favored home backgrounds, in that their fathers were more likely to be professionals with better incomes; the High discrepancy Ss had lower-status home backgrounds and were more likely to have foreign born parents. Thus, those who set more realistic aspirations were more likely to come from homes of comfortable living standards while those with unrealistic goals were more likely to come from lower social-class backgrounds.

Wylie (1963) and Wylie and Hutchins (1967) investigated students' expectations of their present performance in school, of their future performance in college and their choice of careers. She states, "there are significant positive associations between socio-economic level and each of the dependent variables studied, viz., self-estimates of present ability and achievement, self-estimates of college ability, aspirations for present achievement, for college attendance and a high level career" (1967, p. 796). In their 1967 study, Wylie and Hutchins found that samples of Negro and White Ss, with socio-economic status (SES) and I.Q., statistically equated, did not differ in their estimates of present school work abilities. However, Negroes did not aim for higher grades in school. Apparently then, social status has a great effect on expectation setting, with those from less favored backgrounds maintaining more discrepant goals from their performance than those with more affluent surroundings.

The relationship between expectations and personality traits is much less clear. Rotter (1942) thought it possible to devise a level of aspiration task which would be sensitive to personality variations.

He wanted to develop a novel task with the following features: no previous experience could be brought to bear on aspiration setting, it should be of medium difficulty, permitting variations in performance, with learning possibilities minimized. He settled on a device wherein Ss push a steel ball along a groove. With the correct pressure, the ball stops at a selected point marked on the groove, permitting one to measure the expected score and the actual performance. Although the task did not prove as sensitive to personality traits as hoped, it is still used frequently, for example, to study group expectations (Zander, 1968).

In his review of relevant literature, Frank (1944) found little evidence of a relation between personality variables and expectations. However, Feather (1965) did find modest relations between need achievement and test anxiety level on one hand, and levels of aspiration on the other. By grouping Ss into the four logically possible categories according to their n-Ach and test anxiety scores, Feather tried to get purer samples of goal setters. The clearest trends were apparent when the experimental task was easy; when the task was moderately difficult, the results were less clear. In the easy condition, Ss high in n-Ach and low in test anxiety had lower goal discrepancies than did those low in n-Ach and high in test anxiety. More recently, Kogan and Wallach (1967), in line with Frank, argue that goal setting seems to be more a function of the testing situation than of distinctive personality traits, other than broad dispositions such as need achievement and anxiety.

One factor which does affect goal setting, however, is the group norm. Anderson and Brandt (1941) conducted a classic study on this topic. They posted the performance scores of an entire class used in an experiment so that each individual could easily determine his relative standing and the position of the group norm. Ss were then asked to set new goals for a future task. It was found that those in the top quartile of the class had an average goal discrepancy of -5.6; the second quartile, +1.9; the third, +2.1 and the fourth, +13.6. In other words, those above the group norm lowered their goals to match more closely the group norm while those below the group norm, apparently because of social pressure, raised their goals. Hence, the effect of the group on an individual's goal expectations is a regression toward the mean of the group.

Festinger (1942) studied the effect of norms in another manner. A group of college students were asked to compare their criticism of a literary piece with one developed by high school students, by another college group, or by a group of graduate students. When a reference group was of higher status than one's own, most aspirations fell below those of the more prestigious group. The experimental group of college students set their aspirations below those of the graduate students who should normally do better, equal to those of fellow college students, and above those of high school students.

In the Anderson and Brandt study, it was assumed that all group members were of similar status. What would happen in a group where

there are obvious status differences, i.e., where there are leaders and followers? Harvey (1953) conducted such a study, using three-person social cliques of elementary school boys. Harvey had each S announce his goal aloud in the presence of the other two while they privately wrote the goal they set for that person. For example, the leader would announce his likely score for the trial, in this case a dart game, while the other two members wrote their expectations of his likely performance. Results showed that others' expectations of a person's performance corresponded to that person's status in the group; i.e., the leader expects to do better than the other members of the group and is also expected to do better by the others.

The studies presented up to this point have dealt with expectations about an individual's performance. An extensive amount of work has also been done on group aspirations for the performance of the whole group. Instead of having an individual set expectations for his own performance, Zander (1968) had groups discuss the task and set a group level of aspiration. In another instance, a group leader was asked to set a goal for his group. "The members of a group who have a strong concern about the consequences of failure tend to select either easier tasks or harder ones. After any specific failure they are likely to choose unreasonably difficult goals in order, apparently, to avoid the embarrassment following from failure" (p.428). This tendency to choose a more difficult level after failure also gives rise to "coping" behavior, that is, after failure, one is likely to "avoid, discontinue,

or devalue the group's activity" (p. 427), or, in other words to psychologically avoid the group. The group also has a tendency to choose a level of performance even more difficult, thereby increasing the possibility of failure and the likelihood of coping behavior. Zander defines coping behavior as "... tendencies indicating the member's attitudes toward approaching or avoiding the task .... used by members to assure themselves that potentially favorable outcomes will occur after a success and unfavorable outcomes will be avoided after a failure" (p. 428).

Using the background information given, how can expectation studies be used in investigations of cultural contrasts or cultural processes? As it happens, theories and procedures derived from work on levels of aspiration are ideally suited for this purpose. A study by Bruner and Rotter (1953), for example, attempted to measure conformity among Ramah Navaho Indians by determining the effect a Navaho group norm exerts on two types of Navahos, those who were classed by an outside rater as conforming to Navaho standards, and those who have adopted other standards, for example, white Christian norms. By means of a questionnaire, approximately 150 Navahos were selected, half conformers, half nonconformers. Ss were given ten darts for a first trial and told to throw as many as possible into a six-inch circle. They could move closer to the target if they missed and back if they succeeded. For the second trial with five darts, they were to pick one standing place for their throws. They were also informed that other Navaho groups had earlier selected a position about five feet from the target. Hence, if

a subject moved up to the five-foot mark, it was considered to be conforming to a Navaho group norm.

The results confirm the belief that level of aspiration studies help detect conformity to anthropologically significant group norms. Those Navahos who had been independently selected as conforming to the Navaho way of life did conform by standing closer to the five foot mark. Bruner and Rotter also postulated that females would conform more than males, since anthropological evidence indicated that females were more concerned about preserving Navaho culture. The results however, showed that men conformed more than women. Apparently, dart throwing is more a man's than a woman's game.

In a study of Asian Indians, Meade (1968) found that Indians have higher aspirations than a comparison group of American college students. Using a simple cancellation task, Ss were asked to give their expectations before each trial of a 10 trial run. Since the Indians had higher aspirations, Meade argued that the "Americans pay more attention to cognitive factors while Indians pay more attention to affective factors, the latter being expected to produce less realistic levels of aspiration." This study also suggests that expectations can be studied with instructive outcomes when conducted cross-culturally.

Finally, a study by Lambert and Klinberg (1963) measured the occupational aspirations of boys from 11 different cultures. By asking Ss what occupation they would like to have when they would be adults and comparing this aspiration to the actual occupation of the fathers, they

indirectly measured the extent of socially sanctioned social mobility among boys in various cultures. Wide cultural differences were found, indicating that "cultures vary in the freedom given children to modify established levels of the family's social standing." It was also argued that their "filial-aspiration index" reflected cultural differences of this sort. For example, "Turkey, Lebanon, French Canada, Israel, the Bantu sample, Brazil, and the United States had higher filial-aspirations, in that order, than did English Canada, France, Germany, and Japan." Of interest for the present study are the findings that French Canadian and English Canadian boys did not differ much in the types of occupation chosen, with the exception that more young boys in the French than in the English Canadian sample chose the priesthood. However, French Canadian boys have higher filial aspirations than English Canadian boys in general.

This is of interest since McClelland reports higher n-Ach for English Canadian (EC) Catholics than for French Canadian (FC) Catholics. If lower occupational aspirations are taken to be more realistic, then one would expect ECs to have lower aspirations, which in fact they did. This raises a relevant question: Do FC boys differ from EC boys in the realism of their expectations? We will have occasion to return to the Lambert and Klineberg study in interpreting the results of the present study.

In summary, we have seen that there are two components involved in setting levels of aspirations, an affective and a cognitive component.

These determine the size of the goal discrepancy, in that dominance of the affective factor leads to unrealistically high aspirations which reflect desires rather than actual expectancies. Further, expectations seem less related to personality traits than to situational factors. Of particular interest for present purposes are the factors of relative position within the group, the status of the in-group compared to that of some reference group, and socio-economic background of the Ss, all of which ostensibly influence expectations. Finally, expectations have been shown to be sensitive to cultural norms.

The Quebec setting offers a rare opportunity to analyze the tensions that arise between two settled ethnic groups, the French Canadians (FCs) and the English Canadians (ECs). Sociological and political reports on Quebec have compared the evolution of Quebec society with the rest of Canada and North America (e.g., Blishen, Jones, Naegele & Porter, 1964; Laskin, 1964; Falardeau, 1953). Faucher and Lamontagne (in Falardeau, 1953) for example, show that economic development of Quebec has proceeded at about the same rate as other Canadian provinces, neither ahead nor behind its "potential." Rather, Quebec has enjoyed prosperity since WWl because of the shifting economic needs of North American technological developments, which call for minerals, light metals for aviation, etc. Quebec is well endowed with resources of this nature. However, the evolution of social stratification in Quebec presents a different picture in that social mobility among FCs has increased less than it has for ECs (de Jocas & Rocher, in Blishen et al., 1964). For example, if one com-

pares the occupational status of FCs and ECs a generation ago, they were fairly similar, although ECs still had occupations of slightly higher status. In the present generation, however, a much greater difference is apparent, with EGs having moved up to much better positions than FCs. This increased social differentiation may reflect, in part, a lack of concern for certain occupations and a preference for others on the part of ECs and FCs. At least this is what Maurice Tremblay intimates in his discussion of "le college classique" and "le caractere francais" (Falardeau, 1953).

Consider two quotes:

> The cours classique prepares, for the most part, future priests and future "professionals." The social consideration which it (cours classique) enjoys is a sign that one continues to approve of an intellectual and social orientation which is far from favoring the initiation of commerce in general and the formation of the "businessman" in particular (p. 202).

And:

> What exists in us of French temperament determines an attitude of apathy or defiance towards the "grandes affaires" such as they are conceived and generally practiced in Anglo-Saxon countries (p. 204).[1]

If there is a lack of emphasis on the "grandes affaires" this may be reflected in generally lower achievement motivation and in unrealistic expectations about future performance where progress relies on skill and attention to success and failure. In any event, FCs and ECs may have different orientations towards occupational aspirations. Such a difference was noted by Lambert and Klineberg.

It would be instructive to know what other possible manifestations

there are of cultural differences between FC and EC subcultures. This interest applies not only to Canadian society in particular but more generally to other areas where a socio-economically dominant group interrelates with a socially subordinate one. This is of unusual concern because the socially dominant ECs are a minority in the population. Since some members from these two groups will be competing for the same jobs in the future, it was thought that tensions existing between younger representatives of these groups when in a competitive situation would mirror, on a smaller scale, the processes in action among adults. That is, now that we know the particular differences in occupational aspirations between FCs and ECs, are there not perhaps basic differences in general levels of aspiration between the two ethnic groups, due to different processes of weighting the affective and cognitive components involved in expectations? Also, do each of these groups have different expectations when competing against one another than when competing with others of their own ethnic background? For these reasons, the present study, using elementary school boys in real-life competitive situations, was undertaken.

The nature of this study, then, is a cross-cultural investigation of levels of aspirations among FC and EC elementary school boys. In a competitive situation (a table hockey tournament), Ss formed teams and competed against two other teams, one from the same culture (SC), the other from a different culture (DC). Specific variables of interest are (a) individual expectations for one's own performance, (b) individual

expectations for the performance of the team, and (c) the team's expectations for the team's performance.

METHOD

For Group Effect: Pre-Tournament

The social context in which these boys competed was a tournament of table hockey. Sports and competition are an important area of interest for boys aged 9 to 11, making a tournament an ideal approach for a controlled study of aspirations in inter-culture group competition, since it also has the advantage of being somewhat "real life-like."

About four weeks before the tournament, team members came together and were told the general nature of the project, that they were to take part in a tournament of table hockey against two other teams. One team would be of the same culture (SC), the other team would be of a different culture (DC). There would be four members on a team, and during this particular session they were to meet their fellow team mates for a practice session. After practice some questions would be asked of them individually and also as a group.

Using a procedure employed by Kogan and Wallach in their "risky-shift" studies (1967), Ss completed a questionnaire alone before meeting with the group; next they came together as a team and answered the same questions as a team; and finally, team members were separated once more and completed the questionnaire individually. These three parts are called the Pre-Group, Group, and Post-Group sessions respec-

tively. This procedure is suited for studying the effect of the individual on the group and, conversely, the effect of the group on the individual.

Since Ss played two teams with two different cultural compositions, they could have two sets of expectations concerning their performance. Thus, the questionnaire had measures of same culture (SC) expectations and different culture (DC) expectations.

There are two basic types of expectations each S can have. One, he has certain aspirations about his own performance. Two, he can have expectations about his team's performance. Also, under the second type of expectation, a team can have expectations about the team's performance. Therefore, in the Pre- and Post-Group sessions, Ss completed a questionnaire to measure their individual expectations for their own performance and the performance of their team. In the Group session, the team as a whole completed a questionnaire which measured only the team's expectations for the team.

In order to measure expectations for this study, Ss were asked how many points would be scored (1) by their team, (2) by the opponent's team, and (3) by themselves as individuals. In the case of expectations for the team, the level of aspiration was determined by the difference between the opponent's team score and one's own team score. For example, if one subject expected his team to score 5 points and the opponents to score a total of 2, the level of aspiration was recorded as "3." This margin of win score can thus account for both direction and magnitude.

In the case of a subject's expectation about his own performance, it was recorded as the number of points he personally expected to score against each team.

Subjects

Two experimental groups of Ss were used, one of 25 French Canadian (FC) elementary boys in grades 4 to 6, and one of 25 English Canadian (EC) boys in grades 4 to 6. The criterion for acceptability for the study was that either French or English was used as the home language. Seven other EC and three other FC Ss were not included because they either failed to finish the experiment or had a language other than French or English as their home language.[2]

Material

The material consisted of two table hockey games and a set of questionnaires. There were four questionnaires: (1) one concerning each S's anticipated performance and that of his team when in competition, (2) a measure of attitudes toward the other cultural group, his own group, and himself, (3) a measure of the extent of each S's contact with his own cultural group and the other cultural group, and (4) a personal assessment of experience with the table hockey games prior to the tournament.

Procedure

Eight Ss, 4 FCs and 4 ECs, were called in after school to meet the Es. There were two Es to greet them, one for English teams, the other for French teams. The two teams had no direct contact, since they met

in different rooms on the same floor. They could, however, see the other team members on occasion, as they passed from their individual test rooms to the group room and back again. When each team was assembled, it was given the following instructions:

> You're going to take part in a hockey tournament, which will be held in a few weeks. Most of you are familiar with these table hockey games, I think. First, however, I would like you to meet your team members, and practice a little together. After you've practiced for about ten minutes, I would like to ask you some questions about how you think the hockey tournament will turn out. Here is the hockey game if you would like to begin practice.

Pre-Group Session. At this time, Ss usually split up, two on each side, and practiced with the table hockey game for about ten minutes. Then E said:

> Now that you've had a chance to practice, I'm going to take each of you to a separate room and give you a short set of questionnaires to complete.

Each S was then led to a different room and given the set of questionnaires described above, along with appropriate instructions. It was stressed they write the number of points they actually expected. Data recorded on this occasion comprise the Pre-Group measures.

Group Session. Ss were then brought together in one room and given the following instructions for Group sessions:

> Now that you've completed the questionnaire all by yourself, I'd like you to discuss this as a team, since you'll be playing together in the tournament. This is basically the same questionnaire, and I want you now to come to a team decision about how well you think you will do, NOT how well you want to do, but how well you actually expect to do.

The team was given only the first questionnaire concerning the expectations of their team's performance and that of their opponents' teams. Measures collected at this time compose the Group results.

Post-Group Session. After the team had arrived at their decision, the members were once more brought to separate rooms to complete the Post-Group questionnaire. The order of asking the SC and DC expectations was counterbalanced. Instructions at this time were given as follows:

> Now that you've discussed this as a team, I would like you to answer the same questions again, but this time alone once more. Since you may or may not agree with the group decision, you are going to get a chance to give your own opinion.

After completing the questionnaire Ss were told that in a few weeks they would be called to play in the tournament.

This study was not designed to measure the effect of the group on individuals, per se, since no control group without group discussions was included. Therefore, no discussion will be made on modifications of expectations, as they are affected by a group. What will be discussed is the effect of the group on SC and DC expectations, for which appropriate data are available for both FC and EC Ss. Similarly, global differences between cultural groups, as individuals and as teams, will be examined.

RESULTS

For Group Effect: Pre-Tournament Session

The findings were evaluated and analyzed with analysis of variance,

using a groups-by-trials design. The two groups were FC and EC Ss, and for purposes of analysis, trial one is the DC expectations and trial two is the SC expectations, making the procedure a repeated-measures design. The expectations for the team performance were obtained by subtracting each S's projected score for the opponent's team from the projected score for his own team, thus accounting for direction and magnitude. This will be called the "margin of win" score, assuming that winning by 5 points, say, indicates a higher expectation than winning by 2 points.

First, the Pre-Group set of questionnaires allows one to check that other factors weren't operating. The two groups did not differ significantly on their within-culture and cross-culture contact, their prior experience with the hockey games, their attitudes toward their own culture, the other culture or themselves, although FC Ss had a somewhat lower self-concept, ($p = .0961$).

Table 1 presents the results for each individual's initial Pre-Group level of expectation for his own performance. This judgment, it will be recalled, was based on ten minutes of practice with his own team. The F-ratio approaches significance ($p = .0601$) suggesting a cultural difference. The mean expectation for the FC Ss is 5.50 and that of the EC Ss is 3.30. A stronger comparison is seen in Table 2 which presents individual expectations of personal performance from the Post-Group questionnaire. In this case, the interaction reveals the nature of each cultural group's expectations (for G x T, $p = .0413$)

Table 1

Individual's Expectation for his own Performance

(Pre-Group)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	20.2828		
Between	49	35.2653		
Culture (Group	1	121.0000	3.614	p=.0601
Error	48	33.4792		
Within	50	5.6000		
Culture of Competitor (Trial)	1	4.8400	<1	
G by T	1	2.5600	<1	
Error	48	5.6792		

Group Means	English	French
	3.30	5.50

* Exact probabilities were calculated using computer program given in Fortran Programming for the Behavioral Sciences by D.J. Veldman. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Table 2

Individual's Expectation for his own Performance

(Post-Group)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	12.7188		
Between	49	20.1665		
Culture (Group)	1	27.0400	1.350	
Error	48	20.0233		
Within	50	5.4200		
Culture of Competitor (Trial)	1	12.9600	2.626	
G by T	1	21.1600	4.288	p=.0413
Error	48	4.9350		

Group x Trial Means:	DC	SC
English	3.60	3.80
French	5.56	3.92

suggesting that Ss initial expectations become more differentiated as one shifts from the Pre- to the Post-Group results. The means for groups-by-trials show that FC Ss have higher expectations concerning their competition with the DC team than with the SC team (Figure 1). When FC Ss are playing a DC team, their expected personal score averages to 5.56 compared to 3.92 against a SC team. On the other hand, EC Ss playing a DC team expect to score 3.60 points, on the average, and 3.80 points against a SC team. Hence, the results for Ss expectations about his own performance show (1) a slight but not significant cultural difference, the FC Ss having generally higher expectations than EC Ss, and (2) noticeably greater expectations by FC Ss, particularly against DC opponents.

Table 3 shows the results from the Group questionnaire, using the margin of win score for levels of expectations, as mentioned above. The interaction approached significance (for G x T, $p = .0565$) and is drawn in Figure 2. The means indicate that FC teams expect to win by 2.8571 points against a DC team compared to winning by 2.000 points against a SC team. The reverse order holds true for EC teams who expect to win against a SC team by more points than against a DC team, 2.625 compared to 2.1250. Thus a team's expectation for the team parallel the individual's expectations for his own performance. In both cases, FC teams and individuals think they'll do better cross-culturally while EC counterparts expect to perform better against a same-culture team.

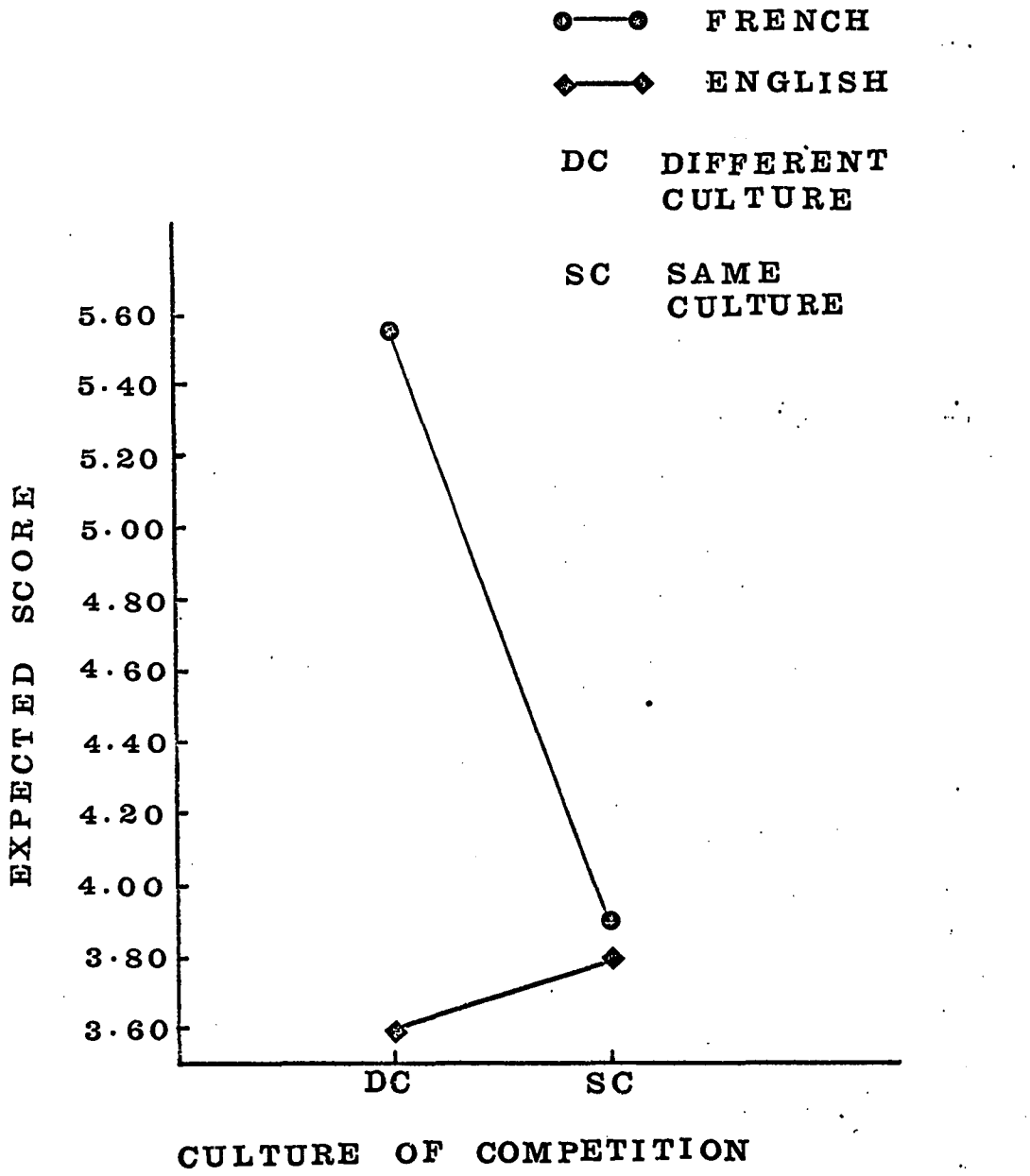

Figure 1. Individuals' expectations for his own performance when in competition with DC or SC team. High score means that S expects to do well, i.e., score many points.

Table 3

Group's Expectations for the Team

(Group)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	29	7.7655		
Between	14	15.0857		
Culture (Groups)	1	.0214	<1	
Error	13	16.2445		
Within	15	.9333		
Culture of Competition (Trials)	1	.1333	<1	
G by T	1	3.4381	4.286	p=.0565
Error	13	.8022		
Group x Trial Means:	DC	SC		
English	2.13	2.63		
French	2.86	2.00		

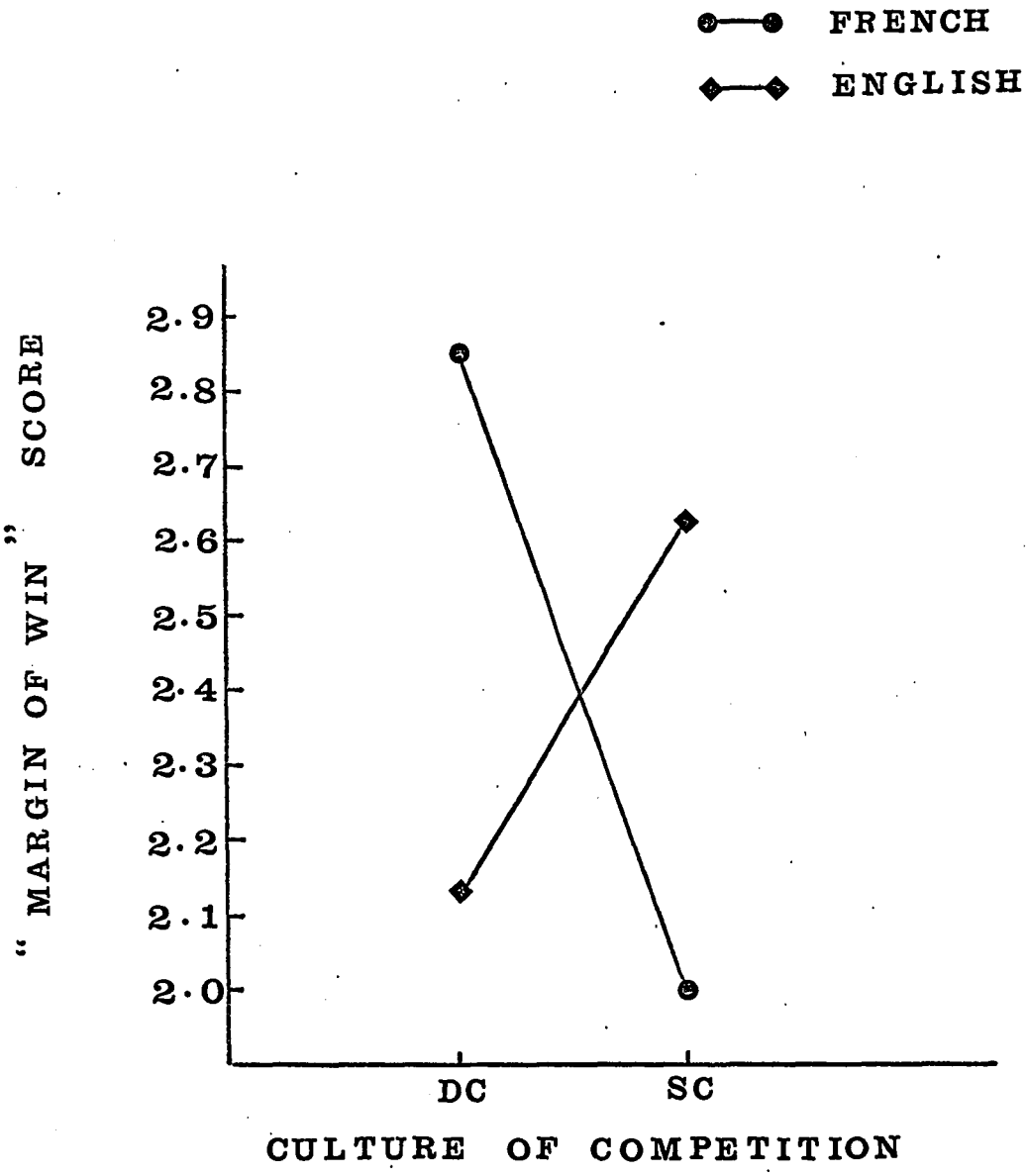

Figure 2. Team's expectation for their team, from Group session. "Margin of win" score is calculated by subtracting the points the other team is expected to score from the points one's own team is expected to score; or, merely, the number of points by which a team expects to win. High score indicates, then, that one's own team is expected to win by a wide margin.

Individuals' expectations for their team's performance show no EC-FC cultural differences, either on the Pre- or Post-Group questionnaire. Neither was there a shift from the Pre-Group individual's team aspirations to the Group's team aspirations nor a shift from the Group to the Post-Group. It appears then that individuals' expectations for their teams don't reveal cultural differences, whereas an individual's expectations for his own performance and a team's expectation of its own performance do differentiate cultural aspirations.

How does one account for the finding that FC Ss have higher cross-cultural aspirations than EC Ss? It may be that EC teams are seen as poorer hockey players or less athletic by FC Ss. Information was available on just this point, i.e., each group's evaluation of (1) the certainty of their team's winning, (2) how well their own team will play and (3) how well the opponent's team will play, be it of the same or different culture. In no case were there significant differences in perception of certainty of winning or of their own team's ability, parts (1) and (2) above.

However, for part (3), the individual's evaluations of the other team, either of the same or different culture, are revealing. In this case, Ss' evaluation of the other team's competence changes from Pre- to Post-Group results. Table 4 shows the results from the Pre-Group session, and although the interaction only approaches significance, (for G x T, $p = .0634$), one does find in the group-by-trial means that FC Ss do rate the competence of the DC team below that of the SC team.

Table 4

Individual's Evaluation of Other Teams

(Pre-Group)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	1.6617		
Between	49	2.2451		
Culture (Group)	1	.0100	<1	
Error	48	2.2917		
Within	50	1.0900		
Culture of Competition (Trials)	1	1.6900	1.649	
G by T	1	3.6100	3.522	p=.0634
Error	48	1.0250		

Group x Trial Means:	DC	SC
English	5.00	4.88
French	4.60	5.24

The EC Ss rate the competence of both the DC and SC team about equally (Figure 3).

Table 5 presents the results for the group shift, i.e., the measure of change from the individual's Pre-Group to the Group ratings. It is calculated by subtracting Pre-Group ratings from the Group ratings. In this instance, there is a definite cultural difference ($p = .0514$) meaning that EC Ss downgrade other teams more than their FC counterparts do, as Ss shift from the Pre-Group to the Group. The mean drop in evaluation for the EC Ss is .90 and it is only .18 for the FC Ss. There is also a noteworthy DC-SC difference. Whereas one might expect Ss to downgrade the DC team, it's just the opposite. Comparing results from the Pre- and Group sessions, there's a significant tendency ($p = .0332$) for Ss to give lower ratings of a SC team's ability in the Group than in the Pre-Group session. The interaction (for G x T, $p = .0251$) presented in Figure 4 helps follow the process involved. When shifting from the individual ratings to group ratings, evaluations become harsher toward all other teams, whose playing ability is belittled. There is one important exception to this pattern; ...the FC Ss as teams raise their evaluation of the English team. Thus, in shifting from the Pre- to the Group session, there are three trends: (1) the EC Ss give lower ratings of other team's ability compared to FC Ss, (2) the rating of the SC team drops more than that of the DC team, and (3) of particular interest, the FC Ss' rating of the DC team's playing ability rises while all other ratings drop.

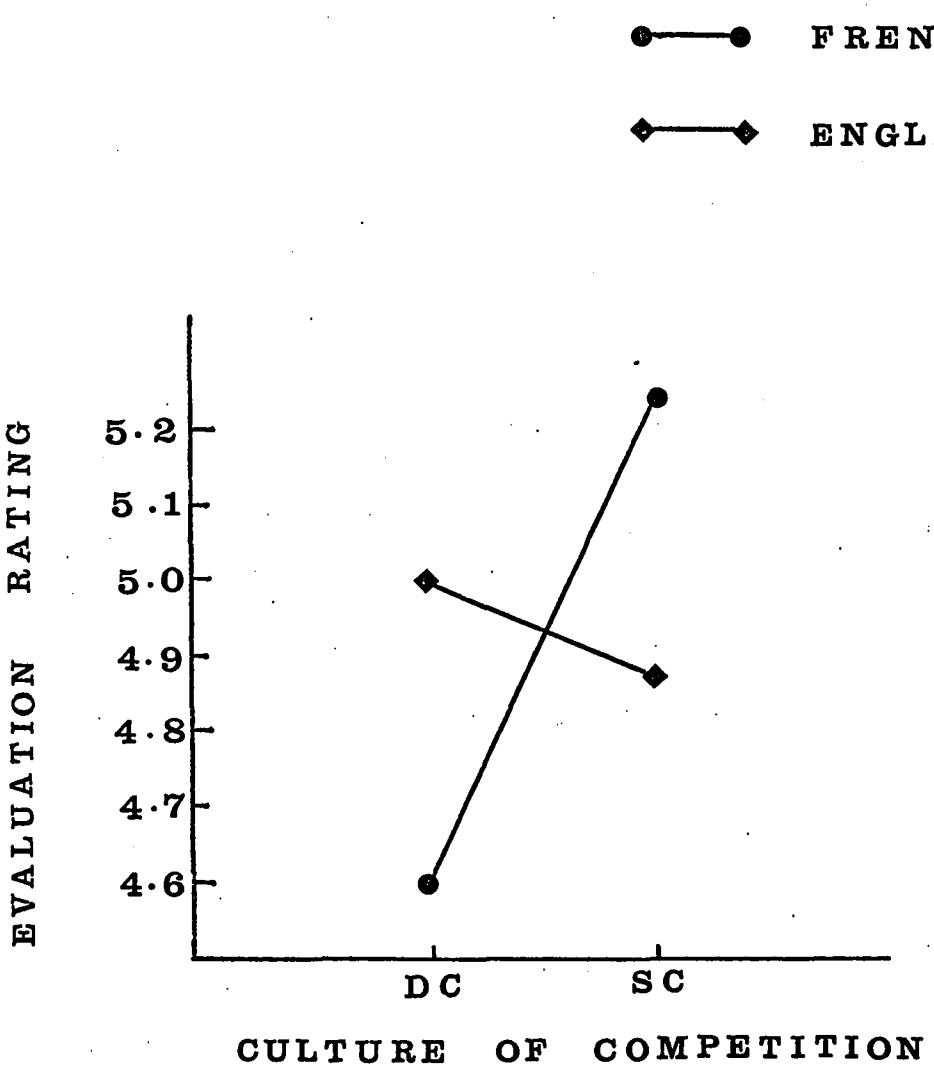

Figure 3. Individuals' evaluation of other teams, from Pre-Group session. High score means favorable rating was given.

Table 5

Shift of Individual's Evaluation of
Other Teams From Pre-Group to Group
(Group minus Pre-Group Evaluations)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	3.3620		
Between	49	3.5273		
Culture (Group)	1	12.9600	3.891	p=.0514
Error	48	3.3308		
Within	50	3.2000		
Culture of Competition (Trial)	1	12.9600	4.691	p=.0332
G by T	1	14.4400	5.227	p=.0251
Error	48	2.7625		

Group Means	English	French
	-.9000	-.1800
Trial Means	DC	SC
	-.1800	-.9000

Group x Trials Means	DC	SC
English	-.92	-.88
French	+.56	-.92

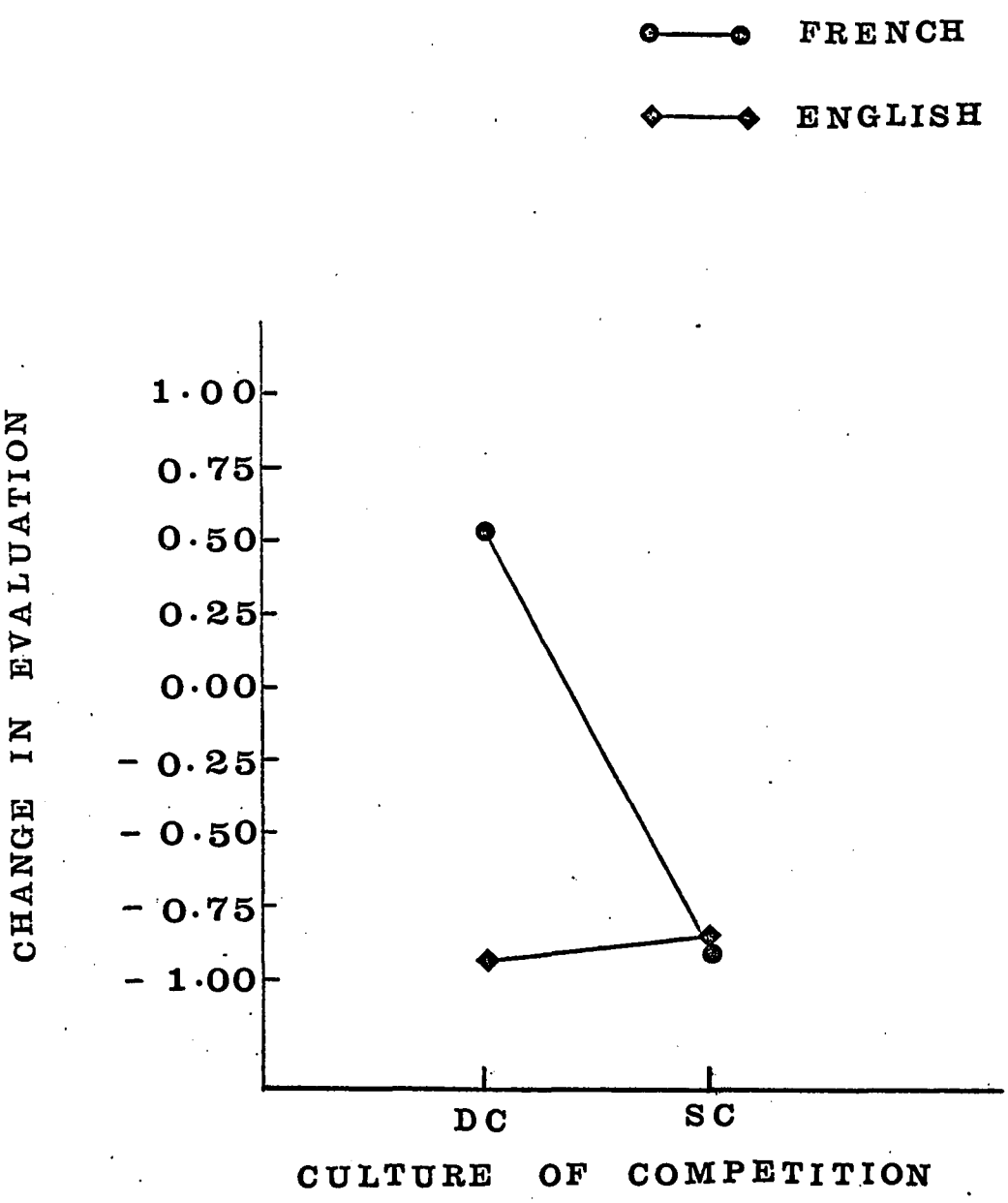

Figure 4. Shift of individuals' evaluation of other teams, calculated by subtracting Pre- from Group results. High score means change was in favorable direction.

Table 6 shows the stability of the group's effect. This stability was calculated by subtracting the Group ratings from the Post-Group individual ratings. The DC and SC means show that after the group encounter, evaluations of the SC team, which had suffered at the hands of the group, go back up more than DC evaluations ($p = .0132$). On the average, the DC rating rose .20 points after the group while the SC ratings rose 1.02 points. Table 7 presents the results of the individual's ratings after the Group session, that is, when Ss are alone once more to rate the likely performance of opposing teams. As one would expect, the DC evaluation is lower than the SC evaluation ($p = .0324$). The competence of the DC teams is perceived as being less than that of the SC teams. Thus, the SC rating rose enough after the group to be significantly higher than the DC rating.

Table 8 helps us see the process involved by going from the Pre- to the Post-Group sessions. This shift was calculated by subtracting the Pre- from the Post-Group ratings of the other teams. The interaction (for G x T, $p = .0150$) is drawn in Figure 5. One sees that the largest shift is the FC Ss rating of the DC team. With repeated testings, the FC evaluation of the DC teams has steadily improved, in that they expect better performance from the DC teams. On the other hand, EC S's rating of the DC teams has consistently decreased. It seems that FC Ss became more generous with repeated testing while the EC's became less generous toward the DC team in particular while raising their evaluation of teams from the same culture. To summarize, FC Ss' final

Table 6

Stability of Individual's Evaluation of

Other Teams From Group to Post-Group

(Post-Group minus Group Evaluations)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	2.9070		
Between	49	3.0059		
Culture (Group)	1	3.6100	1.206	
Error	48	2.9933		
Within	50	2.8100		
Culture of Competition (Trial)	1	16.8100	6.537	p=.0132
G by T	1	.2500	<1	
Error	48	2.5717		
Trial Means	DC	SC		
	+.20	+1.02		

Table 7

Individual's Evaluation of Other Team

(Post-Group)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	1.3737		
Between	49	2.0000		
Culture (Groups)	1	2.5600	1.288	
Error	48	1.9883		
Within	50	.7600		
Culture of Competitor (Trials)	1	3.2400	4.741	p=.0324
G by T	1	1.9600	2.868	p=.0931
Error	48	.6833		
Trial Means	DC	SC		
	4.82	5.18		
Group x Trial Means				
English	4.52	5.16		
French	5.12	5.20		

Table 8

Long Term Stability of Individual's Evaluation of Other Team

(Post- minus Pre-Group Evaluations)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	2.0052		
Between	49	2.1227		
Culture	1	2.8900	1.372	
Error	48	2.1067		
Within	50	1.8900		
Culture of Competitor	1	.2500	<1	
G by T	1	10.8900	6.271	p=.0150
Error	48	1.7367		

Group x Trials Means	DC	SC
English	-.48	+.28
French	+.52	-.04

M.A. PSYCHOLOGY

Andrew Yackley

INTER-ETHNIC GROUP COMPETITION AND LEVELS OF ASPIRATION

The present study examines cultural variations of aspirations in a competitive situation, using 9-11-year-old French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) boys from similar social class backgrounds who were assigned to teams for a table hockey tournament. Teams were composed solely of either FCs or ECs. Each team played two other teams, one comprising members of the same culture (SC) and another of players from the different culture (DC).

It was found that (a) FC Ss have generally higher aspirations i.e., they expect to score more points, than EC Ss when competing against both DC and SC teams; and (b) FC Ss have highest aspirations specifically when competing against DC (i.e., EC) teams. These aspirations not only appeared to be unrealistic but proved to be so in light of actual performance in competition. One explanation relates social evaluation theory, as developed by Pettigrew, to level of aspiration studies. It is argued that FCs in contrast to ECs feel "relatively deprived," inducing them to over emphasize affective rather than cognitive factors when setting aspirations. The generally higher aspirations of FCs were discussed in terms of childrearing values and practices (e.g., the greater father dominance of FC families) and societal influences which discourage the development of need achievement.

McGILL UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

November 20 1969

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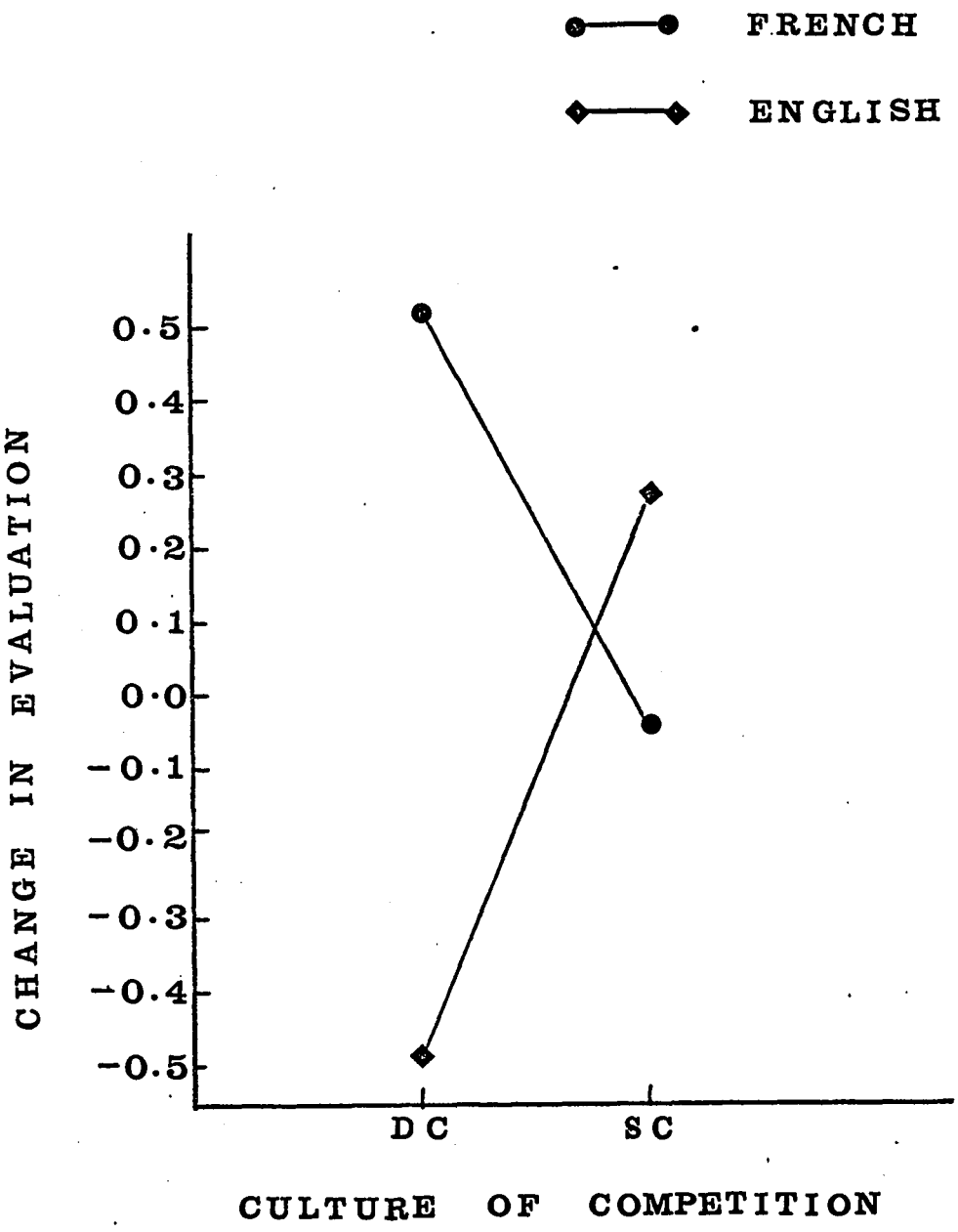

Figure 5. Pre- to Post-Group shift of individuals' evaluation of other teams, that is, both SC and DC teams. This indicates the long range stability of individuals' evaluation of other teams, calculated by subtracting Pre- from Post-Group evaluations. High score means evaluation became more favorable with passage of time.

rating of the DC team is still below the rating of the SC team, however, it has steadily risen and is approaching the level of the SC evaluation, 5.12 compared to 5.20 in the Post-Group session. With EC Ss, though, the DC evaluation, somewhat above the SC level in the Pre-Group, has steadily declined until it is far below, 4.52 compared to 5.16.

Why would the FC Ss raise their evaluations of the capacity of the DC team and at the same time have unusually high aspirations concerning their own competitive performance with DC teams. One would expect their expectations to decrease as they raise the competence attributed to the opponent's team. This interesting trend is indicative of "unrealistic" expectations. As interpreted by Irwin and Lewin, et al., FC Ss are attending more to affective factors in setting their levels of aspirations, whereas EC Ss tend to pay more attention to the cognitive factors. Evidently FC Ss "expect" the DC teams to play fairly well, yet they would "like" to win by an unrealistic margin.

METHOD

For Tournament Expectations

As discussed above, team members were brought together four at a time for practice. The Pre-Group questionnaire responses were used to determine initial expectations of the individual for his performance and that of his team. The Group questionnaire responses were used for the group's expectation for the team.

Approximately four weeks later, two EC and two FC teams were

brought together at the same time. The order of play in the tournament was counterbalanced, in half the cases a team played a SC team first and the other teams started with a DC team. Individual scores were recorded after each game. Each contest lasted fifteen minutes.

Then Ss were given the final questionnaire, designed to measure their evaluation of the tournament and their expectations concerning any future tournament competition held. This final questionnaire provides a measure of goal discrepancy. It was completed in isolation, each S using a different room.

RESULTS

For Tournament

Results presented here concern three variables. One is attainment discrepancy for the individual's performance and the performance of the individual's team. The second variable is the goal discrepancy, again for the individual's own performance and the individual's team performance. The third is Ss' reaction to the tournament and the teams played.

Table 9 presents the results for the attainment discrepancy for Ss personal aspirations. The difference only approaches significance ($p = .0659$). The direction indicates that both groups overestimate their performance, but FC Ss do so slightly more than EC Ss do. Table 10 contains the results for Ss aspiration for the team. A significant difference is found between the cultures ($p = .0452$). For the attainment discrepancy of the individual's expectation for the team, the FC

Table 9

Individual's Personal Attainment Discrepancy

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	27.1122		
Between	49	43.0533		
Culture (Groups)	1	141.6100	3.454	p=.0659
Error	48	41.0000		
Within	50	11.4900		
Culture of Competitor (Trials)	1	15.2100	1.338	
G by T	1	13.6900	1.204	
Error	48	11.3667		

Culture Means:	English	French
	-2.14	-4.52

Table 10

Individual's Team Attainment Discrepancy

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	54.8827		
Between	49	82.6712		
Culture (Group)	1	320.4100	4.123	p=.0452
Error	48	77.7183		
Within	50	27.6500		
Culture of Competitor (Trials)	1	1.6900	<1	
G by T	1	86.4900	3.207	p=.0761
Error	48	26.9650		

Culture Means	English	French
	-.52	-4.10

Group x Trial Means	DC	SC
English	.28	-1.32
French	-5.16	-3.04

Ss fall short more than the EC Ss do. That is, the expected performance of FC teams is, on the average, 4.52 points below the level anticipated by individual FC Ss. On the other hand, the expected performance of the EC teams is 2.14 points below the level set by individual EC Ss. The interaction approached significance, indicating that for FCs, individual's expectations for their team's performance fell farthest below actual performance specifically when competing against a DC team ($p = .0761$). Similarly FC team expectations for the team, measured in the Group questionnaire, is further below the actual performance level than are the EC team expectations for the team although this difference is not statistically reliable ($p = .0814$).

The main reason for these differences is apparent from Table 11. Due to lack of control of the actual points scored in the tournament, one sees a difference which is significant. The EC Ss actually did score more points than the FC Ss.

Tables 12 and 13 are presented not because they are statistically significant, which they aren't, but because they are significant in light of the tournament's outcome. According to normal aspiration setting, one usually raises his level of aspiration after success and lowers it after failure. An inspection of these two tables indicates the FC Ss have a fairly strong tendency to make the "atypical" response, that is, to persist with a high level of expectation even after failure to reach the goal. The typical response would be to lower one's aspirations. The atypical response is not normally extensive. Moulton (1965)

Table 11

Actual Team Scores

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	31	7.3185		
Between	15	6.5917		
Culture (Group)	1	28.1250	5.565	p=.0318
Error	14	5.0536		
Within	16	8.0000		
Culture of Competitor (Trial)	1	1.1250	<1	
G by T	1	.1250	<1	
Error	14	9.0536		

Group Means	English	French
	4.25	2.38

Table 12

Individual Goal Discrepancy of his own Performance

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	7.6213		
Between	49	9.2247		
Culture (Group)	1	1.2100	<1	
Error	48	9.3917		
Within	50	6.0500		
Culture of Competitor (Trial)	1	2.8900	<1	
G by T	1	16.8100	2.853	p=.0939
Error	48	5.8917		

Group x Trials Means	DC	SC
English	1.56	1.08
French	.96	2.12

Table 13

Individual's Goal Discrepancy for his Team

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	99	13.8637		
Between	49	16.8573		
Culture (Group)	1	42.2500	2.588	p=.1104
Error	48	16.3283		
Within	50	10.9300		
Culture of Competitor (Trial)	1	5.2900	<1	
G by T	1	1.6900	<1	
Error	48	11.2400		

Group Means	English	French
	.78	2.08

reported it in about 36% of the cases for the failure condition. Furthermore, there is only one trial, the actual tournament, on which to base the next aspiration. Nevertheless, one sees that FC Ss maintain a level of aspiration higher than their EC counterparts, in the face of failure. In one case, Table 13, the goal discrepancy for the team shows a cultural difference. In the other case, Table 12, concerning S's personal goal discrepancy, the inflated goal discrepancy is displaced to the SC team (Figure 6). Before, it will be remembered, the individual FC Ss thought they would do better against the DC team, this time, however, still maintaining an unrealistically high level of aspiration, FC Ss have shifted to thinking they'll do better against a SC team.

Measurements concerning Ss' reaction to the tournament and the teams involved were collected from the Post-Tournament questionnaire. Ss were asked to evaluate (1) their satisfaction with the tournament, (2) how well they personally played against both the different culture team and the same culture team, and (3) (a) how well their team played generally and also (b) the SC team, and (c) the DC team.

Analysis of parts (1) and (2) above revealed no significant differences between the cultures. That is, Ss reported approximately equal satisfaction with the tournament and equal personal playing ability against the two teams.

However, Ss' evaluation of the various teams, their own team, the DC team, and the SC team, offers insight into possible coping behavior (Zander & Medow, 1963). Coping behavior is any attempt to save face

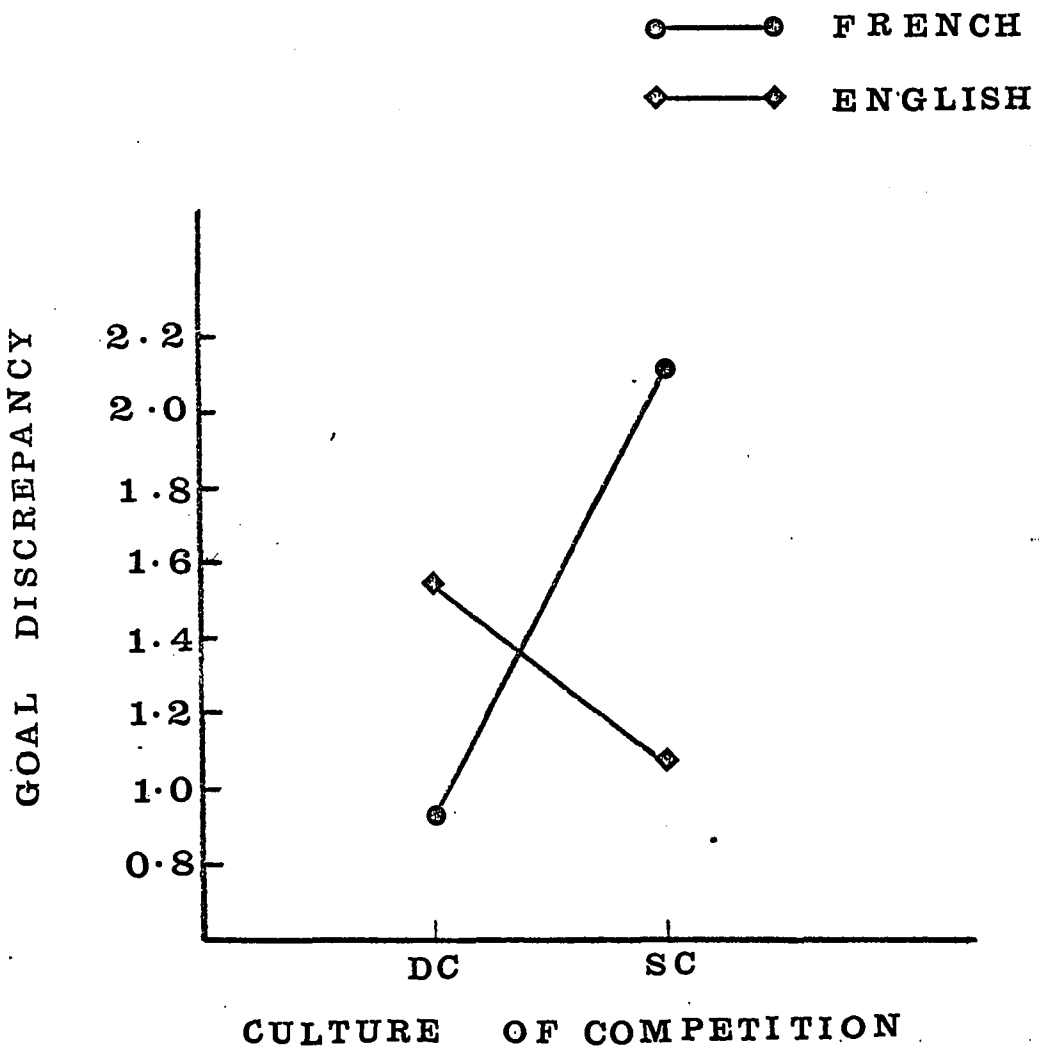

Figure 6. Individuals' goal discrepancy for his own performance. High score means future aspiration is far above past performance, low score means future aspiration is close to past performance.

after failure to reach the stated goal. One can salvage his self-esteem by denying the importance of the task at hand, for example, or attributing failure to some external and accidental happening.

Table 14 shows the results for Ss' evaluation of his own team and that of the other two teams played in the tournament. One significant finding ($p = .0281$) shows that only the DC team is consistently downgraded in playing ability, Figure 7. The interaction shows exactly how this evaluation breaks down into its components (for G x T, $p = .0159$). Remember, the English teams did score more points than the French teams. This would clearly be consistent with the evaluations of the team members concerning the performance of the two teams. The EC Ss praise their own team but are less benevolent with their opponent's ability, both the DC team and the SC team. The FC Ss, since they lost, couldn't very well praise their own team, instead they evaluate highly the same culture team and downgrade the different culture team. This seems to be a patent indication of coping behavior. By raising their evaluation of the SC team's playing ability the FC Ss can feel better about losing to the DC teams, when the DC teams actually did play better. As in the results from the previous section, affective factors seem to play a larger role among the FC Ss than among the EC Ss.

Table 14

Individual's Evaluation of Teams

(Post-Tournament Questionnaire)

Source	df	Mean Square	F-ratio	Prob.*
Total	149	4.0848		
Between	49	5.1151		
Culture	1	.9600	<1	
Error	48	5.2017		
Within	100	3.5800		
Culture of Competitor	2	11.7600	3.678	p=.0281
G by T	2	13.7600	4.303	p=.0159
Error	96	3.1975		

Trial Means	Own Team	SC Team	DC Team
	4.96	4.96	4.12
Group x Trials Means			
English	5.52	4.48	4.28
French	4.40	5.40	3.96

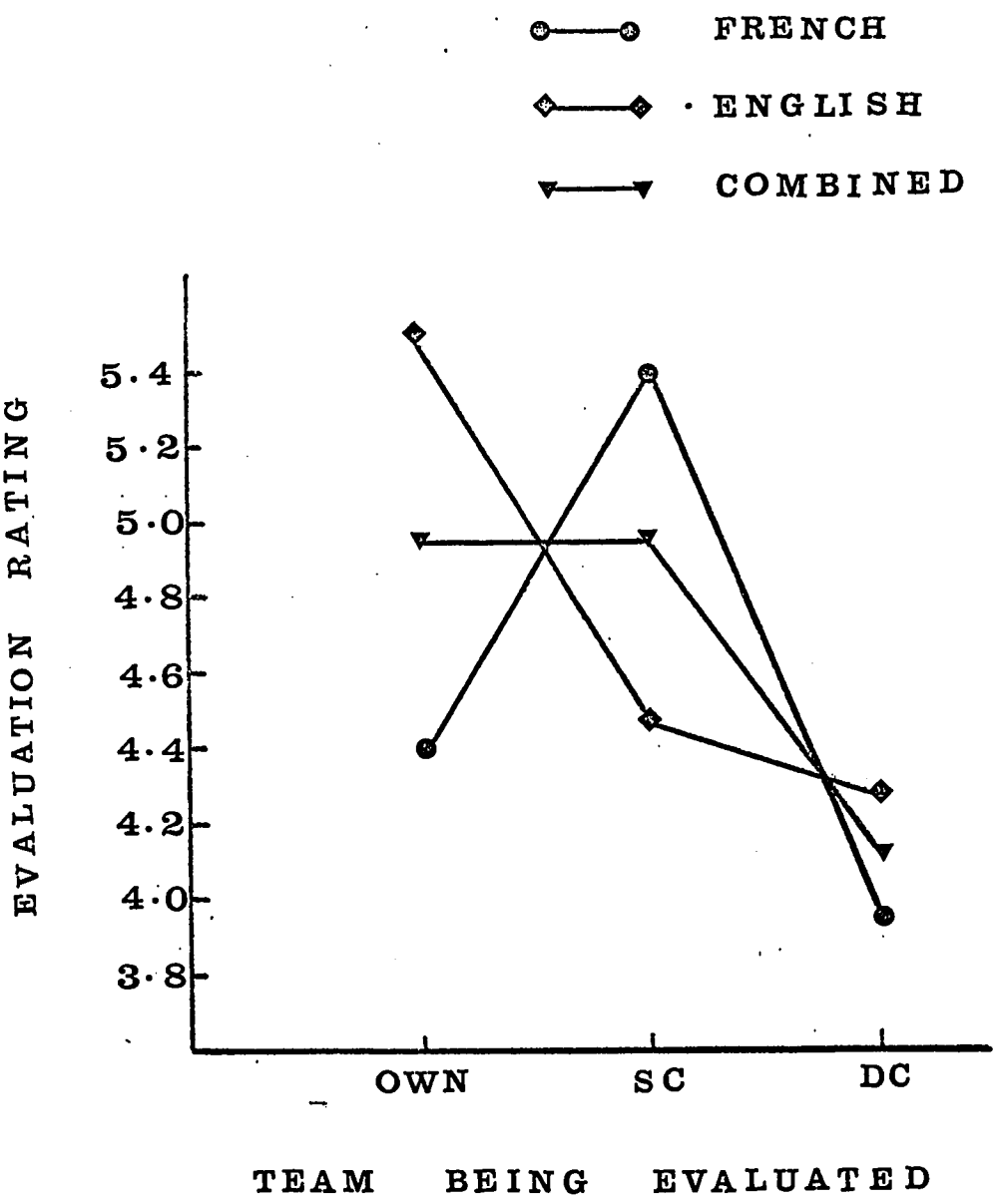

Figure 7. Individuals' evaluations of teams in the tournament, from Post-Tournament questionnaire. High score means favorable evaluation.

DISCUSSION

Various findings from this study throw light on the processes involved in setting aspirations and in evaluating one's own and others' performances. Normally these two topics are treated separately since separate theories have developed for each of them. In certain situations, however, the relation of the two becomes evident. For example, in competitive settings, evaluations of the opponent may affect one's expectations. Even so, others who have used competitive or quasi-competitive experimental situations (e.g., Cope, Vernon & Sigall, 1967; Zander & Medow, 1963) have not attempted to integrate expectation and social evaluation theories. One value of the present study is the pressure it creates on the researcher to attempt such an integration.

Consider first the matter of social evaluation. If one compares evaluations made by individuals alone with those made by groups, it is apparent that individuals evaluate others more favorably. Group evaluations, on the other hand, tend to be bolder and harsher and are generally less favorable. This trend for groups to make less favorable evaluations was particularly noticeable in the present study when groups rated other same-culture groups. For example, it was seen that evaluations of same-culture teams became less favorable comparing Pre-Group and Group results, but became more favorable when Group and Post-Group sessions were compared. In both cases, the highest evaluations of SC teams were made by individuals in the Pre- and Post-Group sessions. When individuals cam together in the Group session, their evaluations dropped.

That is, evaluations of same-culture teams which were higher than those of different-culture teams in the Pre-Group session were lowered in the Group session. By the Post-Group session, same-culture evaluations were again raised relative to different-culture evaluations. This interesting vascillation indicates that individuals in a group setting are more prone to belittle same-culture cut not different-culture competitive groups, since the latter remained low in all three sessions. This pattern of results suggests that one effect of the group on individuals is to raise the status and value of the in-group relative to all other groups. In the process, even evaluations of the same-culture groups are lowered to the level of different-culture groups.

Secondly, a cultural difference in quality of evaluations was noticed in that groups of EC Ss downgraded different-culture groups more than groups of FC Ss did. When Pre-Group and Group comparisons were made, the EC groups lowered their evaluations of different-culture teams while the FC groups raised their evaluations of DC teams (i.e., EC teams). In other words, with repeated measuring, FCs became more favorable towards ECs in particular.

Of primary importance for the present research is the consistent trend shown by FCs to set generally higher aspirations than ECs, regardless of the culture of the competing group. Furthermore, FC aspirations were often highest when they were competing specifically against a different-culture team. In this instance, the different-culture team for the FC boys was an EC team. Since ECs are the traditional rivals

of FCs in Quebec, the higher aspirations of FCs may not be evident with any DC team, but only with regard to ECs. This possibility should be investigated with further research, using other than English competitors.

This pattern of higher expectations noted among FC boys was apparent in both phases of the experiment. In the first phase, FCs showed a strong tendency in the Pre-Group session to have consistently higher expectations in competition with both cultures. In the particular case of FCs competing with DC teams, FCs had higher aspirations when competing against DC teams than against SC teams at the same time as they rated the competence of both the DC and SC teams approximately equal in the Post-Group session. Since the rated abilities of both opposing DC and SC opponents were essentially the same, their higher expectations when competing with DC teams may reflect a selective influence of affect on aspirations.

In the second phase, the tournament itself, FCs' attainment discrepancies were regularly greater than those of ECs. In other words, FC boys were less realistic about their team's future performance. With regard to individual expectations for the team, FC Ss had greater attainment discrepancies with different-culture, i.e., EC, than with same-culture teams. Both phases of the study, then, give quite consistent results, despite the lack of statistical reliability in several comparisons.

There are other quite independent indications that FC youngsters have generally higher expectations. First, Lambert and Klineberg (1963)

found that FC boys have higher "filial-aspiration indices" than do EC boys, suggesting that FC families encourage higher social mobility among their children. At the same time, McClelland (1961), reports that FC Catholic children have less achievement motivation than EC Catholics. From Atkinson's theoretical work, high need achievers prefer moderate goals, while low need achievers choose the extreme goals, either very easy or very difficult ones. One would thus expect ECs with higher achievement need to have more moderate, realistic aspirations, and FCs to have more extreme aspirations, either high or low, because of their lower level of need achievement. The conclusion that FCs have unrealistically high aspirations is strengthened when one looks at the actual social mobility of both groups. From the study by de Jocas and Rocher (in Blishen et al., 1964), it was shown that FCs have lower social mobility than ECs. In other words, FCs have unrealistically high occupational aspirations which are not attained; and from McClellands and Atkinson's work, these unrealistic aspirations may be due to their lower level of need achievement.

Rosen (1959) also found that FCs who have immigrated to the United States have relatively low achievement needs and their families are characterized by father-dominance. However, he also noted that FCs have lower occupational aspirations than the other ethnic or religious groups he studied (Protestants, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Negroes, and French Canadians). Lambert and Klineberg found a relatively high "filial-aspiration" index for FCs. This apparent inconsistency is easily recon-

ciled. Rosen interviewed mothers from six ethnic or religious groups asking them which occupations their sons might have would satisfy them (the mothers). All subgroups of mothers reported that high status positions would, of course, be satisfactory, but mothers from groups low in need achievement (Italians, Negroes and French Canadians) stated they would also be content with lower status positions for their sons whereas mothers in high need achievement groups were content only with more prestigious occupations. Hence the discriminating factor was the range of satisfactory occupations: mothers from high need achievement groups perferred only high status jobs while mothers of low need achievement groups were content with both high and low status jobs.

In contrast, Lambert and Klineberg found that both FC and EC boys, not mothers, desire similar types of occupations. However, FC Ss, more than ECs, aspired to occupations which were more prestigious than those of their fathers. Thus, both FC and EC Ss aspire to high status positions but FCs are less likely to attain them. They must content themselves with lower status jobs.

How can one account for this interesting pattern of lower achievement need and unrealistic expectations noted with FC boys? There are certainly several contributing factors. First, if Tremblay is correct in his estimate that the FC social environment discourages the development of commercial values, one could attribute lower achievement and unrealistic expectations to societal influences, such as a deemphasis of the "Work Ethic." The entire social milieu may retard the develop-

ment of such traits as individual initiative and personal pride in one's accomplishments. McClelland's work on this matter supports the notion that a national temperament may affect the level of need achievement. Consequently, a lowered need achievement would in turn affect aspiration setting among the younger generation.

A second contributing factor to lower need achievement is the type of child-rearing practices which typify any ethnic group. Winterbottom (1958) showed that parents of high need achievers demand mastery of tasks and foster independence at an earlier age than do parents of low need achievers. Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) reported that children from father-dominant families are more likely to have lower need achievement. An ongoing study at McGill (Lambert, Yackley & Nott, 1969) reveals differences in child-rearing techniques among FC and EC parents. For instance, EC parents tend to give somewhat more autonomy to children than do FC parents. Of special interest is the consistent finding in that study that FC fathers and EC mothers are relatively similar in their behavior towards their children. That is, the within-family role played by EC mothers is similar to that played by FC fathers. Generalizing from Rosen and D'Andrades' results, the FC family can be considered father-dominant, hence, the FC family pattern contributes to lower need achievement. These two factors, societal influences and child-rearing techniques, help account for generally lower need achievement which, in turn, could contribute to the unrealistic expectations noted among FC boys.

These factors however do not explain why FC boys have higher aspirations when competing specifically with EC opponents. One possible explanation for this outcome is suggested by current theories of social evaluation. Drawing on studies of group pressures toward conformity and levels of aspiration, Festinger (1950, 1954a, 1954b) developed an important theory of social comparison. In his view, individuals have a need to evaluate their own attitudes and abilities through comparisons with others they see as similar to themselves. If differences are found to exist, pressures to minimize them set in. There are, in other words, social pressures toward group conformity in attitudes and abilities.

Extending Festinger's theory, one may compare other personal qualities as well, e.g., social status, popularity, etc. If in the comparison, one has less of the specific quality than some other person, he may feel relatively deprived. Davis (1959) gives a formal definition of relative deprivation.

> ...(a) When a deprived person compares himself with a nondeprived, the resulting state will be called "relative deprivation." (b) When a nondeprived person compares himself with a deprived person, the resulting state will be called "relative gratification." (p. 283).

Social evaluation, then, is the process of comparing one's own qualities with those of other people. By extension, one can make comparisons within and across groups. Consequently, one can feel relatively deprived by comparing himself to more fortunate others in his own group, but feel relatively gratified in comparison with all others in a different and objectively deprived group. For example, a poor

white would feel relatively deprived compared with some other white from a middle-class background but still feel relatively gratified in comparison with any black, even if that person has status and wealth.

Pettigrew (1967) in a thorough review of the literature applies social evaluation theory to intergroup processes and specifically to race relations in the United States. He reports one study in which those who have high status in a deprived group feel less subjective deprivation than those who have low status in a nondeprived group. Specifically, high status workmen (objectively deprived group) feel less deprived than low status professionals (objectively nondeprived group). Apparently people are not concerned about their absolute standing, but are more influenced by their standing relative to significant others.

Relative deprivation theory can be applied directly to the study of Anderson and Brandt, discussed earlier, where persons in the upper quartile of the class, the relatively nondeprived quartile, exhibited lower aspirations. Those in the lower quartiles, the relatively deprived, had unrealistically high aspirations, apparently due to a disproportionate influence of affective factors. The relationship of social evaluation theory to levels of aspiration would be a fruitful area of further investigation. In the present study it offers a tentative explanation of FCs' higher aspirations when competing against ECs. That is, it may be that FCs feel relatively deprived in comparison to ECs, thus calling into play emotional and wishful desires to do better than they actually expect to do.

What evidence is there that FCs actually do feel relatively deprived? First, it was reported that FCs had a less favorable self-concept than ECs did, although this difference was not statistically significant. However, this is one indication that FCs view themselves in a less enhancing light than ECs do. Second, it will be recalled that compared to the ECs, the FCs steadily gave more favorable evaluations to the EC teams. ECs, on the other hand, gave lower evaluations to the FC teams. Hence, relative to the ECs, FCs have a higher regard for the different-culture teams which may be a symptom of relative deprivation. Although this relationship of relative deprivation to expectations seems reasonable, the exact nature of the relationship requires further clarification.

These, then, are three possible interpretations of the results. Generally higher aspirations of FCs were related (a) to societal influences and (b) to child-rearing practices that may affect need achievement. The specific case of higher FC aspirations when competing against ECs was explained through relative deprivation in social comparison, leading to unrealistic expectations.

Several matters clearly require future investigation. Why do EC boys downgrade different-culture groups more than FC boys do? What factors lead FCs to raise their evaluation of ECs with repeated measurement? Finally, the theoretical relationship of social evaluations to levels of aspirations needs extensive investigation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Original texts are given below; stilted translations were made by the present author.

> Le cours classique prépare surtout de futurs prêtres et de futurs "professionnels". La considération sociale dont il jouit est un signe que l'on continue à approuver une orientation intellectuelle et sociale qui est loin de favoriser l'initiation aux affaires en général ni la formation du businessman en particulier.
>
> Ce qui subsiste en nous du tempérament français détermine une attitude d'apathie ou de défiance envers les "grandes affaires" telles qu'on les conçoit et les pratique généralement dans les pays anglo-saxons.

2. We were assured by the school authorities that the subjects for this study were drawn from the same rental area and hence from the same socio-economic background. However, it was decided to check the actual SES levels using the Pineo and Porter rating scale (1967). The means for EC and FC Ss were 49.63 and 42.91, respectively. A t-test for unequal variance and unequal sample size gave a t value of .284; the critical t is 2.084. Hence, it is assumed that the socio-economic backgrounds of the FC and EC boys are similar.

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Name _____

Groupe _____

English-Canadians

tall	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	short
good	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	bad
dumb	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	smart
nice	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not nice
weak	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	strong
friendly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not friendly
lazy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not lazy
kind	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	mean
fat	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	skinny
fast	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	slow
little	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	big
happy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	sad
not pretty	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	pretty
handsome	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not handsome

French-Canadians

tall	: : : : : :	short
good	: : : : : :	bad
dumb	: : : : : :	smart
nice	: : : : : :	not nice
weak	: : : : : :	strong
friendly	: : : : : :	not friendly
lazy	: : : : : :	not lazy
kind	: : : : : :	mean
fat	: : : : : :	skinny
fast	: : : : : :	slow
little	: : : : : :	big
happy	: : : : : :	sad
not pretty	: : : : : :	pretty
handsome	: : : : : :	not handsome

Me

tall	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	short
good	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	bad
dumb	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	smart
nice	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not nice
weak	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	strong
friendly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not friendly
lazy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not lazy
kind	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	mean
fat	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	skinny
fast	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	slow
little	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	big
happy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	sad
not pretty	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	pretty
handsome	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not handsome

6. Do you think you yourself played well?

- yes, very well
- yes, fairly well
- no, fairly poorly
- no, poorly

Explain why you think so:_____

_____

_____

7. How often have you played this game?

- very often
- fairy often
- not often
- hardly ever

8. How good would you say you are at this game?

- a very good player
- a fairly good player
- a fairly bad player
- a very bad player

Now that you are familiar with this hockey game, we might ask you to take part in a tournament. You would play against two other teams, one team would be made of English players, the other team would have only French players. You will play against each team for 30 minutes.

Before assigning teams though, we would like to have you answer some questions for us.

YOUR TEAM VS FRENCH TEAM

First, you will play against a French team. Answer these questions comparing your own team to the French team:

1) How many points do you think you yourself will score against the French team?

_____

2) What would be your best guess of the final scores? - not the scores you hope for but, the real scores you think there will be. -

Your team _____ score French team _____ score

3) How sure are you of beating the French team?

not sure ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very sure

4) How well do you think your teammates will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

5) How well do you think the French players will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

YOUR TEAM VS ENGLISH TEAM

Now give your answers about the English team you will play against:

1) How many points do you think you yourself will score against the English team?

_____

2) What would be your best guess of the final scores?
- not the scores you hope for but, the real scores you think there will be. -

Your team _____ English team _____
score score

3) How sure are you of beating the English team?

not sure ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very sure

4) How well do you think your teammates will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

5) How well do you think the other team will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

Now that you are familiar with this hockey game, we might ask you to take part in a tournament. You would play against two other teams, one team would be made of English players, the other team would have only French players. You will play against each team for 30 minutes.

Before assigning teams though, we would like to have you answer some questions for us.

YOUR TEAM VS FRENCH TEAM

First, you will play against a French team. Answer these questions comparing your own team to the French team:

2) What would be your best guess of the final scores?
- not the scores you hope for but, the real scores you think there will be. -

Your team _____ score French team _____ score

3) How sure are you of beating the French team?

not sure ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very sure

4) How well do you think your teammates will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

5) How well do you think the French players will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

YOUR TEAM VS ENGLISH TEAM

Now give your answers about the English team you will play against:

2) What would be your best guess of the final scores?
- not the scores you hope for but, the real scores you think there will be. -

Your team _____ score English team _____ score

3) How sure are you of beating the English team?

not sure ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very sure

4) How well do you think your teammates will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

5) How well do you think the other team will play?

very bad ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ very well

NAME:_____ GRADE:_____

Now that you have finished the tournament we'd like you to answer some questions concerning the teams you played.

1. Were you happy with the way the tournament ended up?

Very happy ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not happy at all.

2. How well did you, yourself, play against the French team?

I played very poorly ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ I played very well

3. How well did you, yourself, play against the English team?

I played very well ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ I played very poorly

4. How well did your teammates play?

My teammates played very poorly ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ My teammates played very well

5. How well did the English team play?

The English team played very well ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ The English team played very poorly

6. How well did the French team play?

The French team played very well ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ The French team played very poorly

7.a) If we held another tournament, how many points do you think you would score against the French team?

Your own personal score against the French team: _____

b) How many points do you think you would score against the English team?

Your own personal score against the English team: _____

8. What do you think the final score would be for your whole team against the French team?

Your team score: _____ The French team score: _____

9. What do you think the final score would be for your whole team against the English team?

Your team score: _____ The English team score: _____

10. Finally, why do you think your team won or lost?

_____

_____