

Running head: ANTICIPATED AND PERCEIVED INTERGROUP INTERACTION

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Identity and attitudinal reactions to perceptions of intergroup interactions among ethnic migrants:  
A longitudinal study

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**Abstract**

This longitudinal study investigated the effects of past, anticipated and actual experiences of intergroup interactions on the development of national identity and attitudes towards the national majority group among ethnic remigrants. 141 Ingrian-Finnish adult immigrants from Russia to Finland were studied before and approximately one year after migration. The data was analysed using the SEM approach. The quality of past intergroup contact in the pre-migration stage ( $T_1$ ) determined the degree of perceived discrimination in the pre-migration stage ( $T_2$ ), which was further associated with decreased national identification and more negative attitudes towards the national majority group. Moreover, anticipated discrimination at  $T_1$  predicted perceived outgroup rejection at  $T_2$ . Finally, perceived quality of contact at  $T_2$  marginally mediated the relationship between outgroup attitudes at  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ . According to the results obtained, the quality of past contact experiences and anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage affect the development of national identification and attitudes towards majority group nationals in the post-migration stage. This effect is indirect, via migrants' experiences of intergroup interactions after migration.

*Keywords:* pre-migration, intergroup contact, ethnic discrimination, outgroup attitudes, national identification

**Identity and attitudinal reactions to perceptions of intergroup interactions among ethnic migrants: A longitudinal study**

Considering the increasing immigration to Europe and the simultaneously increasing intergroup tensions between immigrants and host nationals reported all over Europe (Wieviorka, 2010), identifying conditions for positive intergroup relations to emerge and for the development of a national identity among immigrants to occur can be considered key priorities of researchers and policy makers alike. Within social psychology, these challenges have been tackled with research on intergroup contact on the one hand and ethnic discrimination on the other, with the former line of research focusing mostly on the effect of intergroup contact on the outgroup attitudes of majority group members, and the latter on the effect of perceived discrimination on well-being and ethnic and national identification among minority group members. However, in this study, we argue that immigrants' perceptions of the quality of intergroup contact are often interrelated with those of outgroup rejection and ethnic discrimination, as their interactions with the majority often include not only contact in general, as understood in the contact hypothesis literature (e.g., pleasantness and superficiality of contact), but also negative experiences related to immigrants' disadvantaged position in the society. Moreover, we argue that potential migrants often have intergroup contact experiences with members of the receiving society already prior to migration, and that they also anticipate future post-migration intergroup relations. This is particularly true for voluntary migrants who often engage in preparing for and adjusting to the upcoming migration long before they actually migrate (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, in press; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, in press; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001). Consequently, this study investigates the effects of past and anticipated intergroup interactions (i.e., perceived quality of past contact and anticipated discrimination) in the pre-migration stage on immigrants' post-migration experiences of intergroup interactions (i.e., perceived quality of contact, discrimination, and outgroup rejection) and, further, on national identification and attitudes towards the national majority group in the post-migration stage.

**The context of the study**

Since 1990, Russian nationals of Finnish descent have had the right to apply for Finnish repatriate status in order to migrate to Finland. These migrants are mostly so-called Ingrian Finns, i.e., descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland to Russia between the 17th and the beginning of the 20th century. The political opening of the Soviet Union and finally its collapse in the early 1990s brought a large wave of ethnic remigration from Russia to Finland. Today, Russian-speaking immigrants constitute the largest immigrant group in Finland (ca. 50 000, i.e., 35 per cent of the total immigrant population in 2008; Statistics Finland, 2009).

Despite their partly Finnish ethnic background and Lutheran religion, which make them culturally similar to national Finns, the Finnishness of these migrants is largely questioned by the national majority group (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006). These immigrants are also targets of relatively negative attitudes and belong to the least welcome immigrants together with the Somalis and the Arabs (Jaakkola, 2005). Such experiences have been shown to be unexpected by the remigrants themselves and to negatively affect their adaptation (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003, 2006).

**Previous research on contact effects**

Gordon Allport's (1954) influential theory on the prejudice-reducing effects of intergroup contact has evoked a vast amount of research over the past five decades, particularly cross-sectional surveys and experimental studies specifying the mediators and moderators of contact effects. Since the beginning of this century, the need for longitudinal and meta-analytic research on intergroup contact has been clearly established (e.g., Pettigrew, 1998). This call has been addressed in two lines of research with one focusing on the effects of past or present contact experiences on outgroup attitudes (especially) among majority group members (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and the other on the effects of contact experiences and perceived discrimination on attitudes

towards the majority group and the development of national identity among minority group members (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009). According to the most recent studies, while positive experiences of intergroup contact are typically found to improve the outgroup attitudes of majority group members (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup attitudes are small or even non-existent among minority group members (Binder et al., 2009; Feddes et al., 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; but for an exception, see Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Liebkind, in press). One possible explanation for this difference in contact effects is related to the power discrepancy between majority and minority groups (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005): despite some positive experiences, minority group members may experience distrust and general devaluation of their ingroup in intergroup contexts (e.g., Tropp, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Thus, negative experiences of intergroup interactions may prevent contact from having positive effects on the outgroup attitudes of ethnic minority members (Tropp, 2007). In addition, these negative experiences may also affect the identity patterns of immigrants by preventing (or at least discouraging) them from identifying with the national majority group (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Verkuyten, 2007).

### **Past, anticipated and actual intergroup interactions**

Two questions rarely addressed in recent research on intergroup interactions are the role of past experiences of contact in developing expectations about or anticipations of future intergroup interactions on the one hand, and the role of anticipated intergroup interactions in how future intergroup interactions are experienced (particularly in real-life social contexts like immigration) on the other. In experimental research, the anticipation of the quality of future contact has been shown to affect the way in which actual contact situations are perceived and intergroup attitudes are formed (e.g., Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006; Vivian & Berkowitz, 1993). Researchers have found that people typically underestimate outgroup

members' interest and willingness to interact with them (Shelton & Richeson, 2005) and thus also make the so-called intergroup forecasting error (i.e., they overestimate the negativity of interactions with outgroup members). This has been partly explained by the fact that people typically focus on the differences between themselves and outgroup members, underestimating their similarities (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008).

Negative experiences of past intergroup contact have been seen to further exacerbate the negative expectations of future intergroup interactions. For example, Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, and Pietrzak (2002) argued that both direct rejection and vicarious experiences of mistreatment, prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion based on membership in a devalued social group can generate anxious expectations about future status-based rejection (p. 897). According to Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998), individuals "can use their knowledge and awareness of when, where, by whom, and in what manner prejudice is most likely to occur in order to assess the likelihood that they will encounter prejudice in particular situations" (p. 39). They also stress that discriminatory incidents can be anticipated either because they occurred previously or because of information on such incidents provided by other people. In addition, minority group members who are high in such race-based sensitivity to rejection (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002), and who therefore expect that others will negatively think about and treat them according to their group membership, probably have more negative intergroup expectations than those who are less sensitive to rejection (Mallett et al., 2008).

However, there is very little research on the extent to which negative expectations about future interactions with outgroup members match actual experiences (Mallett et al., 2008). People who hold negative stereotypes about each other may act towards others in unfriendly ways (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Simultaneously, people who have negative expectations about social interactions tend to avoid rather than approach members of other groups (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Pinel, 1999; Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton & Richeson, 2005) and even when intergroup contact is enacted, they perceive its quality as poor (Mendoza-

Denton et al., 2002; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). However, in Mallett et al.'s (2008) studies, both Whites and Blacks overestimated the negativity of interactions with outgroup members, while real interactions with outgroup members went better than people expected.

### **The formation of intergroup interactions in the migration context**

Research on immigrant integration and acculturation has increasingly focused on the dynamics of and psychological processes involved in intergroup interactions between immigrants and national majority group members. Most recently, however, and corresponding to the general trends in research on intergroup relations, also this line of research has called for the longitudinal assessment of immigrant integration, acculturation and adaptation as processes influenced by various factors over a prolonged period of time, including the pre-migration period (e.g., Bhugra, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, in press; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, in press). To stress the complexity, dynamics and interactive nature of migrants' acculturation, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Yijälä (in press) have recently re-introduced the concept of pre-acculturation. They have also argued for the need to approach and empirically investigate it as a process of change which results from the first contact experiences of potential migrants with majority members of the future society of immigration and which influences the post-migration integration outcomes of voluntary migrants. According to Jasinskaja-Lahti and Yijälä's (in press) study on potential migrants from Russia to Finland, pre-migration contact with the society of immigration largely determined the pre-acculturative changes as experienced by potential migrants, particularly the level of anticipated discrimination.

Pre-migration expectations regarding post-migration intergroup interactions do not only affect the pre-acculturation process, but may also determine post-migration immigrant adaptation. In his longitudinal studies among immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Israel, Tartakovsky (2007, 2009) found that adolescents differed in their pre-migration awareness about

the social conditions in the receiving country (i.e., perceived discrimination and social support), and that the less prepared they were in the pre-migration stage to face the post-migration reality, the higher was their post-migration acculturative stress and socio-cultural maladjustment. Interestingly for the present study, and in contrast to the intergroup forecasting error hypothesis (Mallett et al., 2008), he also found that immigrants had quite idealized expectations regarding their future reception and that, after migration, their experiences of discrimination broke their idealized picture of the host society and made them recognize the negative attitude of the host society towards their homeland (Tartakovsky, 2009). As a consequence, after migration, perceived discrimination alienated them from Israel and made them form stronger affiliations with Russia. Also Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1999) found in their study on Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland that with time in the new country, the adolescents' initially high national identification with Finns decreased and ethnic identification with Russian increased as a reaction to the negative stereotypes about Russians in Finland. These results do not only support the rejection-identification (Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002) and rejection-disidentification (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Verkuyten, 2007) models, but also speak for the role of anticipated intergroup interactions in the pre-migration stage in identity reactions among immigrants in the post-migration stage.

### **Hypothesized model**

In this study, we aim to explore the identity and attitudinal ramifications of past, anticipated and actual intergroup interactions as experienced by new immigrants. As presented in Figure 1, we suggest that the pre-migration experiences of intergroup contact and anticipation of discrimination may affect the way in which intergroup interactions (experiences of contact, outgroup rejection and perceived discrimination) are experienced by immigrants in the post-migration stage. Moreover, we test the attitudinal and identity consequences of past, anticipated and perceived intergroup interactions for immigrants' attitudes towards the majority and for their



national identity in the post-migration stage. The hypothesized model is derived from several interrelated theoretical perspectives discussed above.

Our first set of hypotheses cover the relationships between past and anticipated contact in the pre-migration stage and intergroup interactions in the post-migration stage. We expect quality of intergroup contact in the pre-migration stage to be negatively associated with perceived ethnic discrimination (H1a) and perceived outgroup rejection (H1b), and positively associated with quality of contact (H1c) in the post-migration stage. Anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage is expected to be positively associated with perceived discrimination (H1d) and perceived outgroup rejection (H1e), and negatively associated with quality of contact (H1f) in the post-migration stage.

As regards the hypothesized effects of outgroup attitudes in the pre-migration stage, we expect them to be positively associated with outgroup attitudes (H2a) and contact quality (H2b), and negatively associated with perceived discrimination (H2c) and outgroup rejection (H2d) in the post-migration stage.

Finally, we make cross-sectional predictions about the relationships between intergroup interactions and the dependent variables in the post-migration stage. We expect perceived discrimination to be negatively associated with outgroup attitudes (H3a) and national identification (H3b). We also expect perceived outgroup rejection to be negatively associated with attitudes towards (H3c) and identification with host nationals (H3d). Contact quality, in turn, is expected to be positively associated with both outgroup attitudes (H3e) and national identification (H3f).

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Insert Figure 1 about here  
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## Method

### Participants and procedure

Data of the present study was collected as a part of the longitudinal INPRES<sup>1</sup> research project on the integration of immigrants from Russia to Finland. Participation in both stages of the project was voluntary, and written consent for collecting follow-up data was obtained from each participant.

The baseline data ( $N = 229$ ) of this study was collected in the spring 2008 in Russia. Most of the participants were potential migrants ( $n = 182$ ; and their family members,  $n = 13$ ) who attended Finnish language courses organized by the Finnish authorities for potential migrants as a part of their immigration training program. The sample also included those potential migrants who had already passed the language test and were waiting to be officially granted a place of residence in Finland ( $n = 34$ ). These potential migrants were identified using the register of the Consulate General of Finland in St. Petersburg. The questionnaire was back-translated from the original English version to Russian by two official translators and three native Russian-speakers. It was also pilot tested among a sample of potential migrants in St. Petersburg. The baseline sample consisted of 67.5 % females (1 unknown). The mean age of the participants at Time<sub>1</sub> was 44.4 years ( $SD = 15.1$  years) ranging between 19 and 85 years. Most participants (56.9 %) had full-time employment and only 4.0 per cent were unemployed/temporarily dismissed (vs. 45.2 % at Time<sub>2</sub>), at the time of pre-migration data collection. The participants of the baseline study had applied for the immigration permit, on average, 12.2 ( $SD = 3.1$ ) years ago. At the time of the baseline data collection, every second participant estimated to be able to migrate within the following seven or eight months.

The follow-up data was collected in two parts (autumn 2009 and spring 2010). The first part of the follow-up data collection took place approximately one year after the baseline data collection. The participants were tracked using the Finnish population register and identified by their name and date of birth. In the end of December 2009, a total of 120 Ingrian-Finnish

participants (71 % females) had returned the questionnaire. The same follow-up data collection procedure was repeated in February 2010 among those remigrants who had moved to Finland after the first stage of the follow-up data collection. This added a total of 21 participants (67 % females) to the follow-up data. Thus, the final follow-up data of this study consisted of 141 respondents (97.9 % of the baseline sample). The mean age in the follow-up sample was 45.1 years ( $SD = 14.4$ ). Most participants were females (70.2 %), and they were married or cohabiting (62.1 %) and had children (77.3 %). The participants were well-educated prior to migration: only 16.4 % had no education beyond secondary school, and 83.7 % had attended some form of higher education. In the follow-up, the participants had stayed 3-15 months ( $M = 10.0$ ,  $SD = 3.8$ ) in Finland. The majority of participants (90.0 %) had visited Finland before, and almost all of them (94.6 %) had friends and/or relatives living in Finland.

In order to examine possible selection bias due to sample attrition,  $t$ -tests on relevant demographic factors (gender, age, marital status, socioeconomic status, employment status, level of education, Finnish language proficiency) and  $T_1$  variables used in this study were performed. The participants who answered both questionnaires did not differ in terms of socio-demographic factors or in terms of their responses to  $T_1$  scales from those respondents participating only in the baseline stage of the study. Thus, there was no systematic selection bias in the follow-up sample. As regards the handling of missing data, composite scores used in the analyses were created only for those participants who had responded to at least 75% of the items of each scale of measurement.

## **Measures**

All measures used in this study were either developed for the INPRES project or taken directly (or with modifications) from existing scales, as described below. The reliabilities (Cronbach alphas) of all scales used are presented in Table 1. Measures in  $Time_1$  included Ingrian-Finnish identification, perceived quality of intergroup contact, anticipated discrimination and outgroup

attitudes. Measures in Time<sub>2</sub> included three indicators of intergroup interactions (perceived discrimination, outgroup rejection, and quality of contact) and two dependent variables (national identification and outgroup attitudes).

**Ingrian-Finnish identification.** A six-item scale adapted from Mlickli and Ellemers (1996) and Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) was used to measure Ingrian-Finnish identification at Time<sub>1</sub> (e.g., “I see myself as an Ingrian-Finn / a Russian.”, “I am proud of being an Ingrian-Finn / a Russian.”). Response options ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*, with higher scores denoting higher level of identification.

**Perceived quality of intergroup contact.** At Time<sub>1</sub>, a single item (i.e., “How pleasant or unpleasant would you evaluate the contacts with the Finnish nationals you have had in Finland or in Russia?”) was used based on Islam and Hewstone’s (1993) and Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, and Christ’s (2007) measures of the quality of contact with outgroup members. Response options ranged from 1 = *very unpleasant* to 5 = *very pleasant*, with higher scores denoting more pleasant contact experiences. At Time<sub>2</sub>, a five-item scale was used to tap the pleasantness of respondent’s contact experiences with colleagues/students, neighbours, close friends, employers/teachers and authorities belonging to the national majority group. The respondents evaluated their contact experiences on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = *very unpleasant* to 5 = *very pleasant*.

**Anticipated/perceived discrimination.** Two pre-existing measures of perceived discrimination (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) were adapted for use in the pre-migration stage and used to capture perceived discrimination in the post-migration stage. Response options of all four items (“Finns will have/have a positive attitude towards my ethnic background”; “I will be/have been treated fairly in Finland”, “I will experience/have experienced discrimination in Finland”, “My ethnic background will be/has been appreciated in Finland”) ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*, with

higher scores denoting higher levels of anticipated/perceived discrimination (positive items were reversed).

**Perceived outgroup rejection.** The three-item measure for perceived outgroup rejection was adapted from Shelton and Richeson's (2005) measure of outgroup members' perceived willingness to engage in intergroup contact, their lack of interest to engage in intergroup contact and the respondents' fear of rejection (e.g., "I feel that Finnish nationals do not want to interact with the members of my ethnic group, because they are not interested in us."). Response options of all three items ranged from 1 = *totally disagree* to 5 = *totally agree*, with higher scores denoting higher levels of perceived outgroup rejection.

**National identification.** Finnish national identification was measured at Time<sub>2</sub> with six items adapted from Mlickli and Ellemers (1996) and Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) (e.g., "I see myself as a member of the Finnish society."), with higher scores denoting higher levels of national identification. The target group of identification had to be the Finnish society instead of the Finns, as national identity had to be differentiated from ethnic Ingrian-Finnish identification (both national Finns and Ingrian-Finns can be considered as ethnic Finns who are "equally Finnish").

**Outgroup attitudes.** Attitudes towards the Finnish majority were measured with the feeling thermometer, which has been previously used to study the outgroup attitudes of both ethnic majority and minority members (e.g., Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). The instruction was as follows: "If feelings could be described with a thermometer with a scale from 0 to 100, how would you describe your own feelings towards the Finnish host nationals?" Zero was told to stand for extremely negative feelings, and 100 for extremely positive feelings. The same measure was used to assess the outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>1</sub> and Time<sub>2</sub>.

## Results

The mean scores and standard deviations of perceived quality of contact and outgroup attitudes (measured at Time<sub>1</sub> and Time<sub>2</sub>), anticipated discrimination and Ingrian-Finnish identification (measured only at Time<sub>1</sub>) as well as of post-migration experiences of outgroup rejection, perceived discrimination and national identification (measured only at Time<sub>2</sub>) are shown in Table 1. Even though the scale means represent only estimates of the psychological phenomena studied (Blanton & Jaccard, 2006), they were indicative of the respondents' quite positive past contact experiences with Finns and of their positive attitudes towards Finns in the pre-migration stage. According to the results of paired *t*-tests, they experienced more ethnic discrimination in the post-migration stage than they anticipated in the pre-migration stage, and their experiences of intergroup contact were less pleasant after migration compared to their contact experiences in the pre-migration stage. Also their attitudes towards the host nationals had become more negative after migration.

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Insert Table 1 about here  
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The Pearson's correlations among the variables used in the model are presented in Table 2. All the variables used in the study, except for contact quality and anticipated discrimination at Time<sub>1</sub>, correlated significantly with attitudes towards majority Finns at Time<sub>2</sub>. All the variables, except for anticipated discrimination at Time<sub>1</sub>, correlated significantly with national identification at Time<sub>2</sub>.

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Insert Table 2 about here  
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The hypothesized model was tested by employing a structural equation modelling (SEM) approach, which tests hypothesized patterns of directional and nondirectional relationships among a set of observed (measured) and unobserved (latent) variables (MacCallum & Austin,

2000). The modelling was conducted with Maximum Likelihood estimation and using the Amos 18.0 software package. The model, represented by a path diagram in Figure 2, included four input, exogenous variables; three mediating, endogenous; and two dependent, endogenous variables. Due to the relatively small sample size, all the variables were included in the model as composite scores (with the exception of contact quality at Time<sub>1</sub>). All the input variables as well as the measurement errors of the mediating and the dependent variables were assumed to correlate. According to the results, the hypothesized model fitted the data well:  $\chi^2(5, N = 141) = 9.89, p = .08, CFI = .97, AIC = 107.89, \text{ and } RMSEA = .08 (CI\ 90\%: .00 - .16)$ . Consequently, we decided not to modify the model in terms of dropping theoretically hypothesized but statistically non-significant paths.

As regards our first set of hypotheses, good quality of intergroup contact prior to migration predicted less perceived ethnic discrimination (H1a) and outgroup rejection (H1b) in the post-migration stage. However, in contrast to H1c, we did not find a significant association between quality of intergroup contact at Time<sub>1</sub> and Time<sub>2</sub>. Moreover, anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage was positively associated with perceived outgroup rejection (H1e), but not with perceived discrimination (H1d) and quality of contact (H1d) in the post-migration stage. In line with the second set of hypotheses, positive outgroup attitudes prior to migration were associated with more positive outgroup attitudes (H2a), better quality of intergroup contact (H2b) and lower levels of perceived discrimination (H2c) after migration. However, contrary to the hypothesis H2d, the association between outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>1</sub> and perceived outgroup rejection at Time<sub>2</sub> was statistically non-significant.

As regards the hypothesized cross-sectional relationships in the post-migration stage, perceived discrimination was negatively associated with both national identification and attitudes towards host nationals, thus confirming hypotheses H3a and H3b. However, in contrast to hypotheses H3c and H3d, perceived outgroup rejection was associated with neither of the dependent variables. Moreover, good quality of contact was associated only with more positive

outgroup attitudes (confirming H3e), but not with national identification (contradicting H3f). The model developed in this study explained 23 % of the level of Finnish national identification and 41 % of the attitudes towards host nationals of the Ingrian-Finnish remigrants studied.

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Insert Figure 2 about here  
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The results obtained showed a rather complex pattern of the influence of past intergroup contact and anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage on the identification and attitudinal patterns in the post-migration stage. Next, we conducted a series of estimations for possible indirect effects of past intergroup contact, anticipated discrimination and outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>1</sub> on national identity and outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>2</sub>. As described below, these additional analyses revealed that the quality of past contact experiences and anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage affected national identification and attitudes towards host nationals in the post-migration stage indirectly, *via their impact on migrants' experiences of intergroup interactions after migration*.

First, when testing a model with no post-migration mediators (perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection and contact quality at Time<sub>2</sub>), we found only a significant direct effect of contact quality at Time<sub>1</sub> on national identification at Time<sub>2</sub>;  $\beta = .18, p < .05$  (in addition to the statistically significant effects of the control variables on national identification and outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>2</sub>) ( $\chi^2 (2, N = 141) = 2.49, p = .29$ ). Next, we added each of the three post-migration mediators (intergroup interactions variables at Time<sub>2</sub>) in separate models. In the model including *perceived discrimination* at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\chi^2 (3, N = 141) = 2.44, p = .49$ ), we found a significant association between contact quality at Time<sub>1</sub> and perceived discrimination at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\beta = -.20, p < .05$ ), and significant associations between perceived discrimination at Time<sub>2</sub> and the two dependent variables ( $\beta = -.36$  on national identification;  $p < .001$ ;  $\beta = -.33, p < .001$  on



outgroup attitudes). However, as regards the direct effects of the pre-migration stage variables on the dependent variables (national identification and outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>2</sub>), we only found a marginally significant effect of anticipated discrimination on outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = -.12, p < .10$ ). In the model including *perceived outgroup rejection* at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\chi^2 (3, N = 141) = 7.04, p = .07$ ), we found a significant effect of anticipated discrimination ( $\beta = .21, p < .05$ ) and a marginally significant effect of contact quality at Time<sub>1</sub> ( $\beta = -.17, p < .10$ ) on perceived outgroup rejection at Time<sub>2</sub>. We also found significant and marginally significant associations between perceived outgroup rejection at Time<sub>2</sub> and the dependent variables ( $\beta = -.18, p < .05$  on national identification;  $\beta = -.15, p < .10$  on outgroup attitudes). No direct effects of the pre-migration stage variables on the dependent variables were found in this model. Finally, in the model including *contact quality* at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\chi^2 (3, N = 141) = 2.14, p = .54$ ), we found a marginally significant effect of outgroup attitudes at Time<sub>1</sub> on contact quality at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\beta = .18, p < .10$ ) which, in turn, was significantly associated with outgroup attitudes ( $\beta = .27, p < .001$ ) and marginally significantly associated with national identification ( $\beta = .15, p < .10$ ) at Time<sub>2</sub>. As regards direct effects, we only found a marginally significant effect between contact quality at Time<sub>1</sub> on national identification at Time<sub>2</sub> ( $\beta = .16, p < .10$ ) in this model. Thus, in all, we found less evidence of direct effects of pre-migration factors on national identification and outgroup attitudes in the post-migration stage than of indirect effects via experiences of intergroup interactions after migration.

## Discussion

The present study investigated the identity and attitudinal consequences of perceived quality of past intergroup contact and anticipated discrimination among Ingrian-Finnish remigrants from Russia to Finland. The study contributes to our current understanding of the role of past and anticipated intergroup interactions in the development of national identity and attitudes towards host nationals among immigrants by showing the mediating effects of post-migration

experiences of intergroup interactions (i.e., perceived quality of intergroup contact, perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection). Those potential migrants, who perceived the quality of past intergroup contact as poor and who, in the pre-migration stage, anticipated ethnic discrimination after migration also reported higher levels of perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection in the post-migration stage. These results support the hypotheses derived in this study from previous research on the effects of past contact experiences and anticipated discrimination on subsequent intergroup contact and perceptions of discrimination and outgroup rejection (e.g., Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006; Vivian & Berkowitz, 1993). Stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes can also generate expectancies that eventually become self-fulfilling prophecies (Shelton & Richeson, 2006); those potential migrants who had more negative attitudes towards future hosts also reported poorer quality of intergroup contact and more perceived discrimination in the post-migration stage.

Further, perceived discrimination in the post-migration stage was associated with remigrants' low national identification and negative attitudes towards national hosts, thus potentially exacerbating the conflictual relations between majority Finns and immigrants from Russia. In addition, poor quality of post-migration contact was associated with more negative outgroup attitudes. Importantly, this study shows that, as generally observed in different immigrant populations, the positive development of national identity may also among ethnic migrants be prevented by emerging experiences of rejection and discrimination and the identities (e.g., immigrant, Russian) possibly ascribed to them by the national majority group. Previous studies conducted among ethnic repatriates (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1999; Yoshida, Matsumoto, Akiyama, Moriyoshi, Furuiye, & Ishii, 2003; Yoshida, Matsumoto, Akiyama, Moriyoshi, Furuiye, Ishii, & Franklin, 2002; Tartakovsky, 2009) highlight the same problem and describe the negative consequences of prejudiced attitudes and discriminative practices on the identity changes and general adaptation of remigrants.

We did not find the expected association between anticipated and perceived discrimination found in some previous studies (e.g., Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005) nor between perceived quality of pre-migration and post-migration contact experiences. However, anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage did affect the level of perceived outgroup rejection in the post-migration stage, and perceived quality of pre-migration contact affected perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection after migration. These results may be partly explained by the overly positive intergroup contact experiences of and expectations regarding the level of acceptance in the receiving society of the potential migrants studied. In addition, the measure of anticipated discrimination referred in the pre-migration stage to the merely cognitive anticipations of future intergroup contact, whereas the measure of perceived discrimination in the post-migration stage reflected the prevalence of actual experiences of prejudice and discrimination. In contrast, the measure of outgroup rejection, even though assessed in the post-migration stage, reflected the migrants' perceptions about majority members' prejudice towards the ingroup and thus resembled the measure of anticipated discrimination. Thus, especially taking into account that the level of anticipated discrimination was quite low in the pre-migration stage, it is understandable that it was more predictive of perceptions of outgroup rejection than of experiences of more direct discrimination in the post-migration stage. In a similar vein, the perceived quality of intergroup contact in the pre-migration stage was generally very positive, and more positive than after migration. Thus, it seems that even though positive experiences of pre-migration contact may lead migrants to perceive less discrimination and out-group rejection after migration, they cannot save them from making less positive and/or more realistic observations about intergroup contact in the new country after migration.

When comparing the results of this study with those obtained in previous research on anticipated intergroup interactions, it should be noted that potential ethnic remigrants' prior experiences of contact with and attitudes towards the future host nationals as well as perceived prospects for post-migration intergroup relations seemed to be quite positive. These expectations

were partly unmet after migration, as the immigrants' experiences of intergroup interactions were more negative than they had expected. This change was further associated with more negative attitudes towards the host nationals and lower motivation for developing national identity. This result contradicts those obtained in earlier studies on intergroup forecasts showing that people tend to form negative expectations of intergroup interactions with outgroup members that are later usually disconfirmed by actual, more pleasant intergroup interactions (Mallett et al., 2008). This forecasting error has been viewed as a result of people's tendency to perceive more similarity in opinions and beliefs between themselves and fellow ingroup members than between themselves and outgroup members (Allen & Wilder, 1979; Hogg & Abrams). Mallett and his colleagues (2008) were able to reduce the intergroup forecasting error in student samples by focusing students' attention on similarities rather than on differences with their outgroup partner. In the present study, the special type of migration studied (i.e., ethnic remigration) may provide an explanation for the opposite results found. Potential ethnic migrants may not perceive future host nationals as purely outgroup members, as they share same cultural and ethnic ancestry. High Finnish identification of Ingrian-Finnish repatriates has previously been reported in studies conducted among this population in both the pre-migration (Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010) and the post-migration stages (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1999). The result obtained in this study also corresponds to observations made in a few previous studies among other remigrant groups (second and subsequent generations). For example, Noguchi (2005) pointed out in his qualitative study among North Americans of Japanese descent that the re-entry move is often caused by increased interest in one's own ethnic roots and attraction to the ancestral homeland. Similarly, Tartakovsky (2008, 2009) found among Jewish adolescents who planned emigration from Russia or Ukraine to Israel that their attitudes towards Israel were highly positive. Moreover, their attitudes were more positive in the pre-migration stage as compared to the post-migration stage and also more positive than their attitudes towards Russia/Ukraine (Tartakovsky, 2009).

**Limitations**

The special type of migration analyzed in this study (i.e., ethnic remigration) may not only affect the results of this study as described above, but also limit the generalization of the results to other potential voluntary migrants. However, as the results of this study are in line with previous research on the effects of past experiences of intergroup contact and anticipated discrimination on the way actual intergroup interactions are perceived (e.g., Shelton & Richeson, 2005) and on the importance of the pre-migration stage for identity reactions to perceived discrimination in the post-migration stage (Tartakovsky, 2009), there is no reason to assume that the relationships obtained would be less relevant in predicting post-migration social psychological adaptation in other voluntary immigrant groups. Another point of critique relates to the use of cross-sectional data in the post-migration stage of this study: the suggested causal directions at that stage should be interpreted with caution. This study would have benefitted from having at least three data waves, with two assessments of post-migration immigrant integration. In addition, in order to empirically test the impact of past intergroup contact on anticipated intergroup interactions, two assessments of the pre-migration stage would have been needed. The exceptionally high reliability score of the measure of Ingrian-Finnish identification and the quite low reliability score of the measure of perceived outgroup rejection exemplify further limitations of the present study. However, all these measures are derived from previous research showing appropriate inter-item consistency (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Shelton & Richeson, 2005).

**Conclusions**

The impact of this study is two-fold. First, the results highlight the importance of the first intergroup interactions for the integration of immigrants in general and remigrants in particular. If successfully actualized, post-migration intergroup interactions seem to be decisive for positive national identification and outgroup attitudes to develop among new immigrants. Second, the results clearly speak for the need to consider not only the time of residence in the new country

(cf. Birman et al., 2010), but also the pre-migration experiences of contact and expectations of future intergroup interactions when predicting the quality of intergroup interactions and immigrants' national identity and outgroup attitudes in the post-migration stage. Importantly, and complementing prior research on cognitive anticipatory adjustment (Black et al., 1992), the present study stresses the key role of social psychological factors like pre-migration intergroup contact, anticipated discrimination and outgroup attitudes, for post-migration integration. These results continue the pattern of findings by Jasinskaja-Lahti and Yijälä (in press), who found that it is specifically the quality of pre-migration intergroup contact that affects the expectations and adaptation patterns among immigrants while they are still in the pre-migration stage. Thus, (1) good quality of pre-migration intergroup contact accompanied with positive attitudes towards the future host nationals and (2) positive expectations regarding the prospects of intergroup interactions after migration are very important factors, which encourage migrants to actively engage in intergroup interactions after migration.

In the future, more longitudinal research is needed on the impact of pre-acculturation in general and the pre-migration contact experiences and expectations of immigrants in particular on their long-term identification patterns and perceptions of intergroup relations in the post-migration stage. Only then can we determine the reciprocal relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes (cf., the longitudinal study of Binder and colleagues, 2009). Moreover, to fully understand the reciprocity of intergroup relations, also the expectations of host nationals need to be studied, as well as the relationship between their perceptions of immigrants' level of integration and their attitudes towards immigrants.

On the basis of the results obtained, our message to policy makers and organizations providing counseling services for immigrants is that the more positive are the outgroup attitudes and contact experiences of potential migrants before migration, and the more positive are their expectations about intergroup encounters after migration, the more positive will subsequent intergroup interactions turn out to be. Even though it is important to provide potential migrants

with accurate information in order to create realistic expectations, it is equally important to empower migrants to form mutually satisfying relationships with future hosts and to help them develop a strong national identity – in other words, to integrate them into their new homeland. Considering the ubiquity of intergroup discord, however, assisting potential migrants in finding sufficient social support and acquiring other coping resources to protect themselves from the negative consequences of perceiving discrimination and outgroup rejection is extremely important as well, in order to efficiently prevent integration problems in the long run.

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Footnote

<sup>1</sup> Intervening at the pre-migration stage: Providing tools for promoting integration and adaptation throughout the migration process

Table 1

*Descriptive statistics of the variables used in the study*

Variable	T <sub>1</sub>			T <sub>2</sub>			<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>		
Contact quality	4.34	.59		3.97	.82	.81	3.86***	105
Perceived outgroup rejection				2.77	.70	.63		
Anticipated/perceived discrimination	2.04	.66	.74	2.21	.72	.81	-2.25*	135
Ingrian-Finnish identification	4.41	.65	.92					
National identification				3.30	.81	.89		
Outgroup attitudes	80.73	10.40		80.34	10.60		3.11**	139

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 2

*The Pearson's correlations of the variables used in the study*

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Contact quality T <sub>1</sub>								
2. Contact quality T <sub>2</sub>	.11							
3. Perceived outgroup rejection T <sub>2</sub>	-.24**	-.12						
4. National identification T <sub>2</sub>	.24**	.17	-.18*					
5. Ingrian-Finnish identification T <sub>1</sub>	.17*	.10	.08	.30**				
6. Anticipated discrimination T <sub>1</sub>	-.21*	.10	.27**	-.10	-.12			
7. Perceived discrimination T <sub>2</sub>	-.30**	-.41**	.39**	-.42**	-.20*	.20*		
8. Outgroup attitudes T <sub>1</sub>	.36***	.21*	-.17*	.20*	.27**	-.26	-.29**	
9. Outgroup attitudes T <sub>2</sub>	.14	.36**	-.19*	.30*	-.23**	-.06	-.41**	.53**

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .



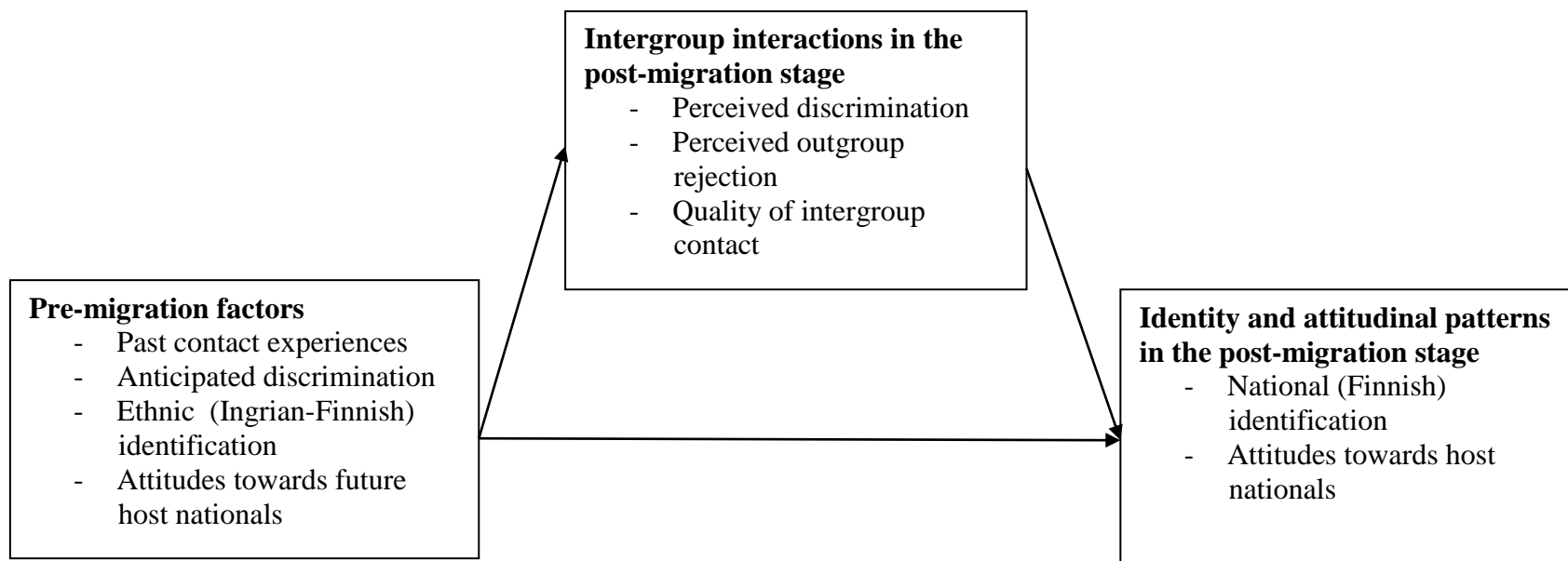


Figure 1. Theoretical model of the study.

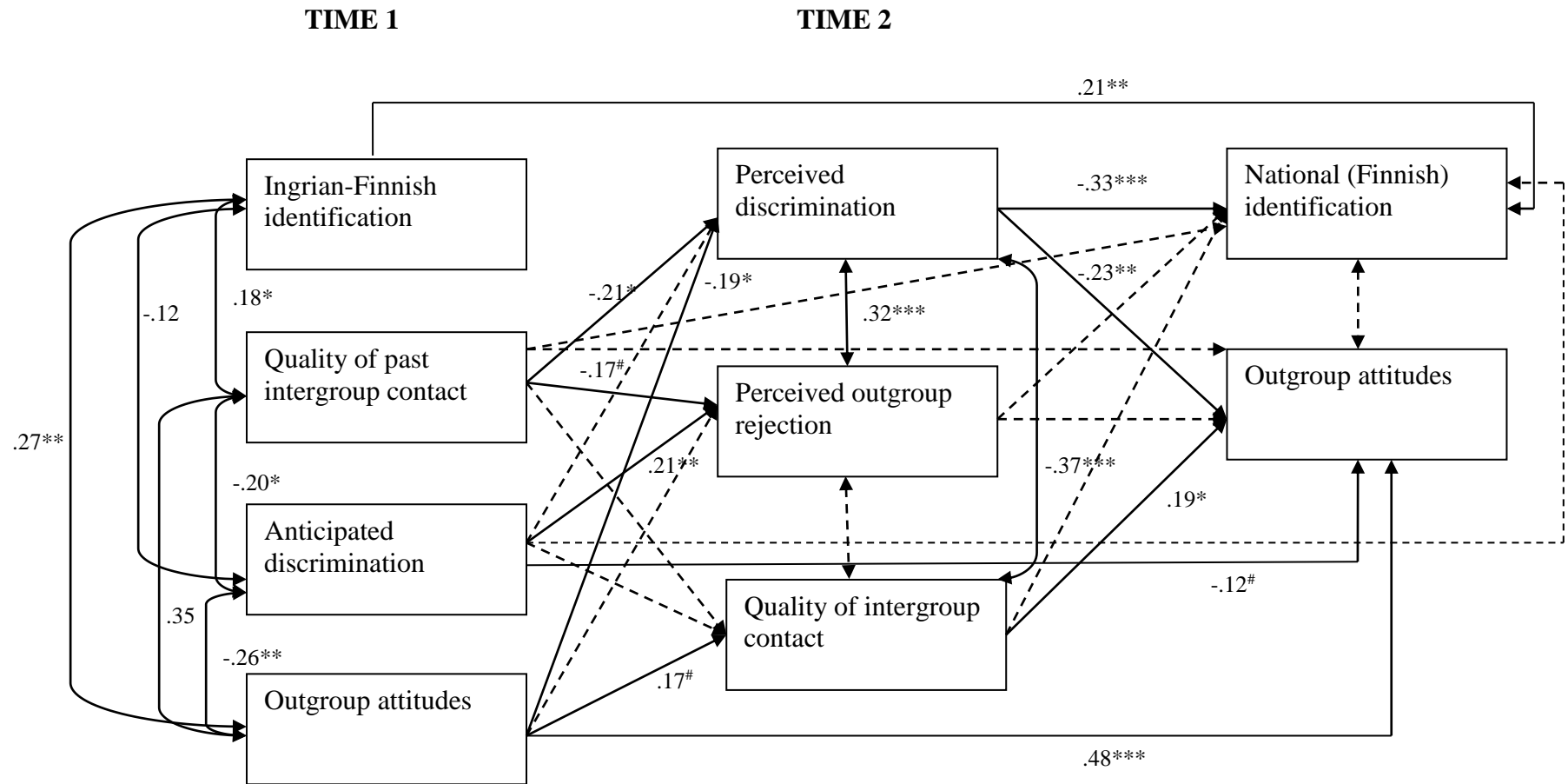


Figure 2. Path diagram representing the results of the structural equation model predicting the relationships between past and anticipated intergroup contact, perceived discrimination and outgroup rejection, ethnic identifications and national identification and attitudes towards host nationals national identification and attitudes towards host nationals.

Note:  $^{\#} p < .10$ ;  $^* p < .05$ ;  $^{**} p < .01$ ;  $^{***} p < .001$ . Dashed lines indicate statistical non-significance. The parameter values shown are standardized structural coefficients for causal relationships and standardized correlation coefficients for correlational paths.