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Views on the Model Minority Stereotype in a South Asian Canadian Context

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This study focused on the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS), which depicts Asians as scoring high in certain seemingly positive attributes (e.g., competence and achievement), whilst also scoring high in seemingly negative traits (e.g., unsociability and emotional reservation). Previous research on this topic has largely focused on East Asian American samples, finding that internalization of the MMS can have psychologically harmful effects on these individuals. This study aimed to explore whether or not the MMS exists in South Asian Canadian populations using qualitative and quantitative methods. The positive components of the stereotype were found to be internalized and endorsed, whereas the negative components were not endorsed to the same extent. This study also examined if family relationships (i.e., perceived levels of family conflict and family closeness) would be related to the MMS. Results showed that family conflict was related to certain components of the stereotype, mainly the endorsement of the competence stereotype and the internalization of expected academic success. The qualitative data resulted in similar stereotypes to the MMS being characteristic of South Asians, including the competence aspects. Additionally, stereotypes regarding cultural distinctiveness and patriarchy were found to be prevalent. Contrary to the MMS, though, stereotypes regarding expressiveness (e.g., being loud and funny) were also found.

South Asians represent the largest visible minority group within Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018), and are prone to be stereotyped by others in this country (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan & Thompson, 2009). Within social psychology, researchers have barely examined the implications of this stereotyping. Research regarding stereotypes of people of Asian heritage in North America has largely focused on East Asians. In particular, the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS) has portrayed East Asians as successful minorities who are characterized by both positive (e.g., hardworking) and negative (e.g., emotionally reserved) traits.

Research has also suggested that the MMS can have important implications for the psychological well-being of East Asians (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011). Although some South Asian individuals are occasionally included in broad samples of Asians in research on the MMS, it is not clear if the MMS actually holds for this cultural group. One focus of this study was to determine if the same components of the MMS are applicable to South Asian Canadians and to further examine if endorsement of the MMS is related to their psychological well-being.

Influences such as family relationships that may have relevance to South Asians have also not been taken into account in MMS research. For example, families may influence ways that individuals socialize (Daga & Raval, 2018). Such factors may impact whether or not the MMS is applicable to South Asian in Canada. This study also examined whether the supporting and internalization of the MMS is associated with family relations (i.e., levels of family conflict and family closeness) and psychological outcomes (e.g., psychological well-being and self-esteem).

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The Model Minority Stereotype and its Implications for Asian Populations

Research on the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS) has primarily focused on East Asians in an American context. East Asian heritage typically refers to individuals who can link part of their social identity to countries such as the People's Republic of China, Japan or South Korea. The term model minority was introduced in the 1960s to refer to East Asian Americans as successful minorities who are hardworking and are high academic and economic achievers (Yoo, Burrola & Steger, 2010). The MMS posits that Asians are viewed as

being intelligent and ambitious, and excelling in fields such as math and science (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). They also are seen as disciplined and hardworking (Kawai, 2005). Along with these seemingly positive traits, they also are viewed as having negative traits such as being antisocial, unassimilated and lacking a sense of humour or athletic ability (Ho & Jackson, 2001). They are also seen as being emotionally reserved and lacking in English-speaking abilities (Shen, Wang, & Swanson, 2011).

The Stereotype Content Model developed by Fiske and colleagues (2002) helps to explain the positive and negative features of the MMS. This model postulates that stereotypes towards an outgroup are formed on the basis of two dimensions: warmth and competence. Outgroups that are seen as being high in competence but low in warmth are referred to as envious stereotypes. The idea is that members of this group are succeeding, but this success can pose a threat to the ingroup. East Asians fall under the envious stereotype category, and Fiske's model postulates that groups that fall under this category are disliked by the ingroup. Researchers suggest that this dislike may be manifested through acts such as discrimination and racism. Research also indicates that the MMS may be linked to envy from outgroup members, leading to endorsement and perpetuation of the negative aspects of the stereotype (Ho & Jackson, 2001).

Although some aspects of the MMS are positive, research with East Asian Americans has shown that the internalization of the stereotype can lead to undesirable consequences. For example, the pressure associated with expectations to perform well academically is a component of the MMS that is linked to poor psychological health, including symptoms of anxiety and stress (Lee et al., 2009). Research has also shown that within Asian populations, internalizing seemingly positive features of the stereotype can lead to greater somatic complaints and higher levels of psychological distress (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Wong & Halgin, 2006). A study by Cheryan and Bodenhausen (2000) conducted with Asian American women indicated that students who were primed with their ethnic identity performed at a lower level on a math test than those who were primed with their personal identity, suggesting that when ethnicity is salient in their mind, participants are reminded of the competence aspect of the MMS and may feel pressure to succeed.

The MMS is pervasive in North American society and is continually perpetuated by the media (Zhang, 2010). South Asians are likely to be subject to similar stereotypes, including those about their academic achievements and pursuit of prestigious careers, indicating that the MMS may also apply to this population as well (Ngo, 2006). South Asians are not represented as often, however, as East Asians when the MMS is discussed in the media. For example, a controversial article in *Maclean's*, originally titled "Too Asian" (Finlay & Kohler, 2010), perpetuated the negative and positive aspects of the MMS stereotype in Canadian society, but only referred to East Asians. Similarly, South Asians are often excluded from the narrative of the MMS. Although the MMS was formulated on the basis of East Asian populations, some recent research has focused on South Asian Americans in relation to the stereotype. A study conducted by Daga and Raval (2018) found that South Asian Americans may experience intense pressure to live up to the stereotype (e.g. to succeed in academics). This pressure can then be exacerbated if individuals fail to live up to the standard. This study also found that in college students, internalization of pressure that is related to the MMS (i.e., academic expectations) was related to difficulties in adjustment over various mental health domains (e.g. anxiety, depression and academic problems). Additionally, a qualitative study by Inman, Tummala-Narra, Kaduvettoor-Davidson, Alvarez and Yeh (2015) found that within their sample of Indian Americans, discrimination that was a result of the MMS caused participants to push themselves to become model citizens to compensate for the negative perceptions of their community. The study also found that participants internalized some positive components of the stereotype, including being hardworking, smart and having professional statuses (e.g. being a doctor or lawyer). The authors suggest that the study's participants used these positive features as a protective factor against discrimination.

Unique Experiences to South Asian Canadians

South Asian immigrants in North America are a visible minority group who are prone to become victims of discrimination and racism. Particularly after the events of 9/11, many South Asians (particularly Muslims and Sikhs) have been subject to prejudice as a result of Islamophobia and Xenophobia, including an increase in hate crimes (Ngo, 2006). Research has shown that in Canada, South

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Asians experience increased amounts of discrimination based on their race, more so than any other factor (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan, & Thompson, 2009). These adverse experiences can result in negative psychological consequences (e.g. feelings of helplessness, anger, anxiety, etc.) among South Asians, particularly to those who are second-generation North Americans (Inman, Tummala-Narra, Kaduvettoor-Davidson, Alvarez & Yeh, 2015).

In a study of both East and South Asian American students' experiences in elementary schools, 15% of the students reported being bullied for their academic achievements by their Non-Asian peers (Lee, 1994). Studies also show that both East and South Asian American students in STEM fields increasingly experience discrimination related to stereotypes of the MMS (McGee, Thakore, & Lablance, 2017). Asian American adolescents internalize discrimination that has been linked to a low valuing of school, having few positive relationships with others, low self-esteem, and a high number of depressive symptoms (Kiang, Witkow & Thompson, 2016). Given that adolescents are internalizing discrimination based on a key feature of the MMS (academic achievement), it is possible that the MMS is applicable to the South Asian population.

It should be noted that the current literature on South Asians in North America does not indicate that negative stereotypic attributes such as emotional reservation or a lack of social skills are representative of South Asians. As there is no existing evidence regarding these negative components of the MMS being attributed to this group of South Asians, it is worth exploring if this is in fact the case.

The Role of Family

Contrary to Western individualistic cultures, South Asians belong to cultures that are more collectivist in nature (Hofstede, 2011). The implications of the internalization of collectivist cultural values within individuals who are being raised in Western individualistic nations may prove to have important consequences for their psychological well-being. The clash of South Asian cultural values of first-generation Canadians and the more Western values of second-generation South Asian Canadians has the potential to result in intergenerational conflict within families (Giguère, Lalonde, &

Lou, 2010). Parents may have concerns for their children's financial security, and this results in pressure being placed on their children to pursue careers that will grant them economic success (Ngo, 2006). On the other hand, living in a Canadian context where the dominant culture is Western, second-generation South Asian Canadians may feel pressure to adopt the mainstream culture, whilst having to choose which parts of their heritage culture to maintain (Taylor & Lalonde, 1987).

Research shows that South Asian American parents are more involved in their children's studies and they encourage their children to spend more time on their education when compared to Western parents, increasing students' pressure to succeed academically (Mau, 1997). The study by Daga and Raval (2018) showed that South Asian American students feel intense pressure to choose colleges and degrees in fields that live up to their parents' expectations. They also mention feeling pressure associated with pursuing prestigious careers. Such information highlights the necessity to look at aspects of the MMS within South Asians whilst taking into account factors related to family influence, including levels of family conflict and family closeness. The positive aspects of stereotypes about certain cultural groups are often reinforced by members of the group themselves, indicating that family may nurture and emphasize the positive aspects of the MMS (e.g., being hardworking) (Taylor & Lalonde, 1987). As qualitative research has shown that the internalization of the MMS and expectations of academic pressure leads to greater stress and anxiety on East Asian Americans, it is especially important to see how factors such as academic pressure are related to South Asian Canadians (Lee, 1994; Yoo, Miller, & Kip, 2015).

The Current Study

The aim of this study was to investigate the MMS in relation to South Asian Canadians. This study explored the degree of internalization and endorsement of the Model Minority Stereotype with young South Asian Canadians. It was expected that South Asian Canadians will endorse and internalize the positive components of the Model Minority Stereotype similarly to East Asian Canadians. Likewise, it was also expected that similar patterns to East Asians will be followed such that internalization of the MMS will be linked to

negative psychological outcomes (i.e. psychological well-being and self-esteem) in the South Asian Canadian sample.

This study also looked at the relationship between components of the MMS (i.e., competence) and family relationships (i.e., family closeness and family conflict). It was hypothesized that endorsement and internalization of the stereotype will be linked to higher family conflict and lower family closeness.

The final sample consisted of 244 participants. All were undergraduate psychology students . . . The largest ethnicities represented were Pakistani (23%) and Punjabi (29.1%), followed by Gujarati (11.1%), Tamil (9.8%), Sri Lankan (3.3%) and Bangladeshi (2.9%).

Method

Participants

Just over 300 participants (302) initially completed the study. Participants who did not identify as South Asian, who did not finish the survey, or who failed to pass an attention check were removed from the data set. The final sample consisted of 244 participants. All were undergraduate psychology students from a large university in Toronto, participating in the research in exchange for a course credit. Participants were between 17 and 39 years of age, with 19 being the mean age, with a standard deviation of 2.55. Women comprised 75.8% of the sample. In terms of national status, 86.5% were Canadian citizens, 11.1% were permanent residents, and 2.5% were international students. Over half (60.2% of participants were born in Canada. Of those who were born outside of Canada, the mean age of arrival was nine years old. The largest religious affiliations were Islam (37.3%), Hinduism (27%) and Sikhism (20.5%). The largest ethnicities represented were Pakistani (23%) and Punjabi (29.1%), followed by Gujarati (11.1%), Tamil (9.8%), Sri Lankan (3.3%) and Bangladeshi (2.9%).

Procedure

The online survey took approximately 30 minutes for participants to complete. Prior to beginning the study, informed consent was obtained. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to answer questions related to demographic profile and provide their thoughts on the study. The following measures were completed in the order provided below.

Pre-Existing Awareness of Stereotypes. Participants were asked to think about commonly held views about South Asian Canadians

that they were aware of. Participants were then asked to list up to five adjectives or short descriptive phrases that are seen as being characteristic of South Asian Canadians.

Internalization of Asian American Stereotypes Scale (IAASS). This study used an adjusted form of this scale, which Shen, Wang and Swanson (2011) originally developed. It measures the extent to which Asian Americans have internalized stereotypes about their group. The original questions were designed in the context of Asian Americans yet for the purposes of this study the questions were modified to measure the experiences of South Asian Canadians. Fifteen items assessed three distinct components of the MMS: Emotional Reservation (ER), Expected Academic Success (AC), and Pursuit of Prestigious Careers (PC). Examples of questions include, "I am expected to perform well in math and science because I am South Asian Canadian." Results were measured on a 7-point Likert Scale from 1, "Strongly Disagree", to 7, "Strongly Agree." Higher scores on the components of this scale indicate a greater internalization of different components of the MMS.

Model Minority Achievement (IM-4). An adjusted form of this scale, developed by Yoo, Burrola and Steger (2010), was used to measure the internalization of the model minority myth amongst Asian college students. The original questions were designed in the context of Asian Americans yet for the purposes of this study, the questions were modified to measure the experiences of South Asian Canadians. Only one scale was used from the original measure. Ten questions were asked measuring achievement orientation. Examples of questions include, "South Asian Canadians generally have high grade point averages in school because academic success is important." Results were measured on a 7-point Likert Scale from 1, "Strongly Disagree", to 7, "Strongly Agree." Higher scores on this scale indicate a greater endorsement of the achievement component of the MMS.

Scale of Anti-Asian American Stereotypes (SAAAS). Lin, Kwan, Cheung and Fiske (2005) created this 25-item scale to assess attitudes towards Asians. It was modified in this study to assess views about South Asian Canadians with regards to their perceived levels of competence and (un)sociability. Examples of items measuring (un)

sociability include, "The majority of South Asian Canadians tend to be shy and quiet." An example of an item measuring competence is, "A lot of South Asian Canadians can be described as working all of the time." Items were assessed on a 7-point Likert Scale from 1, "Strongly Disagree", to 7, "Strongly Agree." Higher scores on the components of this scale indicate an increased perception of the stereotypes being indicative of South Asian Canadians.

Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. Lee, Choe, Kim and Ngo (2000) designed this 10-item scale to measure conflict within family situations, particularly pertaining to acculturation differences between Asian American parents and their children. This measure was used to determine the degree of perceived child-parent conflict within families. An example of an item includes, "You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it disrespectful to talk back." Results were measured on a 5-point scale from 1, "Almost Never", to 5, "Almost Always." Higher scores on this scale indicate greater levels of family conflict.

Psychological Well-Being Scale (PWB). This eight-item scale was designed to measure psychological well-being and satisfaction with life (Diener et al., 2009). An example of an item measured is, "I am engaged and interested in my daily activities." Results were measured on a 7-point Likert Scale from 1, "Strongly Disagree", to 7, "Strongly Agree." Higher scores on this scale indicate greater psychological well-being.

Single Item Self-Esteem Scale (SISE). Robins, Hendin and Trzesniewski (2001) demonstrated that a single item could be used to measure global self-esteem. The item is "I have high self-esteem." Answers were indicated on 5-point scale from 1, "not very true of me", to 5, "very true of me." Robins, Hendin and Trzesniewski validated this measure by demonstrating virtually identical results obtained of a 10-item measure of self-esteem. This item was used as to not add to the length of the survey.

Family Allocentrism Scale. This 21-item scale was created by Lay et al. (1998) to assess the extent to which individuals place their focus on family members rather than on themselves. It is essentially a measure of collectivism at the family level. An example of an item

included is “I think it is important to get along with my family at all costs.” Items were rated on a 7-point Likert Scale from 1, “Strongly Disagree”, to 7, “Strongly Agree.” Higher scores on this scale indicate greater family closeness.

The Conscientious Responders Scale (CRS). Marjanovic, Struthers, Cribbie and Greenglass (2014) developed this scale to determine if participants are responding randomly by including five instructional items (e.g., choose the first option—“strongly disagree”—in answering this question), distributed throughout the survey. Participants who failed more than two of these items were removed from the sample.

Results

Descriptive statistics. As seen in Table 1, the internal reliability coefficients were all acceptable, ranging from 0.75 to 0.90. Means of the two achievement measures of the MMS measures were found to be above the midpoint of 4 of the 7-point scale, as expected. Mean responses were below the midpoint, however, for the endorsement of the (un)sociability ($M=3.33$) stereotype, the internalization of the emotional reservation stereotype ($M = 3.82$) or the internalization of the pursuit of prestigious careers stereotype ($M = 3.94$). This sample of South Asian Canadians also scored very high on the internalization of expected academic success stereotype ($M= 4.94$).

Correlations between stereotyping and other measures. Contrary to our hypothesis, there was an absence of relationships between psychological well-being and most of the components of the MMS, as seen in Table 2. A significant relationship was not found between the endorsement of the competence or (un)sociability components of the stereotype and psychological well-being. Internalization of the emotional reservation stereotype resulted in a significant negative correlation with psychological well-being ($r = -0.32$, $p < .001$). However, internalization of the other features of the MMS including expected academic success, pursuit of prestigious careers, or the internalization of the myth were not significantly related to well-being. Similarly, self-esteem only had a significant negative relationship with the internalization of the emotional reservation stereotype ($r = -0.29$, $p < .001$), and was not significantly related to the other internalization or endorsement measures.

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We observed an interesting pattern of relationships between reported family conflict and the MMS measure. Greater family conflict was associated with all of the internalization and endorsement measures, however, the relationship was only significant with the internalization of the model minority myth, the internalization of the stereotype of expected academic success as well as the endorsement of both the competence and (un)sociability aspects of the stereotype ($r = 0.20$ to 0.38). A correlation was also found between family allocentrism and psychological well-being ($r = 0.28$, $p < .001$).

Qualitative Data

Participants responses to the open-ended question that asked them to provide five adjectives or phrases describing commonly held views about South Asian Canadians, were examined to look for themes. As seen in Table 3, 11 categories representing the major themes found in participants' responses were established, with a minimum of 35 responses in each category. It is important to note that as each participant provided up to five responses, a participant may have been coded into a category more than once. Each response is not indicative of one participant, rather is representative of the frequency of responses.

The category of competence included adjectives such as "smart", "hardworking", "studious", "determined" and "successful." Phrases regarding occupations such as "have to be a doctor or lawyer" were also included in this category. Responses that depicted the group as pleasant and in a positive manner were categorized under congeniality. Adjectives such as "nice", "caring", "respectful" and "responsible" appeared in this category. The category of otherness included adjectives such as "fob", "immigrant" and "foreign." The category of expressiveness reflected an outgoing or animated disposition, and included adjectives such as "loud", "colourful", "funny" and "exotic." Patriarchy was also a reoccurring theme. Adjectives in this category included "strict", "aggressive", "violent" and "arranged marriage." A category of conservatism appeared with adjectives such as "family oriented" and "conservative". References to colour was another major theme with the word "brown" or "dark skin" appearing. Another category that was formed was cultural

distinction. References to South Asian culture were sorted into this category, and included adjectives such as “cultured”, “desi” and “Bollywood”. References to food formed another category. Words such as “curry”, “smelly”, “vegetarian” as well as food items including “butter chicken” and “biryani” were included. Religion was another broad category that was formed, with participants providing adjectives such as “religious” or giving religion names such as “Muslim” or “Hindu”. The final category was that of cheapness. Adjectives such as “stingy” and “frugal” were included in this group.

Discussion

Prevalence of the Model Minority Stereotype

South Asian Canadians appear to internalize the positive side of the MMS in ways that are similar to East Asian Americans. In a comparative analysis, at a glance it appears that the internalization of expected academic success stereotype is internalized to a higher extent than East Asian Americans. In this study, the South Asian sample had a mean score of $M = 4.94$, which is 0.94 higher than the score of $M = 4.00$ found in previous studies of East Asian American populations (Shen, Wang, & Swanson, 2011). This may be indicative of a cultural difference between South Asians and East Asian cultures. Along similar lines, South Asians appeared to endorse the competence component of the stereotype as well, indicating that this may be a salient feature of the MMS to this particular cultural group. As these are all positive features of the stereotype, it follows that South Asians appear to endorse and internalize the seemingly positive associations with the MMS.

This result is supported by the qualitative data obtained from this study. The most frequent category of response to the question asking participants to provide adjectives or short descriptive phrases that are seen as being characteristic of South Asian Canadians was that of competence, suggesting that it is a salient stereotype about South Asians. Participants responses in this area largely supported the notion of this cultural group being intelligent, hardworking and academically inclined. Responses also referred to the stereotype of being successful and having certain occupations such as lawyer, doctor or engineer.

In contrast, it appears as though South Asian Canadians do not identify with the negative features of the MMS that have been found with East Asians (e.g. emotional reservation). Although still present, it appears that the internalization of the emotional reservation stereotype and endorsement of the (un)sociability aspect of the stereotype is low, as their means were found to be below the midpoint of 4 on the 7-point scales. This may be indicative of the fact that these same stereotypes may not hold for South Asians. The qualitative data also provides support for the idea that the emotional reservation stereotype may not hold for South Asian populations. The terms “loud” and “fun” were especially prevalent in the data, which is not characteristic of stereotypes of East Asian populations (Shen, Wang, & Swanson, 2011).

Relationship of Stereotyping to Well-Being

The existing literature on East Asian American populations has shown the MMS to prove to have negative implications on their psychological well-being, including poor psychological health and higher levels of psychological distress (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Lee et al., 2009). This relationship, however, was not observed within the South Asian Canadian sample. Only the internalization of the emotional reservation stereotype, which does not hold well for South Asians, appears to be related to psychological well-being and low self-esteem. Given that emotional reservation was not a characteristic that our sample ascribed to themselves, the relationship to well-being may be attributed to something other than internalizing the stereotype itself.

Relationship of Stereotyping with Family Related Variables

A significant relationship was not found between family allocentrism and internalization and endorsement of components of the MMS, indicating that family connectedness is not related to how South Asians internalize the MMS. The relationship between perceived levels of conflict and the internalization of the stereotypes related to academic success and achievement, as well as the endorsement of the competence stereotype may be indicative of a feature that is perhaps unique to South Asian Canadians. It appears as that these components of the MMS that are related to success (particularly with regards to academics), may be related to conflict that results from parental pressure to excel in this area (Daga & Raval, 2018).

Unique Stereotypes of South Asians

The reoccurring themes of the qualitative data provided information regarding various stereotypes that are seen as being indicative of South Asians. Participants provided responses that focused on many cultural aspects. The prevalence of the categories regarding culture and tradition as well as ethnic food marked the importance that heritage culture plays in South Asian Canadian studies.

Additionally, the concept of otherness may be one that is salient to South Asian Canadians. Participants talked about being an immigrant and foreign. Some participants talked about difficulties with assimilation and not fitting in to either culture. Combined with the prevalence of responses related to skin colour or being brown, this is indicative of the prevalence of the concept of race. As seen in the literature, race was a big source of discrimination for South Asians (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan & Thompson, 2009), making its prevalence as a common attribute not surprising. The concept of fitting into a western society may also be a result of having a largely second-generation Canadian sample, which may not be a feature exclusively related to South Asian Canadians.

The quality of congeniality was also found from the qualitative data. This result is not surprising as congeniality can be interpreted as a positive stereotype, and as South Asians tended to endorse and internalize the positive features of the stereotype, it follows that this stereotype should follow the same pattern. Congeniality is also a shared feature that South Asians can share with other humans, including Canadians (Taylor & Lalonde, 1987).

Limitations and Future Directions

A limitation of this study is the potential moderator that was not taken into account—generational status. The internalization and endorsement of certain stereotypes may prove different for those who were born in Canada as compared to those who are recent immigrants. Similarly, as students completed this study in a Canadian cultural context, the extent to which participants self-identify as South Asian may play a role in the way the internalization of the stereotype may influence their psychological well-being. Some participants were international students as well and may not identify as Canadian either.

Furthermore, another noteworthy limitation of this study was its correlational nature. As such, the results produced from this research do not prove causation. An experimental procedure would be needed to be able to definitively prove a direct relationship between the components of the stereotype with psychological well-being or family conflict. An experimental procedure would also control for extraneous factors that may occur as a result of participants completing the study individually and not under a researcher's supervision.

This study must also be conducted on a more diverse population. The internalization and endorsement of the competence and academic achievement components of the stereotype may be especially prevalent with a sample of university students who are likely to value academics and may represent a biased sample of the population.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to test the significance of the MMS amongst South Asian Canadian populations. Based on the results obtained in this study, it can be seen that the MMS may not be fully applicable to South Asian Canadians. Although the positive components of the stereotype do hold (i.e., expected academic success, pursuit of prestigious careers, internalization of the myth of achievement, and competence), the negative components are not as strongly represented (i.e., emotional reservation and [un]sociability). For the most part, stereotyping, as measured in this study, significantly relates to the psychological well-being of South Asian Canadians. Additional factors such as expectation and culture must be taken into account when studying South Asian Canadians. Family conflict is also related to some of the components of the MMS that do hold for the group (i.e., expected academic success, internalized myth of achievement, and endorsement of competence) and should be taken into account when studying South Asian Canadians.

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TABLES**Table 1***Descriptive Statistics of the Measures*

<i>n</i> = 244	α	M	SD
Internalization of the Stereotype			
Emotional Reservation (-)	.75	3.82	1.19
Expected Academic Success (+)	.76	4.94	1.16
Pursuit of Prestigious Careers (+)	.77	3.94	1.16
Myth of Achievement (+)	.89	5.21	0.87
Stereotype Endorsement			
Competence (+)	.81	4.55	0.79
(Un)sociability (-)	.84	3.33	0.83
Family Relations			
Conflict	.90	2.91	1.04
Allocentrism	.85	4.63	0.76
Outcome Measures			
Psychological Well-Being	.85	5.53	0.84
Self-Esteem	-	3.13	1.07

(+) = positive component of MMS; (-) = negative component of the MMS.

Table 2*Zero-Order Correlations between the Measures for all Respondents*

Measures	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Internalization of the Stereotype									
1. Emotional Reservation	.26	.10	.05	.20	.11	.19	.10	-.32	-.29
2. Expected Academic Success	-	.04	.40	.40	.21	.32	.10	.11	.04
3. Pursuit of Prestigious Careers		-	.11	.07	.01	.12	.14	-.10	-.01
4. Myth of Achievement			-	.34	.04	.20	.19	.11	.03
Stereotype Endorsement									
5. Competence				-	.43	.38	.00	-.08	.05
6. (Un)sociability					-	.28	-.09	-.05	.00
Family Relations									
7. Conflict						-	-.14	-.13	-.02
8. Allocentrism							-	.28	.02
Well-Being									
9. Psychological Well-Being								-	.50
10. Self-Esteem									-

Values above 0.12 are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, values above 0.16 are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, and values above 0.20 are significant at the $p < 0.001$ level.

Table 3*Frequency of Responses by Category*

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Competence	273	23.67%
Congeniality	158	13.69%
Otherness	100	8.67%
Expressive	88	7.63%
Patriarchy	91	7.89%
Conservatism	39	3.38%
Colour	80	6.93%
Cultural Distinction	82	7.11%
Food	54	4.68%
Religion	41	3.55%
Cheapness	35	3.03%

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