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The dynamics of ethnic discrimination, identities, and outgroup attitudes:

A pre-post longitudinal study of ethnic remigrants

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Abstract

This longitudinal study among ethnic remigrants from Russia to Finland ($N = 127$) examined the relationships between anticipated and perceived discrimination, ethnic and national identities, and outgroup attitudes towards the national majority group. The study included one pre-migration and two post-migration assessments. First, associations between the variables studied were tested using a conventional autoregressive sample-level modelling approach. Second, individual trajectories and the associations between the individual-level changes in the variables included in the models were tested. While there were no sample level effects over time, there were significant relationships between changes in discrimination and changes in identification and outgroup attitudes at the individual level. The results indicated that changes in perceived discrimination were not reflected in increased ethnic identification. However, participants who perceived higher levels of discrimination after migration than they anticipated before migration were, in the post-migration stage, more likely to disidentify from and to increasingly show negative attitudes towards the national majority group. The study complements previous research by examining the identity and attitudinal reactions to perceived ethnic discrimination starting from the pre-migration stage, and provides policy makers with research-based information about the harmful consequences of ethnic discrimination on the integration of immigrants.

Key words: perceived discrimination, ethnic and national identification, disidentification, outgroup attitudes, remigrants, former Soviet Union.

The dynamics of ethnic discrimination, identities, and outgroup attitudes:

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The increase of immigration and intergroup tensions between immigrants and host

nationals in Europe (Wieviorka, 2010) has posed researchers and policy makers with the

challenge of identifying conditions for the emergence of harmonious intergroup relations.

Particularly, successful multiculturalism has been seen to require that all subgroups within

a society can develop a real sense of belonging to the mainstream society, expressed as a

national identity (see, e.g., Report of the Community Cohesion Panel, 2004).

Simultaneusly, it has been recognized that ethnic discrimination is a serious obstacle for

ethnic groups to achieve such a sense of belonging and to develop positive attitudes

towards national majority groups (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009;

Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind, 2011). The main purpose of this study is to

investigate the social psychological ramifications of perceived ethnic discrimination,

namely reactive ethnicity, national disidentification and negative attitudes towards

members of the national majority group. Moreover, we propose that longitudinal research

on the effects of perceived ethic discrimination on ethnic and national identities and

outgroup attitudes among immigrants should take into account also the pre-migration stage,

during which immigrants start to develop particular patterns of intergroup cognitions,

attitudes and behaviours as well as anticipate and prepare for future post-migration

intergroup interactions (e.g., Tartakovsky, 2007; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010). This is

particularly true for ethnic and other voluntary migrants, who often engage in the process of

pre-acculturation (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, 2011) and adjust to the upcoming migration

long before they actually migrate (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen & Liebkind, in press;

Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010). In this three-wave longitudinal study, we, thus, test the short- and long-term ramifications of anticipated and perceived ethnic discrimination for ethnic and national identification and outgroup attitudes among Ingrian Finnish remigrants from Russia to Finland.

The context of the present study

Proportionally, the total immigrant population in Finland is among the smallest in Europe (ca. 3% of the total population; Statistics Finland, 2010). In the early 1990s, the political opening of the Soviet Union and finally its collapse brought a large wave of immigration from Russia to Finland, as Russian nationals of Finnish descent gained the right to apply for repatriate status and to remigrate to Finland. These remigrants are mostly of Ingrian Finnish origin, representing the descendants of Finns emigrated from Finland to Russia between the 17th and the beginning of the 20th century. Russian-speakers form the largest immigrant group in Finland today (50 000 at the end of 2010, , i.e., 35% of the total immigrant population; Statistics Finland, 2010).

Despite their Finnish ethnic background and Lutheran religion, which make them culturally similar to the Finnish national majority, the Finnishness of Ingrian-Finns is largely questioned by the national majority group, mostly due to their relative monolingualism in the Russian language (e.g., Davydova & Heikkinen, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). This poses obstacles to their adaptation: typical hardships experienced by Ingrian-Finns in Finland include unemployment and ethnic discrimination (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2006). It should also

be noted that there is a historical legacy of antagonism, political distrust and cultural

distance in official and informal relationships between Finland and the former Soviet

Union, mostly due to the wars between Russia and Finland in 1939-1940 and 1941-1944.

This legacy is reflected in the predominantly negative attitudes of Finns towards Russian-

speaking immigrants (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Raittila, 2004). For example, a

2003 nationwide survey (Jaakkola, 2005) revealed that Russians were among the least

welcome of 24 immigrant groups in Finland, alongside Somalis and Arabs. A longitudinal

analysis of the attitudes of Finns towards Russians from 1987 to 2003 further suggested

that these attitudes were stable over time (Jaakkola, 2005). In our previous studies, being a

target of such negative attitudes has been shown to be unexpected by ethnic remigrants

from Russia and to negatively affect their psychological (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003,

2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Mähönen, submitted) and social psychological (Jasinskaja-Lahti

et al., in press; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press) adaptation. Thus, examining the

relationship between experiences of discrimination and integration to the Finnish society

among this group is a timely task.

The effects of discrimination on the identification and attitudinal patterns of

remigrants

In previous research, two different identity reactions to perceived ethnic discrimination, have

been reported: *dis-identification from the national majority group* (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al.,

2009; Verkuyten, 2007) on the one hand, and *reactive ethnicity* (or re-ethnicisation; see

Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Rumbaut, 2008; Skrobanek, 2009), on the other. In

their Rejection-Disidentification Model (RDIM), Jasinskaja-Lahti and her colleagues (2009)

suggested that perceived discrimination does not only lead to decreased national

identification, but also results in more negative attitudes towards the national majority.

Theoretically, RDIM is anchored to the social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986),

the group engagement model (Tayler & Blader, 2003), and Verkuyten's (2007, Verkuyten &

Yildiz, 2007) studies on dis-identification among immigrants in the Netherlands. In RDIM,

rejection by the host society is seen as an important predictor of the degree to which

immigrants seek to identify with the society. When the motivation or possibilities for the

development of positive national identity are blocked, also immigrants' willingness to engage

in intergroup contact with and their attitudes towards the national majority group are

negatively affected. An eight year follow-up study of Russian and Estonian immigrants in

Finland clearly supported the rejection-disidentification assumption of RDIM (Jasinskaja-

Lahti et al., 2009), as did two recent studies in the present research context on short-term

identity and attitudinal reactions to anticipated and perceived ethnic discrimination

(Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in press; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press). Recently, also Badea,

Jetten, Iyer and Er-Rafiy (2011) provided support for the model by studying Romanian and

Moroccan immigrants in France: perceived rejection by host society directly and negatively

affected French identification among immigrants, which, in turn, reduced the extent to which

they adhered to the assimilation acculturation strategy.

        Another line of research has focused on the effects of perceived discrimination

on ethnic identification. According to the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM, Branscombe

et al., 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002) that is also derived from SIT (Tajfel & Turner,

1986), the experience of being a target of prejudice increases disadvantaged group members'

level of identification with their ingroup. This reactive ethnicity, in turn, is suggested to buffer

against the harmful effects of perceived discrimination on well-being and self-esteem.

However, despite some research supporting the model in terms of the effect of discrimination

on e.g., gender, age group, racial and ethnic identification (e.g., Bourguingnon, Seron,

Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Branscombe et al., 1999; Garstka, Schmitt, Branscombe, &

Hummert, 2004), the longitudinal empirical evidence gained in the real-life intergroup

contexts, particularly among racially and/or religiously less distant immigrant groups in

Europe, attesting the ethnic identity bolstering effects of discrimination has been quite weak

(see, e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in press). Moreover, McCoy

and Major (2003) have argued that the strength of ingroup identification rather moderates than

mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being: perceived

discrimination may be more harmful to the well-being of high-identifiers compared to that of

low-identifiers.

The concept of reactive ethnicity is particularly complicated in the context of

ethnic migration, in which ethnic ancestry represents a gate to a membership in a new national

ingroup. However, the boundaries of the national group can be seen as quite impermeable

particularly from the viewpoint of later generations of ethnic remigrants, whose cultural fit is

often questioned by the national majority froup (Tsuda, 2003). In these cases, the former

national identity constitutes the basis for the new ethnic minority's identity, and thus offers

remigrants an alternative source of affiliation in case they are rejected from the national

majority group (see Pavlenko, 2001). For example, in his longitudinal study among Jewish

remigrants from Russia to Israel, Tartakovsky (2009) found that common religious

background did not always pave the way for acceptance. Experiences of discrimination made

the remigrants recognise the negative attitudes of the host society towards them. This

experience of rejection made them feel alienated from Israel and form stronger affiliations

with the Russian community (Tartakovsky, 2009). Also in a recent study on Ingrian-Finnish

remigrants (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press), the experiences of rejection and

discrimination prevented remigrants from the re-establishment of cultural connectedness after

remigration and made them turn towards the Russian community in Finland. Thus, when

studying ethnic remigrants, there indeed is a need to acknowledge the complexities in their

multiple idenfication patterns (see also Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press; Stoessel,

Titzmann, & Silbereisen, in press).

   Besides focusing simultaneously on the ethnic and national identification

patterns of ethnic remigrants, the present study complements previous research by taking

into account the role of anticipations in the pre-migration stage for the development of

identities and outgroups attitudes in the post-migration stage. Several social psychological

studies have shown that the anticipation of the quality of future contact affects the way in

which actual contact situations are perceived and intergroup attitudes are formed (e.g.,

Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). Indeed, people who have

negative expectations about future intergoup interaction tend to avoid, rather than approach,

outgroup members (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Pinel,

1999; Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton & Richeson, 2005, 2006). However, in the context of

ethnic remigration, previous research has noted that the re-entry expectations of remigrants

are often too positive rather than too negative (Noguchi, 2005; Tartakovsky, 2008, 2009). It

is possible that future remigrants do not perceive the nationals of their ethnic country of

origin as outgroup members, and consequently expect to be treated as members of the

national majority group (Davydova & Heikkinen, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, &

Liebkind, in press). Remigrants' positive expectations may also be a result of their positive

pre-migration contact experiences with future host nationals (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä,

2010). Positive intergroup contact may produce overly optimistic perceptions of intergroup

equality among members of disadvantaged groups by changing their representations of two

groups to a representation of one inclusive group (see e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000;

Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). As pointed out above, these positive expecations

may stand in a sharp contrast with the post-migration reality as experienced by ethnic

remigrants (e.g., Tsuda, 2003; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press). Tartakovsky (2007)

found that the less prepared immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Israel

were in the pre-migration stage to face perceived discrimination in the receiving country,

the poorer was their well-being and the level of adjustment in the post-migration stage.

Thus, the actual negative experiences of intergroup encounters in the post-migration stage

may be more decisive than pre-migration anticipations for the formation of outgroup

attitudes among ethnic remigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in

press). However, the importance of anticipated discrimination may lie in its role in forming

post-migration perceptions. Specifically, if positive intergroup interactions are anticipated,

they are more probably also perceived, which further results in positive outgroup attitudes

(Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in press; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press).

In sum, there is increasing research evidence on the effects of perceived

discrimination on immigrants' ethnic and national identification and outgroup attitudes, as

well as on the effects of anticipated ethnic discrimination and post-migration experiences of

intergroup relations on identification patterns and outgroup attitudes. However, it is still

unclear whether these effects are indicative of *(1) time-specific sample-level covariation*

between these variables at different assessment points (i.e., high level of (anticipated) discrimination is associated with high ethnic identification/ low national identification and negative outgroup attitudes assessed in a particular sample at the same time point), *(2) sample-level covariation between these variables over time* (i.e., high level of (anticipated) discrimination is associated with high ethnic identification, low national identification and negative outgroup attitudes assessed in a particular sample at the next time point), *(3) covariation between the individual changes trajectories in these variables over time* (i.e., increased ethnic identification, decreased national identification and negative outgroup attitudes are results of increased perceived discrimination) or *(4) a combination of these different effects*. To answer this question a longitudinal, at least three-wave desing with panel data is needed, as applied in this study.

Methodological considerations: reciprocal, fixed, and random effects

Before presenting our research questions and analytical strategy in more precision, two methodological points merit attention. First, we acknowledge that the causal relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identification is likely to be reciprocal (see, e.g., Phinney, 1990). While being a target of ethnic discrimination instigates identity exploration over time, the process of exploring the meanings of one's ethnic group membership also increases political consciousness and makes minority group members more likely to feel disciminated (Phinney, 1990; see also Schaafsma, 2011). The vicious circle results from the majority group members not only reacting more negatively toward highly identified minorities but also accurately perceiving minority identification (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010).

Second, we are not aware of previous research that simultaneously addresses both individuals relative to one another and changes in individuals over time. The former are typically addressed using auroregressive methods and *structural equation modelling* (SEM), and the latter using random-effects modelling such as *latent change models* (LCM). In this study, we apply both techniques (cf., Curran & Bollen, 2001). Importantly, because our variables of interest represent individual-level characteristics, their development over time must also be addressed at the individual level of analysis. This requires the application of random-effects models, such as LCM, where both intercepts and change trajectories (e.g., slopes) can be modelled as random effects. In LCM, one uses the observed repeated measures to estimate a separate change trajectory for each individual in the sample (Bollen & Curran, 2006). In stark contrast, autoregressive models are fixed-effects models, where one is typically forced to make the assumption that the same effect applies to all observations in the sample, and individual differences are treated as random errors (Curran & Hussong, 2002, p. 67). Such fixed effects may be manifestations of effects to which all observed units in the sample are exposed. In the context of this study, this common effect is remigration to Finland at T_2.

Research questions and hypotheses

In this three-wave (pre-migration assessment at T_1 and two post-migration assessments at T_2 and T_3) study, we continued our longitudinal research programme among Ingrian-Finnish remigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in press; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Mähönen, submitted) by examining *how ethnic discrimination (anticipated and perceived), identities (ethnic and national), and outgroup attitudes toward the Finnish national majority are associated with*

one another over time. We examined this question from two different but complementary perspectives. In the first, we look at the association of the variables in a conventional autoregressive context, where sample-level associations between the variables measured at different time points are examined. This approach tells us about the extent to which the group means of the variables at each time point are predicted by the group means of the variables measured at the previous time point In the second perspective, we examine whether changes at the individual level in one variable are associated with individual-level changes in other variables. These two perspectives translate to two more specific research questions: (1) do identity and attitudinal patterns follow their own autoregressive courses independent of perceived discrimination, or are there significant cross-variable correlations (i.e., the levels of anticipated/perceived discrimination at T_1 and T_2 are related to the degree of identification and/or outgroup attitudes at T_2 and T_3 respectively); and (2) do individual-level changes in perceived discrimination affect changes in identities (ethnic and national) and attitudes toward the national outgroup?

As both fixed and random effects may be present, in this study, we applied both LCM and autoregressive SEM to examine national and ethnic identification and outgroup attitudes at T_3 with their individual autoregressive effects from T_1 and T_2 on the one hand, and with changes in the levels of anticipated and perceived ethnic discrimination from T_2 to T_3, on the other. This enables an analysis of both concurrent and longitudinal effects both at the level of *the sample* and *the individual*. Based on earlier studies referred to above, we expect that that national identity and outgroup attitudes would covary more strongly with perceived discrimination than ethnic identity. In addition, we hypothesised

more substantive change (if any) in the variables studied to manifest itself after migration

(T_2), when remigrants are faced with actual intergroup context.

Method

Participants and procedure

The three-wave data of the present study was collected in the INPRES (i.e., *Intervening at*

the pre-migration stage: Providing tools for promoting integration and adaptation

throughout the migration process) research project on the integration of ethnic remigrants

and their family members from Russia to Finland. Participation in all stages of the project

was voluntary, and written consent for collecting follow-up data was obtained from each

participant.

The baseline data ($N = 224$; 68 % females) was collected in May-June 2008 in

Russia. All potential migrants ($n = 192$) who at the time of the data collection were

registered as future remigrants and participated to the pre-migration training organised by

the Finnish Ministry of Interior were recruited and filled the survey questionnaire during

the Finnish language training sessions. A small part of the sample ($n = 32$) also included

those potential migrants who had already finished the training and passed the Finnish

language test and were waiting to be officially granted a place of residence in Finland.

These participants were identified via the register of the Finnish Consulate in Russia (St.

Petersburg) and they participated via post survey. The mean age of the participants at T_1

was 44.4 years ($SD = 15.0$ years) ranging between 19 and 85 years. Most of the baseline

participants were married or cohabiting (62 %) and had children (75 %). Further, most of

them had full-time employment (55 %), while only four per cent were

unemployed/temporarily dismissed at the time of baseline data collection. Every second (44 %) of these 224 participants estimated to be able to migrate within the following seven or eight months.

As the participants of the baseline study migrated to Finland according to their personal schedules, the first follow-up data could not be collected at once. Instead, three searches from the the Finnish population register had to be performed between October 2009 and October 2010 in order to include as many base-line participants as possible in the follow-up of the study. The participants were identified by their name and date of birth. In total, 158 Ingrian-Finnish respondents (70 % of the baseline sample and 95 % of all the base-line participants remigrated to Finland by December 2010) participated in the first follow-up. At that time, the participants had stayed 3-15 months ($M = 9.3$, $SD = 4.0$) in Finland. The mean age in this follow-up sample was 45.5 years ($SD = 14.3$). Most participants were females (72 %), and they were still married or cohabiting (62 %). Despite their high level of education prior to migration (only 16 % had no education beyond secondary school), they had not yet been employed in Finland, but were typically unemployed (47 %), on pension (13 %) or studying (11 %).

The second follow-up was conducted 12-20 months after the previous round of data collection, with the same procedure as described above. In total, 127 Ingrian-Finnish respondents (77 % of all the baseline participants remigrated to Finland by December 2010 and 80 % of the participants of the first follow-up) participated in the second follow-up. The mean age in the second follow-up sample was 46.1 years ($SD = 14.1$). Most participants were females (72 %), were typically still married or cohabiting (62 %) and typically still unemployed (48 %), on pension (10 %) or studying (20 %).

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. No statistically significant differences were found between

respondents participating in one, two or three stages of the study.

Measures

The measures used in this study were either developed for the INPRES project or taken

directly (or with modifications) from existing scales, as described below. All measures and

instructions were back-translated from the original English version to Russian by two

official translators and three native Russian-speakers. The questionnaire was also pilot

tested among a sample of potential migrants in St. Petersburg. Measures at T_1 included

Ingrian-Finnish and Russian identification, anticipated discrimination and outgroup

attitudes. Measures at T_2 and T_3 included Ingrian-Finnish, Russian and national (Finnish)

identification, perceived discrimination and outgroup attitudes. The reliabilities (Cronbach

alphas) of all scales used are presented in Table 1, along with other descriptive statistics. As

regards validity, the unidimensionality of the constructs used was checked in preliminary

analyses. In addition, age, gender, length of residence in Finland before the first follow-up

assessment, and the level of education gained in Russia (i.e., no education beyond

secondary school; professional college; high school or university) were used as control

variables in all three time points.[1]

Ethnic and national identifications. Six-item scales based on Mlickli and Ellemers

(1996) and Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) were used to measure *Finnish/national*

identification (Ingrian-Finnish identification at T_1 and national Finnish identification at T_2-T_3) and *ethnic/Russian identification* (at T_1-T_3). Sample items of these three scales include "I am similar to other Ingrian-Finns" (Ingrian-Finnish identification), "I am proud of being a Russian" (Russian identification), and "I see myself as a member of the Finnish society" (Finnish national identification). As regards 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 and thus as "equally Finnish". Response options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores denoting higher level of identification.

　　Anticipated/perceived discrimination. Two measures of perceived discrimination used previously by Schmitt, Spears and Branscombe (2003) and Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009) were adapted to measure anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration stage and 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. Before creating summed scores, positive items were reversed.

　　Outgroup attitudes. The eight-item scale previously used by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009) was was used to measure attitudes towards the Finnish national majority group (e.g."I think Finns in Finland are annoying"; I would be pleased to accept a Finn as my

close friend"). The items were assessed on a 5-point scale (*totally disagree – totally agree*) with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes. Before creating summed scores, negative items were reversed.

Models

Two sets of models were specified and tested. In the first set, we looked at the link between discrimination and three other variables: (1) ethnic (Russian) identity; (2) national (Finnish) identity; and (3) attitudes toward the Finnish national majority. These links were examined using autoregressive models (Figure 1), which examines the association between the variables at the sample level. Three kinds of effects were modelled: (1) the autoregressive effects of each variable on itself over time (X_t to X_{t+1} and X_{t+2}); (2) the cross-lagged effects of one variable to the other over time (X_t to Y_{t+1}); and (3) the contemporaneous correlations between two variables (the correlation of X and Y at T_1 and the residual correlations of X and Y at T_2 and T_3).

Three separate models were estimated with discrimination present in each model, complemented with one of the other three variables in each model (Figure 1). Incorporating all four variables in to a single autoregressive model would have lead to an unduly complex model, which would not have been testable with our limited sample size

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Insert Figure 1 about here

In the second phase of the analysis, we took the same three discrimination-covariate combinations and specified a bivariate LCM model (Figure 2). In contrast to the

autoregressive model, the LCM examines the association between the change trajectories of

individual observations in the sample (see Bollen & Curran, 2006, for details). Potential

time-specific fixed effects were modelled through correlated disturbances. For example, in

addition to an individual-level effect, remigration from Russia to Finland (which occurs to

each individual in the sample at T_2) may manifest itself as a sample-wide fixed effect on

both discrimination and attitudes; hence the correlated disturbances at T_2 and T_3. One can

think of the remigration at T_2 as a variable that affects both measured variables at that time.

Observations at T_3 may be subject to a similar time-specific effect. Again, incorporating all

four variables in to a single LCM would lead to an unduly complex model, which is

probably not testable with our modest sample size.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Analysis

The descriptive statistics of the variables used in the study are presented in Table 1. Mplus

5.21 software (Muthén & Muthén, 2007) was used to estimate the autoregressive and the

latent change models. The results of the autoregressive models and the LCM models are, in

turn, summarised in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. In the models, the robust maximum

likelihood (MLR) estimator was used in the estimation, because it corrects for potential

non-normality, produces unbiased estimates of the standard errors and an unbiased overall

chi-square statistic, and is suitable with missing data (Muthén & Muthén, 2007).

Insert Table 1 about here

The results of the autoregressive models are presented in Table 2. First, as expected, we observed a significant autoregressive effect for all variables: higher values on variables at T_t were correlated with higher values of the same variable at T_{t+1}. The autoregressive effects appeared as particularly strong for Russian identity (both T_1 to T_2 and T_2 to T_3), discrimination (T_2 to T_3), Finnish identity (T_2 to T_3), and attitudes toward the Finnish national majority (T_2 to T_3). The weaker autoregressive effects in the latter three variables are likely to be explained by the fact that T_1 represents the pre-migration stage during which anticipated (as opposed to perceived) discrimination and Ingrian (as opposed to national Finnish) identity were measured. We also observed that in addition to lag-1 effects (i.e., T_1 to T_2 and T_2 to T_3), all lag-2 effects (i.e., T_1 to T_3) were significant as well. Significant lag-2 effects indicate stronger path dependency in the variable: for example, the effect of pre-migration outgroup attitudes becomes accentuated with time (i.e., gains more predictive power as the integration process proceeds). Second, we observed both similarities and differences in the cross-variable effects. Consistently, all cross-lagged effects from one variable to another were non-significant: in other words, at the group level, the variables did not affect one another over time. However, contemporaneously, both attitudes and national identity were associated with discrimination. Ethnic identity was not associated with discrimination at any time point.

Insert Table 2 about here

At this point it should be noted that these sample-level fixed effects do not address change in these variables over time. Because attitudes, perceived discrimination, and identity might have been associated at the individual level, we had to examine the individual level results for further details. For this, we turned to the latent change models. In the LCM, an observation-speficic intercept and a change component were estimated from the repeated individual-level measures; this is consistent with the general idea of a random-effects model. In our models, we hypothesised the substantive change (if any) to manifest itself after migration (T_2). This is why the regression coefficients for the latent variable were set at 0, 1, and 1 for T_1, T_2, and T_3, respectively. Our models are therefore analogous to intervention models; in this case the intervention is the remigration to Finland at T_2.

The results of the latent change model are summarised in Table 3. The LCM with Russian ethnic identity as the covariate of ethnic discrimination did not converge to a solution. A likely reason for this is that Russian identity had a trajectory independent of discrimination and independent of an effect of migration on the change in perceived discrimination. In the autoregressive model, we already observed strong path dependence of this variable, as well as its independence from the levels of (anticipated) discrimination measured at different time points. In sum, whatever the changes in Russian ethnic identity over time were, they were not linked to changes in perceived discrimination. The other two models, in contrast, did converge to proper solutions and their overall model fits were good: the chi-square statistics of overall model fit for the Discrimination-Attitude and the Discrimination-National Identity models were 10.67 on 7 df, $p = 0.154$, and 12.30 on 7 df, $p = 0.091$, respectively. Regarding these two models, we thus concluded that the model

specification was likely to be correct and consequently, that the latent change factor

represented the difference between the pre-migration and the post-migration assessments.

The paths from the intercept factors to the change factors are the regression-

toward-the-mean effect. In the case of regression toward the mean, we would expect higher

values on the intercept to be associated with lower values on the change factor. For

example, a high level of Russian identity would be less likely to increase over time.

Regression toward the mean effects are common in longitudinal data, but interestingly, they

were not prevalent in our sample. This means that changes in the observed variables from

pre-migration to post-migration stages did not seem to reflect initial conditions. In other

words, changes in these variables could be to a positive or negative direction, but the initial

value of the variable (at T_1) does not predict the direction. The only variable where a clear

regression toward the mean effect was observed was attitude toward the outgroup: those

with a higher value at T_1 were more likely to exhibit a decline at T_2. With all other

variables, the direction of the change was not correlated with the initial conditions at T_1.

One explanation to account for this is that identities and perceived discrimination are in a

sense calibrated by initial conditions, so the absolute value at T_1 becomes irrelevant.

Outgroup attitudes, in turn, were on average extremely positive in every time point and thus

varied according to the level of perceived discrimination only among those participants

with the most positive attitudes at T_1.

Most importantly, the changes in discrimination correlated strongly with

changes over time in national identification and outgroup atttiudes. To clarify, in our

models, a positive change (i.e., increase) in discrimination over time can be interpreted so

that upon remigration, the individual had experienced more discrimination than he or she

anticipated in the pre-migration stage; a positive change thus equates to an adverse change.

Specifically, in our sample, those who experienced more discrimination than they

anticipated, tended to experience simultaneously a weakening of their Finnish identification

($r = -0.57$, $p < .01$) and a decline in their outgroup attitudes towards the Finnish national

majority ($r = -0.56$, $p < .001$). The results of the LCM analysis thus revealed a strong

association between the variables in terms of change at the individual level.

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

The present three-wave longitudinal study was the first to examine the dynamics of ethnic

discrimination, ethnic and national identities, and outgroup attitudes towards national

majority using a real-life sample (i.e., ethnic remigrants from Russia to Finland) in a pre-

post-migration context. To sum up the results obtained, *first*, in line with previous studies in

the present research context (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., in press), we found no empirical

support for the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt &

Branscombe, 2002). A similar finding was reported also in the original study testing the

Rejection-Disidentification Model (RDIM; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), in which the

authors assumed the initially strong ethnic identification of the immigrants to prevent them

from further increasing their ethnic identification. However, in the present sample, the

level of Russian identification was not particularly high in the pre-migration stage ($M =$

2.93, $SD = 1.06$). Moreover, we did not find any regression toward the mean effects:

changes in the observed variables did not reflect initial conditions.

Two other competing explanations offered by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009) included that participants may have considered their disadvantaged position as *temporary*, thus not requiring identity reactions (cf. Garstka et al., 2004) or, in contrast, as *permanent*, thus not encouraging identity reactions (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Considering the long traditions of antagonism towards Russia and Russians among majority Finns (e.g., Jaakkola, 2005; Raittila, 2004), we consider the latter explanation as more plausible. Conditions that that make inequality and discrimination appear inevitable may discourage minority members' ingroup identification and block it as a means to protect psychological well-being (see Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). However, the results of a recent two-wave study among ethnic remigrants from Russia to Finland indicated that while perceived discrimination and impermeability of group boundaries were associated with lower levels of remigrants' national identification, the perceived legitimacy of Ingrian-Finns' low status was associated with increased Russian minority identification (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press). Thus, the link between different kinds of perceptions of inequality and identification patterns is not a straightforward one and requires more research. Similarly, as pointed out by Bourguignon and colleagues (2006), different results in past research on the relationship between discrimination and ingroup identification may be due to the use of various measures of discrimination (e.g., group vs. personal discrimination) and identification (e.g., cognitive vs. emotional aspects of identification). It may also be the case that other factors than those examined in the present study account for the formation of Russian ethnic identification: Russian identity had a trajectory independent of discrimination and independent of a remigration effect (i.e., remigration as an intervention affecting ethnic identification as such). Possible influencing factors may include the

sustaining of social networks with Russian friends and relatives in Russia, as well as the

establishing of new contacts with the big Russian community in Finland.

      Second, as regards the testing of RDIM, the results uncovered statistical

associations both at the sample level (autoregressive and contemporaneous) and the level

of individual change trajectories. More specifically, in line with the Rejection-

Disidentification Model (RDIM) by Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009; see also Badea

et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), those ethnic remigrants who

perceived higher levels of discrimination in the post-migration stage than they anticipated

in the pre-migration stage were more likely to experience adverse consequences in the form

of national disidentification and decline in outgroup attitudes toward the national majority.

At the sample level, the variables predicted their own subsequent levels, but not one

another over time. This is a very important empirical observation as it means that despite

the relative stability of psychological constructs assessed among individuals at different

time points on the one hand, and the overall impact of a particular context (i.e., migration)

on the experiences of members of a particular group on the other hand, individual migrants

show different psychological reactions to perceived discrimination. These reactions may

refer to the unexpectedness of ethnic discrimination after migration (T_2) and/or its later

accumulation (T_3) over a certain threshold. Thus, in sum, our results go beyond previous

studies attesting the RDIM by bringing forth two different forms of reactions to ethnic

discrimination. At the sample level, time-specific effects of ethnic discrimination were

found, while at the individual level, also effects over time were detected among remigrants

with unexpected and accumulating experiences of discrimination.

Even though this study was – to the best of our knowledge – the first three-wave longitudinal study in a real-life context simultaneously testing the propositions of RDIM and RIM, we cannot draw robust conclusions about the direction of causality due to the contemporaneous nature of the cross-variable associations found. Consequently, our interpretation that discrimination affects national identification and outgroup attitudes (rather than vice versa), is based on previous theoretisations rather than statistical conclusions. However, we suspect that like in the case of many other indicators of intergroup relations (e.g., see Binder et al., 2009, on the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes), the causal effect is not unidirectional but reciprocal. For example, recent research has suggested that highly identified minority group members report more frequent experiences with prejudice compared to weakly identified not only because of their higher sensitivity to perceive unfair treatment, but also because majority group members in fact treat them more negatively (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010). In an additional analysis, we tried to estimate autoregressive models with reciprocal contemporaneous causal paths, but these models did not produce stable results. A plausible statistical explanation for this is that both variables in the reciprocal causation relationship require unique instrumental variables, so that the reciprocal effect can be properly estimated (Duncan, 1975). Unfortunately, our data did not contain such instruments. It should also be noted that to fully test the predictions of RDIM (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) related to the mediating effect of national disidentification on the relationship between perceived discrimination and negative outgroup attitudes, three waves of post-migration data would have been needed.

We welcome future research in other socio-historical contexts with other migrant groups to test the generalisability of our findings. Also research on the relationship between changes in intergroup experiences and identification patterns among multicultural youth is called for, as their identity formation probably follows a path more complex than the one presented here among adult remigrants (see, e.g., Oppedal, 2006). Finally, to complement empirical research on the buffering effects of re-ethnicisation (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; McCoy & Major, 2003; Schaafsma, 2011; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), future research could incorporate the statistical approach applied here to the research of psychological well-being.

To conclude, the message of the present study to policy makers is straightforward. In order to enable the integration of migrants in the society, all efforts should be made to abolish ethnic discrimination. As pointed out already in previous studies on perceived intergroup relations (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press), immigrants' perception of the treatment that they receive from the host nationals may be a key determinant of their national and ethnic identities, as well as of their attitudes towards the majority group. Even in the case of ethnic remigrants with exceptionally positive expectations and high levels of initial identification with the future hosts, positive outgroup attitudes and a sense of belonging to the society cannot be expected, if their pre-migration enthusiasm is met with rejection.

Footnote

[1] The control variable effects were not significant and did not affect the results, so they have been removed from the final models.

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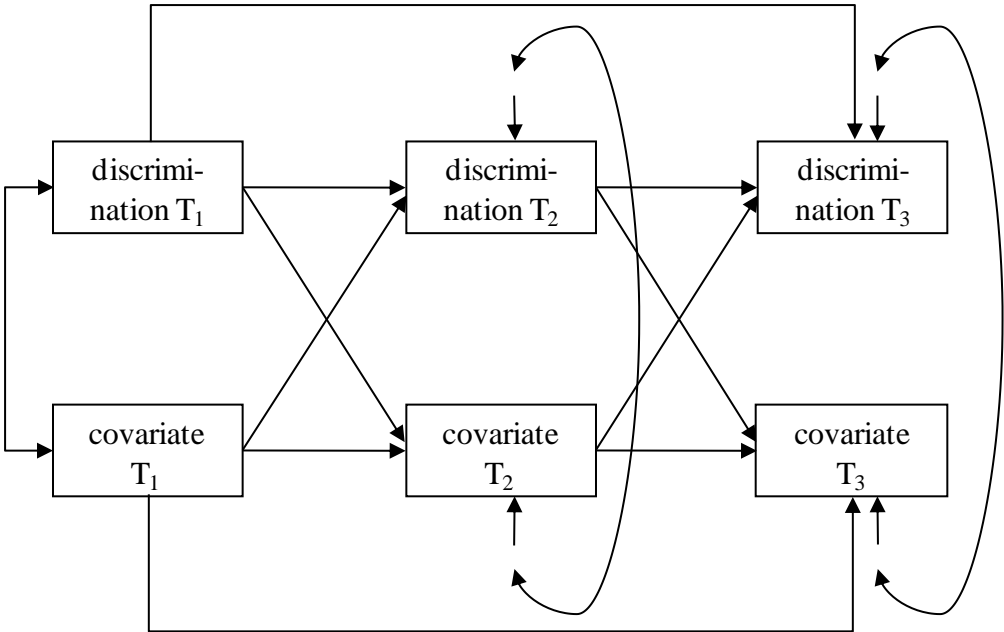*Intercultural Relations, 34*, 326-339. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.09.002

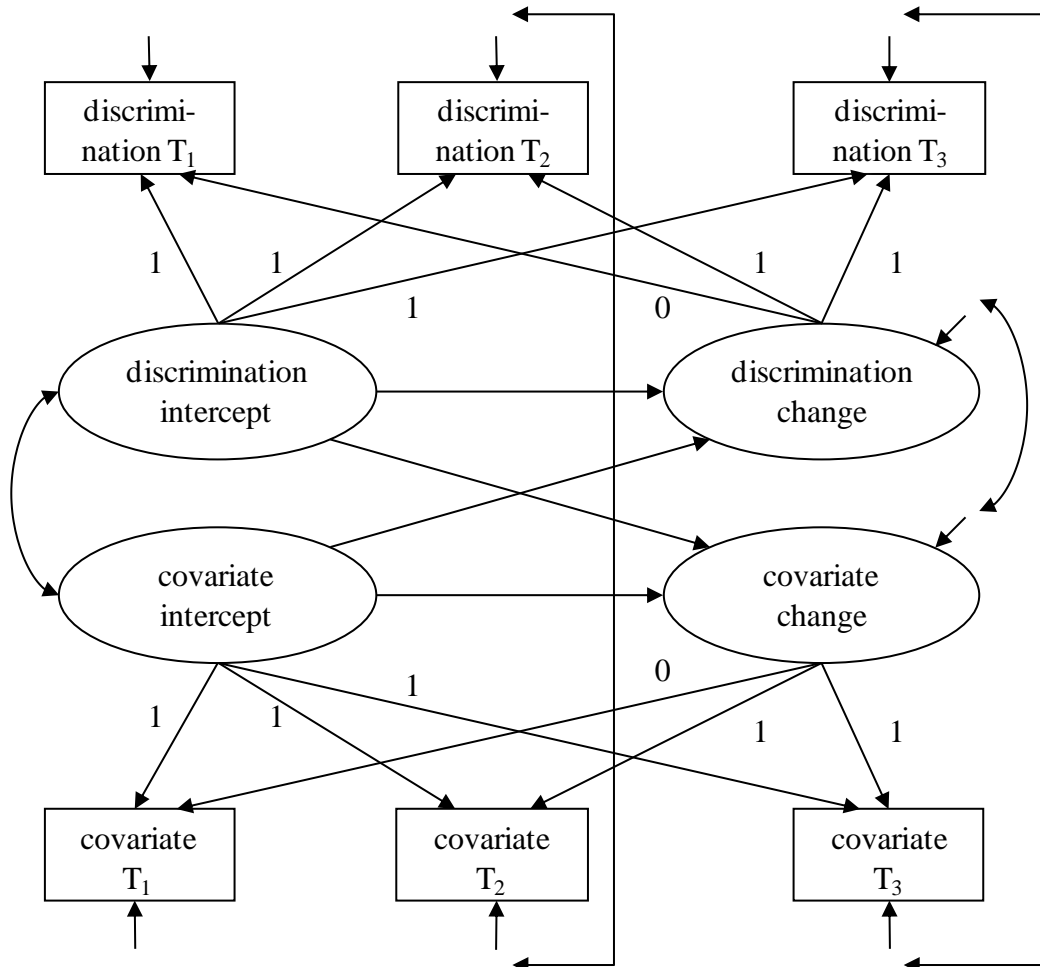Figure 1. The bivariate autoregressive model with cross-variable effects

Figure 2.The bivariate latent change model

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the variables used in the study

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	M	SD	Cronbach's α
1. Gender	-																	
2. Age	-.27**	-														44.36	15.04	
3. Lenght of residence	.04	-.11	-													9.33	4.02	
4. Level of education	.04	-.25**	.02	-												7.41	1.56	
5. Ingrian-Finnish identification T_1	-.12	.21**	.01	-.04	-											4.37	0.67	.91
6. Russian identification T_1	.10	-.13	-.10	.03	-.27**	-										2.93	1.06	.92
7. Russian identification T_2	.04	-.30**	-.08	.02	-.24**	.58**	-									3.10	1.15	.94
8. Russian identification T_3	.03	-.29**	-.15	-.05	-.41**	.59**	.78**	-								3.24	1.04	.93
9. National (Finnish) identification T_2	.08	.07	.10	.05	.29**	-.12	-.22	-.39**	-							3.28	0.81	.89
10. National (Finnish) identification T_3	-.08	.29**	.08	.04	.33**	-.17	-.26*	-.35**	.58**	-						3.22	0.87	.91
11. Anticipated discrimination T_1	-.03	-.07	-.05	.00	-.17*	-.01	.14	.11	-.13	-.07	-					2.01	0.66	.75
12. Perceived discrimination T_2	.04	-.16*	-.06	-.02	-.17*	-.08	-.02	.10	-.41**	-.28**	.17*	-				2.24	0.78	.84
13. Perceived discrimination T_3	.06	-.25**	-.11	.10	-.14	-.10	.10	.06	-.33**	-.43**	.32**	.61**	-			2.38	0.79	.86
14. Outgroup attitudes T_1	-.10	-.02	-.03	-.03	.13	-.02	.08	-.03	.09	.16	-.30*	-.17*	-.22*	-		4.49	0.46	.65
15. Outgroup attitudes T_2	-.01	-.01	.07	.13	.10	.02	-.07	-.20*	.36**	.26**	-.13	-.49**	-.23*	.28**	-	4.39	0.53	.64
16. Outgroup attitudes T_3	-.03	.20*	.03	.00	.08	.03	-.23*	-14	.28**	.31**	-.21*	-.28**	-.53**	.35**	.47**	4.39	0.46	.64

Note: T_1, T_2, and T_3 refer to data collected at Times 1, 2, and 3, respectively. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 2. The results of the autoregressive model

			Model covariate		
			Attitude	National identity	Ethnic identity
Autoregressive effects (lag-1 and lag-2)	Discrimination	$T_1 \rightarrow T_2$	0.14*	n.s.	0.20*
		$T_2 \rightarrow T_3$	0.58***	0.59***	0.65***
		$T_1 \rightarrow T_3$	0.20*	0.21**	0.27*
	Model covariate	$T_1 \rightarrow T_2$	0.22*	0.23***	0.60***
		$T_2 \rightarrow T_3$	0.49***	0.51***	0.65***
		$T_1 \rightarrow T_3$	0.17*	0.19*	0.24**
Contemporaneous effects		T_1	-0.31***	n.s.	n.s.
		T_2	-0.47***	-0.37***	n.s.
		T_3	-0.49***	-0.34***	n.s.
Cross-lagged effects				all n.s.	
Model fit		χ^2	5.89	7.77	10.96
		df	6	6	6
		p	0.436	0.255	0.090

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Estimates are standardized robust maximum likelihood estimates

Overall fit statistic is the robust chi-square statistic, corrected for non-normality

Table 3. The results of the latent change model

| | | | Model covariat... |
| | | | | National | E |
			Attitude	identity	id
Correlations between change trajectories			-0.56***	-0.57**	n/
Intercept→Change	Discrimination		n.s.	n.s.	n/
	Second variable		-0.44*	n.s.	n/
	Discrimination→Covariate		n.s.	n.s.	n/
	Covariate→Discrimination		n.s.	n.s.	n/
Contemporaneous cross-correlations		T_1	-0.62***	-0.51**	n/
		T_2	-0.40**	n.s.	n/
		T_3	-0.50**	-0.35**	n/
Model fit		χ^2	10.664	12.301	n/
		df	7	7	n/
		p	0.154	0.091	n/

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Estimates are standardized robust maximum likelihood estimates

Overall fit statistic is the robust chi-square statistic, corrected for non-normality

† model did not converge