

## SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

**'Healthy' identities? Revisiting rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models among voluntary and forced immigrants**Magdalena Bobowik\* , Borja Martinovic†, Nekane Basabe\*, Lisa S. Barstiest & Gusta Wachtert

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**Abstract**

Rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models propose that low-status groups identify with their in-group and disidentify with a high-status out-group in response to rejection by the latter. Our research tests these two models simultaneously among multiple groups of foreign-born people living in two cultural contexts. We examined these effects on representative samples of 2446 refugees in the Netherlands (Study 1) and 1234 voluntary immigrants in Spain (Study 2). We found that both ethnic and host national identification are 'healthy' and thus predominantly conducive to greater hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Further, perceived discrimination was associated with host national disidentification among refugees in the Netherlands and voluntary immigrants in Spain. However, our findings regarding the rejection-identification link were less consistent. We discuss the importance of ethnic and host national identification for the well-being of immigrants.

A devalued social identity may be associated with psychological distress. Minority populations such as immigrants are particularly at risk of social rejection. It has been shown that discrimination can have serious negative implications for the well-being and health of minorities (for a review, see the meta-analysis by Pascoe & Smart-Richman, 2009 and by Schmit, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). However, the perception of group disadvantage does not always need to reduce well-being in minority groups. Even if they possess a negative social identity as a result of perceived discrimination, immigrants do not have to be passive victims and simply accept their disadvantaged status. Instead, they can develop different ways to deal with the negative consequences of social rejection (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

While previous research suggests that members of minority groups react to in-group discrimination by distancing themselves from the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009), which can be disadvantageous for their well-being, they also tend to compensate by identifying more strongly with their in-group (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003). However, these two theoretical perspectives—the rejection-disidentification model (RDIM) and the rejection-identification model (RIM)—have received mixed empirical support. Some researchers did not find evidence for RIM across diverse groups (e.g., Eccleston & Major, 2006; Major, Quinton,

& Schmader, 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003). Also, even though several studies confirmed that rejection-disidentification is linked to out-group attitudes and ethnic political engagement (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Wiley, Lawrence, Figueroa, & Percontino, 2013), its consequences for well-being remain unclear. In the light of these mixed findings, the present work investigates the role of ethnic and national identification in the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and well-being among understudied populations such as voluntary immigrants (i.e., economic or family migrants from poor countries) and forced immigrants (i.e., refugees).

**Ethnic Identification as Social Cure?**

One way to deal with adversities in life is to identify with social groups (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Jetten, Haslam, & Haslam, 2012). According to the rejection-identification model, the awareness of being a member of a discriminated group might lead to a stronger in-group identification (Branscombe et al., 1999). In the face of adversity, social identities can provide people with psychological resources to deal with disadvantages (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Haslam & Reicher, 2006). The sense of community makes people feel supported and valued, and thus is a tool for coping with negative consequences of being a member of a devalued social group. Several studies supported the RIM across different groups such as African Americans (Branscombe et al., 1999),

international students or students with minority background (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher, & Haslam, 2012; Schmitt *et al.*, 2003), older adults (Garstka, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Hummert, 2004), women (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002), people with body piercings (Jetten *et al.*, 2001) and indigenous groups (Stronge, Sengupta, Barlow, Osborne, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2016).

Ethnic identification is a prime example of a social identity that represents a powerful source of belonging and helps individuals maintain their positive self-image in situations of social rejection (e.g., Phinney, 1990). It is also an identity that tends to be particularly salient to people who migrate to another country. Ethnic identification has indeed been found to be positively related to well-being of minority groups across multiple studies (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Cronin *et al.*, 2012; Heim, Hunter, & Jones, 2011; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Kamberi, Martinovic, & Verkuyten, 2015; Schaafsma, 2011).

Even though some empirical evidence has been found for the link between social rejection and strong ethnic identification, other research did not find this association (e.g., Eccleston & Major, 2006; Major *et al.*, 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003), or provided only partial support for this relationship (Kunst, Tajamal, Sam, & Ulleberg, 2012; Leach, Mosquera, Vliek, & Hirt, 2010). In fact, most evidence for this link comes from research with relatively high-status groups (e.g., international students), groups for which boundaries with other groups are relatively permeable (e.g., older adults), or indigenous populations. In contrast, research on the rejection-identification mechanism with forced migrants is practically non-existent, and the limited number of studies with voluntary immigrants found mostly no evidence for the RIM (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Badea, Jetten, Iyer, & Er-Rafiy, 2011; Bratt, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Ketokivi, 2012; Wiley, 2013; Wiley *et al.*, 2013; but see Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006). For instance, in the case of immigrants, Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.* (2009) found that ethnic identification was unrelated to both perceived discrimination and stress symptoms. In the same vein, in Bratt's study (2015) with minority youth, there was no link between ethnic identity and well-being. Cronin *et al.* (2012) did not find a direct effect of perceived discrimination on higher ethnic identification over time among Latino students either.

Moreover, it is also possible that, instead of turning to their ethnic in-group in situations of perceived discrimination, immigrant-origin minority members might distance themselves from this group. Such a response depends largely on the permeability of boundaries between one's in-group and out-group as well as the status of the out-group. According to social identity theory, perceptions of the social structure determine the way people respond to social disadvantage

(Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). One explanation for decreased in-group identification among devalued minority groups may be that members of low-status groups with permeable boundaries might choose to identify less with their in-group and turn more to individualistic identity management strategies (Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke, 1988). This willingness to 'scramble up the social ladder' (Tajfel, 1975, p. 107) through detachment from one's own stigmatized identity may also serve to justify status differences. Indeed, empirical evidence suggests that perceived legitimacy of an asymmetrical group status between the in-group and out-group is linked to support for individual mobility beliefs (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008).

Yet the pre-existing socio-political structure may prevent immigrants from fully participating in the host society (Berry, 2006; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), which can also result in ethnic disidentification. When the boundaries between the low-status in-group and high-status out-group are impermeable, it is difficult, if not impossible, for minority members to use the individual social mobility strategy to become recognized as members of the host society. One way to deal with the disadvantage in this case is to band together and respond with collective action. However, in contexts with unfavourable immigration and integration policies, achieving equality as a part of a recognized ethnic minority group may also not be feasible. In such circumstances, immigrants may simply accept the existing inequality and discrimination as relatively legitimate and stable and thus respond with inaction (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). An inevitable correlate of such a reluctant acceptance of unfair treatment coupled with a lack of collective response to it would be lower ethnic identification.

Together, ethnic identification as a response to disadvantage does not emerge in a social-political vacuum but rather depends on integration policies adopted by the state and power relations between the minority and majority group (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). On the one hand, and in line with RIM, we can expect that higher ethnic identification explains the negative link between perceived discrimination and well-being. That is, individuals who perceive relatively more discrimination might seek social support and acceptance by their ethnic in-group and could be expected to identify more with their ethnic group, which would in turn increase their well-being. However, an alternative expectation is that ethnic disidentification explains the relationship between discrimination and well-being. Namely, existing socio-political structures, where the status and rights of ethnic minorities are not recognized as such, may impede responding to perceived discrimination through turning to one's ethnic identity. Under such circumstances, perceptions of discrimination will be associated with distancing from the ethnic in-group, which may result in a lower well-being.

### National Disidentification as Response to Discrimination

There is also the possibility that perceived ethnic discrimination prevents members of a minority group from developing a sense of belonging to the host country and thus from identifying with the host society (for a review, see Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Based on the group engagement model (Tyler & Blader, 2003) and the social identity framework (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the rejection-disidentification model (Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009) proposes that minority group members will be less inclined to identify with the superordinate national group when rejection by the host society is experienced as unfair. That is, negative inter-ethnic contacts and unfairness experienced in the host society may not motivate minority group members to maintain a favourable common in-group identity. This proposal resonates with the acculturation literature (Berry, 2006; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997) where it has been found that immigrants' adoption of the mainstream culture may be limited by the internal boundaries imposed by the state that impede legal, social, and economic integration of immigrants as equal members of the host majority. Immigrants may not feel fully recognized as citizens of the host society and might therefore react with host national disidentification. Multiple studies have shown that minority group members tend to distance themselves from the majority group as a reaction to perceived ethnic discrimination (Badea *et al.*, 2011; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Hutchison, Lubna, Goncalves-Portelinha, Kamali, & Khan, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009, 2012; Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Matschke & Sassenberg, 2010; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wiley, 2013; Wiley *et al.*, 2013).

Successful adaptation to a new cultural context requires participation in the dynamics of the majority group (Sam & Berry, 2006). Host national identification is therefore considered to be one of the more advanced steps in the process of adaptation to the host country (Gordon, 1964). Feeling emotionally attached to the host country gives immigrants another source of group belonging, which could result in a more successful adaptation process. This proposition accords with social identity theory, where members of low-status groups strive to join a more positively distinct and usually higher status out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Consistent with this reasoning, host national identification represents immigrants' attempt to achieve individual mobility and climb up the social ladder. In turn, personal promotion in the host society is conducive to higher well-being (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998). Following the social cure assumption (Haslam *et al.*, 2009; Jetten *et al.*, 2012), we may expect that identification with the host nation among minority groups can also translate into higher subjective well-being (Amit, 2010; Berry *et al.*, 2006; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004). Yet it should be noted that evidence for RDIM is still limited and inconclusive. A recent study by Bratt (2015)

revealed that host national identity is unrelated to well-being among minority youth, and Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.* (2009) did not find any effect of national identification on stress symptoms.

In sum, consistent with the rejection-disidentification model, we expect that perceived discrimination will be related with host national disidentification, and that host national disidentification explains the negative relationship between discrimination and well-being.

### Current Research

The contribution of the present research is threefold. First, the two models have mostly been tested separately, and only a small number of studies analysed them together (Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009, 2012; Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wiley *et al.*, 2013). We therefore tested RIM and RDIM simultaneously. This is all the more important because there is only inconsistent support for the rejection-identification model (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Eccleston & Major, 2006; Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Leach *et al.*, 2010; Major *et al.*, 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003; Wiley *et al.*, 2013). Also, there are only a handful of studies that have examined the rejection-disidentification process.

Second, we tested these models with representative samples of refugees (Study 1) and foreign-born voluntary immigrants (Study 2) in two different European contexts with high immigration rates, the Netherlands and Spain. To our knowledge, existing research has mostly focused on minority group members that were born and raised in a given society, such as African Americans or British Muslims (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Hutchison *et al.*, 2015), or on samples with relatively high-status groups such as international students (Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Ramos *et al.*, 2012; Schmitt *et al.*, 2003). Research testing either RIM or RDIM among voluntary immigrants is rather scarce (Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wiley *et al.*, 2013), and research on RIM and RDIM among refugees is almost non-existent (but see Verkuyten and Nekuee's (1999) study on RIM among Iranian refugees in the Netherlands).

Third, we covered both hedonic (Study 1) and eudaimonic (Study 2) components of well-being as an outcome, which have seldom been studied among minority groups (e.g., Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Keyes, 2009; Ryff, Keyes, & Hughes, 2003). Whereas the hedonic approach refers to the prevalence of positive emotions over negative ones and to the level of happiness and satisfaction with one's life and its specific domains, the eudaimonic approach focuses on fulfilment and personal development (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Eudaimonic aspects of immigrants' functioning, such as perceived control, positive relationships with other members of the community, sensation of personal progress, feeling useful for the host society and feeling that the host society is useful for them, may be key elements in a successful migratory process and might be especially damaged by experiences of discrimination.

## Study 1

In Study 1, we simultaneously tested the rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models in relation to a global (hedonic) index of well-being, namely, self-reported happiness. We tested these models amongst refugees in the Netherlands. Up until now, the role of perceived ethnic discrimination in host national identification (De Vroome, Coenders, van Tubergen, & Verkuyten, 2011; De Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014) and ethnic identification (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999) has rarely been studied among refugees, and certainly not in tandem. Further, research on well-being of refugees is still limited (but see Fozdar & Torezani, 2008; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). We focus on refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Somalia, who belong to some of the lowest status migrant groups in the country. However, there are differences between these groups of refugees as well: Somalis usually experience the worst socio-economic conditions, whereas Iranians are doing better and they are sometimes even surpassing the longer established non-Western minorities (Huijnk, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2013). A strength of our multi-group design is that we can examine whether the proposed mechanisms apply to all four groups of refugees.

## Method

**Data and participants.** Data for this study were obtained from the Survey Integration New Groups Survey that was conducted by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research in 2009. This large survey targeted recent immigrants, with a special focus on four ethnic groups (Iraqis, Iranians, Afghans, and Somalis,  $N = 3898$ ) that mostly arrived in the Netherlands as asylum seekers and were eventually granted a refugee status. We excluded participants who migrated for study, work, or family related reasons, and we kept only those who indicated that they migrated to the Netherlands because of religious persecution, war, or political reasons ( $N = 2923$ ). This sample consisted of 740 refugees from Iraq, 574 from Iran, 804 from Afghanistan and 805 from Somalia.

To obtain a geographically representative sample, participants were recruited from the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague) as well as from middle-sized and small towns (Hilhorst, 2010). In these municipalities, a random sample was drawn from the municipal registers. Well instructed interviewers collected the data through computer assisted personal interviewing. To overcome language problems, participants who had been in the Netherlands for 5 years or shorter were interviewed by someone from their own ethnic group when necessary.

Men were somewhat overrepresented in the sample (56 per cent). Sixteen per cent of the participants were between the ages of 15 and 25; more than half of the

participants were in the age category 26–45 (55 per cent), and 29 per cent were older than 45. Twenty-six per cent of the participants held a tertiary education degree, and 79 per cent had been living in the Netherlands for more than 10 years. No information was available regarding naturalization, but because immigrants in the Netherlands qualify for Dutch nationality after 5 years, we can assume that most of the refugees in the sample were naturalized Dutch citizens.

## Measures

**Perceived ethnic discrimination.** The main independent variable referred to personal experiences of discrimination and was measured with the question: 'Have you ever been discriminated against and if so, how often?', with answer categories ranging from (1) *never*, (2) *almost never*, (3) *sometimes*, (4) *often*, to (5) *very often*. Those who reported some level of discrimination were also asked about the reasons for these experiences. Among these, we excluded participants who mentioned behaviour (1.2 per cent), gender (0.2 per cent), age (0.3 per cent), sexual orientation (0.2 per cent), other unspecified reasons (11.5 per cent), those who did not know what the reason was (10.1 per cent), and those who refused to answer (0.4 per cent). This means that we kept the participants who felt discriminated against because of their ethnicity (24.1 per cent), language (12.8 per cent), religion/wearing headscarf (10.4 per cent), and physical appearance (25.8 per cent), all of which relate to ethnic minority membership. This reduced the valid sample to 2523 participants, out of whom 60.8 per cent never felt discriminated (score 1), and 39.2 per cent felt discriminated to a varying extent (scores 2–5).

**Ethnic identification.** The first mediator was measured with two questions: 'How proud are you of being a member of your ethnic group?' and 'How strongly do you feel a member of your ethnic group?' (Iraqis:  $r = .56$ , Iranians:  $r = .44$ , Afghans:  $r = .53$ , Somalis:  $r = .53$ ; all  $ps < .001$ ).

**Host national identification.** The second mediator was covered with the same two questions, only referring to identification with the Netherlands (Iraqis:  $r = .42$ , Iranians:  $r = .49$ , Afghans:  $r = .50$ , Somalis:  $r = .50$ ; all  $ps < .001$ ). The response options for all four items ranged from (1) *not at all* to (5) *very strongly*. We treated ethnic and host national identification as latent variables.

**Well-being.** A single item self-reported measure was used to capture the dependent variable *happiness*: 'To what extent do you consider yourself a happy person?'. Answer categories were (1) *unhappy*, (2) *not so happy*, (3) *neither happy nor unhappy*, (4) *happy*, and (5) *very happy*.

**Analyses.** To test our hypotheses, we estimated a multi-group mediation model in *mpls* (version 7, Mplus 7, Los Angeles, CA, United States). Ethnicity



**Table 1.** Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the core constructs, Study 1

Total sample ( <i>N</i> = 2423)	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i> <sub>TOTAL</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>TOTAL</sub>
1. Happiness	—				3.80	.82
2. Perceived discrimination	−.117***	—			1.73	1.00
3. Ethnic identification	.118***	.009	—		3.80	.82
4. Host national identification	.213***	−.155***	−.065**	—		.76
Iraqis ( <i>N</i> = 589)/Iranians ( <i>N</i> = 454)					<i>M</i> <sub>IRAQ</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>IRAQ</sub>
1. Happiness	—	−.089*	.033	.258***	3.70	.88
2. Perceived discrimination	−.105*	—	.069	−.216***	1.65	.95
3. Ethnic identification	.054	−.077	—	−.160***	3.76	.89
4. Host national identification	.232***	−.220***	−.012	—	3.53	.74
<i>M</i> <sub>IRAN</sub>	3.67	2.01	3.68	3.50		
<i>SD</i> <sub>IRAN</sub>	.87	1.11	.80	.81		
Afghans ( <i>N</i> = 683)/Somalis ( <i>N</i> = 697)					<i>M</i> <sub>AFGH</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>AFGH</sub>
1. Happiness	—	−.168***	.125**	.207***	3.78	.79
2. Perceived discrimination	−.074*	—	.018	−.107**	1.68	.97
3. Ethnic identification	.206***	.041	—	−.038	3.82	.77
4. Host national identification	.175***	−.105**	−.040	—	3.47	.74
<i>M</i> <sub>SOMA</sub>	4.00	1.67	3.90	3.51		
<i>SD</i> <sub>SOMA</sub>	.73	.98	.81	.78		

Note: Correlations for Iraqis and Afghans are presented above the diagonal and for Iranians and Somalis below the diagonal.

\**p* < .05;

\*\**p* < .01;

\*\*\**p* < .001.

was used as a grouping variable. Happiness was regressed on discrimination and the two latent variables: ethnic and host national identification. The two types of identification were regressed on perceived discrimination. In addition, we controlled for gender (0 = *female*, 1 = *male*), education measured as the highest degree completed (1 = *primary school*, 2 = *lower secondary*, 3 = *higher secondary*, 4 = *tertiary*), age (15–25 years, 25–45 years, 45 or older), and length of stay in the Netherlands (0–5 years, 5–10 years, 10–15 years, more than 15 years) in relation to the mediators and the dependent variable. We had to use categorical variables for age and length of stay because the exact information was not disclosed in the publicly available dataset for privacy reasons. We treated these as ordinal scales to simplify the otherwise already complex multi-group path model. Missing values on the mediators and dependent variables were estimated in *mplus*; however, we lost some participants because of missing values on control variables. Thus, the results of the main analysis are based on 2446 participants.<sup>1</sup>

## Results

**Descriptive findings.** Descriptive statistics were obtained from SPSS (IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, United States) using the average scores for multiple item constructs. One-sample *t*-tests against the midpoint of the happiness scale showed that, on average,

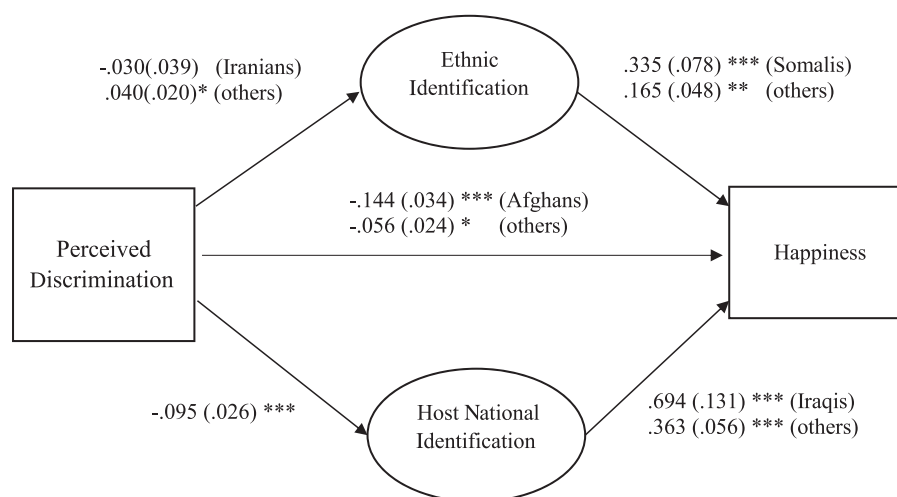
participants in the total sample reported feeling happy ( $t(2422) = 47.93$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Perceived discrimination was relatively low ( $t(2422) = -62.16$ ,  $p < .001$ ) while ethnic and host national identifications were on average high ( $t(2422) = 32.34$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $t(2422) = 48.22$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). Still, a paired-samples *t*-test showed that ethnic identification was slightly higher than host national identification ( $t(2422) = 12.87$ ,  $p < .001$ ). These patterns were replicated in all ethnic groups (Table 1).

The correlations revealed a significant negative relationship between perceived discrimination and happiness in all groups. Discrimination was further related to lower host national identification for all groups, which in turn positively correlated with happiness. There was no significant correlation between perceived discrimination and ethnic identification for any of the groups. Finally, ethnic identification was positively associated with happiness, but this association only reached significance in the total sample and separately for Afghans and Somalis.

### Findings from the multi-group path model.

Factor loadings for the indicators of the latent variables could be constrained across groups, whereas intercepts had to be freed to achieve an acceptable fit. Constrained factor loadings indicated that the latent factors have the same meaning for the participants from the four groups and that it is possible to compare the structural paths across groups. We were also able to constrain most of the structural paths. The fit of the model improved when the path from discrimination to ethnic identification was freed for Iranians, the path from ethnic identification to happiness for Somalis, and the path from host national identification to happiness for Iraqis. This multi-group mediation model with measurement

<sup>1</sup>Descriptives reported in Table 1 were obtained from a somewhat smaller sample (*N* = 2423) because of listwise deletion of participants with missing values on the mediators and dependent variables. In the explanatory analyses (*N* = 2466), these missing values were imputed.



Note: Model fit:  $\chi^2(df) = 265.47(69)$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CFI = .904$ ,  $RMSEA = .068$ ,  $SRMR = .034$ . Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in the brackets reported for Iraqis, Iranians, Afghans, and Somalis. Coefficients with labels in the brackets differed per group. The model controls for gender, age, education, and length of stay. The covariance between the two mediators is accounted for. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Fig. 1:** Results from a multi-group mediation model with ethnic and host national identification as mediators between perceived discrimination and happiness, Study 1 ( $N = 2446$ )

invariance and partial structural invariance had an acceptable fit (see Figure 1 for fit indices and the unstandardized coefficients for the structural paths).

As expected, refugees who perceived more discrimination reported lower levels of happiness, and this total effect of discrimination was confirmed in all four groups ( $b_{\text{IRAQ}} = -.115$ ,  $SE = .024$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $b_{\text{IRAN}} = -.095$ ,  $SE = .022$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $b_{\text{AFGH}} = -.171$ ,  $SE = .034$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $b_{\text{SOMA}} = -.076$ ,  $SE = .022$ ,  $p = .001$ ). Also in line with our hypotheses, both ethnic identification and host national identification were significantly and positively related to more happiness for all groups (Figure 1), albeit more for Somalis in the case of ethnic and for Iraqis in the case of host national identification. Perceived discrimination was associated with a distancing from the host national identity in all groups, and to a stronger ethnic identification for everyone but Iranians, for whom this relationship was negative though not significant.

We used bootstrapping with 5000 resamples (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) to obtain confidence intervals for the indirect effects. For all four groups, the indirect effect from discrimination to happiness through host national identification was negative and significant, as the confidence interval did not include zero (Iranians, Afghans and Somalis: low CI =  $-.055$ , high CI =  $-.015$ ; Iraqis: low CI =  $-.111$ , high CI =  $-.029$ ). The more discriminated refugees felt, the less they identified with the host nation, which in turn resulted in less happiness. The indirect effect through ethnic identification was positive and significant for Iraqis, Afghans, and Somalis, low CI =  $.001$ , high CI =  $.016$ , but it was negative and not significant for Iranians, low CI =  $-.022$ , high CI =  $.004$ . After accounting for the indirect paths, a direct negative association between discrimination and

happiness remained for all four groups, suggesting partial mediation.<sup>2</sup>

## Discussion

In Study 1, we found that both ethnic and host national identification are conducive to greater happiness. Furthermore, there was convincing support for the rejection-disidentification model: across the four ethnic groups, refugees who perceived more discrimination tended to identify less with the host society. The cost of such psychological distancing was a lower level of happiness. Furthermore, in three out of four groups, ethnic identification was higher among those with more experiences of discrimination, in line with the rejection-identification model. Only for Iranians was there some tendency to distance themselves from their ethnic in-group following perceptions of discrimination—a finding that we discuss in greater detail in the General Discussion section. We can conclude that for most of the refugees in our sample, ethnic identification did function as a ‘social cure’ in situations of rejection by the host society.

## Study 2

In Study 2, we tested the RIM and RDIM in a different context—Spain—and across five groups of

<sup>2</sup>Regarding the control variables in Study 1, older people from all four ethnic groups were less happy, and older Iranians and Afghans identified less with the host nation. Longer residence in the host country was related to less ethnic identification among Iraqis and Somalis and more host national identification among Iraqis, Somalis and Iranians. Education was positively related to host country identification, but this was significant only for Afghans and Somalis. Coefficients are available upon request.

voluntary immigrants, namely, Bolivians, Colombians, Sub-Saharan Africans, Moroccans, and Romanians, representing some of the most prevalent ethnicities among immigrants in Spain (Permanent Observatory for Immigration, 2013). Evidence from the Spanish context suggests that Latinos, and particularly Colombians, are a group with a relatively high socio-economic status, whereas Africans (Sub-Saharan and Moroccans) have the lowest status (Basabe, Páez, Aierdi, & Jiménez-Aristizabal, 2009; Basque Observatory of Immigration, 2012; de Miguel & Tranmer, 2010; Sevillano, Basabe, Bobowik, & Aierdi, 2014). We aimed to extend the findings of the previous study by covering indicators of adaptation that are less frequently applied in social psychological research: psychological (Ryff, 1989) and social well-being (Keyes, 1998), which are two components of eudaimonic well-being. We focus on selected dimensions of psychological well-being such as perceived control and positive relationships with others (especially members of the host society) because these may be key elements in a successful migratory process. In the same way, social well-being can be translated into human capital for the society and is thus crucial for minority populations (Keyes, 2009). We selected two aspects of social well-being that refer to social tasks that could be particularly challenging for immigrants in a new community, namely, social contribution and social actualization. These two aspects of social well-being reflect a bidirectional complex process of intergroup relations between a minority and majority group. That is, an important outcome in the case of newcomers is to what extent they feel useful for the host society and to what extent they feel that they can profit from the host society.

## Method

**Data and participants.** We relied on survey data collected in 2010 in the Basque Country, which is one of the autonomous communities in Spain. The sample was drawn from public records and obtained through a probability sampling procedure for each of the five groups with stratification by age and gender. Respondents participated in a structured face-to-face interview. The sample consisted of 1250 immigrants who had lived in the Basque Country for at least 6 months and were born in Bolivia, Colombia, Morocco, Sub-Saharan African countries (such as Senegal, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon), or Romania. There were 250 participants from each of these five groups. Females made up 55.7 per cent of the sample, while the mean age was 33.22 years ( $SD = 9.44$ , range 18 to 64). Participants' average length of residence was 6.2 years ( $SD = 4.83$ ). Thirteen per cent of the respondents had no formal education, 30.3 per cent had completed primary education, 41.4 per cent had completed secondary education, and 14.1 per cent had a university degree (for more information about the sample characteristics,

see Bobowik, Basabe, & Páez, 2014, 2015; Sevillano *et al.*, 2014).

## Measures

**Perceived ethnic discrimination.** The scale consisted of five items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *never* to (5) *almost always*, assessing the frequency of being personally treated negatively because of one's ethnic background or immigrant status. Respondents were asked, 'how frequently have people from here, either Basque or Spanish, made you notice that, you are an economic threat to them (taking away jobs, taking advantage of medical care benefits)?', 'made you feel discriminated against (noticing looks, hearing negative expressions or attitudes) due to your physical appearance?', 'been aggressive, insulting, or threatening with you?', 'given you hostile treatment that they would never give to other Basque or Spanish people?'; and 'made you feel ignored, neglected, or ostracized?'. This measure of perceived ethnic discrimination was reliable across the five groups (Bolivians:  $\alpha = .82$ , Colombians:  $\alpha = .85$ , Africans:  $\alpha = .90$ , Moroccans:  $\alpha = .90$ , Romanians:  $\alpha = .89$ ).

**Ethnic identification.** Participants were asked to indicate how they felt in relation to their national group of origin, by indicating their agreement with two statements derived from classic measures of group identification ('I feel good about the national group I belong to', 'In general, I'm glad to be a member of the national group I belong to') on a scale from (1) *completely disagree* to (7) *completely agree*. The items correlated relatively strongly in all five groups, indicating a good internal consistency (Bolivians:  $r = .65$ , Colombians:  $r = .59$ , Africans:  $r = .63$ , Moroccans:  $r = .70$ , Romanians:  $r = .62$ ).

**Host national identification.** Identification with the host majority group was measured with two items referring to the extent to which participants identified with the Basque and Spanish host society ('To what extent do you feel Basque?', 'To what extent do you feel Spanish?'). These items were measured on a scale ranging from (1) *not at all* to (5) *very much*, with a satisfactory reliability across groups (Bolivians:  $r = .81$ , Colombians:  $r = .75$ , Africans:  $r = .68$ , Moroccans:  $r = .70$ , Romanians:  $r = .61$ ).

**Well-being.** We measured eudaimonic well-being by covering four sub-dimensions, two related to social and two related to psychological well-being. Social contribution (three items, e.g., 'I have something important to contribute to society') and social actualization (three items, e.g., 'Our society is becoming a better place for people like me') represented two aspects of social well-being and were measured with items taken from the Social Well-being Scale (Keyes, 1998, Keyes, 2009, adapted by Bobowik *et al.*, 2015). Answers ranged from (1) *completely disagree* to (5) *completely agree*. To capture psychological well-being, we used a Psychological

**Table 2.** Means, standard deviations, and correlations for the core constructs, Study 2

All ( <i>N</i> = 1169)/Romanians ( <i>N</i> = 179)	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i> <sub>TOTAL</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>TOTAL</sub>
1. Well-being	—	-.382***	.263***	.155***	3.87	.76
2. Perceived discrimination	-.436**	—	-.081	-.121	1.64	.86
3. Ethnic identification	.295***	-.072	—	-.028	5.56	1.19
4. Host nation identification	-.021	-.169*	-.185**	—	2.30	1.10
<i>M</i> <sub>ROM</sub>	3.82	1.72	5.33	2.03		
<i>SD</i> <sub>ROM</sub>	.82	.97	1.33	1.04		
Colombians ( <i>N</i> = 201)/Bolivians ( <i>N</i> = 208)					<i>M</i> <sub>COL</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>COL</sub>
1. Well-being	—	-.345***	.249***	.130*	4.08	.73
2. Perceived discrimination	-.308**	—	-.026	-.082	1.59	.80
3. Ethnic identification	.151*	-.018	—	-.014	5.79	1.14
4. Host nation identification	—	-.201**	.110	—	2.42	1.16
<i>M</i> <sub>BOL</sub>	3.92	1.54	5.74	2.17		
<i>SD</i> <sub>BOL</sub>	.66	.68	1.03	1.05		
Moroccans ( <i>N</i> = 204)/Africans ( <i>N</i> = 186)					<i>M</i> <sub>MOR</sub>	<i>SD</i> <sub>MOR</sub>
1. Well-being	—	-.420***	.287***	.123	3.77	.80
2. Perceived discrimination	-.347***	—	-.149	-.035	1.65	.90
3. Ethnic identification	.224**	-.055	—	-.092	5.50	1.25
4. Host nation identification	.242***	-.157*	.046	—	2.36	1.09
<i>M</i> <sub>AFR</sub>	3.77	1.72	5.44	2.50		
<i>SD</i> <sub>AFR</sub>	.73	.91	1.15	1.09		

Note: Correlations for total sample, Colombians and Moroccans are presented above the diagonal, and for Romanians, Bolivians, and Africans below the diagonal.

\* $p < .05$ ;

\*\* $p < .01$ ;

\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Well-being Scale (Ryff, 1989; adapted for this study by Bobowik et al., 2015) and measured two sub-dimensions: positive relations with others (five items, e.g., 'I have warm and trusting relationships with others') and environmental mastery (3 items, e.g., 'In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live'). All items were measured on Likert scales ranging from (1) *completely disagree* to (6) *completely agree*. When combined into one scale of eudaimonic well-being, high reliabilities emerged across the immigrant groups (Bolivians:  $\alpha = .83$ , Colombians:  $\alpha = .86$ , Africans:  $\alpha = .86$ , Moroccans:  $\alpha = .87$ , Romanians:  $\alpha = .87$ ). We estimated well-being as a second order latent factor, while measuring the four theoretically distinct sub-dimensions as first order latent factors (please also see Joshanloo, Bobowik, & Basabe, 2016, for factor structures of these measures).

**Analyses.** mplus (version 7) was used to fit a multi-group mediation model for five ethnic groups using seven latent factors that measured perceived discrimination, ethnic identification, host national identification, and the four dimensions of well-being (social contribution, social actualization, positive relations, and environmental mastery). These four dimensions were further unified in a second-order factor of well-being, while allowing error terms between the two dimensions of social well-being, as well as between the two dimensions of psychological well-being, to covary. This second-order factor was regressed on the two measures of identification and on perceived discrimination. The identification measures in turn were also regressed on perceived

discrimination. Missing values on the mediators and the dependent variable were imputed automatically, but because of occasional missing values on the exogenous (control) variables ( $N = 16$ ), the explanatory model was estimated on a sample of 1234 participants. We controlled for age (continuous in years), gender (0 = *female*, 1 = *male*), education (five levels, ranging from no education completed to a university degree), and length of stay in Spain (in years).

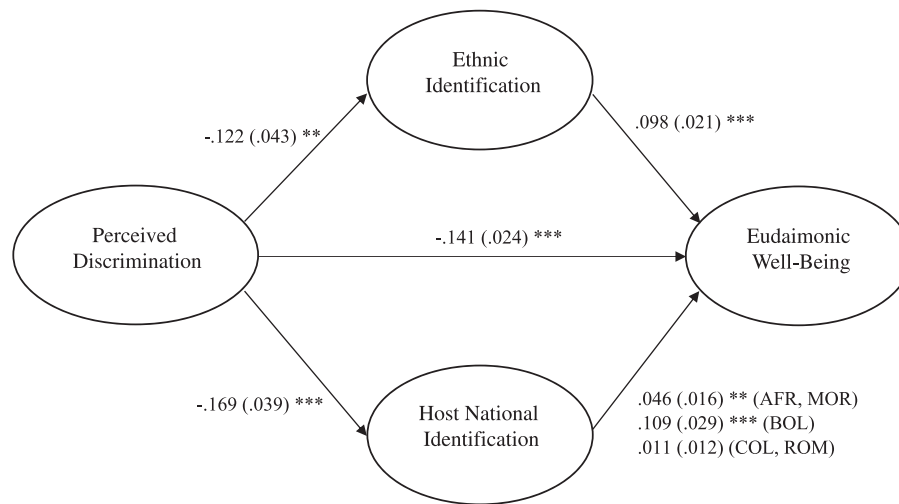
## Results

**Descriptive findings.** Just like in Study 1, descriptive statistics were obtained from SPSS using the average scores for multiple item constructs.<sup>3</sup> In the total sample, perceived discrimination was relatively low and significantly below the midpoint of the scale ( $t(1168) = -54.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The same holds for host national identification ( $t(1168) = -21.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Ethnic identification, in contrast, was relatively high ( $t(1168) = 44.73$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and participants reported a relatively high level of social ( $t(1168) = 43.18$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and psychological well-being ( $t(1168) = 43.18$ ,  $p < .001$ ). These patterns were similar across ethnic groups (Table 2).

Table 2 shows the correlations for the total sample and broken down by ethnicity. Perceived discrimination was negatively related to well-being; this was

<sup>3</sup>As in Study 1, descriptives for Study 2 were calculated from a slightly smaller sample ( $N = 1169$ ) because of listwise deletion of occasional participants with missing values on the main constructs.





*Note:* Model fit:  $\chi^2(df) = 2643.23 (1577)$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CFI = .912$ ,  $RMSEA = .052$ ,  $SRMR = .070$ . Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in the brackets reported. Coefficient with labels in the brackets differed per group. The model controls for gender, age, education, and length of stay in relation to the mediators and the dependent variables. The covariance between the two mediators and within the two sub-domains of well-being is accounted for. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Fig. 2:** Results from a multi-group mediation model with ethnic and host national identification as mediators between perceived discrimination and eudaimonic well-being, Study 2 ( $N = 1234$ )

significant for all ethnic groups. Perceived discrimination was further negatively related to host national identification, with non-significant negative correlation coefficients for Colombians and Moroccans. Discrimination and ethnic identification were not related, even though the correlation coefficients pointed in the negative direction. Both ethnic and host national identification were positively associated with well-being. In the case of host national identification, this was not always significant, but all correlations were positive.

**Multi-group path model.** In all groups, the same factor structure was detected and all items loaded highly on the designated factor only (all loadings  $> .530$ ). Also, the four dimensions of well-being loaded highly and significantly on the second order factor of well-being (loadings  $> .410$ ). Factor loadings for the indicators of the latent variables could be constrained across groups, whereas intercepts had to be freed to achieve an acceptable fit. We further freed the structural paths one by one to detect which ones varied across groups. The path from host national identification to well-being turned out to be of a similar magnitude for Moroccans and Africans. We could thus constrain this path to be equal for these two groups, thereby estimating a more parsimonious model. The same held for Colombians and Romanians, for whom this path was similar (yet different from other groups) and could thus be constrained to be equal. Only for Bolivians did the association between host national identification and well-being differ from all other groups, so we estimated it freely for them. Freeing additional paths did not improve the model fit, so we opted for a

model in which all paths, except for the one from host national identification to well-being, could be constrained across all groups (see Figure 2 for model fit and path coefficients).

Perceived discrimination was related to both lower ethnic identification and lower host national identification for all groups. This contradicts the rejection-identification hypothesis, but it supports the rejection-disidentification hypothesis. Further, in line with our expectations, ethnic identification was related to higher well-being for all groups. Host national identification was also related to higher well-being for Africans, Moroccans, and particularly Bolivians, but, contrary to the expectations, no association was found for Colombians and Romanians.

Confidence intervals were again consulted for the indirect effects following Preacher and Hayes' (2008) bootstrapping procedure with 5000 replacement samples. The indirect effect via lower ethnic identification was significant and equally strong in all groups (low  $CI = -.025$ , high  $CI = -.005$ ). The more participants felt discriminated, the more they distanced themselves from their ethnic identity, and this resulted in lower well-being. We also found an indirect effect via host national identification for Africans and Moroccans (low  $CI = -.017$ , high  $CI = -.003$ ), as well as for Bolivians (low  $CI = -.035$ , high  $CI = -.008$ ). However, host national identification did not mediate the relationship between discrimination and well-being for Colombians and Romanians (low  $CI = -.008$ , high  $CI = .001$ ), because of the absence of a path between host national identification and well-being. After accounting for the two indirect paths, a direct negative effect of discrimination on well-being remained. This means that the

mediation was only partial and that there must be other reasons why discrimination is damaging for well-being.<sup>4</sup>

## Discussion

Findings from Study 2 provide additional support for the rejection-disidentification model. Just as in Study 1, we found support for the hypothesis that perceived discrimination makes people distance themselves from their host national identity, which in turn can be damaging for various aspects of eudaimonic well-being. This finding was replicated only for three out of five ethnic groups (see the General Discussion section). However, in contrast to Study 1, where discrimination and ethnic identification were mostly positively related, we found a negative relationship in Study 2. This implies that rejection-disidentification processes also can take place with respect to ethnic identities. While both ethnic and host national identification proved to be beneficial for eudaimonic well-being, and can thus be seen as 'healthy' identities, both of them can get damaged by experiences of discrimination. In the Spanish context, ethnic identification, in spite of its beneficial relationship with well-being, did not act as a 'social cure' against the experience of social rejection.

## General Discussion

Previous examinations of the rejection-identification link have provided inconsistent findings. Research testing the rejection-disidentification hypothesis has been relatively scarce and produced inconclusive results. Further, only few studies testing RIM and/or RDIM focused on well-being as an outcome. Thus, the present work examined the role of ethnic and host national identification in the relationship between perceived personal discrimination and well-being among understudied populations such as voluntary and forced immigrants in two different European contexts, the Netherlands and Spain.

First, our research provided evidence for ethnic identification being conducive to higher well-being among both voluntary and forced immigrants. This is in line with the 'social cure' work (Haslam *et al.*, 2009; Jetten *et al.*, 2012) and research showing positive effects of in-group identification on psychological functioning in minority groups (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Cronin *et al.*, 2012; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Heim *et al.*, 2011; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Kammeri *et al.*, 2015; Ramos *et al.*, 2012; Schaafsma, 2011; Schmitt *et al.*,

2002, 2003). Thus, our findings confirm that feeling supported and accepted by one's ethnic community enhances hedonic and eudaimonic well-being of both voluntary and forced immigrants. These results resonate with research showing that social support from ethnic in-group members is relevant for a successful adaptation of minorities (e.g., Birman & Trickett, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Noh & Kaspar, 2003), because they make an immigrant feel that he or she is not alone in the struggle against social rejection by the host society.

Further, previous literature suggests that ethnic identities may act as social cures (e.g., Berry *et al.*, 2006; Haslam *et al.*, 2009; Phinney *et al.*, 2001), by protecting low-status groups from deleterious consequences of rejection by an out-group (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2006; Branscombe *et al.*, 1999; Garstka *et al.*, 2004; Jetten *et al.*, 2001; Ramos *et al.*, 2012; Schmitt *et al.*, 2003). However, not all empirical evidence supports the RIM (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Eccleston & Major, 2006; Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Major *et al.*, 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003; Wiley *et al.*, 2013), reflecting the complexity of identity processes among minority groups. Our investigation sheds additional light on the complexity of the relationship between social rejection and ethnic identification. While we were able to demonstrate a positive relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group among three out of four groups of refugees in the Netherlands, as suggested by the RIM (Branscombe *et al.*, 1999), we found a negative link between perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification among all groups of voluntary immigrants in Spain.

These differences may be attributed to different acculturation patterns and socio-demographic characteristics of the groups under investigation. First, voluntary immigrants in Spain have a shorter length of residence compared with refugees in the Netherlands and may therefore still be in the process of integration into the host society. This is different from the refugees in the Netherlands who, following perceptions of group discrimination, may not have other options than to segregate from the host culture and turn to their culture of origin. Second, the migrant groups under study in Spain might, to some extent, face fewer socio-cultural difficulties in their adaptation to the mainstream society, compared with the refugees in the Netherlands. More precisely, in terms of linguistic integration, Latino immigrants share the language with the host culture, and Romanian and African migrants learn Spanish easily because of linguistic similarities between the local language and their languages of origin (Romanian and French, respectively). Also, there are socio-political and cultural bonds between Spain, Latin America and Morocco (the latter two former Spanish colonies), and Romania (a European country). In contrast, the Netherlands and such non-Western countries as Somalia, Iran, Iraq, or Afghanistan may have fewer cultural and political commonalities. Therefore, in spite

<sup>4</sup>As to the control variables in Study 2, length of stay and education were related to significantly higher well-being among Africans and Romanians. Length of stay was also related to higher host national identification among Africans, Bolivians, and Colombians, and higher level of education was positively related to host national identification, but this was only significant for Africans, Moroccans, and Romanians. Coefficients are available upon request.

of longer residence in the host country, the refugees in the Netherlands still may face socio-cultural challenges (e.g., Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, & De Vroome, 2015). As a consequence, migrant groups in Spain may be responding to the existing inequality and discrimination more individualistically, accepting the social structure as relatively legitimate and stable (Bobowik *et al.*, 2014). In contrast, the refugees in the Netherlands may not have any other choice but to turn to their own group in order to preserve their well-being.

However, Iranians stand out among the refugees in the Netherlands by showing a tendency for ethnic disidentification in response to perceived discrimination, similar to voluntary migrants in Spain. Iranians are the most educated and entrepreneurial (Huijnk *et al.*, 2013) and probably more secular group, compared with other refugee groups in the Netherlands. They may also be better equipped with other, more individualistic, coping resources that enable them to distance themselves from the stigmatized group of origin and handle social rejection on their own. Higher education may also result in a greater permeability of group boundaries for this group, facilitating a response to discrimination through in-group disidentification and further opting for individual social mobility (Ellemers *et al.*, 1988). Together, our results suggest that ethnic identification, as a response to social rejection, is a complex mechanism and may depend on power relations between minority and majority groups within a society (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997).

In addition, our research provided strong support for the rejection-disidentification hypothesis, which is in line with empirical evidence from previous studies (Badea *et al.*, 2011; Hutchison *et al.*, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009, 2012; Matschke & Sassenberg, 2010; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Wiley *et al.*, 2013). The rejection-disidentification link held across nine different ethnic minority groups including both forced and voluntary migrants from the two cultural contexts. That is, we found that the more personal discrimination immigrants perceived, the less they were inclined to identify with the host society as a superordinate group of reference. On the basis of these findings, we can speculate that unsatisfactory inter-ethnic contacts and hostile attitudes towards diversity may stand in the way of integration of immigrants as equal members of the host society.

Furthermore, host national identification was an important source of (hedonic and eudaimonic) well-being for seven out of nine groups, which is in line with some previous findings from other contexts (e.g., Amit, 2010; Berry *et al.*, 2006; Phinney *et al.*, 2001). Indeed, host national identification proved to be a requisite for a successful adaptation to a new cultural context (Sam & Berry, 2006) because it provides a sense of attachment and belonging to a more positively distinct social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, the results from both studies provided solid empirical support for the mediation effect of host national disidentification in the relationship between perceived discrimination and

well-being, although with some nuances across groups in Study 2. Among two groups of voluntary migrants in Spain, namely, Colombians and Romanians, we did not find a significant relationship between host national identification and well-being, thereby failing to find support for the RDIM for these groups. These results are in line with some other studies that did not find a relationship between national identity and well-being among minorities (Bratt, 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.*, 2009).

One explanation is that Colombians and Romanians are less visible minorities among immigrant groups in Spain and may have more identity management options to choose between when facing discrimination. In contrast, Bolivians and Africans are more visible minorities: the former are predominantly of indigenous background and both Moroccans and Sub-Saharan Africans are Arabs. It is also possible that well-being is not linked to host national identification in higher status minority groups that reclaim their ethnic identity because of different reasons. For instance, given their higher socio-economic status and lower cultural distance, Colombians are more recognized as a minority group compared with other groups and thus have stronger ethnic identity, and Romanians are European citizens whose ethno-national identity as Romanians may also be more valued in Spain (Sevillano *et al.*, 2014). These groups might use their ethnic identity more effectively as a source of a positive self-concept. In contrast, national identity might be more important for integration and well-being among those minorities whose social status is more fragile, as is the case for Africans and Bolivians in Spain. That is, immigrants might seek integration in the host society particularly when they are not recognized as citizens based on their ethnic background. These nuances in the mediating role of host national disidentification for the well-being of the ethnic groups under study call for more research looking into the reasons why for some groups rejection-disidentification results in lower well-being, whereas this is not the case for other immigrant groups. Further research could take into account a possible interaction between the two types of identification, which were found to contribute most to the adaptation of minorities when paired together (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Taken together, our research has highlighted the importance of both ethnic and host national identification for the well-being of voluntary and forced immigrants who are facing a challenge of fitting into a new society. Migratory processes involve an active response to discriminatory treatment and may have real implications for both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being of migrants. Perceptions of discrimination are related to disidentification with one's host nation, whereas ethnic in-group identification in response to out-group rejection may depend on power dynamics and permeability of the minority group in question, although this assumption should be further supported with empirical evidence. Importantly, we found empirical evidence



that both ethnic and host national identifications are 'healthy' and thus conducive to a greater hedonic and eudaimonic well-being.

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