WHEN 'WHO WE ARE' AND 'WHO I DESIRE TO BE' APPEAR

DISCONNECTED: INTRODUCING COLLECTIVE/PERSONAL

SELF-DISCREPANCIES AND EXPLORING THEIR RELATIONS

WITH THE PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH AND THE ACADEMIC

OUTCOMES OF ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

Everyone has faced mismatches between how they see themselves and how they desire to be. At times, people compare their present self to the person they hope to become; at other times, they reflect on the skills they wish to acquire. Research stemming from Self-Discrepancy Theory suggests that such self-concept mismatches are associated with poor psychological health and motivation. Yet, the fact that some of us also perceive mismatches when comparing our social group to our desired selves has not been examined. This gap in the literature is an important limitation: according to research stemming from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), especially research pertaining to the collective identity primacy hypothesis (Taylor, 2002), personal components of our self-concept are often derived from collective identities or shaped by group-based experiences. In the present thesis, I build on premises of Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory to introduce two forms of self-concept mismatches: collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (i.e. perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be as an individual and this person's collective identity) and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies (i.e. perceived mismatches between who a person believes they should be as an individual and this person's collective identity). I tested for the psychological health, aspiration, and education correlates and effects of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and of collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies in three manuscripts. In Manuscript 1, I found that collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies are associated with the severity of anxiety and depression symptoms, and results further suggest that these relations are

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mediated by personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. Similarly, the two field studies of Manuscript 2 indicate that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predict the engagement of immigrant adolescents to pursue their personal aspirations (Study 1) as well as their academic outcomes (Study 2), through personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. In Manuscript 3, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predicted the academic disengagement of minority university students (Study 1 and Study 2), even when they were measured two months apart (Study 2), and evidence suggests a mediating role for personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Moreover, Study 1 and Study 2 of Manuscript 3 indicated that relations between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies cannot be attributed to a lack of esteem for their ethnic group, or to mismatches between aspiration-related values and ethnic identity values. Finally, in Study 3, university students subtly led to perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies reported significantly higher academic disengagement than students in a neutral condition. For students in the large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies condition, but not for students in the neutral condition, perceiving larger personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies was associated with higher academic disengagement. These results are discussed in light of the literature on mismatches within the self-concept and identities, and on the barriers impeding the success of ethnic minority students.

RÉSUMÉ

On a tous a déjà constaté des différences entre la personne que l'on est et la personne que l'on désire être (i.e. théorie de l'autodivergence, Higgins, 1987). On constate parfois un écart entre la personne que l'on est et la personne que l'on espère devenir; il arrive également que l'on réfléchisse à l'écart entre les habiletés que l'on possède et celles que l'on souhaiterait avoir. La littérature sur la théorie de l'autodivergence ('Self-Discrepancy Theory') a largement contribué à identifier les effets néfastes associés au fait de percevoir de tels écarts entre soi actuel et soi idéal ('actual/ideal self-discrepancies'), et de percevoir de tels écarts entre soi actuel et soi obligé ('actual/ought self-discrepancies'). Toutefois, les effets de percevoir un écart entre une identité de groupe et la personne que l'on désire devenir sont toujours inconnus. Pourtant, la théorie de l'identité sociale, et particulièrement l'hypothèse de Taylor (2002) sur la primauté des identités sociales, suggère que les aspects du soi qui apparaissent comme très personnels sont souvent construits et développés à partir d'identités sociales. Pour combler cette lacune dans la littérature, la présente thèse doctorale introduit deux nouvelles formes d'autodivergence: l'autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi idéal (i.e. les écarts perçus entre la personne que l'on aspire à devenir et une identité sociale) et l'autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi obligé (i.e. les écarts perçus entre la personne que l'on se sent obligé d'être et une identité sociale). Dans l'étude du manuscrit 1, une plus grande autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi personnel obligé est reliée à des symptômes plus sévères d'anxiété et de dépression, et l'autodivergence entre soi actuel et soi personnel obligé agit comme médiateur. De plus, les deux études de terrain du manuscrit 2 indiquent qu'une plus

grande autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi personnel idéal est associée à la motivation des adolescents issus des communautés immigrantes à réaliser leurs ambitions (étude 1) et à réussir à l'école (étude 2), un processus dont le médiateur serait l'autodivergence entre soi actuel et soi personnel idéal. Dans le manuscrit 3, cette même autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi personnel idéal est associée au désengagement académique d'étudiants universitaires appartenant à des groupes minoritaires, que ce désintérêt soit mesuré le même jour que l'autodivergence (études 1 et 2) ou deux mois plus tard (étude 2). Les résultats suggèrent également que l'autodivergence entre soi actuel et soi personnel idéal agit comme médiateur de ces relations. Ces résultats indiquent aussi que la relation entre désengagement académique et autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi personnel idéal ne peut pas être expliquée par des difficultés à valoriser et être fier d'appartenir à un groupe ethnique. Ils ne peuvent pas non plus être attribués à une divergence entre les valeurs associées aux aspirations des étudiants issus de groupes minoritaires et les valeurs des groupes ethniques de ces étudiants. Enfin, dans l'étude 3, des étudiants universitaires subtilement amenés à percevoir une grande autodivergence entre leur identité sociale et leur soi personnel idéal ont rapporté plus de désengagement académique que ceux assignés à une condition neutre. Pour les étudiants amenés à percevoir cette grande autodivergence entre identité sociale et soi personnel idéal (mais pas pour les étudiants placés dans une condition neutre), percevoir une autodivergence entre soi personnel actuel et soi personnel idéal est relié à plus de désengagement académique. Ces résultats sont discutés à la lumière de la littérature sur les divergences dans le soi et l'identité et sur les barrières freinant les étudiants de groupes minoritaires.

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CONTRIBUTION OF AUTHORS

As the first author on all three manuscripts presented in this thesis, I took the lead in developing ideas, designing studies, establishing research partnerships with the community, collecting data, conducting analyses, interpreting the results, and writing the manuscripts. My supervisor, Donald M. Taylor, has greatly help me to refine my ideas, to identify the best research questions and their follow-up questions, and to learn how to write compelling academic papers. He has also guided me while I navigated complex literatures. My other co-author, Maya Rossignac-Milon, has provided support with initial drafts while I was first learning to write in English, and eventually helped me with study designs, particularly with the experiment. They have both contributed to the arguments presented in all three manuscripts, by spending considerable time discussing them with me and occasionally developing them in writing. The three manuscripts in this thesis could have hardly been written without their generous comments and their support.

PREFACE

In the present thesis, I introduce two new forms of mismatches in the self-concept, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. In six studies presented in three manuscripts, I present research suggesting that these new forms of self-concept mismatches are associated to poor consequences for psychological health and motivation. These results further suggest that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies appear to be antecedents of self-discrepancies experienced at the personal level, and which can be the source of dire consequences.

Together, the studies presented in these three manuscripts provide solid ground for arguing that perceived mismatches between personal ideal selves and collective identities represent a distinct phenomenon that had not been accounted for by previous research. They also indicate that these mismatches are relevant to the experiences of high school students from less privilege backgrounds, as well as to the experiences of undergraduate students attending a prestigious university, regarding their psychological health symptoms as well as their motivation. These studies present limits and many questions remain unanswered; yet, this program of research represents a significant contribution to the social psychology and to the cultural psychology literatures.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Born and raised by Haitian parents in the city of Montreal, I have witnessed first-hand the struggles of members of ethnic communities. The negotiation of complex and at times conflicting identities particularly captured my attention. For instance, developing bonds with the national culture of their new society or maintaining ties with the ethnic culture associated with their heritage are common challenges for immigrants, and both have been focus of a large amount of academic research. However, my community work with young females of Haitian descent in the East side of Montreal, with immigrant adolescents in the Côte-des-Neiges district, and with racialized university students at McGill, has allowed me to observe another form of identity struggle that has received far less theoretical and empirical attention.

Although youths from immigrant communities often "dream big", many seem unsure of whether they, as members of their ethnic community, have a place in, or the characteristics to, succeed in spheres of high achievement. These minority youths are often very proud of their ethnic communities, and believe that these communities have a lot to contribute to society. At the same time, they often sense a form of disconnect between their personal aspirations and their ethnic identities. It is not so much that they see a gap in the values associated with their ethnic group and the values associated with their personal aspirations. They do not report lacking support from their ethnic communities when pursuing their personal aspirations either; to the contrary, they feel that their communities encourage them to dream big. Minority students' doubts about their place in spheres of high achievement rather appear rooted in the impression that the characteristics that they see as important and

common amongst those who meet their personal aspirations are not common amongst members of their ethnic group. This, I have observed, results in many youth from immigrant communities believing that their ethnic identities and personal aspirations do not align well.

The association between ethnic identities and personal aspirations has not been studied. Nonetheless, it could contribute to the aspiration paradox—the phenomenon whereby many immigrant students are ambitious and have high aspirations for themselves (Frostick, Phillips, Renton, & Moore, 2016; Krahn & Taylor, 2005) while fully engaging in the pursuit and attaining these personal aspirations appears difficult for them (Hill & Torres, 2010; Smith, Schneider, & Ruck, 2005). A number of explanations have been proposed to shed light on this phenomenon, such as the mismatch between minority youths' personal aspirations and their expectations to meet these aspirations as individuals (Constantine, Erickson, Banks, & Timberlake, 1998; Mickelson, 1990). Another explanation for this phenomenon is youths' lack of concrete strategies to achieve their personal aspirations (Oyserman, Terry, & Bybee, 2006). Obvious other explanations include factors that impede minority students' achievement in school, such as prejudice and discrimination (Chavous, et al., 2008; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), sensitivity to rejection (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008) feelings of belonging uncertainty (Walton & Cohen, 2007, 2011), the undermining sense of threat that follows from being reminded of negative stereotypes during a performance (i.e. stereotype threat, Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002).

I propose that perceiving large mismatches between their ethnic identities and their personal aspirations is another psychological factor that explains why many minority students dream big but eventually disengage from their personal aspirations. In the present thesis, I examine this idea by asking if perceiving mismatches between their ethnic identities and their personal aspirations predict poor psychological health, as well as poor aspirational and educational outcomes for ethnic minority students. To do so, I turn to psychological theories of the self and identity that point to mechanisms associated with collective identities and perceptions of self-concept inconsistencies.

I will describe the theoretical and empirical background supporting my rationale in the present chapter. First, I will introduce working definitions of the self and some of its related components. Second, I will review research stemming from Self-Discrepancy Theory, which focuses on mismatches in the self-concept and their outcomes. Third, I will discuss Social Identity Theory literature on the effects and correlates of group experiences and collective identities. Fourth, I will introduce two forms of collective/personal self-discrepancies, develop hypotheses pertaining to them, and clarify how they are distinct from other concepts.

In three manuscripts, my co-authors and I investigate the potential effects and correlates of collective/personal self-discrepancies, i.e. perceived mismatches between collective identities and personal desired selves. In the cross-sectional study of Manuscript 1, we will introduce two forms of collective/personal self-discrepancies, and examine whether they can predict the severity of anxiety and depression symptoms. In the two field studies with immigrant adolescents of

Manuscript 2, we will focus on the role of collective/personal self-discrepancies in predicting minority adolescents' aspiration engagement (Study 1) and academic outcomes (Study 2). In Manuscript 3, we aim to clarify the contribution of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in predicting the academic disengagement amongst minority university students. Cross-sectional Study 1 and longitudinal Study 2 will allow ruling out various factors that speak to ethnic minority students' ethnic identities or to ethnic minority students' academic outcomes, whereas experimental Study 3 will test whether collective/personal self-discrepancies increase academic disengagement.

Selves and identities: working definitions

Scholars and philosophers have speculated about the nature of the self since Plato. Today, the term is associated with a myriad of meanings. For instance, the term self is often used to describe the conscious part of us that experiences life from our point of view, thinking our thoughts, sensing our sensations, remembering our memories, and recording what happens to us as it is occurring in real time (Leary & Tangney, 2003). When used in this sense, the self refers to the experience of being conscious, and of being an acting agent. However, this meaning of the self as an agent, while common in the literature, does not correspond to what I have in mind when I use the word self in the present thesis.

In the present program of research, my working definition of the self includes "perceptions, thoughts, and feelings about oneself" (Leary & Tangney, 2003, p.7). When used in this sense, the self encompasses the various answers that a person

might give to the question "who am I" or "how would I describe myself". People tend to answer this question by relying on their own definition of themselves and on their perception of who they are, which often includes characteristics, traits, skills, habits, and groups they belong to. For example, someone could answer these questions with "I am a girl, I am a graduate student, I am a basket-ball player, I am a drummer, I am a science geek, I am a Latina, I am a Canadian, I have strong critical thinking skills, or I am generous".

Therefore, my working definition of the self, which I will use interchangeably with the word self-concept, includes personal aspects of the self, such as self-defining goals and traits, but also collective identities—the term that I will use to describe the ensemble of components of the self that are associated with group membership and experiences. I argue that a person possesses a collective identity for each important group that this person is a member of. Each of these collective identities encompasses a person's answers to the question "who are we" or "how would we describe ourselves", particularly the answers that reflect what is self-defining for a group and what makes a group distinct. For instance, a female graduate student could answer these questions with "on the whole, we, Latinas and Latinos, tend to be caring, warm, passionate, generous, hardworking".

In the present thesis, I will discuss a specific type of collective identity, ethnic identity, as well as several related terms, such as ethnic minority students and ethnic minority groups. I will label ethnic minority groups the groups of people who share ethnic origins (i.e. a culture, a language, and a history) or to describe people who are from the same racialized group (because it is sometimes the manner in which

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individuals describe their ethnic origins and ancestry). The term minority students will refer to students who belong to ethnic or racialized groups that are not dominant in Canada or in Quebec, whether they are of European descent or not. Therefore, by ethnic minority group, I do not mean the same thing as 'visible minority group' or 'racialized group', since some individuals who would describe themselves as White and, yet, have origins are strongly rooted in a non-Canadian ethnicity, will be described as members of ethnic minority groups.

Belonging to minority groups

A vast literature suggests that belonging to social groups deeply influences how people see themselves and what they choose to accomplish (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Brewer, 1991; Cameron, 2004). The influence of social groups is stronger when they are salient and perceived as important. Ethnic groups represent one of the five most important forms of social identities (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995) and members of ethnic minority groups tend to give a central place to their minority identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Phinney, 1996; Yip, 2005). In that sense, I would argue that although ethnic identities are important for most people, they are particularly important for members of minority groups.

Belonging to social groups contributes to people's motivation. Notably, group experiences and identities contribute to selection of goals and motivation to achieve them (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Oyserman, 2007). For instance, believing that they fit with or are part of a community motivates people to meet the goals associated with this community (Master & Walton, 2013; Walton, Cohen, Cwir, & Spencer, 2012).

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Moreover, minority group members tend to devalue the subjects and domains in which they believe that their group does not perform well (Crocker & Major, 1989). They also use collective identities as a means to interpret the meaning of the difficulties that arise while they pursue goals (Elmore & Oyserman, 2012; Oyserman & Destin, 2010; Smith & Oyserman, 2015).

Belonging to social groups also shapes personal components of individuals' self-concept, according to the Social Identity Theory literature (e.g. Hogg & Turner, 1987). For instance, research on self-stereotyping suggests that people who highly identify with a group tend to internalize the components that they associate with this group's collective identity (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). In a similar line of thought, Taylor (2002) postulates that defining the personal self-concept involves comparing oneself to one's group and internalizing components of its collective identity, to the point where personal self-aspects are often derived from collective identities. Empirical findings somewhat support this idea, as strong connections have been found between collective and self-esteem experienced at the personal level (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994), as well as between the clarity of collective identities and personal self-concept clarity (Usborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). Thus, collective identities contribute to building aspects of the self-concept that appear rooted in personal experiences, such as goals and traits.

The relation between belonging to minority groups and academic achievement is more complex. Although minority students who highly identify with their minority group tend to perform well in school (Miller-Cotto & Burnes, 2016), the literature

suggests the possibility that minority students perceive mismatches between their

ethnic identity and their ambitions. Low status groups are often judged negatively

(Biernat & Dovidio, 2000), especially in regards to their competence (Caprariello,

Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Ethnic minority students'

performance directly suffers from the fact that they belong to negatively stereotyped

groups. For instance, the fear of confirming negative stereotypes generates stress and

anxiety impedes performance (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Experiencing this

stereotype threat in school is common amongst ethnic minority students (Gonzales,

Blanton, & Williams, 2002; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008), and impedes even the

performance of those who are conscious of the negative stereotypes about their

group, but who do not endorse them (Leyens, Désert, Croizet, & Darcis).

Moreover, many minority students are not convinced that they fit and belong

in a university setting: in fact, interventions reducing their belonging uncertainty

feelings improve dramatically their school performance (Walton & Cohen, 2007,

2011). Furthermore, perceiving that their group is unfairly treated or discriminated

against, particularly in school settings, is associated with minority students' academic

disengagement (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001; Smalls, White, Chavous, &

Sellers, 2007), lower grades (Huyn & Fuligni, 2010), and worse academic outcomes

(Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).

Anticipating and being sensitive to discrimination is also associated with reduced

identification with academic institutions (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey,

2008). Therefore, minority students are often exposed to the idea that being a member

of their ethnic, racialized, or immigrant community does not fit with high

achievement spheres, and this idea impedes their school performance.

Whether they internalize these stereotypes or not, many minority students see

a degree of disconnect between belonging to their minority group and achieving. For

instance, some minority students feel forced to choose between achieving in school

and identifying with their minority group (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Fordham & Ogbu,

1986), or report that academic achievement is not a component of their minority

group identity (Altschul, Oyserman & Bybee, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2003), thus

suggesting that they perceive a disconnect between the two. Together, these findings

emphasize the potential for minority students to internalize the idea that there is a

mismatch between their minority identity and their personal aspiration. Yet,

mismatches within the self-concept have not been examined in relation with the

academic outcomes of minority students.

Self-Discrepancy Theory: Examining mismatches within the self-concept

Much research has emphasized the negative consequences associated with

perceiving incoherence between different aspects of the self-concept. Individuals

under the impression that they show very different facets of themselves when they

take on different roles face poor outcomes like depression (Donahue, Robins,

Roberts, & John, 1993; English & Chen, 2011). Similarly, people who see their self-

concept as coherent tend to be better adjusted (Aronson, Cohen, & Nail, 1999;

McAdams, 2001; Steele, 1988). Thus, a coherent self-concept, in which different

self-aspects align well with each other, is associated with better adjustment overall,

whereas an incoherent self-concept, in which different self-aspects are not well aligned with each other, is associated with worse adjustment overall.

Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) was developed with the purpose of clarifying the distinct effects associated with different self-concept mismatches. In parallel to the research of Markus and Nurius (1986) on desired selves, Higgins (1987) developed a theory of mismatches between desired selves and other aspects of the self-concept. In a seminal paper, he introduced two forms of self-discrepancy involving desired selves (i.e. desires that people have about who they want to be) and they are distinct. The *ideal self* is the desired self that represents the traits, skills, and habits someone wishes they had—those associated with this person's aspirations. The *ought self* is the desired self that represents the traits, skills, and habits someone believes he/she should have—those associated with this person's duties, obligations, and responsibilities.

Whereas ideal selves represent the characteristics people dream of having, ought selves represent the characteristics people feel obliged to display. Imagine a law student who admires the eloquence of great litigators and the rigor of higher court judges. Eloquence and rigor are components of the ideal self for this law student, because it is something he dreams of becoming. In contrast, this student has also internalized that looking sharp is necessary, in order to appear professional and intimidating to opposing parties, as well as being meticulous and detailed-oriented, in order to use every useful aspect of the jurisprudence. As such, sharpness and meticulousness are associated with his ought self.

Both ideal and ought selves can be contrasted with the actual self—the traits,

skills, and habits someone believes they possess. Actual/ideal self-discrepancies describe mismatches between the characteristics that individuals *aspire* to possess and the ones they believe they *actually* possess. Perceiving a large actual/ideal self-discrepancy signifies that someone believes they are far from the person they hope to be. Higgins (1987) postulates that actual/ideal self-discrepancies can lead to low energy and negative moods that often follow a loss of hope, extending even to symptoms of depression. If a graduate student feels that he is not as eloquent and rigorous as he ideally wants to be, he will perceive large actual/ideal self-discrepancies. In turn, perceiving large actual/ideal self-discrepancies will lead him to feel sad and disappointed with himself.

Actual/ought self-discrepancies capture mismatches between the characteristics individuals perceive they *should* have and the ones that they believe they *actually* possess. Someone who perceives this form of self-concept mismatch faces the consequences of failing to meet important standards and obligations. Higgins (1987) postulates that large actual/ought self-discrepancies can lead to stress and fear, and even to symptoms of anxiety. If the aforementioned student does not feel that he looks sufficiently sharp or is sufficiently meticulous, he will perceive large actual/ought self-discrepancies. As a consequence, he might feel very stressed and anxious.

The findings of many studies provide support for the hypothesis that actual/ideal self-discrepancies uniquely predict depression and that actual/ought self-discrepancies uniquely predict anxiety (Higgins, Bond, Klein & Strauman, 1986; Strauman, 1989; Strauman, Vookles, Berenstein, Chaiken, & Higgins, 1991). For

example, in a study by Strauman and Higgins (1987), participants were asked to describe traits or attributes pertaining to their ideal or ought selves, and then to indicate how much they felt they actually possessed each attribute during a pretest session. Four weeks later, students who had reported large actual/ideal self-discrepancies during the pretest tended to feel more dejected, but not more agitated, when presented with attributes associated with their ideal selves. To the contrary, students who had reported large actual/ought self-discrepancies during the pretest tended to feel more agitated, but not more dejected, when presented with attributes associated with their ought selves.

Similarly, empirical findings suggest associations between large actual/ideal self-discrepancies and more dejection-related emotions and depression symptoms (Phillips & Silvia, 2010; Strauman & Higgins, 1987), lower self-esteem (McDaniel & Grice, 2008; Renaud & McConnell, 2007), lower contentment and happiness (Carver, Lawrence, & Scheier, 1999), loss of sexual interest or pleasure (Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Barlow, 1998), and even higher levels of hopelessness and suicidal thoughts (Cornette, Strauman, Abramson, & Busch, 2009; Orbach, Mikulincer, Stein, & Cohen, 1998). In contrast, actual/ought self-discrepancies are associated with agitation-related emotions (Alexander & Higgins, 1993; Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986), anger (Strauman & Higgins, 1988), anxiety (Scott & O'Hara, 1993; Strauman, 1989), and social phobia (Weilage & Hope, 1999).

However, the relations between self-discrepancies and psychological health outcomes are more complex (Boldero & Francis, 2000; McDaniel & Grice, 2008; Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Barlow, 1998). In a study conducted by Phillips and

Sylvia (2010), actual/ought self-discrepancies predicted both anxiety and depression symptoms, whereas actual/ideal self-discrepancies only predicted depression symptoms. When discussing the findings from the Self-Discrepancy literature, Higgins (1999) noted that distinct effects for actual/ideal and actual/ought self-discrepancies were more likely to be found when comparing people whose self-discrepancies were particularly large, or when making only one of the two self-discrepancies salient. Despite less straightforward findings, there is no debate about the fact that perceiving large self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects is associated with poor psychological health and negative emotional consequences (Halliwell & Dittmar, 2006; Mikulincer, 1995; Phillips & Silvia, 2005; Tykocinskl, Higgins, & Chaiken, 1994).

In addition to their decidedly negative consequences for mental health, large actual/ideal self-discrepancies are also connected with motivation (Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Roney & Sorrentino, 1995), including academic outcomes. Students who report large actual/ideal self-discrepancies find academic achievement tasks more difficult and time-consuming (Cantor et al., 1987). Moreover, selecting ambitious goals and aspirations during adolescence is sometimes associated with large mismatches between ideal and actual characteristics (Pinquart, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 2004). Notably adolescents who report large actual/ideal self-discrepancies tend to report lower academic achievement in high school (Ferguson, Hafen, & Laursen, 2010). Therefore, self-discrepancies are associated with poor consequences for psychological health, but also for motivation.

Self-Discrepancy Theory research focuses almost exclusively on discrepancies between personal aspects of the self-concept. The handful of exceptions to this trend includes studies examining discrepancies between two collective aspects of the self-concept (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Sekerdej & Roccas, 2016). For instance, the research of Bizman and Yinon tests assumptions of Self-Discrepancy Theory at the collective level. In two studies, they found that Israelis who perceive a large discrepancy between whom they believe Israelis are, and whom they believe Israelis should be, report lower collective self-esteem and higher agitation-related emotions when thinking about Israelis (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001).

To date, no research has examined the relation between personal and collective self-aspects in the context of self-concept mismatches. Yet, if dramatic consequences are associated with contrasting different components of the self-concept, such as ideal and actual selves, one can ask whether similar outcomes would also follow from contrasting desired selves and group identities. This gap in the literature led me to merge Self-Discrepancy Theory assumptions with assumptions underlying another major theory of the self, Social Identity Theory, which has emphasized the often underestimated contribution of collective identities.

Social Identity Theory: the effect of the collective on personal identities

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was developed in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, in a movement challenging the American psychology tendency

to focus on the individual. European social psychologists aimed to bring the "social" back into "social psychology", notably by investigating the impact of groups on individuals (for a review, see Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). As such, it is not surprising that social identity theorists highlight the influence of collective identities on the self-concept. For instance, Tajfel and Turner (1979) theorized that individuals categorize themselves and other people as members of social groups, and have a need to belong to groups that provide positive and distinct collective identities.

Using Social Identity Theory as an umbrella framework, many researchers have since elaborated on the relation between collective and personal identities (e.g. Oyserman, Terry, & Bybee, 2006). For instance, some researchers examined the phenomenon whereby people describe themselves using the characteristics of prototypical members of groups that are central to them, which is referred to as self-stereotyping (Hogg & Turner, 1987). In line with their work, Spears, Doosje and Ellemers (1997) found that people who highly identify with groups tend to derive their personal characteristics from the characteristics they believe are typical of their group. The effects of self-stereotyping are stronger when people highly identify with a group that is threatened (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), or when their collective identity is salient and people who know them well expect them to conform to stereotypes (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006). Thus, research on self-stereotyping supports the idea that aspects of significant collective identities are internalized and become personal aspects of the self-concept.

Taylor's (2002) collective identity primacy hypothesis further highlights the key role of collective identities. According to Taylor, people want to accomplish

many projects that feel very personal to them; however, the types of projects that they will choose, the roadmap they use to plan goal pursuit, their definition of accomplishment, and the value they will place on accomplishment are likely to be heavily influenced by their key social groups. People also establish what distinguishes them individually through comparisons with members of groups they belong to. In short, Taylor argues that personal self-aspects are crafted on a platform comprising group-based standards and norms. He concludes that collective identities have a psychological "primacy" over personal identities—that personal self-aspects are largely built from collective self-aspects.

Following this principle, Taylor (2002) theorizes that it is difficult for anyone to build a clear personal identity without having a clear sense of what their collective identities encompass. Together with Usborne, he found that people view their personal self-concept as unclear when they have difficulty describing their collective identities in clear terms (Usborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). Drawing from the same principle, Taylor postulates that people's personal self-esteem is partly built on the collective self-esteem associated with groups that are important to them. These expectations were supported by correlations between collective self-esteem and self-esteem experienced at the individual level (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994). Thus, empirical and theoretical work stemming from Social Identity Theory suggests that personal aspects of the self-concept are influenced by collective identities, although the extent to which they do so is still an open question.

Collective/personal self-discrepancies: a new form of self-concept mismatches

The role of collective identities in shaping personal experiences is often underestimated (Abrams & Hogg, 2001). Thus, it is not surprising that many theories focusing on personal aspects of the self-concept, like Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987), have not examined the interplay between personal and collective components of the self-concept. Yet, after revisiting Self-Discrepancy Theory concepts in the context of the Social Identity Theory framework, it appears that self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects might be influenced by collective self-aspects. Specifically, perceiving mismatches between our present actual selves and our desired selves might originate in part from perceptions of mismatches between our collective identities and our desired selves.

I thus propose that personal self-aspects involved in self-discrepancies are partially derived from collective self-aspects. Although I would argue that many actual, ideal, and ought selves are influenced by group experiences, and that there are many different manners in which these actual, ideal, and ought selves can be paired to produce self-concept mismatches when contrasted, the present thesis will focus on the link between personal desired selves and collective identities. Specifically, I introduce *collective/personal self-discrepancies*—perceived mismatches between who a person wants to be as an individual (i.e. a desired self) and this person's collective identity. Paralleling the conceptual distinction introduced by Higgins (1987), I will distinguish between two forms of collective/personal self-discrepancies. *Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies*—perceived mismatches between who a person believes they should be as an individual (i.e. an ought self) and this

person's collective identity—will be contrasted with *collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies*—perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be as an individual (i.e. an ideal self) and this person's collective identity.

Table 1. Conceptual distinctions introduced in the present program of research

Distinctions introduced by Higgins (1987)	Distinctions introduced in the present thesis
Personal/personal self-discrepancies: *perceived mismatches between who a person wants to be as an individual and who this person is (usually labelled 'self-discrepancies', renamed here for clarity purposes)*	**Collective/personal self-discrepancies:** *perceived mismatches between who a person wants to be as an individual and this person's collective identity (encompasses collective actual/personal ideal and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies)*
Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies: *perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be as an individual and who this person is (usually labelled 'actual/ideal self-discrepancies', renamed here for clarity purposes).*	**Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies:** *perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be as an individual and this person's collective identity*
Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies: *perceived mismatches between whom a person feels obligated to be as an individual and who this person is (usually labelled 'actual/ought self-discrepancies', renamed here for clarity purposes).*	**Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies:** *perceived mismatches between who a person feels obligated to be as an individual and this person's collective identity*

I will examine the relation between collective/personal self-discrepancies and the forms of self-discrepancies proposed by Higgins (1987). However, for clarity purposes, I will label the self-discrepancies occurring at the individual level that were described by Higgins (1987) *personal/personal self-discrepancies*—perceived mismatches between who a person wants to be as an individual (i.e. a desired self) and who this person is (i.e. an actual self). I will distinguish *personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies*—perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be as an individual (i.e. an ideal self) and who this person is (i.e. an actual self); from

personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies—perceived mismatches between

whom a person believes they should be as an individual (i.e. an ought self) and who

this person is (i.e. an actual self). These conceptual distinctions are detailed below, in

Table 1.

Collective/personal self-discrepancy premises

An assumption underlying the present program of research is that individuals

who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies disengage from

their aspirations and are less motivated. As indicated in the literature reviewed

earlier, personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with poor

motivation and academic outcomes, whereas group experiences and collective

identities influence motivation. A recent trend of research even suggests that

increases in motivation follow from selecting goals congruent with one's group

identity (Oyserman, 2007; Destin & Oyserman, 2010). Thus, I expect collective

actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies to be associated with motivation.

Another key hypothesis is that individuals are prone to perceive large

personal/personal self-discrepancies if they perceive large collective/personal self-

discrepancies. Indeed personal components of the self are in part derived from

collective components of the self. In this sense, peoples' perceptions of their personal

identity, including the traits, skills, and habits that they believe they possess as

individuals, as well as the traits, skills, and habits that they desire to possess, are

likely to be shaped by the collective identities that form their frame of reference. In

that sense, collective/personal self-discrepancies could be an antecedent of

personal/personal self-discrepancies; they could indirectly predict outcomes that usually follow from personal/personal self-discrepancies, such as depression and anxiety symptoms.

The present research will examine the potential correlates and effects of collective/personal self-discrepancies for minority group members. Before describing my doctoral program of research, it appears necessary to discuss my conceptualization of collective/personal self-discrepancies in another regard. Stereotype threat and mismatches in cultural values (such as cultural distance, cultural discontinuity, or embedded achievement) may come to mind when reflecting on collective/personal self-discrepancies. While these notions share similarities with collective/personal self-discrepancies, they are distinct. I will briefly discuss in what aspect they are similar and dissimilar from collective/personal self-discrepancies in the next two sections, before presenting the program of research and resulting manuscripts of the present thesis.

Distinctions pertaining to mismatches in cultural values

The concept of cultural distance was initially developed to explain the successes and failures of companies and organizations that begin operating in a new country. Introducing these notions, Hofstede (1980) argues that four dimensions are critical to workplaces. The four dimensions that he identifies pertain to differences in how power inequality and uncertainty are tolerated and managed in a specific culture, as well as whether norms reflect values for relationship ties or for traditional gender roles. Since they would be present in a wider set of cultures and capture all universal

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values rather than solely workplace values (Drogendijka & Slangen, 2006), some researchers argue that cultural distance should be assessed using scores associated with all 56 values identified by Schwartz and his colleagues (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990; Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2001). No matter how cultural distance is assessed, larger mismatches between two cultures should be associated with more business difficulties according to this theory.

Beyond successful business ventures, the idea that immigrants' adjustment and adaptation is associated with cultural distance eventually became prevalent in the literature. For instance, Berry (1997) expects cultural distance to influence the adjustment of immigrants because it should predict the likelihood that immigrants face conflicts in their new society, as well as the extent to which they will need to adapt themselves. Whether it is assessed using Hofstede's four dimensions (Chirkov, Lynch, & Niwa, 2005), using Schwartz's values scores (Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou, 2015), or using perceived differences between their national and ethnic cultures in terms of lifestyle, climate, food, languages, or values (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Ward & Kennedy, 1993), wider cultural distance is associated with emotional and social difficulties.

Somewhat similarly, the idea of cultural discontinuity has been useful to explain the educational challenges that certain minority groups confront, particularly indigenous communities (e.g. Tharp, 1989). Cultural discontinuity captures the differences in behaviors displayed at school or at home that are rooted in different cultural values and traditions (Tyler et al., 2008). For example, school systems in Canada and in the United States would be largely influenced by individualistic values

characterized by independence and, therefore, students would be discouraged from displaying the interdependent behaviors that characterize collectivistic cultures. Manifestations of cultural discontinuity notably include differences in communication styles. For instance, in some cultures, students are eager to answer questions and raise their hands to do so when in the classroom; in other cultures, they are used to be called upon by authority when their participation is needed; whereas in other cultures still, students are used to jump into discussions and intervene without asking first for the right to speak. No matter the source of cultural discontinuity, children are distressed when the gap between the school behaviors and the home behaviors is wide (Cholewa & West-Olatunji, 2008). Furthermore, Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2006) introduced the idea of embedded achievement to explain the difficulties of minority students. Embedded achievement captures the idea that achievement is deeply valued by a racial or ethnic minority group, such that achieving is perceived as a positive contribution to this minority group. For example, it has been suggested that Latinx or African American students do not feel that achievement is valued in their community, and therefore tend to obtain lower grades (Altschul et al., 2006; Oyserman & Yoon, 2009).

With their focus on cultural differences and mismatches, the notions of cultural distance, cultural discontinuity, and embedded achievement somewhat resemble collective/personal self-discrepancies. Yet, these concepts are distinct. Tenants of these theories claim that cultural distance and cultural discontinuity assess how different two cultural groups are and predict the likelihood that people from one culture adjust to the other, or to school settings displaying the other culture.

Moreover, cultural distance, cultural discontinuity, and embedded achievement are all notions pertaining to differences in values. In contrast, collective/personal self-discrepancies do not capture cultural differences in traits or in values. Collective/personal self-discrepancies focus on mismatches between a desired personal self and a collective identity, rather than between the traits or values associated with two collective identities. As such, collective/personal self-discrepancies do not capture variations between the national culture of the society they live in and the heritage culture of their ethnic group.

One could ask whether characteristics associated with high aspirations are typical of the national culture that ethnic minority groups live in. This hypothesis would be particularly relevant if most minority students had high aspirations that were closely associated with the national culture of the society they live in. For example, if most minority students dreamed of being hockey players or snowmobile engineers, aspirations associated with the Canadian culture, then cultural distance and collective/personal self-discrepancies might be more closely related. However, immigrant youths do not particularly tend to select Canadian-specific aspirations.

One could ask whether placing a high value on education, which is often a necessary step to meet high aspirations, is a value on which the ethnic groups of minority students and their national culture are distant. One could further ask whether being ambitious is a value or a trait on which the ethnic groups of minority students and their national culture are distant. One could also ask if such values are components of ethnic identities, in line with research on embedded achievement. Yet, the data suggests that it is not the case: immigrant parents and their children tend to

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place a high value on education (Goldenberg, Gallimore, Reese, & Garnier, 2001; Fuligni, 1997; Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, minority students often have as high aspirations as their non-minority counterparts; in fact, immigrant youths have are more ambitious than their non-minority counterparts on average (Bohon, Johnson, & Gorman, 2006; Frostick, Phillips, Renton, & Moore, 2016; Krahn & Taylor, 2005; Smith, Schneider, & Ruck, 2005).

Without placing a lower value on higher education or on ambition, and without believing that being a doctor or a lawyer is something typical to their national culture but distant from their ethnic group, minority students might still have the impression that they are very dissimilar from people who met the high aspirations that they dream of. This might occur because of the negative stereotypes associated with their ethnic group, poor media portrayal, or because of the underrepresentation of their group in this sphere of achievement (Black, 2011; Mahtani, 2001). Yet, they do not have to find that their personal aspirations are typically Canadian or strongly associated with Canadian values or traits to perceive mismatches between their personal aspirations and their ethnic identities. For these reasons, I would argue that cultural distance and collective/personal self-discrepancies are distinct. However, because of the importance of distinguishing between cultural distance, cultural discontinuity, embedded achievement, and collective/personal self-discrepancies, and provide empirical support for these distinctions, I have controlled for value mismatches in one of my studies.

Distinctions between collective/personal self-discrepancies and stereotype threat

Another notion closely related to collective/personal self-discrepancies is stereotype threat, i.e. the fear of confirming negative stereotypes about one's group in a performance setting (Steele, 1997). Although members of powerful groups sometimes face stereotype threats, they represent one of the most insightful phenomenon explaining the experience of minority and stigmatized groups (Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002; Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Because they are closely associated with a performance stress and worries over expectations, stereotype threats often occur when ethnic minority students' intellectual or academic performance is evaluated, and result in minority students becoming anxious and being less able to focus (as a result, their performance in undermined).

In the context of ethnic and racialized minority students' achievement, stereotype threat can manifest themselves as the feelings of anxiety, fear, and stress that arise when minority students believe that members of other groups expect them to perform poorly in school. In this sense, stereotype threat could be conceptualized as the awareness of the fact that other people might see a mismatch between one's group identity and one's aspiration to achieve. Yet, even when framed as a mismatch, stereotype threats are distinct from collective/personal self-discrepancies: stereotype threats occur in situations where other people perceive mismatches between an ethnic identity and an aspiration, whereas collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies occur when minority group members perceive mismatches between their own ethnic identities and their own personal aspirations.

Moreover, when ethnic minority students face stereotype threats, they do not react by being less engaged or motivated to succeed, or even by investing less effort in succeeding (Brown & Pinel, 2003; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Rather, their anxious thoughts are impeding their ability to focus, which results in lower performance (Ben-Zeev, Fein, & Inzlicht, 2005). When ethnic minority students face large collective/personal self-discrepancies, however, their performance can be impeded over time because of diminished effort due to disengagement.

Thus, although they are somewhat similar in their focus on perceptions that a minority group's image does not fit well with a given achievement domain, stereotype threat and collective/personal self-discrepancies are distinct from each other. While the former focuses on the impact of other people's image of one's group, the later focuses on the impact of one's own image of their group. For this reason, and although they might lead to similar outcomes in the long-term, the mechanisms underlying these two phenomenon are also conceptually distinct. Thus, my hypothesis on collective/personal self-discrepancies is designed to complement, rather than compete with, our understanding of barriers like stereotype threat that impede the odds of success of ethnic minority students.

The program of research of the present thesis

The present thesis introduces the concept of collective/personal self-discrepancies and explores their potential effects on minority students' psychological health and academic outcomes in five studies. In the study presented in Manuscript 1, we wanted to explore whether collective/personal self-discrepancies are associated

with poorer psychological health outcomes for minority students. We aimed to examine whether collective/personal self-discrepancies are potential antecedents of personal/personal self-discrepancies, and whether they are indirectly associated with anxiety and depression. Considering that the main premise of Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins et al., 1985; Higgins, 1987) is that personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are uniquely associated with depression symptoms, whereas personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies are uniquely associated with anxiety symptoms, we deem necessary to investigate whether these effects are paralleled with collective actual/personal ideal and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies.

In Manuscript 2, we proposed that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies partly explain the aspiration paradox whereby immigrant adolescents are ambitious but have difficulties meeting their aspirations. In a first test of these ideas, we conducted two field studies amongst community samples of minority adolescents from a diverse, yet somewhat disadvantaged district. We examined whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies predict aspiration engagement (Study 1) and a variety of academic outcomes (Study 2).

Manuscript 3 aimed to strengthen our confidence in the predictive value of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. First, we extended previous findings by examining whether minority university students' collective/personal self-discrepancies in the middle of the semester predict academic disengagement measured at the same time (Study 1) or two months later, during the exam session

(Study 2). We notably controlled for collective self-esteem (Study 1) and for mismatches between the values associated with personal aspirations and values associated with ethnic identities (Study 2). Finally, in experimental Study 3, we designed a subtle manipulation to lead ethnic minority students to perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, which allowed testing for their causal effects.

MANUSCRIPT 1:

When 'who we are' and 'who I desire to be' seem disconnected:

Introducing collective/personal self-discrepancies

and investigating their relations with

minority students' psychological health

Debrosse, R., Rossignac-Milon, M., & Taylor, D. M. (2016). When 'who we are' and
'who I desire to be' seem disconnected: introducing collective/personal self-
discrepancies and investigating their relations with minority students'
psychological health. Manuscript submitted for publication

Abstract

According to the Self-Discrepancy Theory literature, perceiving mismatches between personal aspects of the self-concept is associated with negative psychological consequences, including depression and anxiety. However, the impact of perceiving mismatches between collective and personal self-aspects is still unknown. In a first step to address this gap, we introduce collective/personal self-discrepancies—perceived mismatches between a desired self-aspect and a collective identity. For minority students (n = 147), collective/personal self-discrepancies are associated with more severe anxiety and depression symptoms. Moreover, bootstrapping analyses suggest that these relations are mediated by self-discrepancies experienced at the personal level. This study reaffirms the importance of collective identities, especially as antecedents of issues pertaining to personal aspects of the self-concept. The findings are further discussed in terms of their significance for minority group members, who tend to highly identify with their minority groups.

INTRODUCTION

Whether by comparing our body against the one we wish we had, by judging ourselves for not working as hard as we think we should, or by contrasting our personal characteristics with those we think we need to possess, we are all confronted with mismatches between the person we desire to be and the person we actually are. Although small mismatches between who we desire to be and who we are occur often, large mismatches have more complex consequences. Few theories have examined the outcomes of perceiving mismatches between desired selves and actual selves as extensively as Self-Discrepancy Theory, which connects these mismatches with depression and anxiety (Higgins, 1987, 1999).

The fact that some people perceive mismatches between their desired and actual selves might appear to be a psychological phenomenon contained within the individual, since people's sense of personal identity is built on "perceptions, thoughts, and feelings about [themselves]" (Leary & Tangney, 2003, p. 7). However, the impact of group-based factors on the perceptions that individuals have of themselves tends to be underestimated (Abrams & Hogg, 2001). Every individual belongs to social groups that play a central role in the way they define themselves (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Brewer, 1991; Cameron, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and group norms often guide how people behave and who they desire to be (Tajfel, 1982; White et al, 2009).

When a social group makes up a core component of how people define themselves as individuals, people may be prone to compare their group identity to the person they desire to be. Guided by this theorizing, we introduce mismatches

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between collective aspects of the actual self and desired personal selves, which we label 'collective/personal self-discrepancies'. By bringing together the literature from Self-Discrepancy Theory with the literature inspired by Social Identity Theory on the influence of collective identities, we introduce the premises of our research on collective/personal self-discrepancies and explore their potential effects in a study on the psychological health of ethnic minority group members.

Self-Discrepancy Theory

Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) focuses on the implications of perceiving mismatches between three aspects of the self-concept: the ideal self, the ought self, and the actual self. Whom someone aspires to be as an individual, including the traits, skills, and habits associated with one's wishes, is encompassed in that person's ideal self. In contrast, an ought self captures whom someone believes they should be as an individual, such as the traits, skills, and habits associated with one's duties and responsibilities. Ideal and ought selves are two distinct forms of desired selves (i.e. desires that people have about who they want to be). Whereas ideal selves capture the characteristics people dream of having, ought selves capture the characteristics people feel obliged to display. Picture a law student who dreams of being as eloquent as great litigators and as sharp as higher court judges, and who believes that lawyers cannot properly defend clients if they are not combative in presenting their arguments to opposing parties. Because this law student aspires to be sharp and eloquent in her quest to become an excellent lawyer, eloquence and sharpness are components of her ideal self. In contrast, she internalized that lawyers

are expected to be combative and thus, although combative lawyers do not particularly inspire her, combativeness is a component of her ought self since she believes it necessary to any legal career.

Both ideal and ought selves can be contrasted with the real or actual self—the traits, skills, and habits someone believes they actually possess. However, distinct emotions and psychological symptoms are associated with each form of self-discrepancy according to the theory (Higgins, 1987). For example, actual/ideal self-discrepancies describe mismatches between the characteristics that individuals aspire to have and the ones they believe they actually possess. Perceiving a large actual/ideal self-discrepancy signifies that someone believes they have not obtained the positive outcomes that they were hoping for. For this reason, Higgins (1987) postulates that these discrepancies can lead to low energy and negative emotions. If the aforementioned law student perceives large actual/ideal self-discrepancies, for example because she feels that she is not as eloquent as she aspires to be, she might feel sad, disappointed with herself, and even depressed, according to Self-Discrepancy Theory.

In contrast, actual/ought self-discrepancies capture mismatches between the characteristics individuals perceive they *should* have and the ones that they perceive they *actually* possess. Someone who perceives large actual/ought self-discrepancies is someone who faces the consequences of having failed to meet important standards and obligations. Therefore, Higgins (1987) postulates that these discrepancies can lead to high arousal and negative emotions related to stress and fear. According to Self-Discrepancy Theory, if the aforementioned law student perceives that she is not

combative enough to practice law—i.e. if she perceives large actual/ought self-discrepancies—she might fear that she will never be able to secure a position as a lawyer and experience high degrees of stress and anxiety.

Several empirical studies indicate that actual/ideal self-discrepancies uniquely predict depression and dejection-related emotions, and that actual/ought self-discrepancies uniquely predict anxiety and agitation-related emotions (e.g. Strauman, Vookles, Berenstein, Chaiken, & Higgins, 1991). For example, in a study by Strauman and Higgins (1987), participants were asked to describe traits or attributes pertaining to their ideal or ought selves, and to indicate how much they possessed each attribute during a pretest session. Four weeks later, students who had reported large actual/ideal self-discrepancies during the pretest felt more dejected, but not more agitated, when presented with ideal selves' attributes. In contrast, students who had reported large actual/ought self-discrepancies during the pretest felt more agitated, but not more dejected, when presented with ought selves' attributes.

Similarly, large actual/ideal self-discrepancies have been linked with more dejection-related emotions (Higgins, Shah, & Friedman, 1997), depression symptoms (Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985), lower self-esteem (McDaniel & Grice, 2008; Renaud & McConnell, 2007), lower contentment and happiness (Carver, Lawrence, & Scheier, 1999), loss of sexual interest or pleasure (Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Barlow, 1998), and even with higher levels of hopelessness and suicidal ideations (Cornette, Strauman, Abramson, & Busch, 2009; Orbach, Mikulincer, Stein, & Cohen, 1998). In contrast, several studies found large actual/ought self-discrepancies to be associated with more agitation-related emotions (Higgins, Bond, Klein, &

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Strauman, 1986), higher anger (Strauman & Higgins, 1988), higher anxiety (Scott & O'Hara, 1993; Strauman, 1989), and higher social phobia (Weilage & Hope, 1999).

However, some studies have yielded less straightforward results (Boldero & Francis, 2000; McDaniel & Grice, 2008; Tangney, Niedenthal, Covert, & Barlow, 1998). For instance, Phillips and Sylvia (2010) found that actual/ought self-discrepancies predict both anxiety and depression symptoms, whereas actual/ideal self-discrepancies only predict depression symptoms. When discussing these findings, Higgins (1999) noted that distinct effects for actual/ideal and actual/ought self-discrepancies were more likely to occur when comparing people who reported large self-discrepancies, or when making only one of the two kinds of self-discrepancies salient. Regardless of these findings, there is no debate about the fact that perceiving larger self-discrepancies is associated with poorer psychological health and more negative emotional consequences overall.

So far, the literature stemming from Self-Discrepancy Theory has focused exclusively on discrepancies between personal aspects of the self-concept. However, a few studies connect self-discrepancies with group experiences (e.g. Bond, 2015; Sekerdej & Roccas; 2016). For instance, the research of Bizman and Yinon examined the influence of discrepancies between the actual and desired characteristics of an important collective identity. In two studies, they found that Israelis who perceive a large discrepancy between whom they believe Israelis are, and whom they believe Israelis should be, report lower collective self-esteem and higher agitation-related emotions when thinking about Israelis (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001). Moreover, Clément, Noels, and Deneault (2001) found that self-

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discrepancies pertaining to group experiences could shed light on the discrimination and stress of people of East Indian descent who live in Canada: for instance, large self-discrepancies between how much East Indians wanted to identify to Canada and actually identified with Canada was associated with higher stress. However, no one has examined the *interplay* between personal and collective self-aspects in the context of self-concept mismatches. As suggested by the literature stemming from Social Identity Theory, this interplay might be critical in identifying potential antecedents of self-discrepancies.

The interplay between the personal self-concept and collective identities

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was developed in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, in a movement challenging the American psychology tendency to focus on the individual. European social psychologists wanted to bring the "social" back into "social psychology", notably by investigating the impact of groups on individuals (for a review, see Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). As such, it is not surprising that social identity theorists highlight the role played by collective identities in the self-concept. In their seminal work, Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) proposed that individuals tend to categorize themselves and others as members of social groups, and further theorized that individuals need to belong to groups that provide positive and distinct collective identities.

Using Social Identity Theory as an umbrella framework, many researchers have since elaborated on the influence of group factors on personal identities. For instance, Taylor (2002) theorizes that self-aspects encompassed in collective

identities represent one of the bases from which personal self-aspects are derived. He

proposes that groups provide guidelines about what is valued and how to obtain it.

Moreover, people distinguish themselves as individuals through comparisons with

group norms. Taylor concludes that, for these reasons, one cannot build a personal

identity without having a clear sense of one's collective identity. This psychological

primacy of collective identities can explain the association between self-esteem

experienced at the individual level and collective self-esteem derived from

meaningful social groups (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994). It would

also explain why personal self-aspects are likely to be unclear when aspects of

collective identities are unclear (Usborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). In short, cross-

sectional and experimental evidence suggest that personal components of the self-

concept are derived from collective identities.

Research on self-stereotyping further supports the idea that personal self-

aspects are in part derived from collective self-aspects. Self-stereotyping is the

phenomenon whereby people tend to describe themselves using the prototypical

characteristics of groups that are central to them (Hogg & Turner, 1987). Spears,

Doosje and Ellemers (1997) found that people who identify highly with a group tend

to internalize the characteristics they believe are typical of this group. Other studies

indicate that the effects of self-stereotyping are stronger when individuals who highly

identify with their group perceive a group threat (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), or

when their collective identity is salient and close others expect them to conform to

the prototype associated with their group (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006).

Therefore, just like research associated with collective identity primacy, research on

self-stereotyping also supports the idea that people personally internalize characteristics associated with groups that form their frame of reference.

Introducing collective/personal self-discrepancies

Building on Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory, we propose that the self-aspects involved in self-discrepancies can be derived from the collective level. Though we acknowledge that the ideal self, ought self, and actual self are all influenced by the collective level, resulting in many potential combinations of self-concept mismatches, the present research will focus on collective/personal self-discrepancies: perceived mismatches between a personal aspect of the self-concept and a collective identity. Paralleling the distinctions introduced by Higgins (1987), we will examine *collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies*, i.e. perceived mismatches between the person one aspires to be as an individual (ideal personal self) and this person's group (actual collective identity), and *collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies,* i.e. the perceived mismatches between who a person believes they should be as an individual (ought personal self) and this person's group (actual collective identity). We will compare the potential effects of both types of collective/personal self-discrepancies to those of self-discrepancies introduced by Higgins (1987). We will label them *personal/personal self-discrepancies* when they represent mismatches between two personal self-aspects (rather than self-discrepancies), *personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies* (rather than actual/ ideal self-discrepancies), and *personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies* (rather than actual/ought self-discrepancies), for clarity purposes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Conceptual distinctions between types of self-discrepancies

Distinctions introduced by Higgins (1987)	Distinctions introduced in the present research
Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy *perceived mismatch between whom a person dreams of being as an individual and who this person is (usually labelled 'actual/ideal self-discrepancies', but renamed here for clarity).*	**Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy** *perceived mismatch between whom a person dreams of being as an individual and the person's collective identity*
Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancy *perceived mismatch between whom a person feels obligated to be as an individual and who this person is (usually labelled 'actual/ought self-discrepancies', but renamed here for clarity).*	**Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancy** *perceived mismatch between whom a person feels obligated to be as an individual and the person's collective identity*

One of our propositions is the idea that collective/personal self-discrepancies are antecedents of personal/personal self-discrepancies. As suggested by Social Identity Theory, collective identities provide individuals with a template and set of standards that contribute to individuals defining themselves. Thus, people tend to internalize characteristics that are closely associated with their collective identities. Let us return to our law student, for whom being a second-generation immigrant is a key component in defining herself. This young woman may perceive that she possesses many traits, skills, and habits that she associates with her ethnic minority group. If she believes that the characteristics associated with her ought self, such as combativeness, do not overlap with the characteristics associated with her minority group, she is not likely to believe that she is a combative person. For these reasons, we anticipate that members of minority groups will be prone to perceive large personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies if they perceive large collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. Similarly, we anticipate that members of minority groups will be prone to perceive large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies if they perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies.

Another premise of our research is that collective/personal self-discrepancies are associated with detrimental psychological health outcomes, just like mismatches between two personal self-aspects and mismatches between two collective self-aspects are associated with poor emotional outcomes. Considering the distinctions brought forward by Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987), we will test for differentiated effects of collective actual/personal ideal and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. Specifically, we expect that large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies will be associated with more severe depression symptoms, and that large collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies will be associated with more severe anxiety symptoms. Moreover, if collective/personal self-discrepancies are antecedents of personal/personal self-discrepancies, as collective aspects of the self-concept are antecedent of personal aspects of the self-concept (Taylor, 2002), then collective/personal self-discrepancies might also indirectly influence the outcomes of personal/personal self-discrepancies.

In other words, we hypothesize that large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, whereas large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with more severe depression symptoms. We further hypothesize that large collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies are associated with large personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, whereas large personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies are associated with more severe anxiety symptoms.

METHOD

Participants

      We recruited 151 ethnic minority students in a Canadian university. Four participants were removed from the original sample because they did not complete the study. The final sample consists of 109 female and 38 male students ($M = 20.33$ yrs-old, $SD = 1.74$ yrs-old). Approximately half of the students were born in Canada (51.7%). In total, 50 different ethnicities were listed when ethnic minority students were asked about their background. About a third of the participants had East or Southeast Asian origins (33.3%; e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese), almost another third had West or East European origins (32.0%; e.g. Italian, Ukrainian), whereas other students had South Asian (11.6%; e.g. Indian, Sri Lankan) or Middle Eastern origins (8.2%; e.g. Israeli, Lebanese). Most of the other participants had Latin American, Caribbean, African, or Indigenous origins.

Measures

      Consistent with previous research, participants completed a simplified version of the Selves Questionnaires (Higgins et al., 1985; Phillips & Silvia, 2005). Each student was asked to list five characteristics describing how they felt that they ought to be as students, as well as characteristics associated with how they would ideally like to be as a student. Then, participants indicated the extent to which these characteristics actually describe the members of their ethnic group, as well as the extent to which they describe themselves personally, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Slightly*) to 4 (*Extremely*).

These ratings were then reversed and averaged to compute self-discrepancy scores. Specifically, higher 'collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancy' scores indicate that participants did not believe that members of their ethnic minority group generally possessed the traits, skills, and habits defining whom they personally feel they should be as students, whereas higher 'personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancy' scores indicate that participants did not believe that they personally possessed the traits defining whom they personally feel they should be as students. Similarly, higher 'collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy' scores indicate that participants did not believe that members of their ethnic minority group generally possessed the traits, skills, and habits defining whom they personally ideally wish to be as students; in contrast, higher 'personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy' scores indicate that participants did not believe that they personally possessed the traits defining whom they personally ideally wish to be as students.

Next, participants completed the 20-item *Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale* (Eaton, Muntaner, Smith, Tien, & Ybarra, 2004; Radloff, 1977). This scale evaluates recent experiences of depression symptoms (e.g. *I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.*) Specifically, participants indicate how much they experienced each symptom during the past week on a scale ranging from 0 (*Rarely or none of the time – less than one day*) to 3 (*Most or all of the time – five to seven days*). A score was then computed for each participant by summing up their answers. A score equal or superior to 16 indicates that mild symptoms of depression might be experienced (Radloff, 1977; Roberts, Andrews, Lewinsohn, & Hops, 1990). Finally, participants completed the 20-item

Spielberger State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, 1985). On a scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*Very much*), participants indicated how much they experienced each anxious symptom (e.g. *I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes*). In the present study, both scales presented satisfying reliability according to their Cronbach alphas (which were, respectively, of $\alpha = .88$; $\alpha = .92$).

RESULTS

Descriptive analyses

Small to moderately sized correlations were found between collective actual/personal ideal and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies ($r = .27$, $p = .001$) as well as between collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies ($r = .24$, $p = .004$). Consistent with previous studies examining self-discrepancies (Boldero & Francis, 2000; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985), personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were highly correlated ($r = .69$, $p < .001$). We also found a high correlation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies ($r = .64$, $p < .001$). Considering the strong correlations between these concepts, we deemed necessary to compute partial correlations to explore how each self-discrepancy uniquely predicted outcomes (see Table 2).

Table 2: Partial correlations of actual/ought self-discrepancies (controlling for actual/ideal)

	Descriptive statistics			Correlations		
	Range	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.
1. Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies	1 – 4	2.79	0.61	—		
2. Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies	1 – 4	2.64	0.69	.19*	—	
3. Anxiety symptoms	1 – 4	2.15	0.53	.20*	.19*	—
4. Depression symptoms	0 – 60	15.95	9.25	.17*	.19*	.73***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

Even when controlling for collective and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, both collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were significantly correlated with anxiety and depression symptoms (see Table 2). However, when controlling for collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were neither correlated with anxiety (partial $r = -.07$, $p = .431$) nor with depression symptoms (partial $r = -.03$, $p = .686$). Similarly, when controlling for the same variables, personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were neither correlated with anxiety (partial $r = .13$, $p = .120$) nor with depression symptoms (partial $r = .11$, $p = .205$; see Table 3).

Table 3: Partial correlations of actual/ideal self-discrepancies (controlling for actual/ought)

	Descriptive statistics			Correlations		
	Range	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.
1. Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies	1 – 4	2.76	0.58	—		
2. Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies	1 – 4	2.66	0.58	.14^{ms}	—	
3. Anxiety symptoms	1 – 4	2.15	0.53	-.07	.13	—
4. Depression symptoms	0 – 60	15.95	9.25	-.03	.11	.72***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

In short, collective/personal self-discrepancies appear distinct from personal/ personal self-discrepancies, as they are moderately correlated. When controlling for the other forms of self-discrepancies, both collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were associated with anxiety and depression symptoms, whereas neither collective actual/personal ideal nor personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with these symptoms. These correlations are not entirely consistent with the assumptions of Self-Discrepancy Theory, which predict that personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with depression and that personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies are associated with anxiety. Yet, the correlations between collective/personal self-discrepancies and psychological symptoms provide some support for the idea that mismatches between collective and personal components of the self-concept are associated with poor psychological health.

Main hypotheses

Using AMOS, we performed path analyses to examine whether collective/ personal and personal/personal self-discrepancies predict the severity of depression and anxiety symptoms. We computed an initial statistical model that allowed examining whether collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies indeed predict the severity of anxiety symptoms through personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, and whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies indeed predict the severity of depression symptoms through personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Although the resulting regression coefficients supported both of

these propositions (see Figure 1), this first statistical model did not quite fit the data

adequately. The Comparative Fit Index of .95 met the most commonly set criteria for

this index; however, the chi-square was significant and the Root Mean Square of

Error Approximation was above .08 (χ^2 (8, N = 147) = 24.564, p = .002; CFI = .950;

RMSEA = .119), thus suggesting that errors are likely.
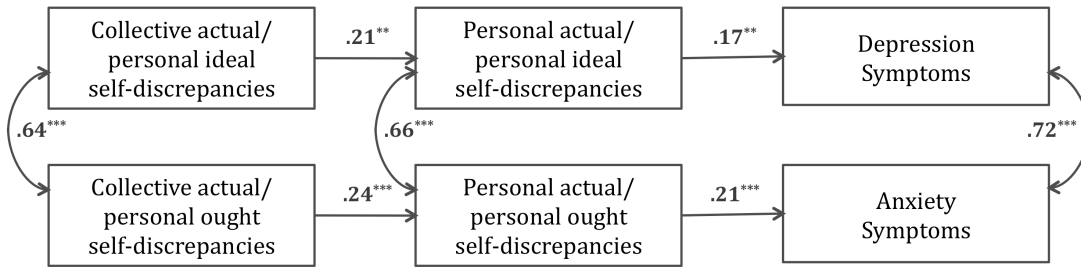
Figure 1. The first path analysis model, which presented distinct relations of personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies with depression and of personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies with anxiety, was not an entirely good fit for the data

Since the initial model was not entirely fit for the data, and in order to control

for the potential relations between actual/ought self-discrepancies and depression as

well as actual/ideal self-discrepancies and anxiety, we computed a second model.

This second model was identical to the first model, except for the fact that it linked

personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies with the severity of depression

symptoms, as well as personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies with the

severity of anxiety symptoms as a mean to parse out the influence of other self-

discrepancies. This second statistical model adequately fit the data (χ^2 (6, N = 147) =

8.752, p = .188; CFI = .992; RMSEA = .056), and was a significantly better fit for the

data than the first model according to the chi-square difference ($\Delta\chi^2$ (2, N = 147) =

15.812, p < .001).

In this revised model (see Figure 2), we found support for Hypothesis 1: collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies predicted personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies ($r = .236$, $p < .001$), whereas personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies predicted the severity of anxiety symptoms ($r = .245$, $p = .016$). Moreover, collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies significantly predicted anxiety symptoms when personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were not taken into account ($r = .295$, $p = .003$). A bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 samples further indicated that the mean estimate for the standardized indirect effect of collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancy on the severity of anxiety symptoms was of .058 with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [.007, .151]. In short, ethnic minority students' anxiety symptoms were indirectly associated with collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, a relation that appeared to be mediated by personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies.
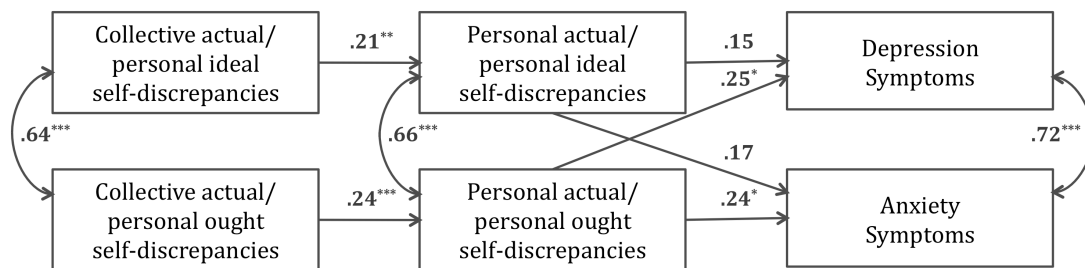
Figure 2. The second path analysis model, which adequately fits the data, suggests that collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies indirectly predict depression and anxiety through personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies

Hypothesis 2 was only partially supported: Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies significantly predicted personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies ($r = .211$, $p < .002$), but personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies did not significantly predict the severity of depression symptoms ($r = .145$, $p = .160$). In contrast, personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies

predicted depression symptoms ($r = .247$, $p = .017$). We then conducted bootstrap analyses ($n = 5000$, with 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals) to examine whether the relation between collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies and the severity of depression symptoms could be explained by personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies (see Table 4). This idea received support: the mean estimate for the standardized indirect effect of collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancy on the severity of depression symptoms was of .058 with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [.007, .139].

Thus, collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were better predictors of depression symptoms than collective actual/personal ideal and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Specifically, students who perceived large collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies tended to also perceive large personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. In turn, perceiving large personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies was associated with more severe depression symptoms. Despite the fact that they did not produce one of the specific effects predicted by Self-Discrepancy Theory, collective/personal self-discrepancies predicted psychological symptoms, which stresses the importance of examining the potential negative consequences associated with mismatches between collective and personal self-aspects.

Table 4 – Bootstrap standardized regression coefficients (n = 5000)

	Standardized estimates			95% C.I. Bias-corrected	
				Lower	Upper
	M	*S.E.*	*p*	bound	bound
Direct effects (c-paths, model without the mediator)					
Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Depression	.256	.093	.007	.071	.438
Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.295	.097	.003	.096	.478
Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Depression	.021	.093	.840	-.197	.172
Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.057	.098	.582	-.244	.148
Direct effects					
Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies	.211	.083	.010	.051	.374
Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies	.236	.085	.007	.068	.399
Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.245	.108	.023	.036	.461
Personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Depression	.247	.101	.031	.027	.427
Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Depression	.145	.093	.131	-.042	.322
Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.175	.112	.129	-.055	.386
Indirect effects					
Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Depression	.058	.034	.021	.007	.139
Collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.058	.036	.020	.007	.151
Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Depression	.031	.023	.065	-.002	.097
Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies → Anxiety	.037	.028	.060	-.002	.118

DISCUSSION

Whether they take the form of identity conflicts, lack of self-concept coherence, or self-discrepancies, mismatches between components of the self-concept have raised attention in the literature. The literature clearly indicates that dramatic consequences are associated with large mismatches between personal self-aspects, such as ideal selves and actual selves, as well as from large mismatches between two

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different components of a collective identity. Could similar outcomes also follow from contrasting a personal to a collective aspect of the self-concept? This question prompted us to introduce a new form of mismatch between collective identities and personal desired self to Self-Discrepancy Theory, collective/personal self-discrepancies. As a first step, we sought to explore the potential role of these collective/personal self-discrepancies for the psychological health of minority group members.

Our findings reveal that collective/personal self-discrepancies are associated with the psychological health of ethnic minority group members. Larger collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies were associated with more severe depression and anxiety symptoms, and these relations were mediated by personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. Larger collective actual/personal ideal and personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies were also associated with more severe depression symptoms, but these relations disappeared when taking into account collective actual/ personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. Therefore, according to the present study, poor psychological health is associated with perceived mismatches between the traits, skills, or habits describing who minority group members desire to be and the traits, skills, or habits describing their ethnic group.

Moreover, collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies significantly predicted anxiety and depression symptoms, even when accounting for the influence of self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects. Collective actual/personal ought and collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were moderately correlated with self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects, which suggests that they are

related but distinct concepts. In this sense, the present study suggests that collective/personal self-discrepancies are distinct, that they could be antecedents of personal/personal self-discrepancies, and that they predict poor psychological health. Despite stemming from a cross-sectional design, our findings reaffirm the importance of collective identities in self-concept processes.

The connection between personal and collective self-aspects

Large self-discrepancies involving two personal self-aspects can originate from individual tendencies to underestimate oneself or to fantasize about unattainable dreams. However, self-discrepancies experienced at the personal level could also take their origin in group experiences rather then in experiences occurring solely at the personal level. Our findings reveal a relation between collective/personal and personal/personal self-discrepancies, and provide partial support for the hypothesis that personal/personal self-discrepancies mediate the relations between collective/personal self-discrepancies and psychological health symptoms. When put in perspective of the literature from Social Identity Theory, especially with the collective identity primacy research, these findings support the idea that collective identities are antecedents of personal identities. These findings also suggest that issues involving collective identities could have repercussions at the personal level. The present study results speak to one of the possible origins of mismatches experienced at the personal level.

In that sense, these results further contribute to discussions on the interaction between collective and personal components of the self-concept. Despite the

tendency for group influence to be underestimated (Abrams & Hogg, 2001), work reviewed earlier stressed that collective identities might in part shape personal components of the self-concept. Hogg (2003) even proposes that people's sense of individuality emerges from the unique combination of belonging simultaneously to different social groups and deriving different self-aspects from each of these groups. The extent to which groups shape people's sense of individuality is still the object of debate, but our results provide additional evidence suggesting that personal and collective components of the self-concept are closely connected. Our findings reinforce the idea that the influence of collective identities is undersestimated, and reaffirm the need to further explore the connection between the collective and the personal.

Potential effects of actual/ought and actual/ideal self-discrepancies

As Self-Discrepancy Theory would have predicted, our findings indicate that poor psychological health is associated with large self-discrepancies, whether they involve only personal self-aspects or also include collective self-aspects. Mismatches between an ought self and an actual self, whether a personal actual self or a collective actual self, predicted the severity of depression and anxiety symptoms. These results make sense in light of Higgins' (1999) comments on the effects of different self-discrepancies. He proposed that distinct effects most clearly appear in studies focusing on people reporting very large self-discrepancies or presenting very severe psychological symptoms, or in studies designed to make only one form of self-discrepancies salient at any given time. Although they are not perfectly consistent

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with predictions of Self-Discrepancy Theory, our results are similar to several studies that found personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies to predict anxiety and depression symptoms more consistently and more strongly than personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies (Carver, et al., 1999; Cornette, et al., 2009; McDaniel & Grice, 2008; Phillips & Silvia, 2005; Phillips & Silvia, 2010; Tangney, et al., 1998).

Moreover, the findings of Boldero and Francis (2000) suggest a possible explanation to our results. In a series of studies, they found that less distinct effects of actual/ideal and actual/ought self-discrepancies can occur when one form of mismatch is perceived as less relevant. If students who perceive that they are far from the ideal student they aspire to be (i.e. those who perceive large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies) somewhat disengaged from their goal of being an ideal student, they may still feel pressured to meet the standards of their ought selves. In this situation, personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies would be more relevant than personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in regards of the emotional outcomes of minority students, at least until these students reengaged with a new ideal self.

This interpretation is consistent with the idea that minority students who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal or personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to disengage from their academic goals. Although the relation between self-discrepancies and motivation is understudied, a few studies found that large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with lower academic outcomes (Cantor et al., 1987; Ferguson, Hafen, & Laursen, 2010).

Moreover, group membership is associated with motivation in many ways (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Master & Walton, 2012; Oyserman, 2007; Oyserman & Destin, 2010). Notably, congruence between the values associated with a group and a goal would be connected with motivational outcomes (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006). Thus, future studies could examine whether perceiving large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies is associated with minority students' academic engagement.

Conclusion

The present study introduces collective/personal self-discrepancies as a construct distinct from, and which could be a source of, self-discrepancies at the personal level. It takes a novel approach by examining self-concept mismatches that occur at the interplay between personal and the collective levels, rather than mismatches occurring solely at the individual level or solely at the collective level. Our findings reaffirm the necessity of examining the connection between group and individual factors as opposed to limiting one's level of analysis to either solely collective or personal effects.

Our findings also reaffirm the necessity to look closely at mismatches involving collective self-aspects. The connection between collective and personal aspects of the self is especially relevant for members of ethnic minority groups, who sometimes struggle to reconcile the different components of their self-concept and who give a central place to their collective identities. Although more research is needed to firmly establish our understanding of these mismatches, the present study hints that collective actual/personal ought and collective actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies play a key role for minority group members – and that they possibly

also play for anyone whose collective identity is central. In this sense, examining

collective/personal self-discrepancies may become critical in future studies

attempting to explain the experience of minority group members, and provide a

deeper psychological understanding of our increasingly diverse societies.

FROM MANUSCRIPT 1 TO MANUSCRIPT 2

Examining the relations between collective/personal self-discrepancies and psychological health appeared as the necessary first step of my doctoral research, since relations between self-concept mismatches and psychological health are at the core of Self-Discrepancy Theory predictions. Manuscript 1 presents the first study examining collective actual/personal ideal and collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies. It reveals that these new forms of self-discrepancies are connected with psychological health, and highlighted the potential role of self-discrepancies experienced at the personal level as mediators.

Nonetheless, the questions driving the present thesis focus on the role of mismatches within the self-concept in minority students' academic experiences. I conducted extensive qualitative interviews and spent hours volunteering in the community. These experiences bring me to postulate that perceived mismatches between personal aspirations and ethnic identities impede the academic success of minority youths. In the two manuscripts that follow, I shift my attention to motivation when examining the correlates of collective/personal self-discrepancies.

As a first investigation of the potential effects of collective/personal self-discrepancies for aspiration and education-related outcomes, it seemed appropriate to conduct field studies with the very groups that inspired this thesis: immigrant adolescents living in predominantly lower middle-class district. As such, Manuscript 2 presents two field studies conducted with immigrant adolescents living in one of the most diverse districts in Canada, their aspirations, their collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, and their academic outcomes.

MANUSCRIPT 2:

Understanding the aspiration paradox:

The role of mismatches between the personal aspirations

and the collective identities of immigrant adolescents

Debrosse, R., Taylor, D. M., & Rossignac-Milon, M. (2016). Exploring the aspiration

paradox: The role of mismatches between the personal aspirations and the

collective identities of immigrant adolescents. Manuscript submitted for

publication.

Abstract

Immigrant adolescents are ambitious but not as likely to meet their aspirations as their non-immigrant counterparts. To shed light on this aspiration paradox, we examine perceived mismatches between the personal aspirations and the ethnic identities (i.e. collective actual/ideal self-discrepancies) of immigrant adolescents from lower SES backgrounds. In two field studies, three-quarters of adolescents planned to attend college, with a full quarter dreaming of becoming physicians. Yet, through actual/ideal self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects, large collective actual/ideal self-discrepancies predicted lower aspiration engagement (Study 1, $n = 74$), as well as poor academic outcomes (Study 2, $n = 153$).

INTRODUCTION

Developing a firmer sense of their identities and personal aspirations is central to the experience of adolescents. Aspirations chosen during adolescence predict career, status, and life satisfaction, even decades later (Ashby & Schoon, 2012). Perhaps for this reason, adolescents who choose lower aspirations have attracted significant attention in the literature, especially if they are from a lower socioeconomic background or if they also identify with an ethnic or racialized minority group. In many instances, minority adolescents do have low aspirations (Stewart, Stewart, & Simons, 2007; Turcios-Cotto & Milan, 2013), and their low aspirations are associated with academic difficulties (Destin & Oyserman, 2010; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006).

This is not an issue for most minority adolescents of immigrant descent, however, since they tend to have high personal aspirations (e.g. Bohon, Johnson, & Gorman, 2006; Smith, Schneider, & Ruck, 2005). In fact, their aspirations are so high that immigrant adolescents are more ambitious than their non-minority counterparts, on average, in Canada and in the United Kingdom (Frostick, Phillips, Renton, & Moore, 2016; Krahn & Taylor, 2005). Yet, selecting high rather than low aspirations does not always suffice for them to reach their dreams. In fact, immigrant adolescents are less likely to meet their aspirations than their non-minority counterparts (Hill & Torres, 2010; Smith et al., 2005). This aspiration paradox is wider for immigrant adolescents whose families earn low incomes (Bowden & Doughney, 2010; Kao & Tienda, 1998).

A number of explanations have been proposed to shed light on the aspiration paradox, such as the discrepancy between immigrant youths' high personal aspirations and their low expectations of meeting them (Constantine, Erickson, Banks, & Timberlake, 1998; Mickelson, 1990), or between abstract aspirations and the lack of concrete strategies to achieve them (Hill, Ramirez, & Dumka, 2003; Oyserman, Terry, & Bybee, 2006). Building on immigrant identities and self-concept mismatches research, we propose that another factor plays a part: discrepancies taking the form of perceived mismatches between the personal aspirations and the ethnic identities of immigrant adolescents.

We propose that perceiving large mismatches between their personal aspirations and their ethnic identities compromises immigrant adolescents' school and aspiration-related outcomes. We examine this hypothesis in two field studies conducted with immigrant adolescents attending public high schools in a lower middle class district. As such, the present research aims to shed light on the situation of adolescents most likely to have high aspirations and low chances to meet them while, ironically, being the ones for whom realizing their aspirations would likely make the greatest difference for their future.

Reconciling different components of the self-concept

Immigrant adolescents are not in an easy position when it comes to harmonizing and finding commonalities between different aspects of their self-concept. In fact, the complexities of negotiating with multiple and at times contradictory identities and self-aspects are a common challenge for immigrants (e.g.

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Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Immigrants sometimes feel that their national and ethnic identities are pitted against each another (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011) or feel the need to compartmentalize them (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2016). Although immigrants do not have to choose one identity over the other (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), there is no doubt that coming to terms with multiple identities is not simple. A large number of immigrants find strategies to stay well adjusted (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Zhang & Noels, 2012), but doing so requires going through a time-consuming identity process (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007).

Negotiating a complex set of identities and self-aspects appears even more difficult for immigrant adolescents. The abstract thinking skills that develop during adolescence allows adolescents to form, compare, and contrast different aspects of their self-concept, but they usually do not have the tools to resolve self-concept contradictions until the end of adolescence (Harter, 1999). Consistent with this research, self-concept conflicts peak during adolescence (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; Harter & Monsour, 1992), whereas coherent and meaningful views of the self-concept tend to emerge later (McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010). Thus, it comes as no surprise that almost five immigrant adolescents in eight either only identify with the dominant identity of the society they live in, only identify with their ethnic identity, or do not identify with either, as opposed to reconciling and establishing strong connections with both identities (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

In short, developing their ethnic identity can add to the complexity of managing different self-concept components for minority adolescents (Phinney, 1989, 1990; Syed & Azmitia, 2008), thus making the reconciliation of different self-concept components more challenging. This could be problematic, as the literature suggests the possibility that immigrant adolescents perceive misalignments between their personal aspirations and their ethnic identity. On the one hand, people often immigrate with the purpose of ensuring a brighter future and better opportunities for their children (Hagelskamp, Suarez-Orozco, & Hughes, 2010; Rumbaut, 2005), and often sacrifice their own opportunities in the process. Believing that education is the best chance for their children to be successful (Suarez-Orozco, 1987), immigrant parents tend to "dream big" and have high aspirations for their children (Goldenberg, Gallimore, Reese, & Garnier, 2001; Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Grateful for the sacrifices that their parents made to improve their odds of success (Chao & Kaeochinda, 2010; Kang et al., 2010; Tseng, 2004), many immigrant children share the high aspirations that their parents have for them (Fuligni, 1997).

On the other hand, however, immigrant adolescents might be under the impression that belonging to their ethnic community does not align well with spheres of high achievement. Minority groups and lower status groups tend to be negatively stereotyped (Biernat & Dovidio, 2000), especially pertaining to their level of competence (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). These stereotypes might influence how immigrant adolescents perceive their ethnic group, since high identifiers tend to self-stereotype (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997) and since members of low status groups tend to believe that members of their

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group are more similar than they are in reality (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Doosje, Spears, Ellemers, & Koomen, 1999). Also, minority children become aware of stereotypes earlier than other children (McKown & Weinstein, 2003) and many adolescents internalize stereotypes as a step towards developing their minority identity (Cokley, 2002).

Furthermore, without necessarily internalizing the negative stereotypes associated with their ethnic group, some adolescents believe that their ethnic group is dissimilar or disconnected from their personal aspirations (Altschul et al., 2006; Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003). Awareness of the negative stereotypes associated with their group's school performance (Oyserman et al., 2003) and fear of confirming these stereotypes often represent stressors for ethnic minority students (Deaux et al., 2007; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002). Moreover, immigrant communities are underrepresented in politics (Black, 2011), and portrayed in a biased manner in the media (Mahtani, 2001). A disproportionate number of first-generation immigrants take positions that they are overqualified for (De Jong & Madamba, 2001), which can prevent them to meet or display their full potential. These circumstances could reinforce impressions that members of immigrant communities, without necessarily lacking capacity or competence, are not similar to people who have the personal aspirations that adolescents dream of.

These findings raise the possibility that immigrant adolescents are exposed to the risks of perceiving mismatches between their ethnic identities and their personal aspirations. Were this to happen, reconciling these components of their self-concept might be difficult according to the literature on immigrant adolescents' identities and

selves. For these reasons, we were compelled to investigate the correlates of mismatches between personal aspirations and collective identities, by turning to a prominent theory of self-concept mismatches: Self-Discrepancy Theory.

Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory

Most people perceive some gap between who they aspire to be and who they actually are. Higgins (1987) labeled actual/ideal self-discrepancies the perceived mismatches between characteristics that people wish they possessed and encompassed in their ideal selves, such as characteristics associated with their personal aspirations, and characteristics that people believe they possess as individuals and encompassed in their actual selves. For example, an adolescent who dreams of becoming a doctor could include characteristics he associates with the doctors he admires most in his ideal self, such as determination and meticulousness. If this adolescent feels that he is not very determined or meticulous, he will experience large actual/ideal self-discrepancies.

A key assumption of Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) is that people who perceive large actual/ideal self-discrepancies will experience a variety of negative outcomes, particularly low energy associated with a negative mood. Empirical studies have generally supported this assumption, notably by finding associations between actual/ideal self-discrepancies and sadness (Higgins et al., 1986; Strauman & Higgins, 1987), depression (Carver, Lawrence, & Scheier, 1999; Gonnerman, Parker, Lavine, & Huff, 2000), and dejection (Strauman & Higgins, 1988). Actual/ideal self-discrepancies also play a meaningful role for adolescents

(Bond, 2015; Hankin, Roberts, & Gotlib, 1997; Moretti & Higgins, 1999), since they are associated with adolescents' diffused identities (Makros & McCabe, 2001), depressive symptoms (Hankins, Robert, & Gotlib, 1997; Papadakis, Prince, Jones, & Strauman, 2006), pathological online gaming (Li, Liau & Khoo, 2011), and disordered eating (Harrison & Hefner, 2006).

In addition to their decidedly negative consequences for mental health, large actual/ideal self-discrepancies are also connected to motivation (Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Roney & Sorrentino, 1995), and notably with academic outcomes. University students who report large actual/ideal self-discrepancies find academic achievement tasks more difficult and time-consuming (Cantor et al., 1987). For adolescents, selecting ambitious goals and aspirations is sometimes associated with large mismatches between ideal and actual characteristics (Pinquart, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 2004), and large actual/ideal self-discrepancies are associated with lower academic achievement (Ferguson, Hafen, & Laursen, 2010). Thus actual/ideal self-discrepancies predict a wide range of consequences for adults and adolescents, particularly regarding their psychological health and their motivation.

Albeit useful to inform the consequences of mismatches between personal self-aspects, Self-Discrepancy Theory has largely overlooked collective components of the self-concept. In fact, only a handful of studies have examined mismatches involving collective components of the self-concept (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Sekerdej & Roccas, 2016), such as mismatches resulting from contrasting an ethnic group with how it is perceived by other groups (Clément et al., 2001), or mismatches resulting

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from contrasting how people want their national group to be with how they believe

their national group is (Bizman et al., 2001). In a somewhat similar vein, the study of

Bond (2015) indicates that low exposure to LGBT individuals in the media is

associated with large actual/ideal self-discrepancies for LGBT adolescents; thus

highlighting the relevance of group-based experiences for understanding the origins

of self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects.

According to social identity theorists, the lack of attention that group

experiences have received in the self-concept mismatches literature is not surprising.

In the 1970s, the focus of American psychology on individual experiences led

European psychologists to argue that the impact of group experiences is

underestimated (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Addressing this gap in the literature,

Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed Social Identity Theory, and notably proposed

that everyone needs to possess distinct and valued collective identities.

More recently, researchers adopting a Social Identity Theory framework

brought attention to the connection between collective identities and personal aspects

of the self-concept. For instance, several researchers have theorized that people build

a sense of who they are as individuals by internalizing characteristics that they

believe are connected with the identities of groups that are important to them (Eccles

& Barber, 1999; Hogg, 2003; Hogg & Turner, 1987). In particular, Taylor (2002)

proposes the primacy of collective identity hypothesis, which captures the idea that

collective identities are the ground on which personal identities and self-aspects are

built. This assumption received empirical support from research linking collective to

personal components of identities (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994;

Usborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). Similarly, research on self-stereotyping indicates

that people internalize characteristics of groups that form their frame of reference

(Hogg & Turner, 1987; Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006; Spears et al., 1997;

Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

Yet, mismatches between a collective identity and a personal self-aspect have

been understudied, and possible connections between such mismatches and self-

discrepancies experienced solely at the personal level have not been examined either.

Compelled to address this gap, we introduced two forms of collective/personal self-

discrepancies—perceived mismatches between a personal desired self and a

collective identity (Debrosse, Rossignac-Milon, & Taylor, under review). In a study

with minority students, we found that collective/personal self-discrepancies are

associated with depression and anxiety symptoms, and that these relations are

mediated by self-discrepancies between two personal aspects of the self-concept

(Debrosse, Rossignac-Milon, & Taylor, under review). For instance, collective

actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (i.e. the form of collective/personal self-

discrepancies capturing perceived mismatches between an ideal self and a collective

identity) were closely associated with actual/ideal self-discrepancies (i.e. which we

will rename personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies for clarity purposes).

Hypotheses

Personal components of the self are partly based on collective components of

the self; thus, it follows that perceiving large collective actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies may make it difficult for immigrant youths to perceive small personal

actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. For instance, take the situation of the immigrant adolescent who dreams of becoming a doctor mentioned earlier. If this adolescent believes that members of his ethnic group are not particularly determined and meticulous (i.e. if he perceives large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies), he is likely to also believe that he does not personally possess the determination and meticulousness associated with his aspiration (i.e. to perceive large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies).

As potential antecedents of personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, it is also possible that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are antecedents of motivational outcomes. Past research suggests that personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with motivation and academic outcomes. By influencing personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, it is possible that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies have an indirect effect on motivation.

In short, we expect that perceiving that their ethnic identity does not fit or match with their personal aspirations makes it difficult for immigrant youths to perceive that their individual characteristics fit with their personal aspirations, which in turn leads them to disengage from school and from their aspiration. As such, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies have the potential to shed light on the aspiration paradox, which immigrant adolescents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more prone to face. Examining whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predict aspiration engagement (Study 1) and academic outcomes (Study 2) through personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies is the

purpose of the two present studies, which were conducted amongst immigrant

adolescents living in a lower middleclass district in Canada.

STUDY 1

Method

Study site. The study site was located in one of the most diverse districts in

Canada, where first-generation youths who are 25 years old or under constitute

almost one district inhabitant in five (18.87%; City of Montreal, 2014). More than

three-quarters of habitants are first or second-generation immigrants (76.22%), and

the native countries most often listed by first-generation immigrants were the

Philippines, China, Morocco, France, Romania, Algeria, Vietnam, and Iran. Nearly

half (45.82%) of habitants are racialized minorities, most of which identify as Black,

Filipino, East Asian, Arab, South Asian, or Southeast Asian. French and English are

the languages that most habitants speak at home (73.74%), and nearly all habitants of

the district speak either or both languages fluently (96.97%). This district is home to

many lower income families. For example, 38% of households find it difficult to pay

for their rent, whereas the median yearly income of households is 37 897$ (which is

lower than the national average of 78 870$).

Participants were enrolled in a program designed specifically for adolescents

living in the district, which attempts to improve life skills and employability and

targets those who could benefit the most from participating. Adolescents who enroll

in this program are recruited in two public high schools of the district, which are

ranked in the lower quartile of high schools in the region (Fraser Institute, 2015).

After being granted ethics approval and obtaining authorizations from the community program director, the research team was introduced to adolescents while they participated to one of the first activities of the program. Trust was established throughout several meetings, where the research team participated to games, theater and cooking activities. During a subsequent meeting with the research team, program participants were presented with a description of the study, and provided with the opportunity to ask questions about it, whether in group or in private. Adolescents were informed that participation to the study was their choice and anonymous. They were also informed that, if they chose to do so, they could drop out of the study or skip any survey question, and that they would not be penalized for interrupting their participation or refusing to participate. Those who decided to participate to the study returned a consent form signed by their parents, as well as an assent form that adolescents had signed themselves.

In a following meeting, adolescents who chose to participate to the study were invited to stay at the community center after a training session. In the presence of the research team and of the program coordinator, they completed the 15-minute survey, in English or in French, and received a 5$ gift as a compensation for their participation. At the meeting celebrating the successful end of the program, the research team shortly presented findings to adolescents and their parents, who were also invited to ask questions.

Sample. Fifty-two female and twenty-one male immigrant adolescents participated to Study 1 ($M = 15.82$ yrs-old, $SD = 1.23$ yrs-old). They were first or second-generation immigrants with ethnic backgrounds ranging from 33 countries.

Specifically, 23.0% had South East Asian origins (e.g. Philippines, Vietnam), 21.6% had Latin, Central and South American origins (e.g. Salvador, Brazil), 16.2% had Caribbean origins (e.g. Haiti, Jamaica), 12.2% had African origins (e.g. Cameroon, Ghana), 9.5% had Eastern European origins (e.g. Russia, Ukraine) and 8.1% had Arab, Northern Africa or Middle Eastern origins (e.g. Algeria, Iran).

      Self-discrepancies. In an open-ended question, participants reported the occupation they aimed for (or, possibly, would be studying for) in 10 years. They rated their confidence in meeting this aspiration on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not confident at all*) to 5 (*Very confident*). Then, similar to procedures that assess self-discrepancies (Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985; Phillips & Silvia, 2005) and self-concept components with children and adolescents (Manian, Papadakis, Strauman, & Essex, 2006), participants listed five important characteristics associated with their aspiration. Afterwards, adolescents rated the extent to which they believe members of their ethnic group generally possess each characteristic, on 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). They also rated the extent to which they believe they personally possess each characteristic on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). Ratings about ethnic groups were reversed and averaged for each adolescent, so that higher scores correspond to larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies; whereas ratings about individuals were reversed and averaged for each adolescent, so that higher scores correspond to larger personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies.

      Aspiration engagement. Adolescents indicated their level of agreement with six items capturing goal engagement on a scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to

5 (*Strongly agree*). Three items address the drive to pursue the aspiration: "*I am very engaged in the pursuit of this aspiration*", "*It would not take much for me to abandon the idea of pursuing this aspiration*" (reversed) and "*I believe that this aspiration is a good goal to pursue*". The other three items focus on the willingness to invest efforts in pursuing the aspiration: "*I spend a lot of time pursuing this aspiration*", "*I am ready to invest a lot of time and energy in the pursuit of this aspiration*" and "*I am willing to make big sacrifices in order to realize my aspiration*". The scale presents satisfying reliability ($\alpha = .73$).

Results and Short Discussion

Seventy-three percent of adolescents indicated that they had an aspiration for which university studies are necessary. For instance, nearly half of the adolescents in the sample reported having one of these four aspirations: medicine (17.6%), law (12.2%), nursing (10.8%), and engineering (6.8%). Additionally, one adolescent in four selected an aspiration that does not necessarily require, but often entails university studies or that follows from a two or three-year college program (25.7%; e.g. pilot, ambulance driver, head manager of a large retail store). Yet, their academic engagement was not particularly high ($M = 3.401$, $SD = 448$, on a scale from 1 to 5). On the whole, adolescents reported larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies ($M = 2.38$, $SD = .60$) than personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies ($M = 1.76$, $SD = .57$), according to a repeated-measures ANOVA, $F(1, 72) = 61.839$, $p < .001$. Thus, in the same vein as other studies on immigrant adolescents' aspirations, the participants of this study were ambitious, but not

particularly engaged in pursuing their aspiration. Moreover, they reported significant

mismatches between their ethnic identities and their personal aspirations.

Using the Model 4 of the PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2012), we performed

regression analyses examining the roles of collective actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in predicting the

engagement of ethnic minority students to pursue their aspiration. The overall

statistical model indicated that, together, our predictors were significantly associated

with aspiration engagement ($r^2 = .173$; $p = .001$). Specifically, large collective

actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predicted lower aspiration engagement for

immigrant adolescents ($c = -.245$, $p = .037$; see Figure 1).
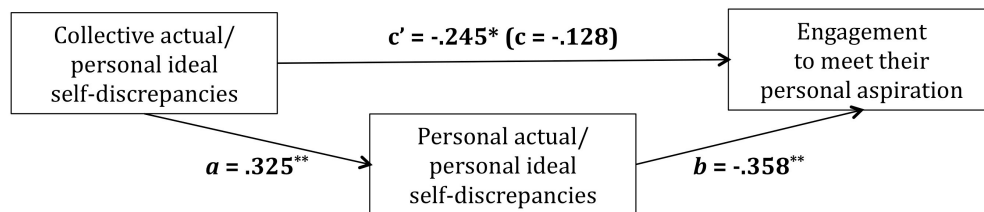
Figure 1. Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predicted aspiration engagement, and this relation was explained by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies

Moreover, this relation was mediated by personal actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies. First, taking into account personal actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies rendered the association between collective actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies and aspiration engagement non-significant ($c' = -.128$, $p = .269$; see

Figure 1). Second, large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were

associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies ($a = .325$, $p = $

.005), whereas large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated

with lower aspiration engagement (b = -.358, p = .003). A bootstrapping procedure with 5 000 samples generated a mean estimate for the standardized indirect association of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies with aspiration engagement of -.1125 (S.E. = .080) with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [-.339 to -.010], thus further supporting the mediating role of personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies.

In Study 1, immigrant adolescents had ambitious aspirations. As we expected, immigrant adolescents who reported large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tended to report large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. In turn, those reporting large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tended to report less engagement towards their aspiration. This pattern is highly similar to the findings of our first study on collective/personal self-discrepancies, where self-discrepancies between a collective identity and a desired self was indirectly associated with poor psychological health through self-discrepancies between two personal self-aspects (Debrosse, Rossignac-Milon, & Taylor, under review). In Study 2, we examined if the patterns found in Study 1, which presented a small sample, would replicate amongst adolescents participating to the program in subsequent years.

STUDY 2

Method

Sample. A hundred and fifty-three minority adolescents participated to Study 2 (106 female, 46 male, one adolescent who did not declare their gender $M = 15.61$ yrs-old, $SD = 1.00$ yrs-old), after being recruited at the same study site and in the same fashion as adolescents in Study 1. All participants were first or second-generation immigrants, with ethnic backgrounds in 54 different countries. Specifically, 24.7% had East Asian origins (e.g. Korea, Vietnam), 16.7% had African origins (e.g. Cameroon, Congo), 12.7% had Caribbean origins (e.g. Haiti, St-Vincent), 12.7% had Arab, Middle Eastern or North African origins (e.g. Egypt, Algeria), and 12.0% had Central or South American origins (e.g. Columbia, Peru).

Measures. Personal aspirations, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were assessed using the same procedures as in Study 1. Afterwards, adolescents rated their agreement with three items on academic outcomes (i.e. "*In general, I like school*"; "*I perform quite well in school*"; "*I would like to pursue my studies for a long time*") on a scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The Cronbach alphas suggest satisfactory reliability ($\alpha = .60$).

Results and Short Discussion

When asked about the occupation they aimed to have 10 years from now, more than seven adolescents out of ten (72.5%) aspired to an occupation that would require obtaining a university degree, such as scientist, teacher, lawyer, nurse, social

worker, or architect. In fact, almost one participant in four (24.2%) wanted to be a doctor. Additionally, 24 adolescents listed occupations that do not require, yet often entail, obtaining a university degree (e.g. manager, businessperson, video game developer), or occupations that necessitate some postsecondary training (e.g. pilot, police officer, or kindergarten worker). Other adolescents listed aspirations in show business or professional sports (e.g. musician, singer, soccer player).

Just like in Study 1, we used the Model 4 of the PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2012) to perform regression analyses examining the roles of collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in predicting the academic outcomes of immigrant adolescents. The overall statistical model indicated that, together, our predictors were significantly associated with academic outcomes ($r^2 = -.152$; $p < .001$).
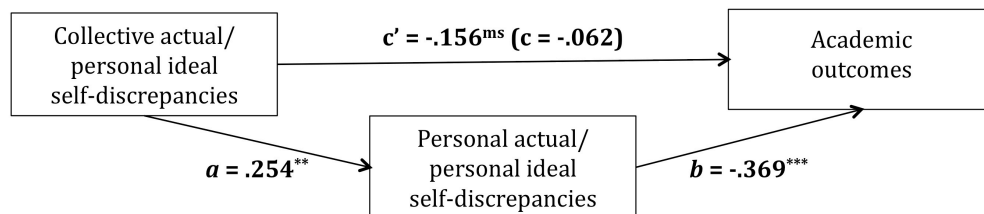
Figure 2. Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predicted academic outcomes, and this relation was explained by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies

Large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies marginally predicted poorer academic outcomes for immigrant adolescents ($c = -.156$, $p = .058$; see Figure 2). This relation was mediated by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Indeed, taking into account personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies rendered the association between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic outcomes non-significant ($c' = -.062$, $p = .432$; see Figure 2). Moreover, large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with large

personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (a = .254, p = .002), whereas large

personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with poorer

academic outcomes (b = -.369, < .001). A bootstrapping procedure with 5 000

samples generated a mean estimate for the standardized indirect association of

collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies with academic outcomes of -.0943

(S.E. = .038) with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [-.186 to -

.034], thus supporting the mediating role of personal actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies.

In other words, immigrant adolescents who perceive large mismatches

between the characteristics needed to support their aspirations and their ethnic group

(i.e. large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies) tend to perceive large

mismatches between themselves as individuals and their aspirations (i.e. large

personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies). In turn, immigrant adolescents who

report large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies also report poor

academic outcomes. Thus, consistent with our hypothesis, these results suggest that

collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies might impede immigrant

adolescents' school outcomes, in part by enlarging personal actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Immigrant adolescents tend to have high aspirations, but they are not as likely

to meet them as their non-immigrant counterparts. This aspiration paradox may

particularly impact immigrant adolescents from lower class and lower middle class

backgrounds, for whom getting an education represents a key opportunity to improve their future. We proposed that perceiving mismatches between their ethnic identities and their personal aspirations partly explains why many immigrant adolescents have high personal aspirations and, yet, come to disengage from these aspirations and face poor school outcomes. Building on research stemming from Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory, we conducted two field studies to examine the correlates of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, a new form of self-discrepancies capturing mismatches between personal aspirations and collective identities.

In both studies, conducted amongst immigrant adolescents attending lower tier public schools and living in a district where the household income average is lower than the city and the national averages, almost three-quarters of participants planned to attend college. Moreover, immigrant adolescents who reported large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tended to report large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Perceiving large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies was associated with lower aspiration engagement in Study 1, as well as poor academic outcomes in Study 2.

These results suggest that the possibility that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies partly explain the paradox whereby many immigrant adolescents who have high aspirations for themselves nevertheless experience poor academic outcomes. These results reaffirm the importance of collective identities, especially for growing a deeper understanding of the experiences of minority group members.

The connection between collective identities and motivation

The present studies highlight the link between motivation and collective identities. Their results are consistent with the research of Oyserman and her collaborators, which suggests that minority students interpret difficulties differently depending on the identity congruence of the situation (Oyserman, 2007; Oyserman & Destin, 2010). When a goal is congruent with their group identity, difficulties are interpreted as challenges that are worth overcoming; but when a situation is not congruent with their group identity, they see difficulties as signal that they should stop pursuing their goal (Smith & Oyserman, 2015).

Thus, and while it comes to no surprise that large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are both associated with discouragement in the present studies, rather than with a surge of motivation to bridge the discrepancies between ethnic identities and personal aspirations, the present findings extend past research by suggesting a mechanism through which collective identities and motivation are related. In this sense, our findings highlight one of the mechanisms involving collective identities that impact motivation. Obviously, many immigrants and members of ethnic and racial minority groups tend to give a central place to their minority identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Phinney, 1996; Yip, 2005); nonetheless, ethnic identities represent one of the five most important social identities for everyone (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995). Although belonging to social groups shapes our sense of who we are as individuals (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Brewer, 1991; Cameron, 2004), the influence of collective identities is not always obvious (Oyserman, 2009)

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and it is often underestimated (Abrams & Hogg, 2001). In that sense, the present findings are also a reminder of the role played by collective identities, especially ethnic identities, and of the necessity to investigate their influence in contexts where they are salient, whether amongst minority groups or not.

Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in diverse groups

The present findings indicate that immigrant students who see a mismatch between their ethnic identity and their aspiration also tend to perceive large actual/ ideal self-discrepancies, as well as to disengage from school. In that sense, the results suggest the presence of yet another factor impeding the odds of success of minority students – in addition to prejudice and discrimination (Chavous, et al., 2008; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), to sensitivity to rejection (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008), uncertainty to belong (Walton & Cohen, 2007, 2011), and underperformance due to threatening feelings stemming from awareness of negative stereotypes (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002).

Our findings also reaffirm the necessity to examine more closely the situation of minority group members. Recently, some researchers have called for examining the psychology of people whose experiences are less often researched (e.g. Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), and many researchers have focused on identifying the barriers that members of less privileged groups are facing (e.g. Destin & Oyserman, 2010; Stephens et al., 2012; Walton & Cohen, 2007). The present study is aligned with these trends, as it begs the question as to whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies hold back members of groups that tend to be stereotyped

negatively or that are underrepresented. Albeit stemming from cross-sectional designs, our findings represent a meaningful step in investigating this question by suggesting that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with the academic and aspiration-related outcomes of minority adolescents.

Conclusion

The present research aimed to identify one of the mechanisms underlying the aspiration paradox whereby immigrant adolescents who have ambitious aspirations often disengage from them. Building on Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory, we proposed that perceiving that their ethnic identity does not align with their personal aspirations makes it difficult for immigrant adolescents to perceive that they personally possess the characteristics associated with their personal aspirations and to stay motivated in pursuing them. Results from two field studies supported our hypothesis, thus providing insights into how immigrant adolescents, many of whom have high aspirations, nevertheless come to disengage from school.

Despite the strengths of these studies, some questions remain. Further attention could be dedicated to dismantling the effects of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and feelings of identification and pride towards the ethnic group. Future research could also examine whether similar mismatches play a role for people who are less at risk of facing the aspiration paradox, and whether such mismatches are eventually associated not only with disengagement from school, but also with reengagement towards new aspirations. In the context of the struggles experienced by many immigrant adolescents, and considering that mismatches in the

self-concept are likely to appear during adolescence, examining further whether and how collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with motivation is critical to our understanding of how immigrant adolescents, even those with high aspirations, come to disengage from them and from school.

FROM MANUSCRIPT 2 TO MANUSCRIPT 3

Considering how central ethnic identities are to ethnic minority group members, one can imagine that perceiving mismatches involving their personal aspirations and ethnic identities can be damageable for minority students' motivation. Yet, the potential impact of such mismatches has been overlooked. In a first step to address this gap, Manuscript 2 furthered our exploration of self-concept mismatches by connecting them to the academic outcomes of immigrant adolescents. The findings reveal that immigrant adolescents who report large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to also report large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, whereas reporting large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies is associated with lower aspiration engagement (Study 1) and with worse academic outcomes (Study 2).

Despite the ecological strengths of these field studies, several questions remain. The aim of Manuscript 3 is to firmly establish the role played by collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in minority students' academic disengagement. To do so, two studies will examine whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies play a unique role for minority students' academic outcomes by controlling for related factors. An experimental study will complement this set of correlational and longitudinal studies: we manipulated the level of collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies to examine their impact on academic disengagement.

MANUSCRIPT 3:

Could identity conflicts impede minority students' success? The role of perceived mismatches between minority students' collective identities and ideal selves

Debrosse, R., Rossignac-Milon, M., & Taylor, D. M. (2016). Could identity conflicts impede minority students' success? The role of perceived mismatches between minority students' collective identities and ideal selves. Manuscript submitted for publication

Abstract

Because of stigma and underrepresentation, many ethnic minority students could find it difficult to align their ethnic identities with their ideal selves. Yet, these difficulties and their potential consequences have been neglected. To inform this gap in the literature, we build on Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory, introduce collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (i.e. perceived mismatches between who a person aspires to be and this person's group identity), and propose that they impede the academic engagement of minority students. This hypothesis was supported amongst minority university students in cross-sectional Study 1 ($n = 147$) and longitudinal Study 2 (Time 1: $n = 105$, Time 2: $n = 78$). In Study 3 ($n = 99$), minority university students experimentally induced to perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies reported significantly higher academic disengagement than minority university students in a neutral condition.

INTRODUCTION

Mismatches between achievement and membership to ethnic minority groups are an underlying theme in the literature on minority students' academic experiences. Ambition and achievement are in contradiction with the negative stereotypes often associated with minority groups (Deaux et al., 2007). In fact, low-status groups and immigrant communities are judged negatively in general (Biernat & Dovidio, 2000; Mullen, Rozell, & Johnson, 2001), and as less competent in particular (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Minority students' performance directly suffers from the fact that they belong to negatively stereotyped groups. For instance, the fear of confirming negative stereotypes generates 'stereotype threats' characterized by stress and anxiety that impede performance (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Facing these stereotype threats in school settings is common for members of minority groups (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008), even amongst those who are conscious of the negative stereotypes associated with their group but who do not endorse them (Leyens, Désert, Croizet, & Darcis, 2000).

Moreover, many minority students are not convinced that they have a place in university settings. In fact, interventions that reduce their uncertainty about whether they belong considerably improve their school performance (Walton & Cohen, 2007, 2011). Many minority students report that achieving in school and belonging to their ethnic minority group do not align well (Altschul, Oyserman & Bybee, 2006; Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Oyserman et al., 2003). Perceiving that their group is unfairly treated or discriminated against, particularly in school settings, is also associated with

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minority students' academic disengagement (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001; Smalls, White, Chavous, & Sellers, 2007), lower grades (Huyn & Fuligni, 2010), and lower academic outcomes (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). In addition, anticipating and being sensitive to discrimination is associated with reduced identification with academic institutions (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008).

These findings raise the possibility that minority students perceive that members of their ethnic minority group do not fit in high achievement spheres, perceptions that could impede their school performance in different manners. Our previous research explored the potential impact of mismatches between at-risk immigrant adolescents' aspirational ideal selves and their ethnic identities (same authors, submitted). Yet, whether similar results can be found amongst high-achieving minority university students remains unclear. Importantly, while we postulated that mismatches between minority students' aspirational ideal selves and group identities are not be attributable to lack of collective self-esteem or to value mismatches between aspiration-related values and group values, we did not examine these questions in previous studies. Finally, while we postulated that mismatches between minority students' aspirational ideal selves and group identities have a causal effect on academic disengagement, the cross-sectional designs of our previous field studies did not allow examining this question.

In the present research, we investigate whether minority university students' academic disengagement can be predicted by perceived mismatches between their ideal selves and their collective identities, using cross-sectional, longitudinal, and

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experimental studies. The present paper begins by reviewing literature on collective

identities, with an emphasis on their relation with motivation and personal self-

concept components. Then, we briefly review Self-Discrepancy Theory to inform the

relation between collective identities and mismatches. Building on both literatures,

we introduce a collective component to Self-Discrepancy Theory that captures

mismatches between collective identities and personal ideal selves. We examine the

associations between these mismatches and minority university students' academic

disengagement in cross-sectional Study 1 and in longitudinal Study 2. Finally, Study

3 tests experimentally for the role of these mismatches in the academic engagement

of minority university students.

Collective identities, personal self-aspects, and motivation

The role of collective identities in defining how people see themselves, what

they choose to accomplish, and how they behave, is not always obvious (Oyserman,

2009); in fact, the role of collective identities is often underestimated (Abrams &

Hogg, 2001). Yet, since Social Identity Theory called attention to the influence of

group experiences in general, and to the influence of collective identities in particular

(Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a vast literature has confirmed the importance of collective

identities in a wide range of contexts (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004;

Brewer, 1991; Cameron, 2004).

Several researchers have expounded the relation between motivation and

collective identities (Eccles, 2009; Oyserman, 2007). Collective identities play a role

in goal selection, as shown by people who disvalue the disciplines and traits in which

they believe that their group does not perform well (Crocker & Major, 1989). Collective identities also play a role in the strategies that people select to attain their goals (Taylor, 2002). For instance, when people do not perform as well as they hoped, they use collective identities as a means to interpret the meaning of the difficulties they face (Oyserman & Destin, 2010; Smith & Oyserman, 2015). Moreover, when entering a situation associated with a goal (e.g. attending a university course), a threat to the collective identity (e.g. cues reminiscent of stereotypes or discrimination in the classroom) can trigger drops in motivation (Cohen & Garcia, 2008).

The influence of collective identities on motivation can also occur indirectly, through their influence on personal identities. Belonging to social groups can shape personal components of the self-concept, according to literature stemming from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For instance, research on self-stereotyping suggests that people who highly identify with a group tend to make their own the components that they associate with this group's collective identity (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). In a similar line of thought, Taylor (2002) postulates that the development of the self-concept involves comparing oneself to one's groups and internalizing components of their collective identities. He concludes that personal self-aspects are often derived from collective identities. Empirical findings somewhat support this idea, since strong connections were found between collective self-esteem and self-esteem experienced at the personal level (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994), as well as between the clarity of collective identities and self-

concept clarity (Usborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). Together, these findings indicate that belonging to social groups influences how people define themselves as individuals, which goals they select, and how they pursue these goals.

Therefore, perceiving a desirable goal as disconnected from a collective identity might undermine motivation to pursue this goal. Research has identified several channels through which collective identities exert an influence on academic outcomes (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016), but self-concept mismatches involving collective identities have been understudied. Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) distinguishes between different forms of self-concept mismatches, including actual/ideal self-discrepancies—perceived mismatches between the ideal self, comprised of the characteristics that people wish they personally possessed, and the actual self, comprised of the characteristics they believe they *actually* possess as individuals. Actual/ideal self-discrepancies are often contrasted with actual/ought self-discrepancies—perceived mismatches between the ought self, comprised of the characteristics that people feel obligated to possess as individuals, and the actual self.

Actual/ideal and actual/ought self-discrepancies are both associated with negative emotions and poor psychological health (Cornette, Strauman, Abramson, & Busch, 2009; Orbach, Mikulincer, Stein, & Cohen, 1998; Phillips & Silvia, 2010; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). Additionally, actual/ideal self-discrepancies are associated with motivation. Of particular interest to the present research are the relations between actual/ideal self-discrepancies and academic outcomes, such future aspirations selection (Pinquart, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 2004), school achievement

(Ferguson, Hafen, & Laursen, 2010), or perceptions pertaining to the difficulty of academic tasks (Cantor et al., 1987).

While Self-Discrepancy Theory has been instrumental in clarifying the consequences that follow from self-concept mismatches, the link between social groups and self-concept mismatches has not received a lot of attention. Only a handful of studies examined self-discrepancies that incorporated collective identities (Bizman & Yinon, 2004; Bizman, Yinon, & Krotman, 2001; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Sekerdej & Roccas, 2016). Their findings notably indicate that, parallel to mismatches involving solely personal aspects of the self-concept, large self-concept mismatches involving collective identities are associated with negative emotional consequences. Moreover, the findings of a study conducted by Bond (2015) indicate that group-related experiences sometimes influence self-discrepancies between personal components of the self-concept. These findings are aligned with Social Identity Theory predictions highlighting the role of collective identities, especially in regards to shaping personal self-concept components and personal experiences. Moreover, self-discrepancies involving a collective identity and a personal self-aspect had not been studied until very recently.

Integrating predictions of Self-Discrepancy Theory and Social Identity Theory, we examined self-concept mismatches involving a collective identity and a personal aspect of the self-concept. In a first study, we introduced collective/personal self-discrepancies, i.e. perceived mismatches between a personal desired self and an important group identity, and tested whether they predict similar outcomes as self-discrepancies between personal self-aspects (same authors, under review). As

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expected, minority students who perceived large self-discrepancies between their minority identity and who they desire to be (which we labeled collective/personal self-discrepancies) reported more severe depression and anxiety symptoms. In two subsequent field studies (same authors, submitted), we found that large self-discrepancies between their ethnic identity and their personal aspirations were associated with low aspiration engagement and poor academic outcomes for immigrant adolescents. However, many questions remain unanswered. It is unclear whether the academic outcomes of minority students who are not as much at risk would also be associated with similar mismatches. Moreover, despite their ecological validity strengths, these field studies were not design to rule out competing explanations linking mismatches between ethnic identities and personal aspirations with academic outcomes, let alone test for their causal effects.

The present research

The present research examines whether the academic disengagement of minority students is connected with their collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (i.e. perceived mismatches between their minority identities and their personal ideal selves). We expect that such mismatches are likely to yield direct and indirect influences on academic disengagement. Considering that (1) personal goals and motivation are largely influenced by collective identities, (2) large actual/ideal self-discrepancies between two personal self-aspects are associated with poor motivational outcomes, and (3) self-discrepancies between two collective identities are associated with similar outcomes as self-discrepancies between two personal self-

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aspects, we expect that large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies will augment academic disengagement. Moreover, since important collective identities shape personal self-aspects, minority students who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies could eventually perceive large actual/ideal self-discrepancies between two personal self-aspects (for clarity purposes, we will label them personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies from this point on). Thus, it is possible that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies augment academic disengagement through their influence on personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. We will test these hypotheses amongst minority university students in cross-sectional Study 1, longitudinal Study 2, and experimental Study 3.

STUDY 1

Study 1 explores whether minority university students who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to report high academic disengagement. This study also investigates whether the potential contribution of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies overlaps with the contribution of several other collective identity factors. First, considering the importance of the distinction between personal actual/personal ideal and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies in Self-Discrepancy Theory, we deemed it necessary to assess whether the effects associated with collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies diminished or disappeared when taking collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies into consideration.

Moreover, we controlled for the role of collective self-esteem, a key factor in research focusing on the impact of collective identities (Crocker et al., 1994). Since the famous misidentification studies in which black children preferred white to black dolls (Clark & Clark, 1947), several researchers have theorized about the negative feelings that minority youths have for their minority groups (e.g. Steele, 1997). In the case of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, it is critical to establish whether large mismatches are a reflection of poor attachment and lack of pride in one's group or, rather, a distinct phenomenon. For instance, if collective self-esteem reduces the effect of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, it could suggest that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies stem from disliking one's group. For these reasons, we deemed it necessary to test for the relation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement while controlling for collective self-esteem.

Method

Sample. We recruited 151 students who identified as ethnic minority students in large classes in a Canadian university. However, four students did not answer to at least one entire scale, or did not complete the study. Thus, the final sample consists of 147 students (109 female and 38 male, $M = 20.33$ yrs-old, $SD = 1.74$ yrs-old). As indicated in our previous work (same authors, under review), in which this sample was described in detail, slightly more than one student out of two was born in Canada (51.7%), and 50 different ethnicities were listed.

Self-discrepancies. Consistent with previous research (Higgins et al., 1985;

Phillips & Silvia, 2005), and following similar procedures as in our previous research (same authors, under review), participants listed five characteristics that described how they felt they ideally wanted to be as students, and five characteristics that described how they felt that they ought to be as students. Then, they were asked to rate how much each characteristic could generally be used to describe members of their ethnic minority group, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Slightly*) to 4 (*Extremely*). As described in our previous work (same authors, under review), larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy scores were obtained from participants who do not believe that members of their ethnic minority group generally tend to possess the traits, skills, and habits defining whom they ideally wishes to be as students; whereas larger collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancy scores were obtained from participants who do not believe that members of their ethnic minority group generally tend to possess the traits, skills, and habits defining whom they feel they should be as students.

Participants also rated the extent to which each of the ten characteristics could describe themselves as individuals, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Slightly*) to 4 (*Extremely*). These ratings were reversed and averaged to compute self-discrepancies scores. Larger personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy scores were obtained from participants who do not believe that they *personally* possessed the traits defining whom they ideally wish to be as students; and personal actual/ personal ought self-discrepancy scores were obtained from participants who do not believe that they *personally* possess the traits defining whom they feel they should be as students.

Next, participants completed the 4-item *Academic Disengagement Scale* (Wrosch et al., 2003). On a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Almost never true*) to 4 (*Almost always true*), participants indicated how much they agreed with items assessing their commitment and efforts towards their academic goals (e.g. *It's easy for me to reduce my effort toward my academic goals*). The scale presented satisfying reliability according to the Cronbach alpha ($\alpha = .76$).

Finally, participants indicated the extent to which they agreed to the 16 items of the *Collective Self-Esteem Scale* (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)*,* on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). This scale captures positive feelings that people have for their ethnic group (e.g. *I feel good about my ethnic group*; *Overall, my heritage cultural group has very little to do with how I feel about myself*, reversed). The Cronbach alpha indicated a satisfying reliability for this scale ($\alpha = .90$).

Results and Short Discussion

We expect that larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are associated with higher academic disengagement, and that this association is mediated by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Thus, we used the PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2012), Model 4, to compute regressions and bootstrapping procedures in order to assess the role of collective actual/personal ideal and personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies, while controlling for collective actual/personal ought and personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies.

The analyses supported our hypothesis regarding the link between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement. This hypothesis was supported even when controlling for the effects of collective actual/ personal ought self-discrepancies (β = -.078, p = .463), personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies (β = .194, p = .086), and collective self-esteem (β = -.010, p = .909). Since none of these control variables was significantly associated with academic disengagement, collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, and collective self-esteem were removed from the final statistical model described below.

Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies alone significantly and positively predicted academic disengagement (c = .226, p = .006, η^2 = .051). Specifically, large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (a = .270, p < .001, η^2 = .073), whereas large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with high academic disengagement (b = .225, p = .007 η^2 = .051). Furthermore, a bootstrapping procedure with 5 000 samples generated a mean estimate for the standardized indirect effect of .061 (S.E. = .030) with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [.016 to .137]. When adding personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies to the model, the link between collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement weakened but stayed significant (c' = .165, p = .046, η^2 = .027).

Put simply, ethnic minority students who report large collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies also tend to report larger personal actual/personal

ideal self-discrepancies. Moreover, those perceiving large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies also report higher academic disengagement. Interestingly, the relation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement stayed significant when taking into consideration personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. This finding suggests that personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies cannot fully account for the relation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement.

STUDY 2

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine whether the collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies of achieving young adults studying in a major university could predict their academic disengagement, at a single point in time, and whether these results could be explained by collective self-esteem. Study 2 aims to replicate and extend the results of Study 1 by examining whether collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies measured in the middle of the semester predicts academic disengagement two months later, during the final exams, among a sample of minority university students.

In the present study, we deemed necessary to also measure students' perceptions of the fit between the values of their minority group, and the values of the dominant culture in which they live. Indeed, minority group members' emotional and social adjustment is associated with the gap between the values of their minority group culture and the dominant culture that they live in (Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou, 2015; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Furthermore, Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee

(2006) found that minority students who believe that achievement is not valued in their community report lower grades (Altschul et al., 2006; Oyserman & Yoon, 2009). As such, we will measure perceived discrepancies between dominant and minority group values to examine whether the relation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement holds when controlling for the fit between minority group values and aspiration-related values.

Method

A hundred and five students who identified themselves as ethnic minority students were recruited in large classes in a Canadian university and participated to the first part of the study between the fifth and the seventh week of a 15-week semester (86 female and 19 male, $M = 19.72$ yrs-old, $SD = 2.11$ yrs-old). Amongst them, 78 also completed the second part of the study (64 female and 14 male, $M = 19.90$ yrs-old, $SD = 2.28$ yrs-old). More than a third of the sample was born in Canada (Time 1: 36.2%, Time 2: 41.0%), and 40 different cultures were listed as ethnicities.

A similar procedure as in Study 1 was followed to assess collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and compute their corresponding scores. Specifically, student listed five ideal characteristics associated with their ideal occupation. Students also listed five values that they felt were shared by the people holding their ideal occupation. Then, they indicated the extent to which, on average, the members of their minority group presented these ideal characteristics and endorsed these values, as well as the extent

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to which they possessed these ideal characteristics, on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 6 (*Strongly agree*). These ratings were reversed and averaged to compute collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, and perceived fit between aspiration-related and ethnic minority group-related values. Just as in Study 1, participants completed the 4-item *Academic Disengagement Scale* (Wrosch et al., 2003). They also completed this scale at Time 2, during the two-week exam session scheduled at the end of the semester. The scale presented satisfying reliability at Time 1 ($\alpha = .85$) and at Time 2 ($\alpha = .75$).

Results and Short Discussion

Study 2 aims to replicate and extend the findings of Study 1. Thus, we computed two regression models using the PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2012) to analyze the data of Study 2. To examine whether the findings of Study 1 could be replicated, we computed a first model using the cross-sectional data of all participants who completed Time 1. Moreover, as we expect that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies have effects over time, we reasoned that large collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies measured in the middle of a university semester could be associated with lower motivation weeks later, such as during the exam session. Therefore, the second model examines whether the relation between self-discrepancies and academic disengagement holds even when self-discrepancies are measured in the middle of the semester (Time 1) and when academic disengagement is measured during the exam session (Time 2).

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Preliminary analyses. Descriptive statistics and correlations were similar to our previous findings (see Table 1). For example, there was a strong correlation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies ($r = .495$, $p < .001$, $n = 105$). Moreover, both collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were significantly correlated with academic disengagement at Time 1. However, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies at Time 1 were not significantly correlated with academic disengagement at Time 2 ($r = .169$, $p = .139$). These findings suggest that the connection between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies at Time 1 and academic disengagement at Time 2 might only appear indirectly, through the mediating effect of personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. The lack of significant direct relation between a predictor and a dependent variable frequently occurs in studies with longitudinal designs and small samples; in this case, it is appropriate to test for indirect effects using bootstrapping procedure (Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

Table 1: Correlations and descriptive statistics

	Descriptive statistics			Correlations		
	Range	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.
1. Collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies	1 – 6	2.77	0.78	—		
2. Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies	1 – 6	2.29	0.79	.50***	—	
3. Academic disengagement (Time 1)	1 – 5	2.28	0.94	.21*	.32**	—
4. Academic disengagement (Time 2)	1 – 5	2.33	0.81	.17	.37**	.69***

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$, two-tailed.

Time 1. We expect that larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are indirectly associated with higher academic disengagement, and that

this association is mediated by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. The analyses supported this hypothesis, even when controlling for the perceived fit between aspiration-related and ethnic group-related values measured at Time 1 (β = .104, p = .318, η^2 = .011). Since the perceived fit between aspiration-related and ethnic group-related values did not predict academic disengagement, it was removed from the final statistical model described below.

As predicted, large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (a = .495, p < .001, η^2 = .245). In turn, large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with high academic disengagement (b = .288, p = .009, η^2 = .083). In this model, the link between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement became non-significant when taking into consideration personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (c = .214, p = .028, η^2 = .046; c' = .072, p = .506, η^2 = .005). However, a bootstrapping procedure with 5 000 samples generated a mean estimate for the standardized indirect effect of .137 (S.E. = .058) with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [.050 to .285].

Time 2. We expected that larger collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies at Time 1 would be indirectly associated with higher academic disengagement at Time 2, and that this association would be explained by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies at Time 1. As predicted, large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (a = .465, p < .001, η^2 = .216). In turn, large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with high academic

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disengagement at Time 2 ($b = .211$, $p = .034$, $\eta^2 = .045$). These results were found while taking into account the role of academic disengagement at Time 1 ($\beta = .643$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .413$).

Alone, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies did not significantly predict academic disengagement at Time 2 ($c = .169$, $p = .139$, $\eta^2 = .029$). When taking into personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement at Time 1 in consideration, the link between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement at Time 2 became weaker ($c' = .082$, $p = .391$, $\eta^2 = .007$). Yet, a bootstrapping procedure with 5 000 samples generated a mean estimate for the standardized indirect effect of .088 (S.E. = .049) with a 95% bias-corrected confidence interval excluding zero [.024 to .241], thus revealing an indirect association between collective actual/personal self-discrepancies at Time 1 and academic disengagement at Time 2.

Thus, ethnic minority students who report perceiving large collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies in the middle of the semester tended to also perceive large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in the middle of the semester. Furthermore, and even when taking into account the level of academic disengagement reported in the middle of the semester, students perceiving larger personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies in the middle of the semester reported higher academic disengagement two months later, during the exam session.

STUDY 3

As hypothesized, the results of Study 1 and Study 2 indicate that minority university students who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to disengage from school. This link was mediated by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, in that large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were associated with greater academic disengagement. Therefore, the findings of Study 1 and Study 2 provide support for the idea that high-achieving ethnic minority students who attend major universities may be more likely to disengage academically if they perceive a mismatch between their group and their aspiration.

Importantly, the results of Study 1 and Study 2 also permitted to rule out alternative explanations for the relation between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancy and academic disengagement. Specifically, lack of collective self-esteem for one's minority group or mismatches between aspiration-related values and ethnic group values cannot explain why minority students perceive large collective actual/ personal ideal self-discrepancies, or remove their effect in relation to academic disengagement. Thus, if minority students perceive a mismatch between their minority identity and their ideal self, and if they disengage academically, it is not because of a mismatch in values or because they see their minority group negatively. Moreover, the link with academic disengagement appears to be specific to collective actual/personal ideal and personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, as we controlled for collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies and personal

actual/personal ought self-discrepancies.

Although Study 1 and Study 2 provided support for our hypotheses linking the collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies of minority students to their academic disengagement, the designs of these studies did not permit testing for causality. In Study 3, therefore, we will experimentally manipulate perceptions of collective actual/personal ideal discrepancies among minority students, and measure the short-term effects of perceiving a boost in collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies on academic disengagement. Specifically, we designed a subtle anchor manipulation that aims to bring ethnic minority students to think of the mismatches between their minority identity and their aspiration as large or minimal.

Method

Participants. A hundred and seven ethnic minority students were recruited in large classes in a Canadian university. However, four did not complete the study, and four did not pass the manipulation test (either they were in a condition leading them to answer yes several times and they only answered no, or they were in a condition leading them to answer no several times and they only answered yes). The final sample is thus composed of 49 female students, 49 male students, and one student who preferred not to indicate their gender ($M = 20.67$ yrs-old, $SD = 1.29$ yrs-old). One student out of two was born in Canada (50.5%). Most students reported West or East European (32.3%), East or Southeast Asians (29.3%), or Arab or Middle Eastern (15.2%) as their ethnic origins. Other participants had South Asian origins, Caribbean origins, Latin or South American origins, and African origins.

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Procedure. To manipulate collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, we adapted the method used in Study 1 and Study 2 and in our previous research (same authors, under review; same authors, submitted). Specifically, our aim was to allow students to list the ideal attributes associated with who they aspire to be, while leading them to believe that these ideals are not very characteristic of their ethnic group. Past research on assimilation manipulation, whereby one's perceptions or attitudes is inferred from one's past behavior, indicates that anchors can be designed to lead participants of a study to pick a specific answer which, in turn, shapes their perception (Fazio, Zanna, & Cooper, 1976; Salancik, 1974; Srull & Wyer, 1980). Thus, to achieve this goal, we asked participants to list five attributes describing their ideal self as students. Then, they indicated whether these attributes were generally common amongst members of their ethnic group.

In the experimental condition, participants indicated whether each attributes is common for members of their ethnic group by either checking a box indicating that *No, this attribute is not characteristic, or only moderately characteristic* or checking a box indicating that *Yes, this attribute is extremely characteristic*. Using this scale, people should answer yes less often than they would have with a regular Likert scale, because believing that their group moderately possesses an attribute leads them to select "no" rather than "yes". As a consequence of answering "no" more often, participants should be subtly led to perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies between their ideal traits and their ethnic group. In the neutral condition, participants indicated whether each trait characterized the members of their ethnic minority group either by checking a box indicating that *No, this attribute is not*

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characteristic or checking a box indicating that *Yes, this attribute is moderately characteristic or extremely characteristic*. Using the same scales as in Study 1 and Study 2, minority students reported their personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and their academic disengagement (Wrosch et al., 2003), which presented satisfactory reliability ($\alpha = .81$).

Results and Short Discussion

Manipulation Check. On average, participants in the neutral condition reported that members of their ethnic group tend to possess their ideal characteristics 70.43% of the time (*SE* = 3.52%), whereas participants in the experimental condition reported that members of their ethnic group tend to possess their ideal characteristics 56.60% of the time (*SE* = 3.57%). This difference was significant according to a T-test, $T(97) = 2.740$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2 = .071$, 95% C.I. of the difference [3.81% to 23.85%] which suggests that the manipulation was successful. Differences between our experimental groups are significant, albeit not large. This suggests that the effects yielded by our manipulation are not as large as those found in our previous studies.

Academic disengagement. We hypothesized that, compared to students in the neutral condition, students placed in the experimental condition would tend to disengage from school. A T-test comparing academic disengagement in both study conditions indicated a significant difference between the two study conditions, $T(97) = 2.340$, $p = .021$, $\eta^2 = .053$, 95% C.I. of the difference [.066 to .799]. Consistent with our hypothesis, participants reported higher academic disengagement in the

experimental (M = 2.550, SD = .974) than in the neutral condition (M = 2.118, SD = .847).

Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. In previous studies, we found that minority students who perceive large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to perceive large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, and that large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies tend to be linked with high academic disengagement. We further proposed that these mediating effects were found because minority students tend to internalize characteristics that they believe are generally possessed by other members of their ethnic group. Thus, we expected that personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies mediate the effects between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and academic disengagement in the present study too. Specifically, experimentally inducing higher collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies may only trigger academic disengagement for students who have high personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, whereas those with smaller personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies may not be as influenced by the experimental manipulation.

A T-test comparing personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies across study conditions yielded no significant difference, however, $T(97)$ = .977, p = .331, η^2 = .010, between the neutral (M = 2.336, SD = .622) and the experimental condition (M = 2.217, SD = .592). In an attempt to explain those results, we examined whether personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were as predictive of academic disengagement in the two study conditions. To do so, we computed a moderation analysis in which study conditions and personal

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actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies were entered as predictors of academic

disengagement, using the PROCESS Macro of Hayes (2012), Model 1.

This regression model indicated that, together, study conditions, personal

actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, and their interaction significantly predicted

academic disengagement ($r = .359$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .129$). Consistent with T-test

results, study conditions ($\beta = .498$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .248$), but not personal actual/

personal ideal self-discrepancies ($\beta = .020$, $p = .885$, $\eta^2 = .000$), yielded a significant

main effect on academic disengagement.

These effects were qualified by the interaction of study conditions and

personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, which marginally predicted

academic disengagement ($\beta = .365$, $p = .061$, $\eta^2 = .133$). Simple slope effects

revealed a relation between personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and

academic disengagement for students in the experimental condition ($\beta = .385$, $p =$

$.005$, $\eta^2 = .148$) but not for students in the neutral condition ($\beta = .020$, $p = .885$, $\eta^2 =$
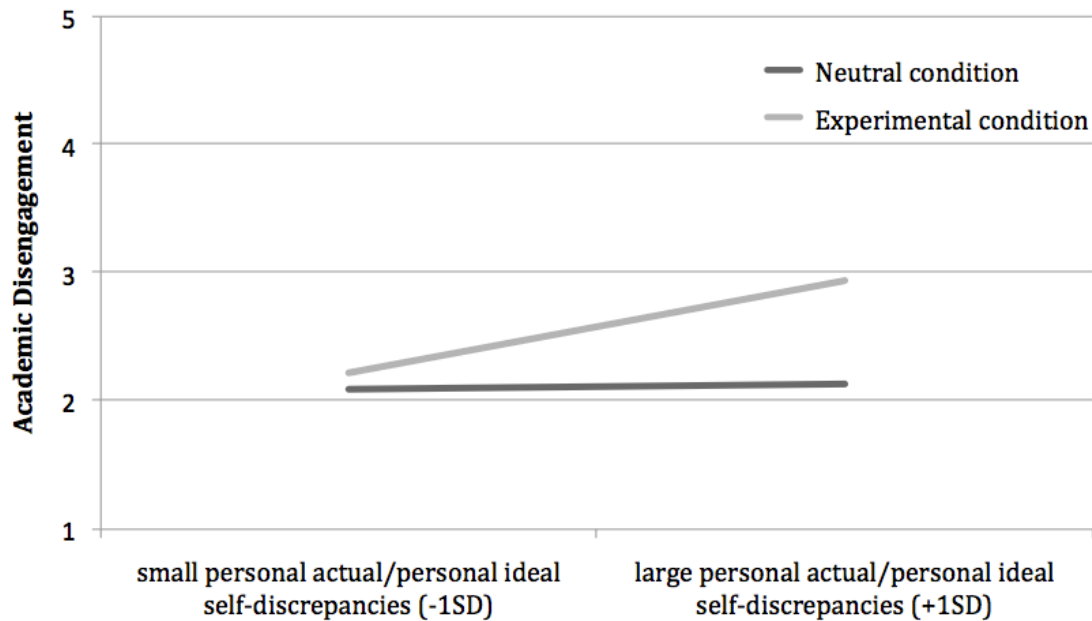
$.000$).

Figure 1. Personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predict academic disengagement for students in the experimental condition, but not for students in the neutral condition

Thus, the larger the personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies of minority students in the experimental condition, the higher their academic disengagement. In the neutral condition, however, the academic disengagement of minority students was not related to their personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (see Figure 1).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

For many ethnic minority students, the difficulties they face when attempting to align academic achievement with their status as a minority group members can be a formidable barrier to their academic success. Thus, contrasting their minority identity with who they aspire to be as individuals might yield large self-concept mismatches for many minority group members. Yet, mismatches between minority students' ideal self and their minority identities have not been examined thus far. In an attempt to address this gap in the literature, we proposed that perceiving a

mismatch between their ideal self and their minority identity would be associated with, and potentially be the source of, minority students' academic disengagement. We tested this hypothesis in three studies.

Our results were consistent with this pattern in Study 1, in which collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies predicted minority university students' academic disengagement; an effect that was significantly reduced when taking into account the mediating role of personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Similarly, in Study 2, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies measured in the middle of the semester predicted academic disengagement at the end of the semester; and these effects were fully explained by personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. This pattern of results held even when controlling for collective self-esteem (Study 1), for collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies (Study 1), and for the fit between aspiration-related values and ethnic group values (Study 2). Finally, the experimental design of Study 3 provided evidence that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are not only associated with ethnic minority students' academic disengagement, they can be a source of academic disengagement[1].

Together, these findings underscore the importance of a factor that has not been examined thus far: collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Yet, we find that these discrepancies can impede the academic pursuits of ethnic minority students, whether they are underprivileged adolescents or young adults studying at a major university. They suggest that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies may be a cause of academic disengagement amongst ethnic minority students. They

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further reveal that such effects could be distinctly attributable to collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies (as suggested by the analyses controlling for collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies); that such effects are not merely attributable to ethnic minority students not being proud of their group (as suggested by the analyses controlling for collective self-esteem); and that such effects are not attributable to difference in values (as suggested by the analyses controlling for the fit between ethnic group values and aspiration-related values). In short, the present studies suggest the existence of a distinct phenomenon that impacts the academic achievement of minority students.

Mechanisms underlying collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies

Although in Studies 1 and 2 we identified perceiving large personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies as a potential mechanism explaining the impact of collective actual/personal ideal on academic disengagement, this role did not clearly appear in Study 3. Indeed, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies had an impact on academic disengagement, but not on personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. However, these findings are consistent with other experiments involving identity threats, where researchers use self-affirmation to counteract an identity threat (Cohen & Garcia, 2008). In this sense, it is possible that minority students compensated for feeling 'forced' to report large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies by reporting low personal actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies. Future research on collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies should attempt to clarify the role of personal actual/personal ideal self-

discrepancies using other forms of designs, such as longitudinal designs that allow testing for mediation effects over time.

These results raise the possibility of a connection between collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and issues pertaining to belonging that have previously been identified as problematic for minority students' achievement. Belonging to social groups contributes to selecting goals and to motivating group members to achieve (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Oyserman, 2007). Notably, believing that they are part of a community motivates people to meet the goals associated with this community (Master & Walton, 2013; Walton & Cohen, 2011). Interestingly, sharing similarities with other people fosters this sense of belonging (Walton, Cohen, Cwir, & Spencer, 2012). In that sense, the concept of collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies, which captures similarities between characteristics associated with an ideal self and a collective identity, could be related to minority students' feelings of belonging. Future studies could examine whether perceiving large collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies can lead minority students to feel uncertain that they belong in academic settings.

Conclusion

The literature identifies several factors that impede ethnic minority students' academic achievement: facing prejudice and discrimination (Chavous, et al., 2008; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), mistrusting authority (Yeager et al., 2014), being sensitive to rejection (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008), feeling uncertain to belong (Walton & Cohen, 2007, 2011) and

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underperforming due to feelings of threat elicited by negative stereotypes (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Although they tap into different phenomenon, these factors all represent forms of identity threat that impact the motivation or the performance of ethnic minority students.

By demonstrating that ethnic minority students who see a mismatch between their minority identity and their aspiration tend to disengage from school, our studies suggest the presence of yet another form of identity issue that impedes the odds of success of ethnic minority students. This form of identity threat appears distinct from the ones that have been previously identified. Notably, it reveals that some ethnic minority students internalize the mismatch between their ideal selves and their minority identities are misaligned, rather than knowing that such mismatches are expected by other people who are not members of the same ethnic minority groups.

Moreover, the findings of Study 1 reveal that collective self-esteem cannot fully account for these perceived mismatches. These findings suggest that lack of positive consideration for one's minority group, or internalization of negative stereotypes, might not explain why minority students see their minority identities and their ideal selves as dissimilar. In this sense, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are distinct from other factors that have been identified in the literature as problematic for ethnic minority students' academic outcomes. It is our hope that our research on collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies will complement other research on the barriers that impede the odds of success minority group members.

NOTE

1: Our sample sizes were not selected as a function of a power analysis. However, we performed post hoc analyses about statistical power with G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). We used the actual sample sizes in each of our studies, and calculated the power to detect effects equivalent to small to medium R^2 of .06 to .15, since they represent the range of effects that we found in our previous work on collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies and motivational outcomes (same authors, submitted). These R^2 values correspond to f^2 values of .05, .10, and .15 in Study 1 and 2, and to d values of .46, .67 and .84 in Study 3.

In Study 1 ($n = 147$, $\alpha = 05$), the power to detect these effects was of .668, .935, and .991 in our main 2-predictor variable equation. In Study 2, the power to detect these effects was of .512, .823, and .948 in our main 2-predictor variable equation at Time 1 ($n = 105$, $\alpha = 05$), whereas the power to detect these effects was of .333, .616, and .801 in our main 3-predictor variable equation at Time 2 ($n = 78$, $\alpha = 05$). In Study 3 ($n_{exp} = 53$, $n_{neut} = 46$, $\alpha = 05$), the power to detect these effects in independent t-tests was of .733, .951, and .994. These findings suggest that our three studies lacked power to detect small effects, particularly longitudinal Study 2, but not medium-small to medium effects. Thus, although we are confident that we were able to detect the medium-small to medium effects in presence, smaller effects such as the effects of covariates in Study 1 and Study 2 might have been underestimated.

FINAL CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The question at the core of the present doctoral research pertains to whether perceiving mismatches between their group identities and their personal aspirations impede the odds of success of minority students. Building on the frameworks of Social Identity Theory and Self-Discrepancy Theory, I introduced mismatches between collective identities and personal desired selves (i.e. collective/personal self-discrepancies). Using cross-sectional, longitudinal, field, and experimental designs, I investigated whether these self-discrepancies are associated with the health, aspiration, and education outcomes of minority students.

The study in Manuscript 1 provides cross-sectional evidence that self-discrepancies between a collective identity and a desired personal self are distinct from self-discrepancies experienced solely at the personal level. Even when taking into account the mediating role of personal actual/personal ought self-discrepancies, collective actual/personal ought self-discrepancies significantly predicted psychological health symptoms. These results suggest that collective/personal self-discrepancies are both directly and indirectly associated with psychological health symptoms. As a first step in our program of research, Manuscript 1 reiterates the existence of a link between self-concept mismatches and poor psychological health. Moreover, Manuscript 1 extends the existing literature by introducing a new and distinct form of self-concept mismatches that predicts psychological health.

Manuscript 2 demonstrates the relevance of self-discrepancies between collective identities and desired personal selves in order to understand the experience of immigrant adolescents, who tend to be more ambitious than their non-immigrant

peers while also disengaging from their personal aspirations in higher numbers. Conducted in collaboration with a community-based organization, the two field studies of Manuscript 2 document the self-concept mismatches of first and second-generation immigrants with lower socioeconomic status backgrounds who, according to the literature, are most prone to facing this aspiration paradox. As I expected, immigrant adolescents who perceived large mismatches between their personal aspirations and their ethnic identities tended to significantly disengage from their aspirations and, marginally, to disengage from school. In that sense, Manuscript 2 reaffirms that mismatches between collective identities and desired personal selves meaningfully inform real world issues, especially for populations that do not share the privileges that university students often benefit from.

Manuscript 3 furthers our understanding of collective/personal self-discrepancies by providing experimental evidence that they lead to academic disengagement and by ruling out alternative explanations. A cross-sectional study clarified that mismatches between collective identities and personal ideal selves are not attributable to a lack of pride or attachment towards one's group. A longitudinal study suggested that collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies assessed in the middle of the semester predict academic disengagement during the exam session, two months later, even when considering mismatches between group values and academic values. Thus, collective actual/personal ideal self-discrepancies are not necessarily occurring because of self-hate tendencies, of a straightforward endorsement of negative stereotypes, or because of ethnic groups place a low value on academic achievement. Finally, a subtle experimental manipulation of collective/personal self-

discrepancies suggested that they are a cause of academic disengagement amongst minority students.

Together, the studies presented in these three manuscripts provide solid ground for arguing that perceived mismatches between personal ideal selves and collective identities represent a distinct phenomenon that had not been accounted for by research on collective identities or academic achievement. They also indicate that these mismatches are relevant to the experiences of high school students from a very diverse district, as well as of undergraduate students attending a prestigious university, regarding their psychological health symptoms as well as their motivation. These studies present limits and many questions remain unanswered; yet, this program of research also contributes to the literature in many ways.

Future directions pertaining to research on collective identities

Psychological processes involving selves and identities have generated a large amount of research. Yet, few studies examine the idiosyncratic content of identities, especially of collective identities. This is understandable: concerns about misrepresenting groups, by suggesting that they are homogenous or by essentializing them, are founded. While there are numerous ways to be a minority group member, or a member in any given group, and to be at the intersection of several minority groups, better understanding how people define their group and their relation with their group appears critical. On a related note, future interventions targeting collective/personal self-discrepancies could remind minority group members of the wide range of manners in which they can belong to their group – and in which they

can work in a certain discipline.

My research results also reveal a relation between collective/personal and personal/personal self-discrepancies. In that sense, they add to research suggesting that the influence of group experiences is likely to be largely underestimated (e.g. Abrams & Hogg, 2001) and to research linking collective to personal components of the self-concept (e.g. Taylor, 2002). While my research focused on two new forms of self-discrepancies, many forms of self-discrepancies involving collective identities deserve closer attention. For instance, first and second-generation immigrants could wrestle with the 'collective' hopes and ideal selves that their ethnic community expects them to pursue, in contrast with the 'personal' ideal selves they have for themselves. In that sense, several other combinations of self-concept mismatches, like personal actual/collective ideal self-discrepancies, deserve further attention.

One important implication of my results is the possibility that forms of identity conflict pertaining to collective identities are internalized to become part of the personal self-concept, where they generate another form of identity conflict. In that sense, my results suggest that identity conflicts might be numerous for certain individuals. Future research could investigate who is most at-risk of experiencing collective/personal self-discrepancies in the first place, and who is most at-risk of struggling and failing when they attempt to reduce their self-discrepancies.

Future directions pertaining to research on diversity

Recently, some researchers have called for examining the psychology of people whose experience is less often researched (e.g. Henrich, Heine, &

Norenzayan, 2010), and many researchers have focused on identifying the barriers

that members of less privileged groups are facing (e.g. Destin & Oyserman, 2010;

Stephens et al., 2012; Walton & Cohen, 2007). The present research is aligned with

these trends, as it begs the question as to whether collective/personal self-

discrepancies hold back members of groups that tend to be stereotyped negatively or

that are underrepresented. Importantly, their research trend suggests that focusing on

a real world issues specific to a small portion of the population can be the source of

theory development that can be inform broader human experiences. Steele (2012)

noted the numerous applications of stereotype threat theory, even to shed light on the

experiences of privileged group members, which he did not expect at all when

developing these ideas. His research is an inspiration, and I hope that future research

will apply similar logic and focus on processes that are perhaps not human universals

in an obvious manner, but nonetheless need to be investigated for our psychological

understanding of humanity to expand.

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