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**Subjective well-being of immigrants in  
the United Kingdom and across Europe:  
An investigation of host country  
characteristics, multiculturalism and  
acculturation**

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Psychology  
City, University of London  
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2020

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For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, the responsibility is of course entirely my own.

### **Declaration**

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis is my own, is original and has not been submitted in whole or in part for consideration for any other degree or qualification in this, or any other University. I grant powers of discretion to the University Librarian to copy this thesis in part or in whole without further reference to me. This permission covers only single copies for study purposes. The contents of this thesis are subject to normal conditions of acknowledgement.



## Abstract

This thesis investigates how migration-specific factors, national-level host country characteristics, and individual-level characteristics such as cultural and national identities, multiculturalism and acculturation are associated with immigrants' subjective well-being in the United Kingdom and across Europe. International migration is on the rise in most parts of the world with one in seven of the global population considered to be immigrants (World Health Organisation, 2019). As the second most popular destination country for immigrants in Europe, the resident population in the United Kingdom has grown to be more diverse, especially during the past six decades. The work presented in this thesis aims to contribute to the growing corpus of research that incorporate subjective well-being as a measure of social well-being and progress. The research in Chapter 2 demonstrates SWB differences across immigrant generations and natives in Europe where immigrants are, in general, less satisfied with life compared to natives, and second-generation immigrants are more satisfied than first-generation immigrants. In addition, the attitudes of the native population with respect to public concerns (e.g., importance of trust, fairness and help in the society) and immigration are strongly associated with life satisfaction among all residents in a country. Additional observation into the role of Schwartz's human values delineates that people who are more satisfied with life are usually more inclined to uphold *benevolence*, *hedonism* and *self-direction* values, but not *stimulation*, *security*, *achievement* and *power* values. A longitudinal analysis in Chapter 3 provides insights into life satisfaction changes among immigrants in the UK over time while taking into account cultural similarity, spousal characteristics, language proficiency and several key predictors of subjective well-being. Finally, Chapter 4 introduces evidence on the associations between various subjective well-being measures and two psychological components that shape immigrants' experience: multiculturalism and acculturation. In particular, I assess subjective well-being differences between British natives and immigrant groups as well as the white ethnic majority versus members of ethnic minority groups in the UK. A further investigation of ethnic minorities reveals that their subjective well-being is strongly associated with a sense of belonging to their respective ethnic group. In addition, positive evaluations of cultural diversity and support for multiculturalism are positively associated with subjective well-being. The studies included in this thesis reveal the importance of individual-level predictors and national-level host country characteristics, including support for and tolerance towards multiculturalism and acculturation, in shaping immigrants' subjective well-being as they integrate into the host society.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Introduction and literature review**

## Introduction

Today's society is rapidly transforming while the faces in the United Kingdom are becoming more and more diverse. In recent decades, international migration has become a crucial yet complex phenomenon on the rise in most parts of the world, growing in capacity and impact on a multiplicity of social, economic and security aspects of our everyday lives in an era of globalisation. More people are on the move now than ever before. According to the World Health Organisation (2019), over one billion people in the world today are migrants - equivalent to one in seven of the world's population. While 73% of these migrants are comprised of internal migrants (people who relocate from one place to another within the same country), a total of 272 million international migrants were documented as of 2019 (Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, GMDAC, 2019). By definition, an international migrant is a person who is residing in a country aside from his or her country of birth. Due to the fact that the global number of international migrants has expanded faster than the global population, the ratio of international migrants in the worldwide population has increased from 2.8 per cent in the year 2000 to 3.5 per cent in 2019. In more developed regions such as Europe, Northern America, Australia, New Zealand and Japan, almost 12 of every 100 host country residents are international migrants, whereas in developing and underdeveloped regions such as Asia (excluding Japan), Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, etc. only 2 out of every 100 inhabitants are international migrants (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs; UN DESA, 2019).

“Immigration and diversity” are constantly in the news across public and media platforms nowadays. This is a subject that always provokes heated debate across people from all walks of life. Migration divides people into those who think immigrants contribute to a richer society, both culturally and financially and those who think they are a drain on public funds and a cause of tension, hostility and mistrust. The United Kingdom, with its growing

cultural diversity and its multiculturalist policy approach, provides a good place for research on immigration issues. The volume of immigrants arriving on its shores is increasing every year, due to many different factors: thousands are fleeing humanitarian crises and political persecution in Africa and the Middle East in particular Syria and Liberia, while others, including many Europeans, are responding to economic collapse, inequality and a lack of sustainable livelihoods in their home countries. Migration has undeniably enhanced people's lives in both origin and destination countries and has provided second chances for less fortunate people to forge secure and meaningful lives abroad. Intertwined with geopolitical and cultural exchange, migration not only fosters enormous economic growth and development of business trades for the communities of the destination countries, migration also allows for the nurturing of a much more culturally diverse society, for instance, there are multiple languages being spoken on a daily basis in the UK; during the 2012 Olympics people cheered as Somalia-born Mo Farah won gold for Great Britain; etc. Yet, despite the perks and benefits, immigration creates challenges, not least for underfunded public services and critical security issues, which are creaking under the weight of the additional demand: large influxes of immigrants are to be blamed for the ever-growing waiting lists for National Health Service (NHS) care and social housing lists, and many local education authorities are either unprepared or under-compensated for the costs of accommodating necessary services required by immigrants.

As the prevalence of international migration continues to increase, there is a growing need for psychological research that targets international communities, more specifically, the experience of immigrants and their families. Migration can stimulate economic progress and social development when supported by the right set of national policies (e.g., in the UK: Hicks et al., 2013; O'Donnell & Oswald, 2015). In order to capitalise on the benefits of migration on a national level, it is essential to explore the well-being of these migrants to

tackle migrants' challenges during the adjustment process in the host country. Contrary to most existing migration research which concentrates on the economic outcomes of migration for migrants such as employment and income (e.g., Harris & Todaro, 1970; Nikolova & Graham, 2015), this thesis will provide a detailed investigation of the psychological consequences of migration for immigrants by evaluating their subjective well-being while taking into account a wide range of key variables including socioeconomic indicators, spousal characteristics, migrant-specific factors, attitudes and tolerance towards immigrants in the host country, multiculturalism ideology as well as acculturation strategies when integrating into the host country.

In this chapter, I will incorporate background literature and theories of subjective well-being as well as review the importance of understanding immigration and the assimilation of immigrants from well-being perspectives. First, I will provide the definition of subjective well-being (SWB), introduce different aspects of SWB and explain why studying well-being is imperative and meaningful. Next, I will provide an overview of global migration trend and migration statistics in the UK for the past decades, followed by the underlying factors that motivate people to move across borders. Then, I will elaborate on the key determinants of immigrants' SWB supported by previous research. Last but not least, I will discuss the impact of migration from a social perspective as well as evaluate important association between SWB and migration. A brief structure of the thesis will be provided at the end of this chapter.

### **Subjective well-being**

Subjective well-being (commonly abbreviated as SWB) is broadly defined as an individual's subjective experience that includes global judgments of all aspects of a person's life (Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002). More specifically, SWB is a multi-faceted construct that

delineates a person's cognitive and affective appraisal of his or her overall life which include emotional reactions to life events as well as cognitive evaluation of satisfaction and fulfilment. It is a broad concept that describes people with high SWB level as experiencing long term levels of positive affect, low levels of unpleasant emotions and high degree of life satisfaction. While SWB is often regarded as 'happiness', it is vital to note that these two terms should not be used interchangeably as happiness is merely one form of evaluative well-being while SWB is the umbrella term for three distinctive constructs: life evaluation, affective well-being and eudaimonic well-being (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999; The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2013).

Overall, as SWB measures have been proven to be both valid and reliable (e.g., Diener, Inglehart, & Tay, 2013; Kahneman & Krueger, 2006), a number of the large, nationally representative surveys (e.g. the German Socio Economic Panel, the UKHLS, the European Social Survey, etc.) include single-item measures of evaluative well-being, usually in the form of life satisfaction. However, several SWB researchers argued that a complete picture of individuals' SWB cannot be captured if one of these three constructs is missing (Dolan, 2014; Seligman, 2011; Seligman, Parks, & Steen, 2004). Evidence shows that all three components should be measured simultaneously in order to obtain a whole perspective of an individual's SWB as it is possible that someone reports high levels of SWB in one aspect but not another (Keyes, 2007; Seligman, 2011; Seligman, Parks & Steen, 2004). In this thesis, the first two empirical chapters utilise national panel data, i.e. European Social Survey (ESS), British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS). However, the options for well-being measures are limited in these existing longitudinal survey especially for eudaimonic well-being, therefore, the primary focus of well-being in these chapters is the life evaluation component. In order to compensate the lack of eudaimonic well-being measure in the initial empirical investigation, all three constructs of

SWB measures (i.e. life evaluation, eudaimonic well-being and affective well-being) are included in the third empirical chapter and measured simultaneously through an online questionnaire.

### **Life evaluation**

Life evaluation is the cognitive component of SWB and also a measure of hedonic well-being. It is generally construed as an information-based assessment of one's current life, that is, whether their life so far measures up to their envisioned ideal expectation. The notion of hedonia describes the pathway to happiness as maximisation of emotional pleasure, satisfaction, comfort and relaxation while minimising negative emotional indices such as discomfort or pain (Kahneman, 1999; Fredrickson, 2001; Henderson & Knight, 2012).

The most commonly used measure of life evaluation/hedonic well-being is life satisfaction, which generally captures people's cognitive assessment of quality of life as a whole (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). For instance, one's level of satisfaction with life can be evaluated based on a single-item measure that directly requires respondents to rate their overall life satisfaction on a scale from 0 to 10, with increasing intensity from completely dissatisfied to completely satisfied. Such single-item measures are often found in large-scale, nationally representative surveys. As an alternative, and perhaps as a more comprehensive measure of evaluative well-being, some well-being researchers prefer the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985) or the Cantril Ladder of Life question (Cantril, 1965). The latter requires respondents to rate their current life based on a 10-step imaginary ladder, with rising intensity ranging from the worst possible life on the lowest step to the best possible life on the highest step.

## **Eudaimonic well-being**

Often placed in juxtaposition with the concept of hedonic well-being, eudaimonic well-being relates to *why* an individual is experiencing happiness as opposed to whether or not an individual is experiencing happiness (Henderson & Knight, 2012). Derived from ancient Aristotelian philosophy, the notion of eudaimonic well-being refers to the subjective experiences related to the concept of eudaimonia; in which “*daimon*” indicates true nature or true self (Waterman, 2008). In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle proposed that developing human potential is the ultimate goal (Aristotle, fourth century BCE/ translated by Rowe & Broadie, 2002). This idea further inspired historical prominent thinkers like Stoics, who emphasised the value of self-discipline, and John Locke, who advocated the pursuit of happiness through prudence. From a philosophical point of view, eudaimonia accentuates the importance of leading a fully functioning life of virtue in pursuit of human excellence as well as meaning in life, self-realisation and personal growth. In simpler terms, the eudaimonic perspective posits that true happiness and greater subjective well-being are achieved while living in congruence with one’s daimon, having sense of meaning or purpose in life, doing what is inherently worthwhile and developing one’s potential (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Waterman, 2008; Henderson & Knight, 2012).

Focusing on the four key elements of eudaimonia, i.e. authenticity, meaning, excellence and growth, psychologists, for decades, have adopted a wide variety of constructs to assess eudaimonic well-being, for instance, self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968), personal expressiveness (Waterman, 1993), vitality (Ryan & Frederick, 1997), or psychological well-being (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). However, to date, eudaimonic well-being measures are rarely found in large, nationally representative surveys, except for the European Social Survey (ESS). Eudaimonic well-being was incorporated in the personal and social well-being modules of the ESS for the 2006 and 2012 survey years by assessing the general flourishing



(a combination of feeling good and functioning effectively) across Europe (Huppert, et al., 2009).

### **Affective well-being**

Affective well-being (AWB) denotes an individual's frequency and intensity of feelings and emotional states in real-time. This dimension of SWB captures people's general mood and immediate conditions as they experience life events rather than recollection of one's life as a whole later (Kahneman & Krueger, 2006). The affective component of SWB consists of both levels of positive emotional responses; for instance, joy and contentment, as well as levels of negative moods such as anger, worry and sadness (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999). These specific emotional responses are generally categorised into two affective states, i.e., positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA).

Affective well-being measures usually include asking respondents to rate the extent to which they experienced different affective states, both positive and negative, over a specified time frame (e.g. the past 7 days) or current mood (Diener, et al., 2010; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The most commonly used measure of AWB in empirical studies and longitudinal research is the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

Although some researchers assert that the structure of positive and negative affect represent a bipolar construct on the same spectrum of hedonic tone or valence of emotion (Green, Goldman, & Salovey, 1993), more rigorous empirical evidence suggest that they are in fact two independent but related constructs with differing levels of activation (Diener, Smith, & Fujita, 1995; Watson & Clark, 1997). In simpler terms, it is possible for an individual to display both high positive and high negative affect at the same time. For instance, one might feel positive affect in the form of happiness toward a friend who recently

got promoted, but simultaneously feel a certain extent of negative affect due to jealousy. Watson, Clerk and Tellegen (1988) describe individuals who report high positive affect as more likely to display enthusiasm, activeness and alertness whereas individuals who report low positive affect are more likely to display lethargy or lack of interest. On the contrary, subjective distress such as anger, disgust, guilt, anxiety and fearfulness are interpreted as high negative affect whereas a state of serenity and calm is described as low negative affect. However, it is important to note that positive and negative affect can be both states (transient real-time emotions) and traits (stable psychological attributes; Diener, et al., 1995). As AWB specifically focuses on the state of affect (OECD, 2013), hence in this thesis, the terms '*positive affect*' and '*negative affect*' refer only to affective states and not traits.

## **Migration**

### **Migration data**

In an increasingly interconnected world, international migration has become ever more evident in nearly all corners of the globe. Thanks to modern technologies and transportation in this new era, it has become more convenient, easier and faster for people to cross borders in search of better opportunities, job prospects, education and quality of life. Global migration may be an age-old phenomenon that spans back to the earliest periods of human history, but its manifestations and impacts have evolved over time as the world has become more globalised. It is increasingly important to discern the emerging trends, shifting demographics and fast-paced migration patterns related to social, economic and geopolitical transformation in order to make sense of the ever dynamic and interdependent world we live in today and plan for the future. When supported by effective, appropriate and constructive public policies, migration can bring about positive contributions to sustainable economic

progress, human prosperity and security in both home and host countries for the foreseeable future.

In 2019, the global estimate for international migrants in the world was 272 million (GMDAC, 2019). Overall, the estimated count of residents living in a foreign country other than their own birth countries has increased over time, both numerically and proportionally, and at a faster rate than previously forecasted. This total estimate of 272 million international migrants in 2019 was 119 million more than three decades ago (it was 153 million in 1990) and was three times the estimated number five decades ago (it was 84 million in 1970) (UN DESA, 2019). The international migrant stock has expanded over three folds as the world population approximately doubled in a span of fifty years from 3.7 billion people to 7.8 billion people today. According to the World Migration Report 2020, Europe and Asia collectively accommodated 61 per cent of the total global migrant stock – around 82 million and 84 million people respectively; followed by North America, with almost 59 million recorded international migrants (International Organisation for Migration, IOM, 2019). Europe experienced the second most remarkable increase from 2000 to 2019, with a boost of 25 million international migrants. With over 9.5 million foreign-born residents, the United Kingdom became the second largest destination country in Europe to host international migrants, after Germany (with an estimated 13 million foreign-born population) (IOM, 2019).

### **Migration statistics in the UK**

According to the latest release of migration statistics from the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2019), the total foreign-born population was 9.4 million and the estimated non-British population was 6.2 million in the UK, as of June 2019. Despite being one of the

EU8 countries<sup>1</sup> that joined the European Union during its enlargement in 2004, Polish remained as the most common non-British nationality in the UK since 2007. However, after 2015, the most recent statistics revealed that India has now taken over to be the most common non-UK country of birth among UK immigrants (ONS, 2019). The top five foreign countries of birth among UK immigrants were India, Poland, Pakistan, Romania and the Republic of Ireland. The vast majority of UK immigrants reside in the London region, in which the proportions of foreign born and non-British populations are 37 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively (ONS, 2019).

Large migration inflows occurred at different time points; for instance, the Irish-born were the largest historical migration group (before 1961) followed by Indian-born and Jamaican-born. More importantly, the Indian-born and Pakistani-born population almost doubled between 1961 and 1971 and the Bangladeshi-born population also multiplied between 1981 and 1991 (ONS, 2013). Another noticeable rise in subsequent arrivals to the UK (2001-2011) was the substantial influx of Polish-born migrants with almost a ten-fold increase from 58,000 to 579,000 following Poland's accession to the European Union in May 2004, thereby allowing free movement of Polish citizens to the UK. Similarly, significant peaks in year of arrival can be observed for residents born in other Central-Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania who arrived during that period following EU Accession between 2004 and 2009 (ONS, 2013). Unlike other countries in the EU, the UK (along with the Republic of Ireland and Sweden) did not impose strict restrictions on migration from the EU Accession, hence making this country an attractive and suitable destination for migration purpose since 2004. However, more transitional immigration rules were imposed on these countries, effective from January 2014 onwards (ONS, 2013).

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<sup>1</sup> EU8 countries consist of Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Since 2016, the net migration of European citizens to the UK has dropped considerably due to the gradual increase of emigration (moving out of the UK) rate and decrease of immigration (entering UK to settle permanently) rate over the same time period, possibly as a result of the Brexit vote in 2016. The percentage of immigration from other European countries took a plunge in recent years because the number of European citizens intending to look for labour market opportunities in the UK has decreased, especially those from the EU8 (ONS, 2019). On the contrary, non-EU net migration has been rising since 2013. Several data sources displayed increased numbers of immigrants originating from non-EU countries while the rate of emigration for this group remained stable in general (ONS, 2019; Home Office, 2019). The upsurge of immigration estimates from non-EU countries is mainly accounted for by international students who entered UK for formal study. Based on the latest statistics from the International Passenger Survey (IPS) and Home Office in September 2019, there was a 16 per cent increase of sponsored study (Tier 4) visas being granted for students to enter the UK to pursue education and this record (total of 276, 889 visas) reached its highest level since 2011 with 86 per cent of these study visas holders pursuing tertiary education at UK universities. Among these international (non-EU) students, Chinese and Indian nationals accounted for 43 per cent and 11 per cent respectively (Home Office, 2019).

### **Factors of migration**

There are various underlying complex reasons that motivate people to emigrate from birth countries and relocate to a foreign new place to seek for improvements for their life circumstances. While some of the goals are 'pull' factors such as socio-political stability, better job prospects, higher education attainment or pursuit of relationships, there are also negative causes which appear as 'push' factors such as fleeing from war and civil conflicts,

political persecution and poor human rights, economic crisis or escaping from famines. Lack of sustainable livelihoods forces people to leave their homes to seek a better future and survival for themselves and their families abroad. Based on the migration statistics reported in Census 2011, non-UK born population growth and distinct migration patterns are largely explained by specific historic events, civil conflict and political unrest since 1991 (ONS, 2013). The number of war victims who fled their home region to seek asylum and later became residents of England and Wales has multiplied manifold especially between 1991 and 2001, including the Albanian-born, Somali-born, Sri Lankan-born, Iranian-born and Croatian-born (ONS, 2013). The reign and subsequent downfall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan during the 1990s as well as the First and Second Gulf War (1991 and 2003) had caused the asylum statistics in the UK to escalate to a peak where applications from Afghan and Iraqi nationals reached a total of 59,100 in the last decade, exceeding the total from previous decades. As one of the most significant immigrant groups in the UK, approximately 71 per cent of the South-African born immigrants stated that they arrived in the UK before 2001 to escape the Apartheid era, causing the number to double from 64,000 in 1991 to 132,000 in 2001 (ONS, 2013). Following a daunting period of political controversy, ethnic discrimination and subsequent economic uncertainty, the numbers of Zimbabwean-born migrants seeking asylum in the UK skyrocketed by 136 per cent in the decade 1991-2001 and a further 151 per cent in the decade 2001-2011 (ONS, 2013). Subsequent economic decline and poverty due to the aftermath of political repression may have contributed to increased arrivals of migrants from Ghana, and Turkey during the 1990s (ONS, 2013).

However, factors that lead to immigration to the UK have changed over time. The first decade of the current century saw the largest percentage increase of arrivals in which half of all non-UK born residents in 2011 reported that they entered England and Wales during the period 2001-2011 (ONS, 2013). Instead of post war immigration flow, most of the

recent arrivals may have been in the interest of relatively more sophisticated labour market prospect as well as better education opportunities here in the UK. Significant peaks in arrivals of Spanish-born, Philippines-born and Nigerian-born migrants can be seen during the recent decade and these waves of migration were potentially fuelled by economic crisis and rapid population growth in respective home countries. The migratory pattern of Chinese-born residents witnessed its peak during the decade 2001-2011 whereby 76 per cent of residents claimed that they arrived during this period including 29 per cent who arrived within a single year of 2010 to 2011.

### **Migration and Subjective well-being**

#### **Effect of migration: from a social perspective**

Migration is a life-changing cultural transition that involves dealing with multiple challenges. Besides economic adjustment, immigrants and families often encounter with various difficulties and considerable stress while attempting to adjust to a new culture in the destination country. While some migrants may thrive in the host country over time, others may struggle with mental health distress and depression due to acculturative stress, i.e. unique stressors of immigration (for an extensive review, see Berry, 2006). Potential factors that contribute to acculturative stress are separation from family and friends back home, guilt over leaving the country of birth (Vohra & Adair, 2000), motivation and expectations about the new life prior to immigration, and experiences of discrimination and prejudice due to racist stereotypes and anti-immigrant attitudes or a combination of both (Rogers-Sirin, et al., 2014). Although attitudes towards immigration in the UK have slightly improved in the last decade especially since the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, research suggests that older generations of native residents in England and Wales are less accepting of immigrants than younger people because they are particularly opposed to the diversity brought about by

immigration, and the pressure increasing numbers of immigrants might impose on the local health services (Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Ivlevs & Veliziotis, 2015). Such migration-induced negative change in overall life satisfaction might provoke dissatisfaction among older people, leading to anti-immigrant attitudes and unhealthy racist stereotypes.

A growing corpus of studies indicates that perceived discrimination and cultural dissimilation encountered by immigrants in the destination country not only affect the mental health and overall well-being of immigrants (see Finch, et al., 2000; Taylor & Turner, 2002; Sellers, et al., 2003), but also exert detrimental impact on social security and the national economy (Martinez & Lee, 2000; Bauer et al., 2000). In terms of physical and mental health, several quantitative studies indicate that migrants residing in the UK demonstrate relatively poorer health outcomes compared to the native population, but outcomes do differ according to migrant categories, migration histories and length and living experience in the receiving society (Jayaweera, 2014; Rechel, et al., 2013). In particular, asylum seekers exhibited the worst health conditions due to the physical and mental aftermath of war in countries of origin, depression associated with migration and adaptation process in the receiving society, loss of social status and insecure legal immigration status (Raphaely & O'Moore, 2010). Adverse health outcomes reported by migrants are largely due to limited access to health care in the UK, due to inadequate information provision for recent migrants who are unfamiliar with the health care systems in the UK, language barriers and lack of support for people with minimal English proficiency, inconvenience of transportation system for migrants living in deprived areas and poverty, restrictions of entitlement to health care services particularly among vulnerable groups of undocumented children and pregnant women, as well as cultural insensitivity of front line health care staff (Jayaweera, 2014; Oliver, 2013; Phillimore, 2016; Johnson, 2006). When evaluating health status among women in the UK, migrant mothers



from minority ethnic groups tend to report poorer health and are more likely to feel depressed compared to white British/Irish mothers (Jayaweera & Quigley, 2010).

In addition, Rogers-Sirin, et al. (2014) discovered that ethnic identity plays a major role in level of acculturation among migrant youths in the United States such that higher level of ethnic identification to both cultures of origin and of the receiving society were associated with lower levels of depressive mental health symptoms. Empirical evidence from Lang et al. (1982) on quality of life and psychological well-being in a bicultural Latino sample in the US confirmed an inverted U-shape for psychological adjustment at the host community such that the least adjusted experimental subjects were either monocultural Latino or US mainstream whereas the most successful well-functioning individuals were bicultural /bilingual. A study by Bhugra and Ayonrinde (2004) found that migrants are vulnerable to personality disorders due, amongst other factors, to culture shock, social isolation, drastic weather changes and challenges in integrating in a new society. Furthermore, first-generation immigrants were found to be more vulnerable to mental health risks and depression due to acculturative stress compared to second or subsequent generations (Rogers-Sirin, et al., 2014).

In most cases, people make a conscious decision to migrate to a new place of residence as a means of achieving lasting improvement in SWB with specific expectation of improved living environment and better quality of life. However, the discrepancy between the actual experience at the new country and their recollections of expectation about a new life at the time of moving may be imperative, causing discouragement and decreased satisfaction with life (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). A survey based in the USA revealed that a majority of immigrants resided in impoverished or less prosperous urban neighbourhood, and the accumulation of acculturative stress alongside with economic stress incite potential mental health risks and ill overall well-being for urban immigrants (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Rogers-Sirin, et al., 2014). Salient findings from past

research also suggest that immigrants evaluate their post-migration life satisfaction based on intra- and interpersonal comparisons of own life accomplishments against relevant others; such as personal achievements the immigrants could have attained back home in retrospect, achievements of their peers with similar qualifications back home, overall performance of the native community and other same ethnic immigrants as themselves, as well as personal aspirations and what they believed they deserved (Vohra & Adair, 2000; Diener & Lucas, 2000). The comparison of oneself to similar peers may be part of a survival strategy in the adopted culture and provide motivation to strive for better fulfilment in life to account for the sacrifice one made for leaving his/her birth country.

### **Migration and subjective well-being**

The concept of SWB, quality of life and human development have gained importance in social sciences literature over the past decade in recognition that classic economic measures are inadequate to capture and explain many important dimensions of life. Objective measures of well-being, such as the gross domestic product (GDP) or personal incomes only provide a partial view of well-being in a society (Stiglitz, Sen & Fitoussi, 2009) whereas subjective measures of well-being further capture personal judgements on important preferred domains of life and allow individuals to evaluate well-being themselves. Therefore, for the past decade, subjective well-being measures have been recognised as imperative policy tools (Dolan & White, 2007; Dolan, Layard & Metcalfe, 2011) and have been widely endorsed by national governments to complement conventional assessments of societal progress such as GDP (e.g., in the UK: Hicks et al., 2013; O'Donnell & Oswald, 2015).

Traditional migration studies have been shaped by standard neoclassical microeconomic theory based on the premise that people seek to maximise their utility. In this view, a decision to migrate is mainly driven by cost-benefit calculations with an expected net

monetary gain at the individual level or for the family as a whole (van Ham, 2001; Chiswick, 2008). While the majority of the national migration studies focuses almost exclusively on the labour market outcomes and economic performance of migrants, the implications of migration on personal well-being are rarely explored. Positive labour market outcomes do not necessarily relate to overall quality of life of migrants in the host countries, especially in the context of illusory expectations that money brings happiness (Kahneman, et al., 2006) or the possibility that they may have mispredicted their post-migration utility. Reality at the host country is often vastly different than what was previously expected and unfortunate cases of unemployment may thus bring psychological hardship and be detrimental to the SWB, perhaps especially for male immigrants (Clark, 2003; Lucas, et al., 2004; Leopold, Leopold & Lechner, 2017). In order to survive on foreign soils, immigrants with limited skills sets and talents often accept low-skilled but high-risk jobs that may expose them to health hazards and thus lead to declining satisfaction with health and decreased job satisfaction. Economically driven migration may also imply a sacrifice of former social relationships and can be interrelated with personal events which may not be neutral for long-term SWB (Nowok, et al., 2013); for example, the risk of growing apart with one's family at home in pursuit of better career prospects at the new destination. Lack of family support and lack of social embeddedness in the long run may pose a threat to overall SWB.

Based on temporal construal theory (Liberian & Trope, 1998), people often use high-level construal or desirability considerations when making decisions or predicting abstract events in the distant future and therefore may be more likely to exaggerate the contribution of a single domain of their post-migration lives (income, in particular) to overall SWB. The contrast between anticipated gains in happiness and post-migration reality might influence personal SWB. From a behavioural economic perspective, people systematically mispredict the affective quality of experiences thereby neglecting the common phenomenon

of adaptation (Wilson & Gilbert, 2003). When attention is heavily focused on the possibility of a change in any significant aspect of life during the decision making process, the anticipated change on well-being is likely to be exaggerated. Such phenomenon is termed as the *focusing illusion* (Schkade & Kahneman, 1998). A focusing illusion would lead people to exaggerate their hedonic impact of migration while underestimating the consequences of other potential factors such as unemployment once moved across border. One of the famous study in well-being literature found little difference in self-reported life satisfaction between paraplegics and normal control subjects, on one hand, as well as between lottery winners and control subjects, on the other (Brickman, Coates, & Janoff-Bulman, 1978). However, a neutral judge who tries to imagine the life of a paraplegic or of a lottery winner may succumb to focusing illusion and naturally fixate on the special circumstances of these cases or even overemphasise the implication of these circumstances on the subject (Schkade & Kahneman, 1998). Similarly, focusing illusion is likely to happen when people make decision to migrate to another country in which they overestimate their post-migration benefit and life satisfaction at the new destination country.

The research evidence of no significant difference in life satisfaction among these three groups (i.e. paraplegics, lottery winners and control subjects) also implied that, to a substantial extent, people do adapt to their new circumstances and environments. Similarly, once migrants are exposed to the new country over a period of time and adaptation kicks in, they often (perhaps mostly) shift the attention to other matters. According to prospect theory, reference dependence implies that people evaluate outcomes relative to a reference point when making decisions involving risk and uncertainty (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). In anticipating well-being consequences, migrants tend to only focus on aspects of their lives that will be changed positively by the experience but do not take into account that their reference point will shift once they are settled in the destination country. These affective

forecasting errors may lead immigrants to mispredict their post-migration satisfaction and migration decisions may therefore not necessarily maximise utility.

Hence, it is important to incorporate subjective judgements of satisfaction from migrants' perspectives, rather than to solely rely on monetary outcomes of migration to more adequately assess the benefits and drawbacks of migration in the short and long run (Kahneman, Wakker & Sarin, 1997). In light of increased mobility between countries, it becomes vital to assess post-migration well-being. Improved insights into the main factors determining migrants' SWB could help governments to support migrants to become productive citizens who will adapt well and contribute to their host society for the sake of societal functioning and progress.

### **Aim of this thesis**

The range of literature comprised in this chapter demonstrates the potential theoretical heterogeneity when trying to comprehend the experience of immigrants integrating into host countries and the extent to which these post-migration experience may influence immigrants' subjective well-being in general. Migration can contribute to a domino effect of outcomes – from individuals to households, communities and ultimately, countries. A detailed investigation of immigrants' well being is relevant as it can have a cumulative impact on the economic health and national security of the country of destination, and thus should be an important policy agenda on the international level.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to assess how immigrants in the United Kingdom and in Europe fare in terms of subjective well-being as well as to explore associations between immigrants' SWB and a range of potential determinants including standard socioeconomic indicators, spousal characteristics, basic human values, migrant-specific factors such as migrant generations and years spent in the host country, host country

characteristics such as public attitudes and tolerance towards immigrants, and last but not least, multiculturalism ideology and acculturation strategies adopted by immigrants in their effort to integrate into the host country. The overarching research questions (RQ) below frame the work in this thesis.

**RQ1:** To what extent and under what circumstances is immigrants' subjective well-being affected by their migration experience in Europe?

This research question recognises that the migration experience is potentially a dominant determinant of immigrants' SWB, but it is not the sole determinant. Factors that are known to affect SWB, such as health, economic and employment status will be important for the SWB of both natives and migrants.

The thesis will further investigate the related research questions below:

**RQ2:** To what extent does the SWB of first-generation immigrants differ from that of second-generation immigrants and native residents?

**RQ3:** Do immigrants adapt to immigration over time in terms of subjective well-being?

**RQ4:** Which individual psychological attributes are associated with the subjective well-being of immigrants?

### **Contributions and applications**

The growing body of evidence on migration demonstrates that migration indeed plays a key role in broader global economic progress and social-cultural transformations that are affecting high-priority public policy issues and governmental decision on the national level.

As the processes of globalisation deepen, it becomes increasingly urgent for policymakers to formulate an effective, proportionate and constructive policy agenda related to migration. In order to optimise post-migration benefits and minimise negative repercussions, the first important step is to understand how immigrants fare after moving across borders and to investigate the underlying key factors that affect their overall SWB.

This thesis aims to contribute to the growing literature on migration in several ways. Firstly, I examine not only micro-level individual characteristics of immigrants, but also macro-level host country attitudes and migration-specific factors simultaneously and investigate their associations with migrants' SWB. Secondly, while other migration research focused solely on either acculturation strategies or multicultural identification (e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002), I explore the possible associations between multiculturalism, acculturation and SWB. Thirdly, this thesis encompasses two large, nationally representative quantitative surveys, i.e. the European Social Survey (ESS) and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) to investigate the long-term consequences of migration in the United Kingdom as well as in other European countries. Last but not least, in order to sufficiently capture a more comprehensive picture of immigrants' well-being patterns in the UK, I conduct an online survey which includes measures that pre-existing surveys lack and address all three constructs of SWB simultaneously, i.e. life satisfaction, affective well-being and eudaimonic well-being among immigrants.

### **Structure of the thesis**

This thesis will explore the abovementioned research questions through quantitative research in the following chapters:

In Chapter 2, I will incorporate more extensive literature on SWB and migration. Specifically, I will focus on micro-level individual factors and macro-level host country

attitudes and their associations with immigrants' subjective well-being using the European Social Survey data from 2002 to 2016. I will then conduct multilevel regression analyses to explore how these factors are related to SWB and to compare the life satisfaction of first-generation immigrants with that of natives and second-generation immigrants in the top ten immigrant-receiving countries in the Northern and Western Europe. This analysis is related to the first and second general research questions of the thesis, as it will investigate whether SWB levels vary across migrant generations and also examine the cross-national differences in life satisfaction levels.

In Chapter 3, I will focus on the changes in immigrants' life satisfaction over time in the UK since their time of arrival using panel data from British Household Panel Survey (BHPS; 1991-2008) and UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS, 2009-2013). I will specifically include recent migration statistics in the UK and literature focusing on determinants of immigrants' SWB. This chapter will explicitly relate to the third general research question of the thesis because the nature of longitudinal data allows for inspection of SWB trajectories of immigrants over time. Aside from comparing levels of life satisfaction between the British natives and immigrants, I will also explore the relationship between life satisfaction and cultural similarity among immigrants based on their country of origin. I will then employ mixed effects regressions method to analyse the associations between life satisfaction and socioeconomic predictors as well as migration-specific factors. Key variables in this chapter will include cultural background, spousal characteristics, migrant generation, English language proficiency and presence of school-age children in the household.

In Chapter 4, I will investigate the SWB differences of immigrants and ethnic minority groups in the UK as compared to the white ethnic majority and British natives. This chapter will contribute to the final general research question of the thesis by incorporating two key psychological components of migration: multiculturalism and acculturation. I will



introduce literature describing the importance of multiculturalism and acculturation in the UK as well as foreign countries, and how they may be associated with SWB of both natives and immigrants in host country. Notwithstanding previous chapters which will only include life satisfaction as the dependent variable, this chapter will address four independent measures of SWB simultaneously, i.e., life satisfaction, flourishing score, positive affect and negative affect. Using ordered probit regression method, I will examine the associations between different SWB measures and numerous key factors of this chapter, i.e., strength of ethnic and national identities, acculturation orientations and expectations, as well as support for multiculturalism.

Chapter 5 will present a summary of the findings of each chapter and discuss practical and theoretical implications of the results. In addition, I will also consider the limitations of the work and propose suggestions for future research.

Table 1.1 presents a brief description of the input and output of each chapter of this thesis which includes information about the dataset used and the results or implications derived from each chapter. Furthermore, the table displays the research hypotheses tested and the statistical approach employed in each chapter. As for the introduction and general discussion of this thesis, the table features topics covered in both sections and concluding remarks from each descriptive chapter.

### **Chapter summary**

This chapter presented the definitions of SWB that will be assumed in this thesis, identified all three constructs of SWB, reviewed the consequences of migration from a social perspective and discussed the interplay between migration and SWB with the support of extensive background literature. In addition, this chapter provided an overview of global migration trends and migration statistics in the UK over recent decades and identified the

underlying factors that trigger people to move across borders. In the next chapter, I will review the trajectories of life satisfaction of immigrants across European countries and across migrant generations based on the nationally representative panel survey, i.e. the European Social Survey (ESS). I will first empirically analyse potential determinants of immigrants' overall life satisfaction in their host countries while accounting for micro-level individual characteristics as well as macro-level national characteristics of host countries such as attitudes and tolerance towards immigration. Nevertheless, the subsequent chapter also attempts to capture the variability in overall life satisfaction of immigrants from different migrant generations explained by Schwartz's human values.

**Table 1.1:** Overview of Thesis Chapters

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Data / Input</b>	<b>Hypotheses</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Results / Output</b>
<p><b>Chapter 1:</b> Introduction and literature review</p>	<p>Explores the literature pertaining to:</p> <p>SWB: - definitions - life evaluation - eudaimonic well-being - affective well-being</p> <p>Migration: - global migration data - migration statistics in UK - factors of migration</p> <p>Migration and SWB: - effect of migration - relationship between migration and SWB</p>		Literature review	<p>Extensive literature review on SWB and its predictors, immigration phenomenon in the UK and around the globe and how immigration may affect SWB</p> <p>General research questions: - To what extent and under what circumstances is immigrants' subjective well-being affected by their migration experience? - To what extent does the SWB of first-generation immigrants differ from that of second-generation immigrants and native residents? - Do immigrants adapt to immigration over time in terms of subjective well-being? - Which individual psychological attributes are associated with the subjective well-being of immigrants?</p>
<p><b>Chapter 2:</b> Subjective well-being across Europe: Associations with host country attitudes and Schwartz's human values</p>	<p>- European Social Survey - Eight waves - Period: 2002 – 2016 - 10 Northern and Western European countries - <math>N = 144,026</math></p>	<p><b>H1:</b> Immigrants will report lower levels of life satisfaction than the natives. <b>H2:</b> Migration-specific factors such as years spent in host countries and migrant generation will influence immigrants' overall life satisfaction. <b>H3:</b> Schwartz's basic human values will be significantly associated with life satisfaction. <b>H4:</b> The association between life satisfaction and Schwartz's human values differs</p>	<p>Mixed effects regression analyses: - random intercept model with fixed slope - random intercept model with first-generation immigrants as random slope</p>	<p>This chapter fully confirms hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 but only partially confirms hypothesis 4</p>

		between migrant generations.		
<p><b>Chapter 3:</b> The relationship between cultural background, migration-related circumstances and subjective well-being in the United Kingdom: A longitudinal analysis</p>	<p>- British Household Panel Survey + United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Survey - 23 waves - Period: 1991 – 2013 - <math>N = 486,793</math></p>	<p><b>H1.</b> Immigrants from cultural backgrounds that are very different to the culture in the UK will report lower life satisfaction than natives. <b>H2.</b> Years spent in the UK since migration will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants. <b>H3.</b> SWB will differ between migrant generations: Second-generation immigrants will report lower SWB than natives but higher SWB than first-generation migrants. <b>H4.</b> Speaking English as a first language will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants. <b>H5.</b> Spousal cultural background will be a predictor of immigrants' overall life satisfaction. <b>H6.</b> Having school-age children in the household will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants.</p>	<p>Mixed effects regression analyses: - native versus immigrant sample - immigrant sample only - immigrant sample with spouses</p>	<p>The results of this chapter fully confirm hypothesis 3, partially confirm hypotheses 1, 2 and 5, but do not provide evidence for hypotheses 4 and 6.</p>
<p><b>Chapter 4:</b> The subjective well-being of immigrants in the United Kingdom: Associations with multiculturalism and acculturation</p>	<p>- Primary data collection - <math>N = 434</math> respondents - 176 British natives; 258 immigrants - 305 white respondents; 129 non-white respondents</p>	<p><b>H1:</b> There are SWB differences between people of a white or Caucasian ethnic background and people of non-white ethnic origins. <b>H2:</b> There are SWB differences between immigrant generations. First-generation immigrants report, on average, lower levels of SWB for all four measures - life satisfaction, flourishing, positive affect and negative affect - compared to second-generation immigrants and British natives. <b>H3:</b> Among non-white participants, both</p>	<p>Pearson's correlation  Ordered probit regression analyses: - all respondents - white respondents only - non-white respondents only</p>	<p>The results of this study fully confirm hypotheses 1, 4 and 5, and partially confirm hypotheses 2, 3 and 6.</p>

		<p>constructs of the MEIM - Ethnic identity achievement and Belonging – are positively associated with all four measures of SWB.</p> <p><b>H4:</b> There are significant associations between SWB measures and the BMIS score: respondents who favour multiculturalism report, on average, higher levels of subjective well-being.</p> <p><b>H5:</b> Among non-white ethnic minorities or immigrants, respondents who adopt an <i>Integration</i> strategy as their acculturation strategy report higher levels of SWB compared to those who opt for a <i>Marginalisation</i> strategy.</p> <p><b>H6:</b> Among white respondents, those who adopt <i>Multiculturalism</i> as an acculturation expectation strategy report higher levels of SWB compared to those who select the <i>Exclusion</i> strategy.</p>		
<b>Chapter 5:</b> General discussion	Literature from chapters 1 to 4 Results from chapters 2 to 4		Review and discussion	Practical and theoretical applications, limitations and suggestions for future work

## **CHAPTER 2**

**Subjective well-being across Europe:**

**Associations with host country**

**attitudes and Schwartz's human**

**values**

## Introduction

Over the last few decades, international immigration continues to be one of the major concerns in most parts of the world. Increasing proportions of European populations nowadays are of immigrant origin which has triggered political debates highlighting the distributional consequences of immigration on natives. Moreover, host governments need to consider social policies that emphasise the long-term well-being outcomes of immigrants in host countries. While most academic research across different social science disciplines is traditionally focused on investigating immigrants' quality of life based on objective indicators such as educational attainment or labour market positioning; in recent years, much scholarly attention has been drawn towards exploring how immigrants fare in terms of happiness and contentment with their lives compared to the natives in the society of residence. A growing corpus of research now focuses on how public perceptions and attitudes towards immigration can influence immigrants' subjective well-being (Lyons, et al., 2010; Markaki, 2012; Markaki & Longhi, 2013), as well as the factors attributed to the assimilation process in explaining immigrants' well-being in the host country, such as the role of social embeddedness (Arpino & de Valk, 2018), or perceived discrimination (Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013).

Several cross-sectional empirical studies provide an overview of the effects of migration on subjective well-being (SWB hereinafter), for instance, migration is associated with melancholy and unhappiness possibly due to acculturative stress during the adaptation process in a new country (Berry, et al., 1987; Berry, 2001). Regional evidence found that the life satisfaction of immigrants in Israel is conditional on their countries of origin (Amit & Litwin, 2010). As individual-level comparisons are hardly sufficient to fully explain cross-country variation, the current chapter intends to further investigate immigrants' SWB across Europe based on their subjective evaluation of their lives and compare immigrants of

different generations to the native populations in the receiving countries. This study contributes to the existing literature by presenting a comprehensive perspective of well-being among migrants in a number of European countries by including micro-level individual characteristics of migrants and standard well-being indicators, macro-level host country attitudes as well as human core values based on Schwartz's Human Values Scale (Schwartz, 1992).

### **Subjective well-being and migration**

Several decades of cross-sectional and longitudinal research studies have shed light on the importance of studying the subjective well-being outcomes of migration amidst growing consensus that income and national economic growth are insufficient to explain the true socio-economic and political impacts of this migration phenomenon. For example, Easterlin (1974) found that positive economic growth of a country, measured by gross domestic product, does not necessarily correlate with self-reported levels of happiness among citizens. Besides economic adjustment, immigrants and their families often encounter difficulties and considerable stress while attempting to adjust to a new culture in the destination countries.

Previous studies of life satisfaction among immigrant groups generally reveal lower levels of subjective well-being compared to the natives in the host countries (e.g., Bălăţescu, 2005; Safi, 2010; Kirmanoğlu & Başlevent, 2014) due to both migration specific factors as well as contextual host country characteristics. Several studies focused on regional variation in life satisfaction, including Israel (Amit, 2010) and Germany (Obucina, 2013; Angelini, et al., 2014). Several studies concluded that differences in SWB levels among immigrants are attributable to their country of origin (e.g., Bălăţescu, 2007). Amit and Litwin (2010) evaluated the integration of immigrants aged 50 and above in Israel and revealed that ethnic



difference, to some extent, affects well-being outcomes. Among all immigrant groups, those from the former Soviet Union reported the lowest quality of life whereas immigrants from Western Europe and the Americas reported highest relative quality of life. In addition, older Israeli migrants from the former Soviet Union and Asia were more inclined to depressive symptoms in comparison to other immigrant groups of the same age (Amit & Litwin, 2010).

The rapid spread and growth of international migration suggests that migration is presumably an effective strategy to improve material well-being and one's life situation, and most migrants thus make conscious decisions to move across borders in order to achieve better overall quality of life (Hanson, 2010; Stillman, Gibson, McKenzie, & Rohorua, 2015). However, contradictory findings with regards to the long-lasting impacts of migration on life satisfaction suggest that not all migrants report higher levels of SWB post migration.

Hendriks's (2015) review of numerous cross-sectional studies identified four studies which revealed positive significant associations between migration and SWB, three studies with opposite results such that migrants reported relatively lower levels of SWB compared to stayers who remained in the country of origin; whereas three other studies found no significant differences in SWB between migrants and stayers.

In an attempt to better capture social integration and address the subjective well-being variation among immigrants of different generations across Europe, the current study seeks to explore the determinants of immigrants' SWB beyond basic demographic variables by including micro-level variables such as individual characteristics and human values of migrants as well as macro-level host country attitudes in order to better capture the social integration of European immigrants in terms of SWB across migrant generations.

*Micro-level individual characteristics of immigrants*

Findings from psychological, sociological and economic research have provided important insights into a broad range of factors that influence an individual's SWB, including sociodemographic characteristics such as income, education, health, age and marital status; as well as individual attributes such as personality factors (e.g., Diener, 1998; Diener, Lucas, Oishi, & Suh, 2002; Diener, Oishi & Lucas, 2003; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2005; Easterlin, 2006; Clark, Frijters, & Shields, 2008). Contributing factors to higher life satisfaction are better health status, quality of work and relationships, freedom of choice and political participation as well as higher levels of trust in one's society. Building on early literature on SWB that identified various key determinants of overall quality of life, Safi (2008; 2010) highlighted the association between immigrants' well-being in particular during the assimilation process and perceived discrimination in host societies. Perceived discrimination and cultural dissimilation encountered by the immigrants in the destination country not only affect the mental health and overall well-being of immigrants (Finch, et al., 2000; Taylor & Turner, 2002; Sellers, et al., 2003), but also exert detrimental impact on social security and the national economy (Martinez & Lee, 2000; Bauer, et al., 2000). A German study suggested that the life satisfaction gap between native Germans and immigrants is associated with the degree of immigrants' cultural assimilation, i.e., the extent to which they identify with the host country (Angelini, et al., 2014). Similar evidence was also previously reported in the Netherlands where Moroccan immigrants exhibited higher levels of well-being than immigrants of Turkish origin due to disparate levels of identification with the Netherlands (Gokdemir & Dumludag, 2012).

In terms of migration-specific aspects, previous studies however present ambiguous evidence concerning years since migration and inter-generational effects on life satisfaction although the assimilation paradigm (Abramson, 1994; Alba & Nee, 2003) assumes that

immigrants adjust and show greater similarities in norms, values and behaviours with the majority groups over time. On one hand, some studies find that the life satisfaction of migrants is positively associated with their duration of stay abroad (Erlinghagen, 2011; Bartram, 2013) while other studies suggest that this does not occur. European immigrants not only report significantly poorer life satisfaction than natives, this gap does not diminish over time or across immigrant generations (Safi, 2010; Bălăţescu, 2005; Kirmanoğlu & Başlevent, 2014). Interestingly, Safi (2010) also discovered that the second generation of immigrant origin is less satisfied with life than the first generation despite the fact that they were born and raised in the host societies.

Another recent study using UK nationally representative data on immigrants' SWB, ethnicity and generational variation pointed out that, in fact, recent migrants appear to have higher levels of well-being than established migrants and the native population (Dorsett, et al., 2015). Furthermore, first-generation immigrants were found to be more vulnerable to mental health risks and depression due to acculturative stress as compared to second or subsequent generations (Rogers-Sirin, et al., 2014).

#### *Macro-level host country attitudes*

The importance of incorporating national-level attitudes in understanding differences in immigrants' life satisfaction has been stressed in several empirical studies (e.g., Bartram, 2010; 2011 and Hendriks, 2015). Safi (2010) found significant national-level differences in life satisfaction among European migrants, with migrants moving to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland being exceptionally satisfied with life, whereas individuals who migrated to Portugal, Germany, France and Spain reported lower life satisfaction compared to immigrants in other European countries. Such significant variation in SWB across countries has attracted scholarly attention to the importance of the attitudes of each host

country in shaping the level of SWB among immigrants. For instance, SWB differences between immigrants and charter populations are, to a great extent, determined by immigrants' hierarchical social status and employment opportunities (Kozcan, 2013), mobility barriers obstructing direct descendants of immigrants from social advancement (Safi, 2010), the level of social tolerance which influences immigrants' perceived discrimination (Safi, 2010), and the extent to which immigrants' cultural heritage is homogenous to the mainstream culture and values of the host countries (Senik, 2014; Voicu & Vasile, 2014). While most of the previous literature focuses on explaining variation in SWB among migrants on an individual socio-economic level in each country, the present study seeks to extend this standard framework by including national traits of host societies such as attitudes towards immigration, perceived level of social trust in the society as well as the public perceptions of the costs and benefits of migration.

Based on psychological theories like the 'need to belong' theory (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), which depicts the notion that humans have a fundamental innate motivation to establish social networks and humans are in fact, evolutionary justified, social beings. Social networks are essentially relationships established among family, friends, colleagues at work, residents in the same neighbourhood, etc. and these interrelations yield a sense of security and togetherness (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). Therefore, social trust is often regarded as the benchmark of social capital (van Oorschot & Arts, 2005) as it manifests generalised reciprocity and deemed as an essential prerequisite of social cohesion. Cross-sectional and longitudinal results output reported in Glatz and Eder (2019) implicate that social trust does not only cultivate higher subjective well-being on the individual level (see also Bartolini, et al., 2013; Helliwell & Huang, 2011), but also on the aggregate country level (see also Bjørnskov, 2008), further implying that a socially trusting society is a happy society.

Utilising the European Social Survey (ESS) data consisting of 36 European countries across eight time-points between 2002 and 2016, Glatz and Eder (2019) presented robust evidence of significant relationship between social trust and subjective well-being; in accordance to previous studies conducted across multiple continents, e.g., North America (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004), Europe (Portela, et al., 2013; Puntscher, et al. 2015), and other parts of the world (Calvo, et al., 2012; Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). More specifically in this study, social trust was measured using three items in the ESS questionnaire relating to whether people in general are trustworthy, fair and helpful. Additional main axis factory analysis and confirmatory factor analysis for every ESS round revealed that these three items that essentially capture social trust form one factor with high factor loadings of at least 0.61, further verifying that these three items are in fact sufficiently measuring social trust (Glatz & Eder, 2019).

Positive association between social trust and subjective well-being on the individual cross-sectional level suggests that such positive effect is in fact independent from country heterogeneity and indicates that social trust is a comprehensive fundamental prerequisite in cultivating social cohesion in modern societies (Glatz & Eder, 2019). On the other hand, positive effect of aggregate level of social trust on individual subjective well-being implies that living in a trusting environment plays an important role in promoting personal SWB (Glatz & Eder, 2019). Furthermore, longitudinal analysis of the impact of social trust on SWB across countries and time demonstrated evidence of positive relation between the change in social capital and the change in SWB over time in the US (Bjørnskov, 2008), in Western European countries (Bartolini & Sarracino, 2014), in China (Bartolini & Sarracino, 2015) and all over the world (Helliwell, et al., 2018; Mikucka, et al., 2017), thus indicating that increasing aggregate social trust leads to an increase in societal and national SWB.

At the host country level, legal regulations and immigration policies comprising of level of support, rights and freedom granted to the immigrant population are deemed to have a direct impact on immigrants' objective living conditions and socio-cultural integration in the host country (Hadjar & Backes, 2013). More importantly, the attitudes expressed by the native-born population are fundamental in shaping immigrants' perceptions of social approval and thus have a significant effect on their level of life satisfaction. (Reitz, 2002; Kogan, Shen & Siegert, 2018). The more accommodating the native-born population is, the more likely it is that immigrants feel welcome and experience a smoother cultural assimilation process and consequently, live more satisfying lives in the host country (Kogan, Shen & Siegert, 2018).

Cross-sectional studies typically observe differences in attitudes towards immigration across various countries, but there is little evidence to conclude if attitudes, held by natives in host societies significantly affect the long-term life satisfaction of immigrants. Previous research demonstrated that Nordic countries (i.e., Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland) tend to exhibit relatively favourable attitudes towards immigration whereas some eastern European countries appear to be more negative about immigration (Sides, et al., 2007; Semyonov, et al., 2008). According to recent results based on European Social Survey (ESS) data, there was a moderate positive shift between 2002 and 2014 in levels of support towards migrants of the same race or ethnic origin as well as migrants from poorer countries in Europe. On the contrary, public attitudes towards migrants from poorer countries outside Europe were less tolerant and more polarised. The percentage of the European public who are convinced that migrants from poorer countries outside Europe should not be permitted to cross the border has increased from 11% to 20% over a decade. This observation is especially conspicuous in western European countries with a large annual influx of migrants, such as Austria, Finland, Spain, Sweden and the UK (Kogan, et al., 2018).

To extend the existing literature, the current study combines both individual-level characteristics and host country traits, such as perceived trust, fairness and support in the host society and degree of acceptance of immigrants exhibited by the majority society members to gain a better understanding of the differences in life satisfaction between immigrants and the native-born population. One of the contributions of the present chapter is to consider both micro and macro-level factors and to determine to what extent the variation in life satisfaction among migrants is attributable to the attitudes towards immigration expressed by the majority population of European host countries. Contrary to previous studies, this chapter will consider attitudes in the form of Schwartz's basic human values (Schwartz, 1992).

### **Theory of basic human values**

Philosophers and social psychologists have long acknowledged the pivotal role of values in understanding attitudes and human behaviour (e.g. Kluckhohn, 1951; Allport, et al., 1960; Williams, 1968) as values are core and dominant constructs that guide, justify and make sense of social norms, attitudes, judgments and actions in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992; Feldman, 2003). In terms of cultural value dimensions, the traditional cross-cultural literature focused on individualism versus collectivism (Triandis, et al., 1988; Schwartz, 1994). The former emphasises individual goals, autonomy and personal rights whereas the latter highlights the importance of group goals, collective aims and personal relationships. In general, geographic clusters of individualism are mostly located in Anglo-Saxon countries, Germanic Europe and Nordic Europe whereas geographic clusters for collectivism are found in Latin America, Arab countries, Confucian Asia, Southern Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

On a cross-cultural level, most migration studies explain immigrants' life satisfaction in terms of levels of individualism versus collectivism orientation that exists in the host societies. According to these studies, these cultural mechanisms help distinguish and interpret

shifts in well-being levels among migrants during the assimilation process (Inglehart, 1997; Hofstede, et al., 2010). In highly individualist nations such as the U.S. and Western/Northern Europe, individuals' rights and personal freedom are highly sought after in addition to family values and in-group commitment (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). People who reside in more collectivist cultural environments such as East Asia and Central/South America, on the other hand, hold dear to family togetherness and significant in-group goals and demands, exceeding the importance of individual's own thoughts and desires (Suh & Oishi, 2002).

In terms of cultural variation in happiness standards, individualistic cultural members tend to appreciate and respect each individual's unique, self-accustomed standard for happiness (Suh & Oishi, 2002), which may therefore result in a positive bias towards reporting higher levels of life satisfaction. In collectivist cultures, on the other hand, personal happiness is usually determined by the kind of accomplishment acknowledged by the society instead of by each individual (Suh & Oishi, 2002). For instance, many Asian teenagers believe that the only achievement worthy of happiness is to successfully gain admission to a top university. Due to such socially established requirements and limited personal freedom in choice of happiness standards, collectivists may find it more challenging to sustain their happiness than individualists (Diener, et al. 1995). In line with this distinguishing interpretation, one could expect that the integration process of immigrants originating from more collectivistic societies who migrate to more individualistic countries (or vice versa) may be more complicated and challenging than for those who originate from an individualistic society; this in turn could lead to differential effects of the migration experience on their overall life satisfaction.

Schwartz (1992) proposed a theory of basic human values which includes ten distinct values which represent different latent motivational goals based on three universal conditions of human existence, i.e., biological needs, need for harmonised social interaction, and



survival and welfare needs for group functioning. For instance, *conformity* values derive from the requisites of social interaction and of group survival. In order to achieve harmony in human interaction within groups, individuals must follow rules and refrain from impulsive actions that might harm others (Schwartz, 1992). The ten human value constructs of Schwartz's (1992) theory include *security, self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, tradition, conformity, universalism, benevolence, power* and *achievement* values. Schwartz further emphasised the schematic structure of the values such that actions in pursuit of any value may cause psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict and/or be congruent with other values. For instance, pursuing achievement values may counter the practice of benevolence values but they are in accordance with power values. The conflicts and congruity among all ten basic values are yielded from two orthogonal dimensions. The first dimension – openness to change versus conservation – opposes values affirming independent thought and action and approving change and new experiences (*self direction* and *stimulation* values) to values emphasising order, self-restriction and protection of stability (*security, conformity* and *tradition* values). The second dimension - self-transcendence versus self-enhancement - contrasts values involving concern for the welfare and acceptance of others as equals (*universalism* and *benevolence* values) to values that concern pursuing one's own relative success, self-interest and dominance over others (*power* and *achievement* values).

Numerous studies have incorporated these measures of human values in different samples across nations (Fontaine & Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz, 1992; 1994; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995) and these analyses contributed substantial support for the content and structure postulates of the theory. Since this human value scale demonstrates equivalence in meaning and value interpretation cross-culturally, researchers can legitimately assess the association of value priorities and other variables across countries (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) and

investigate whether patterns of value priorities and attitudes (e.g., political preference, left-right political orientation, views on topics such as religion and abortion) can be generalised across countries (Schwartz, 2005; 2006; 2007a).

Understanding value priorities is crucial not only on an individual level, but also allows us to systematically investigate cross-cultural and national comparisons in attitudes and public policy (Schwartz, 2006). Prior research focusing on the role of personal values demonstrated significance in affecting attitudes towards immigration and immigrants (Schwartz, 2007b; Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010). Using European Social Survey (ESS) data collected from fifteen West European countries, Schwartz (2007b) revealed that *universalism* values significantly predict willingness to accept immigrants of a different race/ethnic group or from poorer European and non-European countries. *Universalism* values generally emphasise acceptance, appreciation, and concern for the welfare of all others. In contrast with the dimension of openness to change (i.e., *self-direction* and *stimulation* values), which were found positively correlated with acceptance of immigrants, the conservation values (i.e., *security*, *conformity*, and *tradition* values) demonstrated otherwise (Schwartz, 2007b). The results indicated that emphasis on protecting personal and social security, concerns about maintaining the status quo and preserving traditions are significant in predicting oppositional attitudes towards immigration.

Following Schwartz's (2007b) study, Davidov, et al. (2008) also utilised ESS data to compare the effects of two higher order values from the Schwartz theory – self-transcendence (i.e. *benevolence* and *universalism* values) and conservation values in predicting two aspects of attitudes towards immigration - immigrants' qualification which respondents deemed important (e.g., education level, language proficiency and skills) and willingness to accept immigrants. Across 19 European countries, results revealed that, in general, respondents who placed higher priority for self-transcendence values and lower priority for conservation

values tended to demand less stringent qualifications from immigrants and were more willing to welcome immigrants into their native country. While the *security* value was treated as a single construct in initial studies of personal values (Schwartz, 1992), another research further specified using confirmatory factor analysis of data from 27 countries and suggested that this value combines two components – personal and group (collective) security (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). The former *security* value hinges on individual interests and concerns safety of the self whereas the latter *security* value serves large collective interests and concerns social stability and harmonious interrelations on societal and national level. Parallel to the findings reported by Schwartz (2007b) and Davidov, et al. (2008), cross-cultural comparison of Schwartz's ten human values across Spain, Italy and Germany also highlighted the significance of *universalism* and *security* values in affecting general perceptions of immigration (Vecchione, et al., 2012). While *universalism* values had strong positive effect in Italy and Germany and an even stronger effect in Spain, both subtypes of *security* values (i.e. personal and group) were negatively associated with attitudes towards immigration across all three countries; in particular, group *security* values characterised the more critical basis of these negative perceptions (Vecchione, et al., 2012).

Although both *universalism* and *security* values feature how people, by and large, relate socially with others, they present contrasting motivations (Schwartz, 1992). The concept of *universalism* value can be construed as focusing on the welfare of others, transcending concern for and anxiety about self; whereas *security* value focuses on avoiding anxiety due to uncertainty and unpredictability (Schwartz, 2009). Pertaining to immigration context, the trade-off between these two values serves as a psychological basis for establishing positive or negative perceptions on the consequences of immigration. For instance, people who place high priority on *security* value are more likely to anticipate higher crime rates due to intergroup conflicts and perceive labour market competition and

undermining of shared cultural values and practices as unhealthy repercussion of immigration. This particular group of people are often engaged in protecting the status quo and regulating anxiety that they have fewer psychological resources available to identify potential positive outcomes of immigration (Schwartz, 2009).

Taking into consideration both personal values and well-being in the immigration context, Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) summarised three types of motivation to migrate: preservation, self-development and materialism. Preservation was found to be positively associated with conservation values (*security, conformity* and *tradition*), but negatively associated with openness to change (*self-direction* and *stimulation*) and well-being. The second motivation – self-development presented reversed pattern. Materialism, on the other hand was found positively associated with self-enhancement (*power* and *achievement*) and negatively to self-transcendence (*universalism* and *benevolence*). Findings from Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) indicated that motivation to migrate that is based on conservation or self-enhancement values, it is likely to undermine well-being because those intrinsic goals are either difficult to achieve in the host society, or incongruent with the new environment post migration. Some immigration researchers argued that *universalism* and *benevolence* values were artificial in the face of social inequity perceived by many European immigrants when facing immigration-related threats and stressors; thus would not be associated as strongly with SWB as in the native population (Bobowik, et al., 2010). Meanwhile, a meta-analysis Spanish study based on multiple samples of students, native Spaniards and immigrants from South America, Eastern Europe and Africa revealed that *conformity* and *achievement* values were not related to satisfaction with life (Bilbao, et al., 2007).

Evidence from the scarce existing studies on the life satisfaction of immigrants suggests that there is little clarity on whether or not immigrants over time behave more similar to natives in terms of norms and values. While prior studies consistently dealt with

personal values as predictors of attitudes towards immigration, they did not explore the combined effect of both factors - human values and perception towards immigration on the life satisfaction of immigrants. To date, no previous study has taken this dimension into account for immigrant populations, to the best of my knowledge. Hence, the current study will incorporate the Schwartz human value scales that are included in the ESS to explore subjective well-being differences and changes among immigrants in Europe.

### **Overview of the current study**

In light of the literature reviewed above, the aim of the present chapter is to analyse differences in life satisfaction between native-born respondents and first and later-generation immigrants in a number of European countries. In particular, the following hypotheses will be tested:

**H1:** Immigrants will report lower levels of life satisfaction than natives.

**H2:** Migration-specific factors such as years spent in host countries and migrant generation will influence immigrants' overall life satisfaction.

**H3:** Schwartz's basic human values will be significantly associated with life satisfaction.

**H4:** The association between life satisfaction and Schwartz's human values differs between migrant generations.

The study first examines known covariates of immigrants' overall life satisfaction in their host countries accounting for micro-level individual characteristics such as standard socio-economic variables as well as migration specific factors such as the duration of stay and migrant generation (e.g., first or second generation migrants). In a second step, macro-level national traits of host countries such as attitudes and tolerance towards immigration, and the extent of support in host countries will be included in the analysis. Last but not least, the current research incorporates interaction terms between migrant generation and Schwartz's human values in order to test whether the association between life satisfaction and Schwartz's human values differs between different migrant generations.

## Methods

### Data

The analysis is based on data from the first eight waves of the European Social Survey (ESS, 2002-2016), i.e. a biennial cross-national comparative household survey implemented since 2002 which includes measures on public attitudes, beliefs and behavioural patterns from nationally representative samples from over 30 European nations. The sample spans all survey years from 2002 to 2016, and includes data from the top ten Northern and Western European countries with the highest permanent inflow of immigrants in proportion to the total population for the past decade. The sample is restricted to these ten countries as a number of countries that are included in the ESS see considerably more emigration and immigration and the proportion of immigrants in these country samples is therefore fairly low.

Table 2.1 presents the total number of valid observations for each of the ten included countries over eight waves, the rounds in which the country took part in the ESS survey and the proportion of first-generation immigrants to the total population in each of these countries. These proportions roughly reflect the latest trend updates in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development migration database (OECD, 2018).

**Table 2.1:** Top 10 Immigrant-Receiving Countries in Western and Northern Europe

Country	Observations	ESS round	% of First-gen immigrants
Luxembourg	3,187	1 2	28.7
Switzerland	13,860	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	20.3
Sweden	14,390	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	10.6
United Kingdom	17,626	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9.4
Ireland	18,256	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9.4
Belgium	14,343	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9.3
Germany	23,342	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	8.0
France	15,051	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	7.9
Norway	13,248	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	7.6
Austria	10,723	1 2 3 7 8	7.4

In the ESS data, there are four different inputs for the country of birth variable across all eight waves. I then merged them into one single variable and categorised them according to continents and geographical locations, i.e. Western and Northern Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East, Africa, South Asia, East Asia, Caribbean and South America, Mediterranean and last but not least, Historical British Colonies. Table 2.2 presents the number of first generation immigrants from the ten included countries (in Table 2.1) that originated from each birth country group.

**Table 2.2:** List of Birth Country Groups among First-Generation Immigrants

<b>Country group</b>	<b>Number of first-gen immigrants</b>
Western and Northern Europe	5,033
Central and Eastern Europe	3,720
Africa	1,604
Middle East	852
South Asia	657
East Asia	476
Caribbean	408
Historical British Colonies	219
Mediterranean	61

Further investigation into the overall immigrant profiles across ten countries revealed that most of the first-generation immigrants from all ten countries were originated from Western and Northern Europe except for Germany, Austria, France and Great Britain. First-generation immigrants residing in Germany and Austria largely originated from Central and Eastern Europe (60% and 64%, respectively) whereas most of the first-generation immigrants residing in France were born in Africa (48%), followed by Western and Northern Europe (30%). Large proportions of the first-generation immigrants residing in Great Britain were born in South Asia (26%), Africa (22%), and Western and Northern Europe (19%).



## Measures

### *Life satisfaction*

Subjective well-being, the dependent variable in this analysis, is assessed using a measure of overall life satisfaction, which is asked in all waves of the ESS allowing for full comparability across waves. In the ESS, this variable is assessed by a standard question: *All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?* with responses ranging on a 11-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). Although, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, subjective well-being consists of multiple components such as hedonic and eudaimonic well-being, and multiple indicators may allow a better representations of SWB and yield more reliable results (Kahneman & Kruger, 2006), SWB measures are not included in all rounds of the ESS (Arpino & de Valk, 2018). Life satisfaction captures individual evaluations of overall life circumstances and therefore belongs to the cognitive part of an individual's long-term well-being and is less influenced by immediate conditions and temporary emotions than other measures (Bartram, 2015).

### *Micro-level individual characteristics of immigrants*

In addition to standard socio-economic indicators, the main independent variables include migration-related covariates, attitudes towards immigration and Schwartz's ten basic human values (described further below). The migration-specific characteristics in this analysis consist of the duration of stay in the host country and migrant generation.

**Duration of residence in the host country.** Earlier waves of ESS collected data on length of residence in the country by asking respondents this: *How long ago (in years) did you first come to live in (this country)?* Five response categories were provided, i.e. (1)

within last year, (2) 1-5 years ago, (3) 6-10 years ago, (4) 11-20 years ago and (5) more than 20 years ago. However, this variable was only available from waves 1 to 4. In subsequent waves 5-8, this information was recorded using a different variable in which the respondents were required to directly state the year of arrival at this country. Using the survey year and the year of arrival, the length of residence in host country is harmonised across the ESS rounds to match the original categorical variable. The natives in a host country were added into this categorical variable as the reference category to allow for comparisons between natives and migrants.

**Migrant generation.** In addition, I classified immigrants into different migrant generations based on dichotomous responses of whether the individual and both of their parents were born in the country of residence or not, resulting in three groups: first generation (Gen 1.0; immigrants who were born outside the country), second generation (Gen 2.0; children of two foreign-born parents) and two-and-a-half generation (Gen 2.5; children of only one immigrant parent and one native-born parent).

First- and second-generation immigrants are commonly distinguished by country of birth; the former group refers to all foreign-born persons, regardless of age at arrival at host country, whereas the latter group technically refers to native-born and native-socialised children of foreign-born parents. Under this rubric, immigration scholars often imprecisely combine together foreign-born individuals who immigrated as children as well as native-born individuals with only one native-born parent and one other foreign-born parent (Rumbaut, 2002). While the measurement of the size and composition of the first and second-generation immigrants have yet been uniformly and specifically defined in the immigration literature, differences in nativity among second generations (one or two foreign-born parents) and age at arrival among first-generation immigrants are, amongst others, key factors that contribute to

acculturation (here, acculturation merely refers to newcomers' adoption of the host culture) of adults and children in immigrant families, especially with regard to language and identity (Rumbaut, 2002). In order to address this issue, the concept of "half-second" generation was introduced and widely endorsed in immigration literature especially in the United States to describe people who were born in the US but only one of their parents were born abroad (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Schwartz, et al., 2012).

**Other control variables.** At the individual level, demographic and socio-economic characteristics such as gender, age and its quadratic term, job status, marital status, education level and income satisfaction predicted life satisfaction in past literature (see Hooghe & Vanhoutte, 2011, for a brief review), and thus are included in the present analysis. The measure in the questionnaire that best represents job status is respondents' main activity for the past seven days prior to taking the survey. This variable consists of eight categories; i.e., paid work / employed as baseline category, unemployed, student, permanently sick or disabled, retired, community or military services, housework or childcare at home, and others. However, variables for marital status and education level in the data were rather inconsistent in which the response categories for marital status varied across waves and the question structure for education level was different in waves 5 to 8 as compared to the first four waves. Careful calibration was carried out by combining multiple variables into one to ensure coherence and comparability across time points. For a more universal understanding when interpreting the results, each of the response categories for education variable in the survey, i.e., ISCED 0-1, ISCED 2, ISCED 3, ISCED 4, and ISCED 5-6, were translated into text, i.e., less than lower secondary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, post secondary non-tertiary education, and tertiary education.

Income comfortability, on the other hand, is represented by the variable “feelings about household’s income nowadays”. Respondents were asked: “*Which of the descriptions comes closest to how you feel about your household’s income nowadays?*” with answer categories ranging from (1) living comfortably on present income, (2) coping on present income, (3) finding it difficult on present income, and (4) finding it very difficult on present income. The measure was then reverse-coded so that a higher value denotes higher satisfaction of one’s household income situation. Last but not least, I also included the subjective general health factor as one of the control variables in this analysis. In the ESS survey, respondents were required to rate their health in general on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) very good to (5) very bad. The measure was also reverse-coded to represent increasing positive intensity. Both income comfortability and general health variables were treated as continuous variables in the regression analyses.

#### *Host country attitudes*

On the macro-level, the integration regime of a host country towards its immigrant population is assessed using two indicators, i.e. attitudes towards immigration and level of trust, fairness and help in general among people residing in the country. In order to measure host country attitudes at the country level instead of individual level, I first generate an index capturing attitudes of the native-born population towards the immigrant population and migration as a whole, by summing up the average values of each respondent’s scores on the following 9 items within the ESS. Attitudes towards immigration are operationalised using six questions; three of which assess the extent to which one would, on a scale from 1 to 4, (1) allow many/few immigrants of same race or ethnic group, (2) allow many/few immigrants of different race or ethnic group. (3) allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside European Union to enter the country. Another three questions evaluate perceived economic

threat, cultural threat and overall threat posed by the migrants upon entering the country in which respondents were asked, on a scale from 1 to 11 to criticise whether (4) immigration is bad or good for the country's economy, (5) country's cultural life is enriched or undermined by immigrants, and (6) immigrants make the country a better or worse place to live in. The remaining three questions evaluate the level of trust, fairness and help exhibited by the society members in general in which respondents were required to rate on a scale from 1 to 11 whether (7) most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful, (8) most people try to take advantage of you or try to be fair, and (9) most of the time people are helpful or mostly looking out for themselves. An indicator for the abovementioned host country attitudes is generated for each wave of the ESS data.

**Table 2.3:** Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes in Host Countries

<b>Host Country Attitudes</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Median</b>
Trust	144,026	6.40	0.66	5.36	7.89	6.28
Fair	144,026	7.12	0.44	6.55	8.12	6.94
Help	144,026	6.45	0.58	5.47	8.12	6.57
Allow immigrants of same race or ethnic group as majority	144,026	2.87	0.24	2.44	3.38	2.86
Allow immigrants of different race or ethnic group from majority	144,026	2.61	0.25	2.23	3.34	2.56
Allow immigrants from poorer countries outside EU	144,026	2.56	0.26	2.16	3.24	2.55
Immigration benefits economy	144,026	6.06	0.61	5.07	7.70	6.04
Immigrants enrich country's culture	144,026	6.63	0.67	5.33	8.21	6.71
Immigrants make country a better place	144,026	5.94	0.59	5.06	7.56	5.83

### *Schwartz's basic human values*

An important part of the analysis comprises an exploration of the value priorities as part of the value system among natives versus immigrants and across migrant generations. The way values affect cognition, behaviour and essentially well-being of a person is worth investigating because these values could change considerably following major transition in

life. Due to space limitations, only ten items were included in the ESS human values scale primarily derived from the 40-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), which was previously developed by Schwartz and colleagues (2001) and Schwartz (2005). Although there are only ten items, the current set of individual-level distinct values in the ESS is sensibly comprehensive of major motivationally driven values across cultural groups and nations (Schwartz, 1992; 2004).

In order to incorporate the entire content of all 10 different values, verbal portraits of 21 people were created and gender-matched with the respondent; with two portraits for each value except for *universalism*. Each statement of the portrait depicts a personal goal or aspirations that implicitly refer to the importance of a certain value. For example: “*She believes that people should do what they’re told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching*” infers that a person holds dear to conformity values. On a Likert scale of 1 to 6 ranging from “very much like me” to “not like me at all”, the respondents rate their similarity to people mentioned implicitly in each item of a particular value. Human values scores were computed by first obtaining the mean score over all 21 items. Then, I obtained the centred score for each value by subtracting the overall mean score from the mean of the two items for each value (except *universalism* – this value has three items). As the human values scores are not reverse-coded in present analysis, higher score of a certain value depicts less importance of that value to an individual. Table 2.4 presents an overview of the Schwartz’s basic human values that are included in the ESS.

**Table 2.4:** Schwartz's Basic Human Values and Definitions of Motivational Types of Values in the European Social Survey (ESS)

Value	Definition
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms
Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self

*Note.* Reprinted from "A proposal for measuring value orientations across nations," by S. H. Schwartz, 2003, ESS Core Questionnaire Development, pp.267-268. Copyright 2003 by European Social Survey.

## Data analysis

Using R statistical software (R Core Team, 2020), I first carried out descriptive analyses, followed by multi-level analyses based on mixed effects regression models for nested country data. Following instructions provided by Schwartz on the correct use of the Schwartz human values scores, only 8 human values should be included in the regression models instead of 10, in order to avoid multicollinearity<sup>2</sup> (Schwartz, n.d.). Previous literature demonstrated no association between self-transcendence values and subjective well-being (Bobowik, et al., 2011). Instead of excluding the entire value dimension involving concern for the welfare of others, I opted to exclude only one value from this dimension – *universalism* alongside one other value, i.e. *conformity* (as suggested in Bilbao, et al., 2007) from current analysis a priori due to its lack of relevance to the current topic.

<sup>2</sup> The instructions for computing scores for the 10 human values and using them in regression analyses are available on the European Social Survey website at: [https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/ESS\\_computing\\_human\\_values\\_scale.pdf](https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/ESS_computing_human_values_scale.pdf)

As the basic data structure of the ESS is a repeated cross-sectional design and respondents are nested within countries, a linear mixed effects regression model (also known as a multilevel model or hierarchical linear model) is chosen as the statistical method in this analysis. This model incorporates the hierarchical nature of the ESS data by allowing for residual components at each level in the hierarchy. Mixed effects regression models incorporate both variation that is explained by predictor variables of interest from multiple levels and specification of correlation among responses from the same clusters or groups<sup>3</sup>. In this model, the intercept and slopes can be entered as either fixed (i.e., they have the same value across all groups) or random (they are allowed to vary; i.e., they are difference in each group). In the present analysis, all the explanatory variables such as gender, job status, education level, marital status, etc. as well as interaction terms between immigrant generations and each of Schwartz's human values are entered as fixed in the regression model; whereas the random effects represent the variability among responses across 10 European countries.

In the first step of fitting a linear mixed effects regression model for the ESS data where observations in the same country are related, I first combined the variance components model and single level regression model to obtain a random intercept model. In the following models,  $i$  denotes the individual whereas  $j$  denotes the country.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Variance components model: } Y_{ij} &= \beta_0 + u_j + e_{ij} \\ u_j &\sim N(0, \sigma_u^2) \\ e_{ij} &\sim N(0, \sigma_e^2) \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Single level regression model: } Y_i &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 * X_i + e_i \\ e_i &\sim N(0, \sigma^2) \end{aligned}$$

When combined, the random intercept model can be expressed in a single equation:

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<sup>3</sup> The following statistical explanations are largely based on that text retrieved from an online lecture presentation slides entitled "*Lecture 1: Introduction to Multi-level Models*", available at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health website: <http://www.biostat.jhsph.edu/~fdominic/teaching/bio656/lectures/1.intro.pdf>



$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * X_{ij} + u_j + e_{ij} \quad \begin{array}{l} e_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2_e) \\ u_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2_u) \end{array}$$

$Y$  denotes life satisfaction whereas  $X$  represents one of the independent variables, for example, age.  $X_i$  denotes the age of individual  $i$  whereas  $X_{ij}$  denotes the age of individual  $i$  in country  $j$ . Other predictor variables can be entered into the equation as  $X_2$ ,  $X_3$  and so forth. As I mentioned above, the random intercept model consists of two parts, the estimated parameters for the fixed part are the intercept ( $\beta_0$ ) and the coefficients of the predictor variables ( $\beta_1$ ) times the predictor variables; whereas the parameters for the random part ( $u_j + e_{ij}$ ) are the variances  $\sigma^2_u$  and  $\sigma^2_e$ . The intercept for the overall regression line is  $\beta_0$  whereas the intercept for each group (here: country) line is  $\beta_0 + u_j$ . In the present analysis, this random intercept model assumes that all the group lines have a fixed slope parallel to the slope of the overall regression line. In other words, in every country, the effect of the explanatory variables on the dependent variable (i.e., life satisfaction) is the same but countries start at a different intercept. In order to examine if there is another model that better fits the data, I also introduced a random slope for the migrant generation variable in an alternative model to examine the variability across countries. A different slope for each group line allows the association between the explanatory variable and the dependent variable to be different for each country.

Using R statistical software (R Core Team, 2020), I conducted an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test to determine whether entering the slope for migrant generation as random improves model fit. A significant  $p$ -value from the ANOVA output showed that the random slope model provides indeed a better fit for the data. Therefore, the subsequent statistical analysis was carried out using a random intercept, random slope model.

## Results

### Descriptive analysis

Table 2.5 reports the descriptive statistics for all independent demographic variables by native and immigrant generation samples across ten Northern and Western European countries. Immigrants are, on average, younger than natives as the percentage of the oldest age category (> 70 years) is notably lower among immigrants. In addition, compared to natives, most immigrants of the first generation are currently married or previously married, in particular, with a markedly low percentage of singles among this immigrant group. This suggests the possibility that intermarriage across borders could be one of the main initial pathways for foreigners to enter host countries. As compared to the other three sample groups, immigrants of the second generations report a higher percentage of being single due to the fact that they are mostly comprised of younger adults, especially in the age category of below 40 years old. Despite acquiring higher levels of education, first-generation immigrants in host countries suffer from higher rates of unemployment. Across ten European countries in this study, only 28.6 per cent of the total native population completed tertiary education and only 4.3 per cent were unemployed. Comparatively, first-generation immigrant population reported higher percentage of tertiary education achievers (35.4% of total Gen 1.0 population) but this migrant group also recorded almost twice the percentage for unemployment (7.9%; see table 2.5). Relatedly, although the employment rate is slightly higher among immigrants, most of them report lower income comfortability, i.e., they find it difficult to sustain their current standard of living in the host country based on their present income. In addition, average life satisfaction scores across the ten European countries included in this study can be found in Figure 2.1.

**Table 2.5:** Descriptive Statistics for Native and Immigrant Samples in Study 1

Control variables	Natives	Gen 1.0	Gen 2.0	Gen 2.5
<i>N</i>	113,689	14,449	3,895	8,438
<i>Job status (%)</i>				
Employed	51.0	54.7	53.3	53.2
Student	7.8	7.4	16.8	12.5
Unemployed	4.3	7.9	7.8	5.5
Disabled	2.8	3.0	2.3	3.1
Retired	24.4	14.0	11.0	15.7
Community or military service	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2
Housework	8.4	11.3	6.2	8.0
Others	1.2	1.7	2.4	1.8
<i>Partnership status (%)</i>				
Married	50.6	59.0	39.3	42.6
Separated	1.4	1.8	1.4	1.6
Divorced	8.9	9.7	7.9	10.3
Widowed	8.3	5.0	3.6	5.4
Single	30.8	24.5	47.9	40.0
<i>Highest education (%)</i>				
< Lower secondary	11.8	13.8	8.5	8.2
Lower secondary	16.8	15.5	20.2	16.8
Upper secondary	38.3	30.8	42.2	40.3
Post secondary	4.4	4.5	4.3	4.3
Tertiary	28.6	35.4	24.8	30.4
<i>Feelings about present household income (%)</i>				
Living comfortably	42.7	32.6	35.3	42.5
Coping on	43.8	43.0	44.4	41.9
Difficult	10.6	18.8	16.6	11.8
Very difficult	2.9	5.5	3.7	3.8
<i>Gender (%)</i>				
Female	51.6	52.1	50.4	52.2
<i>Age (%)</i>				
≤ 25 years	12.1	9.4	27.5	17.5
>25 to ≤ 40 years	23.5	37.1	32.4	27.9
>40 to ≤ 55 years	28.0	29.7	23.7	28.8
>55 to ≤ 70 years	25.5	17.9	12.1	19.9
> 70 years	10.8	5.9	4.3	5.9

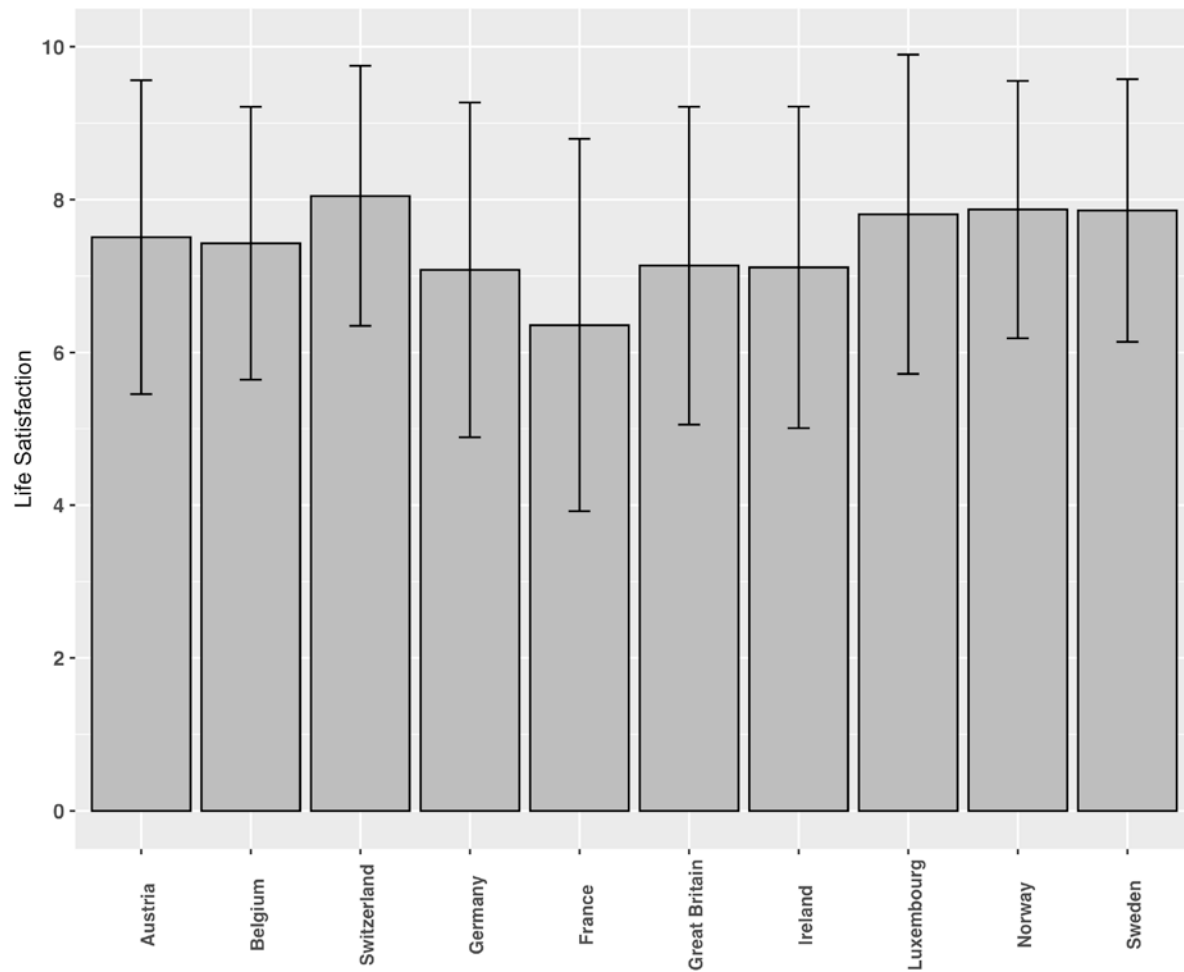
**Figure 2.1:** Bar Chart of Average Life Satisfaction Across Ten European Countries

Table 2.6 presents the average life satisfaction scores for natives and immigrants across generations. The life satisfaction scores in Table 2.6 are least square means<sup>4</sup> that are adjusted beforehand for survey wave and country of residence to minimise confounding effects when comparing across immigrant generations. Although the gaps between life satisfaction scores across the different immigrant generations and natives are small in magnitude, the differences are found to be statistically significant. At the 95% confidence level, individuals with a migration background exhibit significantly lower levels of life satisfaction than natives. This evidence is in line with previous findings reported in the SWB literature (Safi, 2010). It is evident that first generation immigrants report the lowest average level of life satisfaction, whereas second generation immigrants report slightly higher levels

<sup>4</sup> The scores are averaged over the levels of: country.

of life satisfaction than their immigrant parents, especially those with only one immigrant parent. This suggests that the second generation of immigrants tends to better culturally and socially assimilate into the host societies thus achieving higher SWB than their parents. From an immigrant perspective, assimilation into the host societies and SWB often go hand-in-hand. Previous psychology and sociology researches have demonstrated strong positive association between cultural assimilation with immigrants' SWB and mental health, even after controlling for labour market outcomes (e.g., employment status and wages) and time-invariant individual characteristics (Angelini, et al., 2014; Safi, 2010; Taylor & Turner, 2002; Sellers, et al., 2003). Furthermore, based on data from ten waves of the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), Angelini, et al. (2014) indicated that the direct association between assimilation into the host country and life satisfaction is stronger for established immigrants and second-generation immigrants than for recent ones, thus suggesting important policy implications in which successful immigration policies must take into account underlying issue of cultural assimilation.

**Table 2.6:** Adjusted Average Life Satisfaction Across Native and Immigrant Generations

Immigrant generation	Life Satisfaction	
	Mean	SE
Natives	7.48	0.01
Generation 1.0	7.19	0.02
Generation 2.0	7.22	0.03
Generation 2.5	7.37	0.02

The next section proceeds to offer explanations for these differences in self-reported life satisfaction while considering that these experiences might differ across host countries. Multilevel regression models are run to estimate the well-being of natives and immigrants while taking into account three sets of covariates: individual-level demographic and socio-economic factors, host country attitudes including migration-related variables as well as

Schwartz's human values. The initial multilevel regression models include random intercepts and fixed slopes. In subsequent models, the slopes for first generation immigrants were inserted as random in order to test for significant cross-country variability. I conducted ANOVA tests to compare model fit in order to determine if entering slopes as random improves the model fit, suggesting variability across clusters, i.e. countries.

### **Regression analyses**

Estimates from the multilevel regression models in Table 2.7 reveal important differences across migrant generations controlling for a wide variety of covariates specified previously. The associations between life satisfaction and the above control variables seem to be consistent with previous SWB literature on determinants of life satisfaction. In terms of current economic activities, full-time students, retirees, and housewives or househusbands report significantly higher levels of life satisfaction as compared to the employed. People who are unemployed and sick or disabled individuals exhibit lower levels of life satisfaction than individuals who are in employment. As expected, income comfortability is positively associated with life satisfaction such that individuals who are living more financially comfortably are more satisfied with life than those who find it very difficult to sustain their living standards based on their present income. However, education level is negative associated with life satisfaction such that individuals who complete higher level of education (except for post-secondary, non-tertiary level) exhibited lower life satisfaction level than those who achieve less than lower secondary education. Married people are also significantly more satisfied with their lives than other individuals of different marital statuses. A U-shaped relationship is found between age and life satisfaction with a minimum of approximately 46 years of age.

In the second model (see Table 2.7), migration-related factors are added to the initial regression analysis. As opposed to the initial hypothesis, only second-generation immigrants with two foreign-born parents in the household reported significantly lower life satisfaction level than the native population whereas first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants with one native-born parent and one immigrant parent were just as satisfied with life as the natives in the host country. On the other hand, the duration of stay in the host country is negative associated with life satisfaction. Immigrants who have spent more than a year in the host country were found to be less satisfied with life than the native population. Due to multicollinearity issue between the age variable and the variable of years spent in host country, the latter variable became rank deficient when being fitted into the regression and hence the last category of >20 years was automatically eliminated from the regression model.

In addition to micro-level individual control variables, Model 3 introduces macro-level host country social indicators to the analysis. These national social indicators encompass country-specific attitudes such as the extent to which the residents and citizens of a specific country agree or disagree on social concerns (i.e. residents' overall public impression whether people in general are trustworthy, fair and helpful), and immigration concerns (i.e. opinions on types of immigrants based on their race, ethnic group, or countries of origins as well as public perceptions of whether immigration has brought upon economic benefits, cultural enrichment and overall advancement to the host country).

The national averages of attitudes of the native population on several public and immigration concerns are positively associated with life satisfaction among all residents. In other words, a society comprising of residents who are considered to be trustworthy and helpful is crucial in determining one's life satisfaction as a whole. Minimal economic threat stemming from immigration is significantly related to SWB on a national level. An interesting observation to note from Model 3 (Table 2.7) involves the level of acceptance of

different types of immigrants. Life satisfaction tends to be higher among residents who are more accepting of immigrants of the same race / ethnic group as the majority to enter the host country but less accepting of immigrants whose race or ethnicity are different from the majority in the host society. Surprisingly, people who emphasise the importance of fairness in a society exhibited lower life satisfaction levels.

**Table 2.7:** Life Satisfaction of Immigrants and Natives in Europe (ESS data 2002-2016) – Estimation Using Random Intercept Models with Fixed Slopes

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b><u>Current economic activity</u></b>			
<i>(Reference: Employed)</i>			
Student	0.080*** (0.023)	0.075*** (0.024)	0.080*** (0.024)
Unemployed	-0.766*** (0.024)	-0.761*** (0.024)	-0.738*** (0.024)
Sick or Disabled	-0.292*** (0.032)	-0.299*** (0.032)	-0.300*** (0.032)
Retired	0.139*** (0.021)	0.134*** (0.021)	0.141*** (0.021)
Community or military service	0.126 (0.137)	0.104 (0.138)	0.119 (0.138)
Housework	0.130*** (0.019)	0.134*** (0.019)	0.134*** (0.019)
Others	-0.045 (0.044)	-0.045 (0.044)	-0.043 (0.044)
<b><u>Partnership status</u></b>			
<i>(Reference: Married)</i>			
Separated	-0.708*** (0.040)	-0.709*** (0.041)	-0.704*** (0.041)
Divorced	-0.399*** (0.018)	-0.402*** (0.018)	-0.401*** (0.018)
Widowed	-0.456*** (0.023)	-0.457*** (0.024)	-0.455*** (0.024)
Never married	-0.352*** (0.014)	-0.357*** (0.015)	-0.356*** (0.015)
<b><u>Education level</u></b>			
<i>(Reference: Less than lower secondary)</i>			
Lower secondary	-0.039* (0.021)	-0.044** (0.021)	-0.036* (0.021)
Upper secondary	-0.059*** (0.019)	-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.053*** (0.019)
Post secondary	-0.013 (0.029)	-0.017 (0.029)	0.016 (0.029)
Tertiary	-0.072*** (0.020)	-0.075*** (0.020)	-0.066*** (0.020)
<b><u>Other control variables</u></b>			
Female	0.107*** (0.010)	0.105*** (0.010)	0.104*** (0.010)
Age	-0.044*** (0.002)	-0.045*** (0.002)	-0.044*** (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.001*** (0.00002)	0.001*** (0.00002)	0.001*** (0.00002)
Health	0.568*** (0.006)	0.570*** (0.006)	0.571*** (0.006)
Feelings about household income	0.713*** (0.007)	0.707*** (0.007)	0.695*** (0.007)
Survey year	0.012*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.003 (0.002)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>			
<i>(Reference: Natives)</i>			



Gen 1.0		0.029 (0.025)	0.025 (0.025)
Gen 2.0		-0.125*** (0.031)	-0.128*** (0.031)
Gen 2.5		-0.025 (0.021)	-0.030 (0.021)
<b><u>Years spent in host country</u></b>			
<i>(Reference: Natives)</i>			
≤ 1 year		0.025 (0.114)	0.041 (0.114)
>1 to ≤ 5 years		-0.150*** (0.045)	-0.136*** (0.045)
>5 to ≤ 10 years		-0.128*** (0.046)	-0.107** (0.046)
>10 to ≤ 20 years		-0.132*** (0.040)	-0.126*** (0.040)
<b><u>Host country attitudes</u></b>			
Trust			0.144*** (0.053)
Fair			-0.236*** (0.079)
Help			0.155*** (0.045)
Allow immigrants of same race or ethnic group as majority			0.675*** (0.125)
Allow immigrants of different race or ethnic group from majority			-0.306* (0.172)
Allow immigrants from poorer countries outside EU			-0.206 (0.127)
Immigration benefits economy			0.174*** (0.028)
Immigrants enrich country's culture			0.016 (0.051)
Immigrants make country a better place			0.001 (0.060)
Constant		-20.759*** (2.216)	-21.778*** (2.249)
Observations	130,465	127,077	127,077
Log Likelihood	-259,755.900	-252,735.200	-252,541.200
Akaike Inf. Crit.	519,559.800	505,532.300	505,162.300
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	519,794.500	505,834.700	505,552.400

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. Regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

In the next step of the analysis, I speculated that there are cross-national differences in the life satisfaction specifically for first generation immigrants who left their birth countries to move across borders during certain points of their lives. I focused on this particular group in order to examine the variation in well-being levels following such a major life change relative to their descendants as well as the native-born population in the host countries. To achieve this, I included a random slope in the existing regression model for first generation immigrants while preserving all previous covariates (Model 4, Table 2.8). A subsequent ANOVA test showed that model fit is significantly improved when this random slope is

introduced into the present multilevel model ( $\chi^2 = 32.55, p < 0.001$ ). Entering a slope as random in the model allows each migrant generation to have a different slope, thereby allowing the relationships between life satisfaction and the explanatory variables to be different across migrant generations. This model shows significant results concerning cross-country variability in levels of life satisfaction among first generation immigrants in ten Northern and Western European countries. Although most of these immigrants migrated from other European nations of somewhat similar cultural backgrounds, their levels of life satisfaction in the host countries differ. Across the ten main countries included in the present study, the mean life satisfaction of residents in France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland were below the overall average whereas residents in Norway, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Luxembourg reported better than average life satisfaction levels (see Table 2.9.A in Chapter appendix section). A further investigation of first-generation immigrants across these ten countries reveals that, on top of the abovementioned four countries, first-generation immigrants in Austria and Belgium also reported lower life satisfaction scores than the overall mean life satisfaction (see Table 2.9.A in Chapter appendix section).

Furthermore, I included a list of Schwartz's human values scales in the existing multilevel model (see Table 2.8, Model 4) in order to test associations between human values and subjective well-being. As the human values scores are not reverse-coded thus suggesting inverse association, significant negative coefficients for certain values imply that people who are more satisfied with life are usually more inclined to practise kindness and goodwill (*benevolence*), actively seek pleasure and self indulgence (*hedonism*), and are driven by self-motivation and independent thinking (*self-direction*). Another unanticipated yet thought-provoking finding reveals that life satisfaction is negatively associated with self-enhancement values (*achievement* and *power*) as well as *stimulation* and *security* values. This suggests that people who report higher level of overall life satisfaction are less prone to describe

themselves as someone who is successful and highly competent, and of high social status and power. Similarly, people who constantly search for new challenges and novelty in life and people who place high priorities on safety of the self and social stability are associated with lower life satisfaction levels.

**Table 2.8:** Life Satisfaction of Immigrants and Natives in Europe (ESS data 2002-2016) – Estimation Using Random Intercept Model with One Random Slope and Interaction Models

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>	
	Model 4	Model 5
<b><u>Current economic activity</u></b>		
<i>(Reference: Employed)</i>		
Student	0.079*** (0.025)	0.078*** (0.025)
Unemployed	-0.755*** (0.025)	-0.756*** (0.025)
Sick or Disabled	-0.300*** (0.033)	-0.300*** (0.033)
Retired	0.128*** (0.022)	0.129*** (0.022)
Community or military service	0.176 (0.143)	0.181 (0.143)
Housework	0.124*** (0.020)	0.124*** (0.020)
Others	-0.056 (0.046)	-0.056 (0.046)
<b><u>Partnership status</u></b>		
<i>(Reference: Married)</i>		
Separated	-0.705*** (0.043)	-0.705*** (0.043)
Divorced	-0.414*** (0.019)	-0.414*** (0.019)
Widowed	-0.487*** (0.024)	-0.487*** (0.024)
Never married	-0.383*** (0.015)	-0.383*** (0.015)
<b><u>Education level</u></b>		
<i>(Reference: Less than lower secondary)</i>		
Lower secondary	-0.033 (0.022)	-0.032 (0.022)
Upper secondary	-0.053*** (0.020)	-0.052** (0.021)
Post secondary	0.030 (0.030)	0.032 (0.030)
Tertiary	-0.037* (0.021)	-0.036* (0.021)
<b><u>Other control variables</u></b>		
Female	0.059*** (0.011)	0.060*** (0.011)
Age	-0.050*** (0.002)	-0.049*** (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.001*** (0.00003)	0.001*** (0.00003)
Health	0.555*** (0.007)	0.555*** (0.007)
Feelings about household income	0.692*** (0.007)	0.692*** (0.007)
Survey year	0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>		
<i>(Reference: Natives)</i>		
Gen 1.0	0.061 (0.045)	0.034 (0.054)
Gen 2.0	-0.116*** (0.032)	-0.069 (0.059)

Gen 2.5	-0.032 (0.022)	0.030 (0.044)
<b><u>Years spent in host country</u></b>		
<i>(Reference: Natives)</i>		
≤ 1 year	0.024 (0.119)	0.040 (0.119)
>1 to ≤ 5 years	-0.129*** (0.049)	-0.120** (0.050)
>5 to ≤ 10 years	-0.108** (0.049)	-0.105** (0.050)
>10 to ≤ 20 years	-0.117*** (0.043)	-0.114*** (0.043)
<b><u>Host country attitudes</u></b>		
Trust	0.173*** (0.058)	0.170*** (0.058)
Fair	-0.295*** (0.081)	-0.293*** (0.081)
Help	0.131*** (0.049)	0.132*** (0.049)
Allow immigrants of same race or ethnic group as majority	0.825*** (0.131)	0.824*** (0.131)
Allow immigrants of different race or ethnic group from majority	-0.610*** (0.174)	-0.607*** (0.174)
Allow immigrants from poorer countries outside EU	-0.199 (0.129)	-0.202 (0.129)
Immigration benefits economy	0.162*** (0.029)	0.163*** (0.029)
Immigrants enrich country's culture	0.025 (0.053)	0.028 (0.053)
Immigrants make country a better place	0.044 (0.062)	0.040 (0.062)
<b><u>Schwartz's human value</u></b>		
Tradition	-0.006 (0.008)	0.001 (0.009)
Benevolence	-0.091*** (0.010)	-0.088*** (0.011)
Self Direction	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.016* (0.009)
Stimulation	0.043*** (0.007)	0.046*** (0.008)
Hedonism	-0.128*** (0.007)	-0.125*** (0.008)
Achievement	0.057*** (0.007)	0.065*** (0.008)
Power	0.109*** (0.007)	0.114*** (0.008)
Security	0.030*** (0.008)	0.036*** (0.009)
<b><u>Interaction terms</u></b>		
Gen 1.0 * Tradition		-0.039 (0.027)
Gen 2.0 * Tradition		-0.100** (0.047)
Gen 2.5 * Tradition		0.006 (0.032)
Gen 1.0 * Benevolence		-0.062* (0.034)
Gen 2.0 * Benevolence		0.090 (0.062)
Gen 2.5 * Benevolence		0.022 (0.042)
Gen 1.0 * Self Direction		-0.035 (0.027)
Gen 2.0 * Self Direction		-0.005 (0.049)
Gen 2.5 * Self Direction		-0.033 (0.033)
Gen 1.0 * Stimulation		-0.019 (0.023)
Gen 2.0 * Stimulation		-0.031 (0.042)
Gen 2.5 * Stimulation		0.004 (0.028)
Gen 1.0 * Hedonism		0.035 (0.023)
Gen 2.0 * Hedonism		-0.043 (0.041)
Gen 2.5 * Hedonism		-0.094*** (0.027)
Gen 1.0 * Achievement		-0.037 (0.023)
Gen 2.0 * Achievement		-0.042 (0.041)

Gen 2.5 * Achievement		-0.036 (0.028)
Gen 1.0 * Power		-0.028 (0.023)
Gen 2.0 * Power		0.048 (0.043)
Gen 2.5 * Power		-0.058* (0.030)
Gen 1.0 * Security		-0.034 (0.027)
Gen 2.0 * Security		-0.025 (0.048)
Gen 2.5 * Security		-0.033 (0.031)
Constant	-2.942 (4.739)	-3.161 (4.740)
Observations	116,989	116,989
Log Likelihood	-231,023.100	-230,995.300
Akaike Inf. Crit.	462,146.200	462,138.600
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	462,629.700	462,854.200

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . Regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

In the final stage, I introduced interactions between immigrant generations and each of the human values in order to test whether these associations differ between immigrant generations (Table 2.8, Model 5). As compared to Model 4, lower AIC but higher BIC values in Model 5 raises the issue of model fit. In terms of model selection criteria, Akaike's Information Criteria (AIC) is a measure of the goodness of fit of any estimated statistical model whereas the Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC) is a type of model selection among a class of parametric models with different numbers of parameters. A lower AIC means a model is considered to be closer to the truth in which it selects the model that most adequately describes an unknown, high dimensional reality; whereas a lower BIC means that a model is considered to be more likely to be the true model. In order to determine whether the interaction terms in Model 5 contribute to significant changes relative to Model 4, an Analysis of Variance was conducted. A significant  $p$ -value from the ANOVA output indicated that there are statistically significant differences between these two models (chi-square = 55.65,  $p$ -value < 0.001).

The estimated coefficients of these interactions reveal interesting differences in life satisfaction between first-generation and second-generation immigrants that were partially

undetected in previous model (Model 3 in Table 2.7). Some of the estimated coefficients of the interactions are statistically significant, implying that the association between life satisfaction and human values differs between migrant generations; perhaps based on the extent to which they perceive that each value is of importance as part of their fundamental personal values. However, this is only the case for *tradition*, *benevolence*, *hedonism* and *power*. For instance, second-generation immigrants who report higher *tradition* scores tend to report lower levels of life satisfaction compared to natives (and possibly their immigrant parents) with similar *tradition* scores. First-generation immigrants who score high on *benevolence* are marginally associated with lower life satisfaction compared to natives with similar *benevolence* scores. Nevertheless, immigrants from generation 2.5 who report high scores on both *hedonism* and *power* report, on average, lower levels of life satisfaction than natives with similar *hedonism* and *power* scores.

## Discussion

Over the last decades, a growing number of refugees and economic migrants moved across borders to wealthier and more stable countries such as Western and Northern European nations (Berg & Besharov, 2016). This upsurge in international migration and an increasing emphasis on subjective well-being indicators as policy tools have increased global attention among researchers and policy makers pertaining to immigrants' integration prospects and the extent to which migration affects migrants' life satisfaction as a whole. In this chapter, I used data from eight waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) to analyse the life satisfaction of first-generation immigrants compared to natives and second-generation immigrants in ten countries in Northern and Western Europe. In addition to standard socioeconomic determinants of life satisfaction, the study also focused on the role of host

countries' national attitudes as well as Schwartz's ten basic human values that partially account for the variation in immigrants' life satisfaction across Europe.

The results of a preliminary descriptive analysis are largely consistent with findings from the existing life satisfaction literature. Individuals who are in employment, more highly educated and married are more satisfied with life than their counterparts. Similarly, as expected, income comfortability is found to be significantly positively associated with life satisfaction. The empirical findings also confirmed previous evidence (e.g., Nesterko et al., 2013) that the levels of life satisfaction among immigrants are significantly lower than in the native-born population. Despite the fact that they were born, raised and socialised in host countries, second-generation immigrants with two immigrant parents are not as contented in life as natives. On the other hand, second-generation members with only one foreign-born parent exhibit similar level of life satisfaction as the native population, thus suggesting the pivotal role played by the native-born parent in the household in helping their offspring assimilate in the host society. This result highlights the need to understand the underlying factors that contribute to disparate levels of life satisfaction across immigrant generations.

More importantly, this study also attempts to provide macro-level explanations to the variation of migrants' life satisfaction. Statistical outcome from the multilevel modelling reveals significant associations between immigrants' life satisfaction and country-specific attitudes in terms of social and immigration concerns. By and large, a cohesive society that promotes trust, fairness and mutual help among one another plays a crucial role in improving well-being levels among citizens. Most country residents are also more tolerant towards immigrants of the same race or ethnic group as the existing majority of host country but remain conservative towards immigrants of different races or ethnic groups. This may be due to the nature of in-group and out-group bias as proposed in social psychology, such that people in general are quick to identify intrinsic similarities among one another and

demonstrate pleasant attitudes and judgements about other correspondents who are of similar ethnic background or share similar values and beliefs (Brewer, 1979; Lee & Ottati, 2002).

Hence, immigrants of the same race or ethnic group as the host societies are more welcomed and deemed to be able to contribute positively towards individuals and societal well-being as well as a more steady integration into the new country. On the other hand, people tend to exhibit hostile and reserved attitudes towards others who are considered as out-group members. People are less tolerant towards immigrants who are originated from different race and ethnic backgrounds and may perceive them as threats to life satisfaction among existing residents of the host societies. Present regression analysis also reveals that, on a national level, people generally perceive that influx of migrants into a country generates more substantial economic benefits rather than cultural impact to the host society. Most people who report higher level of overall life satisfaction have a positive outlook concerning the consequences of migration such that migration phenomenon has greatly improved national economy and transformed the host country into a better place to live as a whole.

Additional observation into the role of human values leads to interesting perspectives in explaining the variation of life satisfaction among natives and immigrants. Among all ten human values, three values are negatively associated with life satisfaction variable; namely *benevolence*, *self-direction* and *hedonism* values. Since the six-point Schwartz's human value scale ranges from "very much like me" to "not like me at all" whereas the life satisfaction scale portrays increasing intensity of satisfaction level, negative associations imply that people who are more satisfied with life often regard themselves as someone who practise kindness and goodwill, pleasure-seeking and motivated by independent thinking. On the contrary, *stimulation*, *security*, *achievement*, and *power* values have positive associations with life satisfaction variable. This suggests that people of high social status, high performance and equipped with dominance over other people are not necessarily more



satisfied with life than others who are not as highly qualified and decorated as them.

Similarly, people who place high importance on individual or collective sense of security and are constantly searching for new challenges in life demonstrate lower life satisfaction than those who are generally less concerned about security issues and novelty in life.

Further empirical strategy probed into the magnitude of each human value in influencing life satisfaction across migrant generation with reference to native country residents. Lack of significant associations found between certain values of the survey respondents and life satisfaction across migrant generations imply that these values are equally important in influencing well-being levels among immigrants as well as native-born population. Four values that featured significant interaction results are *tradition*, *benevolence*, *hedonism* and *power* values. As compared to the natives, second generation immigrants with dual immigrant parents in the household who still upheld traditional customs and cultural commitment reported lower level of life satisfaction. First-generation immigrants who perceived themselves as benevolent individuals also reported lower level of life satisfaction as compared to benevolent natives. In other words, this particular group of immigrants believed that practising *benevolence* value decreased their well-being. Although marginal, this effect did not exist among second-generation immigrants. I postulate from an immigrant's perspective that since first-generation immigrants are not indigenous themselves, they may not depict as strong sense of belonging and identification with the host country as other locals, hence are less likely to strive to enhance the people's welfare and are generally less compassionate towards members in the same society. It is interesting to note that, unlike their immigrant parent(s) as well as the native group, generation 2.5 immigrant members impose lesser priority on *hedonism* and *power* values in promoting their overall life satisfaction. This suggests that seeking for gratification from everyday life and pursuing

higher social status tend to undermine SWB among members of this particular immigrant group when compared to the natives and other immigrant groups of similar values.

Nevertheless, there are potential limiting effects of confounds identified in this study. Due the fact that immigration occurs across countries and continents as well as across different time periods, it is not always clear if the effects derive from the differences between country of birth and host country or year of arrival at host country. As mentioned in the migration statistics in previous literature chapter, migration inflows occur at different time points. For instance, the Irish-born were the largest historical migration group in the UK before 1961 whereas the Indian-born and Pakistani-born population peaked between 1961 and 1971 followed by substantial inflow of Bangladeshi-born population between 1981 and 1991 as well as a ten-fold increase of Polish-born migrant population between 2001-2011 following Poland's accession to the European Union in May 2004 (ONS, 2013). Therefore, it is not possible to disentangle the direct effects of country of origin and year of migration on the outcome in this study.

All in all, these findings based on bi-annual cross-country household survey data are able to shed light on the current immigrant situation in Europe and contribute substantially in attempt to understand potential determinants of life satisfaction among natives and immigrants in terms of micro-level individual characteristics as well as macro-level host country attitudes. While studies on immigrants' well-being often focus on overall migration-related psychological effects and the importance of assimilation process into the new host country, further analysis should be conducted to investigate the lasting differences between life satisfaction of immigrants and that of natives in a more specific manner. It may be possible that not all immigrants are relatively dissatisfied with their lives; only the underprivileged groups or immigrants of specific ethnic minorities or countries of origin report significantly lower level of life satisfaction. Since migrating to presumably better and

wealthier destination countries, reasons as to why immigrants still demonstrate low level of happiness and regard their inferior living experience as fundamentally unfair are also worth exploring.

### Chapter summary

In sum, this chapter emphasises on the prominence of both micro-level individual differences in terms of socioeconomic indicators and migration-specific factors, as well as macro-level host country attitudes in shaping subjective well-being among the native and immigrant populations in Europe. Findings from this chapter suggest that host country attitudes and social climate in the country are of great importance for subjective well-being among European citizens. Perceived levels of trust and help among one another in a cohesive society are strongly associated with the life satisfaction of all country residents. Investigation into the opinions of native population on immigration concerns outlines that higher SWB level is associated with positive perceptions with respect to the consequences of international immigration. Specifically, more satisfied European residents are more likely to agree that immigration has improved the national economy and transformed the host country into a better place to live as a whole. Results from the comparison of reported life satisfaction levels between immigrants of different generations and native-born respondents highlight the success of second-generation immigrants in culturally and socially assimilating into the host societies, especially second-generation immigrants with one foreign-born parent and other one native-born parent (Gen 2.5) as they exhibit similar levels of life satisfaction as the native population. In addition, this chapter offers insights on the extent to which the associations and interactions between SWB and each of Schwartz's human values vary between first- and second-generation immigrants. In the next chapter, I will narrow down my research focus to investigate the immigration phenomenon in the United Kingdom only, by examining immigrants' life satisfaction trajectories and changes over an extended period of time while taking into account a series of standard SWB predictors.

### Chapter appendix

**Table 2.9.A:** Average Life Satisfaction Scores from All Respondents and First-Generation Immigrants in Each Country in Study 1

<b>Country</b>	<b>All Respondents</b> <i>(overall mean = 7.34)</i>	<b>First-Gen Immigrants</b> <i>(overall mean = 7.23)</i>
Luxembourg	7.81	7.41
Switzerland	8.05	7.73
Sweden	7.86	7.55
Great Britain	7.13	7.11
Germany	7.08	7.11
Belgium	7.43	7.12
Ireland	7.11	6.91
France	6.36	6.20
Norway	7.87	7.62
Austria	7.51	7.03

## **CHAPTER 3**

**The relationship between cultural  
background, migration-related  
circumstances and subjective well-  
being in the United Kingdom: A  
longitudinal analysis**

## Introduction

The United Kingdom is, among European countries, the second most popular destination country after Germany for immigrants, with a large foreign-born population of almost 9.3 million people as of 2018 (The Migration Observatory, 2019). This share of foreign-born residents accounts for 14 per cent of the total population in UK. Although the growth rate of the EU migrant population in the UK is much larger than for non-EU migrants over the last decade, non-EU foreign-born still constitute the majority of the entire migrant population in the UK – with 61% of migrants born outside European countries (The Migration Observatory, 2019). Over the past six decades, the resident population in the UK has grown to be more diverse. With a 28 per cent (from 43.7 million to 56.1 million) increase of the total population in England and Wales, the foreign-born population almost quadrupled, with an upsurge of foreign-born residents from 4.3 per cent (1.9 million) in 1951 to 13 per cent (7.5 million) in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, ONS, 2013). In other words, migration is an essential driver of total population change in the UK over the last 60 years, currently contributing to almost half of the population growth in the UK. This calls for rising demand for extensive psychological research on the effect of immigration on immigrants' subjective well-being (SWB) as they integrate into the host country.

Although there is growing recognition of the importance of SWB as a factor in adapting to a new environment and cultural assimilation (Lucas, 2007; Angelini, et al., 2015), to date, the notion of well-being has not been fully integrated in longitudinal migration studies. In contrast to the abundance of early SWB literature on individual differences and various demographic factors that are correlated with SWB; such as age, income and personality (Herzog and Rodgers, 1981; Haring, et al., 1984; Diener, et al., 1993; Diener et al., 1999; Headey, 2008), there is a dearth of literature on the long-term SWB of migrants over time. I respond to this challenge by investigating changes in immigrants' life satisfaction

over time in the UK since their time of arrival by using longitudinal data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) combined with the BHPS sub-sample in UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS). The aim of the current study is to investigate the determinants of immigrants' subjective well-being in the UK while considering the integration process in society. For this purpose, I will first compare their SWB to that of native British respondents and then further evaluate the determinants of SWB among immigrants.

### **Migration and SWB**

Upon entering a new host country, we would expect that the immigration experience affect immigrants' SWB to a different extent depending on various factors such as country of origin, years since migration, language proficiency and other socioeconomic factors. Thus, the present chapter aims to explore the immigration experience in-depth and to examine the relationship between migration and SWB by taking into account the defining factors that determine migrants' SWB in the UK. As the primary focus of the current research is the life satisfaction of immigrants who are already residing in the UK, I am not able to estimate whether their SWB improved or deteriorated after coming to the UK. Instead, I will compare their SWB to that of the natives and track their changes in SWB over time.

In the following section, I briefly outline comparisons between immigrants and natives in the host country in terms of SWB, economic performance, as well as labour market outcomes based on previous literature studies. I then draw upon longitudinal data to examine the determinants of immigrants' SWB and analyse changes over time. Here, I emphasise more specifically selected migration-related components such as the impact of cultural background, spousal characteristics, English language proficiency and having children who



attend school in the UK. The overall implications of international migration are also discussed in the final section.

### *Immigrants versus natives in the host country*

As opposed to Costa, et al. (1987)'s account that dispositional characteristics and individual variation in SWB have more impact in determining happiness levels than situational effects, the current study seeks to explore the variation in SWB caused by a major change in one's environment (i.e. migration) based on two theories, i.e., *livability theory* and *culture theory*. These theories of the determinants of SWB were previously proposed and empirically supported by numerous SWB researchers (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Veenhoven, 2000; Baltatescu, 2005). *Livability theory* refers to the extent to which the ability of a community and attributes of a particular place, as they communicate with one another, can satisfy inhabitants by fulfilling their social, economic and cultural needs as well as promoting their health and well-being (Veenhoven, 1993). In this theory, socio-economical conditions are the most important factors that determine subjective well-being. Due to unfamiliarity of the environment and lack of resources in terms of socio-economic conditions at the initial post-migration stage, immigrants will report lower SWB than natives but happiness would increase with the length of stay in the destination country due to improved living conditions over time (Baltatescu, 2005). At the national level, *culture theory* emphasises the importance of ethnic origin as a predictor of SWB (Diener & Lucas, 2000), and therefore would imply that countries of birth with different cultural heritage and national characteristics can influence global evaluations of immigrants' lives in the host country. By incorporating these two concepts, I formulated several hypotheses including cultural backgrounds and length of residence in the UK while comparing immigrants to the native population.

Jayaweera and Quigley (2010) found evidence of ethnic and migrant variation in an analysis of physical health status, health behaviour and healthcare use among mothers of infants, both native and immigrant mothers. They revealed that birth abroad, ethnicity and length of stay in the host country are strong predictors of positive and negative health indicators (Jayaweera & Quigley, 2010). Similarly, SWB researchers evaluated the integration of immigrants aged 50 and above in Israel and revealed that ethnic difference, to some extent, affects well-being outcome measures (Amit & Litwin, 2010). Among all immigrant groups, those from the Former Soviet Union reported the lowest quality of life whereas immigrants from Western Europe and the Americas reported highest relative quality of life (Amit & Litwin, 2010). In addition, older Israeli migrants from the Former Soviet Union and Asia were more inclined to depressive symptoms in comparison to other immigrant groups of the same age (Amit & Litwin, 2010). Hence, in the present study, I predict that country of birth and time since migration play imperative roles in successful integration in the long run.

Using panel data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) across ten years, Angelini, et al. (2015) confirmed a positive and significant link between cultural assimilation and immigrants' SWB in Germany, even after controlling for potential confounding circumstances. However, the strength of this association varies with time since migration; it is only significant for established and second-generation immigrants but disappears for recent immigrants. Yet another study using UK national representative data on immigrants' SWB, ethnic and generational variations pointed out that, in fact, recent migrants appear to have higher levels of well-being than established migrants and the native population (Dorsett, et al., 2015).

Analysing cross-cultural correlates of life satisfaction, Diener and Diener (1995) included an additional national variable, i.e. *cultural homogeneity*, which refers to the extent

to which people living in the same society share the same culture and practise the same value. In the concept of a homogenous nation, citizens share the same characteristics such as language, values and cultural beliefs (Diener & Diener, 1995). Cross-sectional results suggested that cultural homogeneity does moderate the correlation between self-esteem and other correlates of life satisfaction such as family satisfaction, financial satisfaction and friendship satisfaction (Diener & Diener, 1995). Although inspired by the same interest in the effects of cultural assimilation, I depart from past studies by proposing that individuals who migrate from countries that share similar cultural values and norms as the host culture, for instance, the Irish and Europeans, are more likely to better assimilate in the UK as compared to those who were born in countries of heterogeneous culture. Based on similar notion, I also propose in current study that immigrants whose spouses originated from countries that share similar cultural values and norms as the British culture will be positively associated with immigrants' SWB.

However, it is not possible without more speculation to dismiss the potential association between the effect of cultural assimilation and ethnic or racial diversity founded on the premise related to immigration. As movements of people generate permanent population changes, arrival of immigrants of various cultural backgrounds has rapidly heightened awareness of racial and ethnic diversity. In the past decade, political researchers have long acknowledged that ethnic differences throughout Europe, to varying extents but without exceptions, are inflected with inequality and potential conflict due to ethnic exclusionism, i.e. related to beliefs of blocking ethnic outgroups from equal opportunities (Coenders, et al., 2005; Glaser, 2006). It might be argued that the Irish and Western Europeans assimilate better in the UK because they are less subject to racism as compared to other immigrants of heterogeneous cultures. Arguably, political researchers identified a clear pattern of perceived worse treatment being related to skin colour and attributed this to the

shadow of Linnaeus – an anthropological paradox and pseudo-scientific racial taxonomy that ranks humans naturally into white European, red Americans, yellow Asians and black Africans (Coenders, et al., 2005). In a related study which probed into immigrants' perceptions of the discrimination they face, researchers concluded that the higher the proportion of non-western non-nationals in the country, the more people in the country are resistant to diversity (Coenders, et al., 2005; Gaine, 2008). On another annual bureaucratic report regarding racism and xenophobia in the EU (EUMC, 2006), the same authors expressed that the differences of perceptions towards immigration and diversity are explained by variations in the welfare system and degree of support provided by national immigration model, and more so than by national histories of colonial powers and immigrants' reasons for entry (Coenders, et al., 2005; Gaine, 2008). While culturally embedded forms of racism are deep-rooted in Europe and involve a plethora of alternative research from political and anthropological perspectives, current study departs from former aspects and concentrates on the social and psychological point of view in explaining SWB variation between immigrants of different cultural background as compared to host natives based on the premise of cultural similarity within UK as suggested by Diener and Diener (1995).

#### *Determinants of immigrants' SWB*

Findings from psychology and economics have provided important insights into a broad range of factors that influence an individual's SWB, including socio-demographic characteristics such as income, education, health, age and marital status; as well as individual variations such as personality factors (Diener, 1998; Diener, Lucas, Oishi, & Suh, 2002; Diener, Oishi & Lucas, 2003; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2005; Easterlin, 2006; Clark, Frijters, & Shields, 2008). The current study seeks to explore additional factors such as language proficiency, spousal characteristics and the presence of school-going children in a household

in order to better capture the social integration of immigrants across migrant generations and birth countries.

Numerous empirical evidence on association between language fluency and post-migration well-being differ markedly from one research to the next. Several local studies and systematic reviews of studies across different countries point out the importance of local language proficiency in improving economic performance as well as facilitating migrants' assimilation process in the destination country since it is a necessary element to develop social networks and mobility (McAreevey, 2010; Angelini, et al., 2015; Dorsett, et al., 2015). Amit and Litwin (2010) concluded that Hebrew language fluency is a significant predictor of quality of life and life satisfaction among elderly immigrants in Israel. Economic researchers also implied that language proficiency is positively associated with employment opportunities and wage rates whereas language deficiency results in earning deficits (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Rivera-Batiz, 1990). On the contrary, survey results found no significant association between Norwegian language proficiency and income profit among Third World immigrant men in Norway (Hayfron, 2001).

Furthermore, the previous literature highlighted the importance of the association between immigrants' ethnic cultural background and their social integration in the host society. Evidence from a German study revealed that immigrants from Turkey and Greece in particular, demonstrate a lower assimilation tendency into German society due to their distant cultural backgrounds (Dustmann, 1996). Danzer and Yaman (2013), on the other hand, found that limited interaction between immigrants and the native German populations does significantly decrease cultural assimilation and integration into the host society. Thus, I anticipate that immigrant households with school-age children will exhibit better integration in the host country due to greater exposure to the native populations in the UK.

Comparing two immigrant samples across different ethnic groups in the UK and West Germany based on their relative income positions and wealth portfolios, Büchel and Frick (2004) found that in general, the immigrant population in the UK performs better than that in Germany. A broader temporal perspective demonstrated that the longer the duration of stay during the initial immigration period, the better the economic situation of the immigrants in Germany. However, such a time effect was not significant for the immigrant population in the UK (Büchel & Frick, 2004). Aside from Germany, other countries which demonstrate successful societal and economic integration of immigrants are Austria and Denmark, such that immigrants show substantial improvement in labour market performance with increasing duration of stay in host country (Büchel & Frick, 2005).

In a cross-countries household economic performance analysis of immigrant population compared to the native population in Great Britain, West Germany, Denmark, Luxembourg, Ireland, Italy, Spain and Austria, initial results showed that in general, the immigrant populations in all of the countries demonstrated poorer economic performance than the native-born population even after controlling for socioeconomic background characteristics (Büchel & Frick, 2005). On the household level, researchers incorporated several indicators of immigrants' state of integration into the host society (i.e. duration of stay since migration and immigrant-native intermarriage) and concluded that no significant difference in economic performance was detected in mixed households (in which an immigrant resides with or is married to an adult member of the indigenous population) compared to households of native-born adults only (Büchel & Frick, 2005). Furthermore, individuals from mixed households are also better off economically as compared to individuals who are single or with a partner from the same ethnic origin, i.e. non-mixed immigrant households. This suggests that living together with or getting married to native spouses is associated with successful economic integration of immigrants at the host country.

However, researchers warned that there was no causal relationship inferred from the results (Büchel & Frick, 2005). They further predicted that the economic advantage achieved by immigrants from mixed households may be due to successful integration to the new environment rather than its cause (Büchel & Frick, 2005). The present research thus seeks to explore if having a spouse who is native British will be associated with better life satisfaction of the immigrants in the UK.

In an analysis of longitudinal data from the BHPS and British Quarterly Labour Force Survey on the contributions of low-skilled immigrants to household services in the UK and the labour supply of natives, Romiti (2018) confirmed the positive impact of immigration on the labour supply of highly educated British women. The convenience and availability of cheap household services offered by these foreign workers facilitate delegation of domestic tasks undertaken mostly by women such as housekeeping services or childcare, thus leaving natives with more time to spend with their spouses and encouraging the possibility of British working women to give birth despite being occupied by work. A recent study on dynamic effects of internal migration within the UK on SWB concluded that migrants are happier after the move than they were before it (Nowok, et al., 2013). Closer inspection on the adaptation patterns of internal migrants both prior to and after the migration event discovered a slight decline in SWB preceding the move, followed by a boost of happiness on later stage bringing people back to their initial baseline level of SWB.

On the other hand, due to a lack of literature on the direct impact of having school-age children in immigrant families on immigrants' SWB, the current chapter takes a first step in exploring the potential association between these two factors in explaining immigrants' SWB in the UK. This theoretical prediction is based on the notion that immigrants may experience higher exposure to the host culture with the presence of school-going children and may participate in more social activities involving children with local neighbours and community

members, hence may display better cultural assimilation leading to higher levels of overall SWB.

### **Overview of the current study**

In light of all of the above, the present study investigates the integration of immigrants in the UK in terms of subjective well-being by following their life satisfaction trajectories. The study first compares the SWB of migrants to that of British natives according to their country of origins, then analyses the potential factors that determine immigrants' life satisfaction in the UK; such as cultural similarity, spousal cultural background, years since migration, English language proficiency, as well as economic, social and psychological variables. The general research hypotheses for current study are as follows:

**H1.** Immigrants from cultural backgrounds that are very different to the culture in the UK will report lower life satisfaction than natives.

**H2.** Years spent in the UK since migration will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants. Difference in migrant generation will influence level of SWB.

**H3.** SWB will differ between migrant generations: Second-generation immigrants will report lower SWB than natives but higher SWB than first-generation migrants.

**H4.** Speaking English as a first language will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants.

**H5.** Spousal cultural background will be a predictor of immigrants' overall life satisfaction.

**H6.** Having school-age children in the household will be positively associated with life satisfaction among immigrants.



## Methods

### Data

In this chapter, the data are derived from two nationally representative longitudinal surveys, i.e. the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, also known as the Understanding Society Survey; University of Essex, 2014). The BHPS and the UKHLS provide essential information on the life of households living in Britain and the UK and both panel surveys encompass a wide variety of themes including household composition, education, employment, people's social and economic circumstances, health status, life satisfaction and well-being. The BHPS data was collected annually since 1991 until 2008 whereas the UKHLS started in 2009 till today. The UKHLS can be deemed as the continuation of the BHPS due to their many similarities in terms of sample design, survey environment and variety of information compiled. In present chapter, the BHPS sample continued as a subsample of the UKHLS. The combination of both longitudinal surveys in the present study allows me to observe the well-being trajectories of the same immigrants over time in the span of twenty-three years, with the most recent wave of data included in this analysis being collected in 2013. In the present data, there are 23 survey years in total, in which the first 18 waves are derived from the BHPS (1991-2008) and the subsequent 5 waves are derived from the Special Licence version of the UKHLS (2009-2013).

### Measures

The dependent variable for this particular study focuses on only one specific measures of subjective well-being, i.e. life satisfaction. This subjective measure represents people's evaluation of their overall life situation and was collected in most survey years since 1996 until 2013, except year 2001. Respondents were required to choose a number that best

describes how dissatisfied or satisfied they are with their current life situation in which the response categories vary from completely dissatisfied (1), mostly dissatisfied (2), somewhat dissatisfied (3), neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (4), somewhat satisfied (5), mostly satisfied (6) to completely satisfied (7).

Based on the research hypotheses mentioned in the previous section, the primary independent variables of interest in the current study are immigrants' cultural backgrounds, duration of stay in host country, English language proficiency, spousal cultural background and presence of school-age children in the immigrants' households. Besides including standard socioeconomic indicators in the empirical analysis, I specifically focused on these five variables to investigate how immigrants fare in terms of hedonic well-being on different aspects as compared to British natives.

The first key factor is cultural similarity / cultural background of the immigrants in the UK. To account for this factor, I decided to use the existing variable in both panel surveys – '*country of birth*', to test the hypothesis that people who were born in countries that share similar cultural values and practice with UK tend to assimilate better into the host country than non-natives who were born in countries with a different cultural background than the UK. Hence, the variable '*country of birth*' plays a major role in determining the impact of this factor on well-being of immigrants over time. In order to acquire this specific variable "*plbornc\_all*" across all waves, I applied for Special Licence Access for the UKHLS data which incorporates a more detailed list of country of birth for people who were not born in the UK. I have considered using alternative variable "*plbornc*" which is available under the standard public access under the End User Licence (EUL) agreement, however, it has only a very brief list of countries and it is futile to judge the extent of cultural similarity. For instance, according to the list provided under the variable "*plbornc*", the Asian region is only represented by a single country – China / Hong Kong and the region of Caribbean and

Americas is only represented by Jamaica, whereas a considerable number fall under the category of “*Other countries*”. Using the data from Special Licence Access version, I then categorised all foreign countries of birth into different country groups according to their geographical locations such as Ireland, Historical British Colonies, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East, South Asia, Far East Asia, Africa, Central and South America as well as Other Commonwealth countries. In order to ensure consistency to follow the same individuals over an extended period of time, observations for the country of birth variable were specifically formulated by assigning individuals’ country of birth to each year they were in the survey according to their specific identification number across waves (i.e., *pid* variable). The underlying assumption for this variable (*plbornc\_all*) is that only participants who were not born in the UK should state their country of birth. Responses from 37 people were eliminated from this variable at this stage as their country codes belong to different parts of the UK such as England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Channel Islands, Guernsey, Isle of Man and Jersey.

After collecting all 241 country codes with valid observations, I categorised them according to continents and geographical locations, i.e. Republic of Ireland, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East, Africa, South Asia, Far East Asia, Caribbean, Central and South America, Historical British Colonies and Other Commonwealth countries. Last but not least, I set United Kingdom as the reference category for this country of birth variable to allow for comparison and statistical analysis. The total number of observations for each country group is listed in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1:** List of Country Groups based on Countries of Birth

<b>Country group</b>	<b>Number of observations</b>
United Kingdom	385,916
South Asia	14,593
Africa	8,992
Western Europe	4,812
Caribbean, Central and South America	3,626
Central and Eastern Europe	3,305
Republic of Ireland	3,150
Far East Asia	3,043
Historical British Colonies	2,378
Mediterranean and Other Commonwealth	1,232
Middle East	1,082

The second independent variable – duration of stay in the host country indicates the number of years spent in the UK since immigrants first moved to the UK. Similar to the country of birth variable, time-invariant information for this variable were also applied to every survey year for each respondent. In both BHPS and UKHLS data, the underlying rule for this variable was that only respondents who reported not being born in the UK in the previous survey section were asked to state the year they first came to live in this country. Following this specific rule, a total of 284 contradictory responses from native-born respondents were eliminated from the data. After subtracting the year of migration from the survey year, I then categorised the number of years spent in the UK into year groups of 10-year interval, with British natives as the reference group. Initial cross-tabulation between the age variable and the variable of years spent in the UK revealed inconsistencies such that some respondents reported number of years spent in the UK that are higher than their own age. A total of 122 responses from the UKHLS data were further eliminated due to this illogical stance. The total number of observations for each year group is listed in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2:** List of Year Groups for Years Spent in the UK

<b>Year group</b>	<b>Number of observations</b>
Natives	385,916
≤ 10 years	13,829
>10 to ≤ 20 years	9,530
>20 to ≤ 30 years	6,967
>30 to ≤ 40 years	6,363
>40 to ≤ 50 years	5,543
> 50 years	3,549

English language proficiency among immigrants is determined by whether or not English is their first language. Although there were other potential alternative variables to measure language proficiency such as “difficulty speaking day-to-day English” and “importance of English language”, these alternatives are not time-invariant and yet were not included in every survey year, thus incompatible to be included in statistical analysis on later stage. “English as first language”, on the other hand, is a time-invariant variable, hence, observations were formulated and applied to every survey year for each respondent. The final variable of interest in this study – presence of school-age children in the household was computed as follows. The number of children in the household was recorded in every survey year in both BHPS and UKHLS data. In order to further investigate the association between having children of different ages and native adults’ or immigrant adults’ life satisfaction levels, I also incorporated four other variables, i.e. number of children aged 0-2 years, 3-4 years, 5-11 years and 12-15 years in the household.

In addition to the abovementioned variables, other relevant demographic factors were included in the empirical analysis; such as, job status, marital status, education level, sex, age, health satisfaction and migrant generation. I imposed a restriction on the age limit of the respondents in both datasets in which responses that fell outside the range of 16 to 100 years of age were treated as outliers. 18 people were removed from the BHPS dataset, 15 were 15

years old and 3 were over 100 years old; and 6 people aged over 100 were also excluded from the UKHLS dataset. In the questionnaire, the measures that best represent job and marital statuses are respondents' current labour force situation (*jbstat*) and de facto marital status (*mastat\_dv*). There are several alternative variables in the cumulative dataset that describe respondents' marital status but this specific one (*mastat\_dv*) is the only common variable across all waves in the BHPS and the UKHLS. The response categories for both these variables are listed in Table 3.3. Education level, on the other hand, is represented by the variable "highest education qualification" (*nhiqual\_dv*) which is also available across all waves in both datasets. This variable consists of six categories; i.e. degree, other higher degree, A-Level etc., GCSE etc., other qualification and no qualification at all. Instead of maintaining it as a categorical variable with six categories, I turned it into a binary variable comprising of "Below A-Level" and "A-Level or above" (see Table 3.3). Health satisfaction variable is assessed by a standard instruction: *Please choose the number which you feel best describes how dissatisfied or satisfied you are with the following aspects of your current situation: your health*, with responses on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 7 (completely satisfied). Since the migrant generation variable is not directly available in the datasets, I computed it by combining information from two existing measures, i.e. whether one was born in the UK and the parents' country of birth. Individuals who were born outside the UK are classified as first-generation immigrants whereas individuals who were born in the UK but have immigrant parents are considered as second-generation immigrants (see Table 3.4).

**Table 3.3:** Descriptive Statistics for Study 2 Variables

		Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
<i>Subjective well-being</i>					
Overall life satisfaction	How satisfied or dissatisfied the respondent is with her life. (0 = Not satisfied at all, ..., 7 = completely satisfied)	5.18	1.41	1	7
<i>Migration determinants</i>					
Language proficiency	Dummy=1 if English is first language	0.92	0.28	0	1
Length of stay in the UK	Number of years since the respondent first came to UK to live	23.64	17.24	0	99
<i>Demographics</i>					
Age	Age of the respondent in years	46.18	18.58	16	100
Number of children	Number of living children in household	0.51	0.93	0	10
Health satisfaction	How satisfied or dissatisfied the respondent is with her health (0 = Not satisfied at all, ..., 7 = completely satisfied)	4.83	1.69	1	7
<i>Marital status</i>					
Single	Dummy=1 if respondent is single (reference category)	0.22	0.42	0	1
Married	Dummy=1 if respondent is married	0.53	0.50	0	1
Living as couple	Dummy=1 if respondent is living as couple	0.11	0.31	0	1
Widowed	Dummy=1 if respondent is widowed	0.07	0.25	0	1
Divorced	Dummy=1 if respondent is divorced	0.06	0.23	0	1
Separated	Dummy=1 if respondent is separated	0.02	0.13	0	1
<i>Education</i>					
A-Level or above	Dummy=1 if highest academic qualification is A-Level or above	0.38	0.48	0	1
<i>Current economic activity</i>					
Employed	Dummy=1 if respondent is employed (reference category)	0.48	0.5	0	1
Self-employed	Dummy=1 if respondent is self-employed	0.07	0.26	0	1
Unemployed	Dummy=1 if respondent is unemployed	0.05	0.21	0	1
Retired	Dummy=1 if respondent is retired	0.21	0.41	0	1
Maternity leave	Dummy=1 if respondent is on maternity leave	0.01	0.08	0	1
Family care	Dummy=1 if respondent is on family care	0.07	0.25	0	1
Full-time student	Dummy=1 if full-time student	0.07	0.25	0	1
Sick/Disabled	Dummy=1 if respondent is sick/disabled	0.04	0.20	0	1
Others	Dummy=1 if others	0.01	0.08	0	1

As the present study seeks to investigate the association between spousal characteristics and subjective well-being as well as focus on immigrants' well-being, the following step is necessary for further analysis. Deriving from the combined data of both

BHPS and UKHLS data ( $N$  waves = 486,793), I generated three other samples, i.e., all respondents (including the natives and the immigrants) with spouses ( $N$  waves = 284,300), immigrant sample only ( $N$  waves = 46,760), and immigrants with spouses ( $N$  waves = 26,462). The step to extract immigrant sample from the full dataset was rather complicated as there was overlapping of observations between two variables in the UKHLS data, i.e., the variable of whether one was born in the UK (*ukborn*) and the country of birth variable (*plbornc\_all*). The underlying circumstance for the latter variable is that only respondents who selected “not born in the UK” in the former variable should answer this question. However, there was irregularity in responses in which some respondents who were not born in the UK later stated England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland as their country of birth. Conversely, several native-born respondents in the former variable later selected other option as country of birth instead. Due to such inconsistencies, a total of 24 responses were deleted from the native samples and 422 contradictory responses were eliminated from the immigrant sample. Thus, the total of observations for the native samples and immigrant samples in the UKHLS data were 173,087 and 35,015 respectively. The BHPS data, on the other hand, was quite straightforward. No respondent error was found when during cross-tabulation between multiple relevant variables. The total number of observations for native and immigrant samples is listed in Table 3.4.

The number of respondents reported in Table 3.4 was manually retrieved from summing the total of respondents who were born in the UK (i.e. natives) or not (i.e. immigrants) across two panel data. In order to classify them accordingly, different approaches were used when handling BHPS and UKHLS datasets. In the latter dataset, existing binary variable of “*whether born in the UK*” allowed for straightforward classification into native sample and immigrant sample. However, such variable was not accessible in the BHPS data. Ergo, I formulated the same binary variable based on the next



fitting variables available in the BHPS - “*country of birth*” and “*district of birth*”. BHPS respondents who selected countries of birth other than UK were recorded as 0 – *not born in the UK*. Survey responses for the second variable (“*district of birth*”) only included destinations in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, thus suggesting that this variable was only available for native respondents. Therefore, individuals who responded to this variable in BHPS were recorded as 1 – *born in the UK*. Although this computation logic seemed like the only approach to categorise respondents across two datasets into native or immigrant sample, this approach poses certain limitation. The discrepancy in number of respondents across Table 3.4 and 3.5 can be explained by missing data, as the number of individuals reported in Table 3.5 was provided in the summary statistics of the regression model; i.e., some of the variables included in the model had missing observations which reduced the sample size in the regression table (Table 3.5) while Table 3.4 provides the full sample size.

**Table 3.4:** Number of Respondents and Observations for Each Sample

<b>Sample</b>	<b><i>N</i> (people)</b>	<b><i>N</i> (waves)</b>
Natives	84,473	385,916
Immigrants	15,001	46,760
<i>Migrant Generation</i>		
Natives	45,770	313,650
First Generation Immigrants	9,786	35,717
Second Generation Immigrants	3,231	13,729

### **Statistical analysis**

I employed mixed effects regressions as the statistical approach in this study due to the nature of hierarchical data that involves observations of the same individuals over time. Mixed effects regression is a statistical model containing both fixed effects and random effects. Compared to ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions, mixed effects regressions are a more appropriate approach that accounts for the longitudinal trajectories and non-

independence in the data arising from a hierarchical structure. An OLS model assumes independent or uncorrelated errors for confidence intervals; however, when data is clustered within countries/groups, observations within a cluster will be correlated or non-independent and the variability in the outcome can be thought of as being either within group or between groups. A longitudinal analysis of within-individual change proceeds in 2 conceptually distinct stages. In the first stage, within-individual change is characterised in terms of repeated observations on each individual during the period of measurement. In the next stage, these estimates of within-individual change are related to inter-individual differences in selected covariates (e.g., group, country). The combination of these two stages of the analysis within a single statistical model is known as a linear mixed-effects model.

Using mixed effects regression method, I first examined the effect of different predictor variables on life satisfaction across all respondents - both native and immigrant samples and across country groups. The relationship between life satisfaction and cultural similarity (or diversity) among immigrants is explored in this stage. On the second step, I excluded the native sample and focused only on immigrant sample in order to investigate the association between immigrants' subjective well-being and socioeconomic conditions. The final round of mixed effects regression targeted specific sample of immigrants with spouses in which I sought to address the influence of spousal characteristics and cultural background on immigrants' overall life satisfaction while taking into account all other control variables.

## Results

### Native sample versus immigrant sample

Beyond these descriptive findings, I analysed the panel data using mixed effects regression to examine the extent to which different factors influence individuals' subjective well-being across different groups (natives versus immigrants) and across countries of origin. The main estimation results are summarised in Table 3.5. Post simultaneous tests of general linear hypotheses using the Tukey's procedure were conducted on several regression models to further compare the association between estimated regression coefficients. A mixed effects regression can only analyse if results are significant overall as compared to the reference category, but it does not specify where exactly those significant differences lie. Hence, the Tukey's test (also known as Tukey's Honest Significant Difference test) is a necessary post hoc test to figure out which specific group's mean differs when compared with every other mean.

In the first column, I started by estimating the difference in SWB across immigrants from different continents (see Table 3.10.A and Table 3.10.B from Chapter appendix section for the distribution and list of countries of birth) with British natives as the baseline category. Despite Irish immigrants being more satisfied with life compared to the natives, no significant difference was detected among immigrants who originated from countries that share similar cultural values as the British, i.e. Western Europe and Historical British Colonies, indicating that they are, on average, as happy as the natives. Historical British Colonies consist of four countries, i.e., Australia, New Zealand, Canada and The United States of America. People from the rest part of the world residing in the UK, except Far East Asia, reported lower well-being scores than the local natives (see Table 3.5, Model 1). In particular, based on post-estimation results, people who were born and raised in the Middle East as well as Central and South America including the Caribbean islands before migrating

to the UK suffered the greatest negative impact on well-being as compared to immigrants from other continents (refer to Table 3.6).

However, the significance of correlation between origin countries and individuals' well being disappeared when I took into account migration-related determinants and control variables. In an effort to test the second hypothesis, I added two variables to the initial regression, i.e. years spent in the UK and migrant generation. I noted that, as opposed to my initial assumption, the length of stay in the host country has no significant association with one's overall satisfaction with life except for one group. Immigrants who have spent less than ten years in the UK since migration reported higher life satisfaction level than the British natives. In the third regression model (Model 3, Table 3.5), I eliminated birth country group and year group since migration to avoid multicollinearity issue with the migrant generation variable. Multicollinearity occurs when two or more independent variables in a multiple regression model are highly linearly correlated. As the birth country group and year group were primarily responded by immigrants, the column for first-generation immigrants was automatically dropped in Model 2. Hence, in order to investigate the association between migrant generation and life satisfaction, the previous two variables were eliminated.

In Model 3, migrant generation was found to be significantly related to immigrants' well-being such that first-generation immigrants exhibited lower life satisfaction scores than the British natives. On the other hand, second-generation immigrants were found to be as satisfied as the natives in the UK, thus suggesting evidence of better integration in the host culture for this group of second-generation immigrants. The time effect disappeared when I included other standard measures of SWB in the main regression analysis. After controlling for key socioeconomic determinants of SWB, no significant association was identified between overall life satisfaction and relevant migration background variables (i.e. country groupings and years since migration) among the natives and immigrants (not reported in

Table 3.5). Further details on the results of Model 3 will be interpreted in the next section when I focus on the subjective well-being of immigrants.

**Table 3.5:** Life Satisfaction of Immigrants compared to Natives (BHPS and UKHLS data 1991-2013) – Estimation Using Mixed Effects Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b><u>Birth country group</u></b>			
<i>(Reference = United Kingdom)</i>			
Ireland	0.092* (0.053)	0.074 (0.072)	
Historical British Colonies	0.066 (0.057)	0.142 (0.099)	
Western Europe	-0.062 (0.041)	-0.084 (0.071)	
Central and Eastern Europe	-0.176*** (0.047)	-0.273*** (0.072)	
Middle East	-0.438*** (0.086)	-0.590*** (0.112)	
South Asia	-0.251*** (0.025)	-0.316*** (0.058)	
Far East Asia	-0.049 (0.050)	-0.115 (0.079)	
Africa	-0.250*** (0.030)	-0.342*** (0.062)	
Caribbean, Central and South America	-0.381*** (0.048)	-0.470*** (0.064)	
Mediterranean and other Commonwealth	-0.228*** (0.086)	-0.200 (0.126)	
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>			
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>			
≤10 years		0.129** (0.058)	
>10 to ≤ 20 years		-0.038 (0.059)	
>20 to ≤ 30 years		-0.081 (0.061)	
>30 to ≤ 40 years		-0.062 (0.061)	
>40 to ≤ 50 years		0.051 (0.054)	
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>			
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>			
First generation			-0.126*** (0.032)
Second generation		-0.306*** (0.024)	-0.052 (0.035)
<b><u>Current economic activity</u></b>			
<i>(Reference = Employed)</i>			
Self-employed			0.006 (0.015)
Unemployed			-0.359*** (0.018)
Retired			0.100*** (0.015)
Maternity Leave			0.256*** (0.042)
Family care			-0.067*** (0.015)
FT student			0.126*** (0.019)
Sick/Disabled			-0.292*** (0.020)
Other			-0.038 (0.038)
<b><u>Marital status</u></b>			
<i>(Reference = Single)</i>			
Married			0.240*** (0.016)

Living as a couple			0.204*** (0.016)
Widowed			-0.102*** (0.025)
Divorced			-0.115*** (0.023)
Separated			-0.311*** (0.029)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>			
Education: A-Level or above			-0.013 (0.012)
Sex: Female			0.056*** (0.012)
Age			-0.011*** (0.002)
Age <sup>2</sup>			0.0002*** (0.00002)
Health satisfaction			0.312*** (0.002)
Number of children			-0.092*** (0.010)
Children aged 0-2			0.066*** (0.014)
Children aged 3-4			0.026* (0.014)
Children aged 5-11			0.054*** (0.011)
Children aged 12-15			0.043*** (0.011)
Survey year			-0.006*** (0.001)
English as first language			-0.010 (0.031)
Constant	5.174*** (0.005)	5.193*** (0.005)	15.998*** (1.451)
<hr/>			
Number of individuals	99,744	99,744	99,744
Observations	486,793	486,793	486,793
Log Likelihood	-445,965.000	-389,081.200	-160,906.700
Akaike Inf. Crit.	891,956.000	778,200.300	321,873.400
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	892,092.900	778,397.900	322,163.300

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. Regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

**Table 3.6:** Simultaneous Tests for General Linear Hypothesis in Model 1

Country groups	Estimate	SE	z-value	Pr(> z )
Middle East – Central South America = 0	-0.057	0.098	-0.585	0.559
Central South America – South Asia = 0	-0.131	0.053	-2.451	0.014*
South Asia – Africa = 0	-0.001	0.038	-0.023	0.981
Africa – Other Commonwealth = 0	-0.022	0.090	-0.242	0.808
Other Commonwealth – Central Eastern Europe = 0	-0.052	0.098	-0.532	0.595
Central Eastern Europe – Middle East = 0	0.262	0.098	2.689	0.007**

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

### **Immigrant sample only**

In the next table (refer to Table 3.7), I focused on the immigrant sample to address the associations between overall life satisfaction and immigrants' socioeconomic conditions. After excluding the native sample, I discovered an interesting result such that time spent in the host country since migration is significantly and negatively associated with life satisfaction except for immigrants who have spent more than 50 years in total (see Table 3.7, Model 4). As compared to recent migrants who spent less than 10 years in the UK, established migrants who resided in the country for more than 10 years reported lower life satisfaction scores; suggesting that the longer they stay in the country, the more likely it is for their well-being to be affected. Post hoc test, however, proved otherwise and indicated that there is no significant difference between the age groups (i.e. between 11-20 years and 21-30 years; and so forth) except for one. The negative impact on SWB seem more severe on immigrants who have spent between 31 to 40 years in the UK compared to those who have spent between 41-50 years (see Table 3.8). After devoting half a decade of one's life in a country other than one's birthplace, I can infer that he/she is almost as satisfied as the recent migrants since no significant difference in terms of life satisfaction scores was found between these two groups. To a certain extent, selection bias may have contributed to this U-shaped relationship between years since migration and life satisfaction in which some of the immigrant sample arrived at host country as children. Over the last decade, many well-being researchers, especially economists, have concluded that the average life satisfaction as a function of age exhibits a convex U-shape (e.g. van Landeghem, 2012; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2008; Frey & Stutzer, 2002). As summarised in Frijters and Beatton (2008), the average life satisfaction is 7.13 among the 29-year-old respondents and decreases to a minimum of 6.76 at 55 years of age, then rises up to 7.07 at 65 years old. Based on this observation, the rising part of the parabola may be attributed to a number of reasons,

including retirement and increase in social leisure (Becchetti, et al., 2009). With regard to the context in current chapter, it could also be the fact that established migrants of over 50 years have reached their retirement ages and less likely to endure stress and hardships that may impede happiness. The age of these established migrants of over 50 years since arrival at host country were mostly distributed between 70 to 85 years old.

Similar to previous findings, the time effect (length of stay in the UK) vanished after I controlled for socioeconomic conditions and demographic differences. Consistent with prior SWB literature, regression result output in the next column, i.e. Model 5 and Model 3 from the previous tables confirm the importance of marital status and economic activities in determining immigrant's subjective well-being. In contrast with people who are in full-time employment, immigrants who are unemployed and disabled or sick for a long period of time reported lower scores on life satisfaction on average. Similar results were revealed in Model 3 (from Table 3.5) when I accounted for both native and immigrant samples, except for the category of family care in which it was found negatively associated with life satisfaction in the total samples but not on the sole sample of immigrants. On the other hand, in both models, individuals who demonstrated higher well-being scores were largely the retired, expectant mothers and full-time students. The positive results presented by the former category of economic status, i.e. the retired, is in line with the abovementioned rationale that immigrants who have reached their retirement ages, having spent most of their time in the UK, tend to have less worries, stress and responsibilities in their current lives, thus higher chance of being more satisfied with their lives in overall. This conclusion is further strengthened when I found a U-shaped relationship between age and life satisfaction, with a minimum age of 43 years - only 3 years apart from the one suggested in Blanchflower and Oswald (2008).



Another anticipated outcome involves the presence of children in a household and whether school-age children affect the SWB level of their parents. The regression results show significant negative correlation between number of children in the household and level of life satisfaction. Next, I specified children's age groups to examine their effect on immigrant parents' life satisfaction, where I predicted that having school-age children facilitate their assimilation to the host country despite the labour-intensive role as a parent. Although results in Model 3 demonstrated that having school-age children is positively associated with the life satisfaction of their parents, this significant effect disappeared when the native samples were excluded in Model 5, thus implying that the third research hypothesis cannot be confirmed. As opposed to previous literature (e.g. Angelini, et al., 2015) which emphasised the crucial role of language proficiency in promoting cultural assimilation, thus affecting immigrants' overall well-being, regression results do not support this theoretical prediction. After controlling for the traditional determinants of SWB and migration-related variables, there was no significant association between English language as first language and the life satisfaction of immigrants (see Table 3.7, Model 5).

**Table 3.7:** Life Satisfaction Among the Immigrant Sample (BHPS and UKHLS data 1991-2013) – Estimation using Mixed Effects Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>	
	Model 4	Model 5
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = ≤ 10 years)</i>		
>10 to ≤ 20 years	-0.133*** (0.032)	0.028 (0.054)
>20 to ≤ 30 years	-0.179*** (0.038)	-0.005 (0.063)
>30 to ≤ 40 years	-0.173*** (0.039)	-0.005 (0.072)
>40 to ≤ 50 years	-0.076* (0.040)	0.002 (0.088)
> 50 years	0.023 (0.047)	0.086 (0.114)
<b><u>Current economic activity</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = Employed)</i>		
Self-employed		0.007 (0.059)
Unemployed		-0.322*** (0.067)
Retired		0.227*** (0.077)

Maternity Leave		0.118 (0.194)
Family care		0.088 (0.065)
FT student		0.050 (0.078)
Sick/Disabled		-0.336*** (0.102)
Other		-0.227 (0.151)
<b><u>Marital status</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = Single)</i>		
Married		0.182*** (0.068)
Living as a couple		0.072 (0.078)
Widowed		-0.031 (0.126)
Divorced		-0.230** (0.091)
Separated		-0.246** (0.118)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>		
Education: A-Level or above		-0.0003 (0.043)
Sex: Female		0.012 (0.048)
Age		-0.0002 (0.009)
Age <sup>2</sup>		0.00002 (0.0001)
Health satisfaction		0.344*** (0.009)
Number of children		-0.103*** (0.036)
Children aged 0-2		0.057 (0.051)
Children aged 3-4		-0.016 (0.053)
Children aged 5-11		0.049 (0.035)
Children aged 12-15		0.004 (0.041)
Survey year		-0.003 (0.003)
English as first language		0.062 (0.051)
Constant	5.069*** (0.023)	8.820 (6.395)
<hr/>		
Number of individuals	15,001	15,001
Observations	46,760	46,760
Log Likelihood	-41,383.150	-10,488.160
Akaike Inf. Crit.	82,782.310	21,042.310
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	82,846.920	21,267.920

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. Regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

**Table 3.8:** Post hoc tests for General Linear Hypothesis in Model 4

Year groups	Estimate	SE	z-value	Pr(> z )
>10 to ≤ 20 years – >20 to ≤ 30 years = 0	0.046	0.037	1.244	0.213
>20 to ≤ 30 years – >30 to ≤ 40 years = 0	-0.006	0.039	-0.145	0.884
>30 to ≤ 40 years – >40 to ≤ 50 years = 0	-0.097	0.041	-2.397	0.017*
>40 to ≤ 50 years – >10 to ≤ 20 years = 0	0.057	0.042	1.373	0.170

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

### **Immigrant sample with spouses**

Finally, in Table 3.9, I presented the estimated effect of life satisfaction among specific sample of immigrants with spouses, in which I sought to address the associations between spousal characteristics and cultural background with immigrants' overall well-being. Similar to the results presented in Table 3.5, immigrants with spouses that originated from Central and Eastern Europe, Middle East, South Asia, Africa, Caribbean, Central and South America were found to be less satisfied than those who were married to British spouses. Likewise, such significance disappeared after controlling for standard SWB determinants of immigrants and their spouses, except for two categories (Table 3.9, Model 6). Relative to immigrants with British spouses, immigrants who were married to spouses from the Mediterranean and other Commonwealth countries were more satisfied with life whereas those who were married to partners from Central and South America were less satisfied with life. However, only marital status categories were taken into consideration in this analysis, not the spouse's location. Whether or not these spouses were cohabitating with immigrants and residing in the UK remains ambiguous in this study.

An interesting observation to note from Model 7 (Table 3.9) involves the importance of English language proficiency in improving the level of SWB among the immigrants. Being a native speaker of English is not significantly associated with life satisfaction; but their spouses' language abilities seem to be significantly associated with the well-being of immigrants. An interaction was included to further assess the relationship between English as spouses' first language and spouses of British nationals; however, no interaction effect was captured.

**Table 3.9:** Life Satisfaction of Immigrants with Spouses (BHPS and UKHLS 1991-2013) – Estimation using Mixed Effects Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>	
	Model 6	Model 7
<b><u>Birth country group (spouses')</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = United Kingdom)</i>		
Ireland	0.265 (0.178)	0.568 (0.426)
Historical British Colonies	0.156 (0.170)	0.491 (0.711)
Western Europe	0.035 (0.115)	-0.025 (0.368)
Central and Eastern Europe	-0.248*** (0.084)	0.029 (0.409)
Middle East	-0.494*** (0.149)	-0.239 (0.518)
South Asia	-0.267*** (0.043)	0.228 (0.296)
Far East Asia	-0.023 (0.096)	0.094 (0.367)
Africa	-0.328*** (0.056)	-0.037 (0.303)
Caribbean, Central and South America	-0.428*** (0.102)	-0.787* (0.403)
Mediterranean and other Commonwealth	-0.269 (0.176)	0.866** (0.424)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = ≤ 10 years)</i>		
>10 to ≤ 20 years		0.162* (0.090)
>20 to ≤ 30 years		0.105 (0.105)
>30 to ≤ 40 years		0.089 (0.121)
>40 to ≤ 50 years		0.073 (0.146)
> 50 years		0.105 (0.181)
<b><u>Current economic activity</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = Employed)</i>		
Self-employed		-0.029 (0.079)
Unemployed		-0.116 (0.113)
Retired		0.121 (0.104)
Maternity Leave		0.137 (0.262)
Family care		-0.028 (0.088)
FT student		0.099 (0.193)
Sick/Disabled		-0.496*** (0.130)
Other		0.021 (0.232)
<b><u>Current economic activity (Spouses')</u></b>		
<i>(Reference = Employed)</i>		
Self-employed		-0.098 (0.078)
Unemployed		-0.006 (0.119)
Retired		-0.086 (0.099)
Maternity Leave		0.060 (0.323)
Family care		-0.181** (0.091)
FT student		-0.019 (0.197)
Sick/Disabled		-0.357*** (0.132)
Other		0.033 (0.281)
<b><u>Marital status</u></b>		

<i>(Reference = Married)</i>		
Living as a couple		0.022 (0.104)
<b>Other covariates</b>		
Education: A-Level or above		-0.011 (0.083)
Education: A-Level or above (spouses')		0.050 (0.083)
Sex: Female		0.052 (0.085)
Age		-0.012 (0.015)
Age <sup>2</sup>		0.0002 (0.0002)
Health satisfaction		0.316*** (0.014)
Health satisfaction (spouses')		0.027* (0.014)
Number of children		0.071 (0.055)
Children aged 0-2		-0.064 (0.070)
Children aged 3-4		-0.123* (0.069)
Children aged 5-11		-0.079 (0.054)
Children aged 12-15		-0.156** (0.065)
Survey year		-0.006 (0.005)
English as first language		-0.101 (0.105)
English as first language (spouses')		0.387** (0.182)
<b>Interactions</b>		
English as spouse's first language*British spouse		-0.156 (0.337)
Constant	5.225*** (0.029)	14.469 (10.193)
<hr/>		
Number of individuals	7,216	7,216
Observations	26,462	26,462
Log Likelihood	-23,159.560	-4,393.179
Akaike Inf. Crit.	46,345.110	8,888.358
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	46,442.860	9,196.207

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. Regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

## Discussion

In this chapter, I focused on exploring well-being changes of people following major relocation to a new country over time. Combining data from the British Household Panel Survey and UK Household Longitudinal Survey spanning across 23 years, I investigated immigrants' SWB in the UK by first comparing the levels of life satisfaction between the British natives and the immigrants according to their countries of origin and then examined how well-being varies with socio-economical conditions, migration-related variables and among migrants of different generations and spousal cultural backgrounds.

Preliminary findings provided an insight into how post-migration well-being varies across cultural backgrounds, as measured by different country groups based on geographical location. First hypothesis of the study was confirmed such that immigrants who came from different cultural backgrounds such as Middle East, South Asia, Africa and other Caribbean countries expressed lower level of life satisfaction as compared to the British natives. There are two obvious interpretations of this. One possibility is that people who originate from countries that share similar cultural values and societal norms as the British (i.e. Western Europe, Ireland, United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand) tend to face lesser difficulties when integrating into the host country; whereas immigrants from Middle East or Africa may encounter with relatively more social difficulties due to unfamiliarity and stark difference in cultures. Another alternative possibility is that the initial motivation that triggered immigrants to relocate to a new country had detrimental effect on long-term SWB. As reported in the ONS (2013), most migrant groups from Middle East, South Asia, Africa, Caribbean, Central and South America arrived in the UK two decades ago after they escaped their places of birth due to political unrest, ethnic prejudice and economic crisis. Surprisingly, immigrants from Far East Asia seemed to be as happy as the local natives. This is possibly due to the fact that Asian migration flow only peaked recently in the last ten years and majority of the Asian population comprises of self-funded students aged 16 and over or wealthy entrepreneurs (ONS, 2013), hence this group of migrants probably experienced lesser degree of negative well-being repercussion of the physical move across international borders, thus suggesting a smoother integration into the host culture.

The results of estimations accounting for individual heterogeneity and time-invariant characteristics proposed that migration-related variables such as countries of origin, number of years spent in the UK since migration and English language proficiency had minor importance in influencing immigrants' life satisfaction, whereas other standard

socioeconomic determinants such as education level, marital status, employment status etc., demonstrated significant results in explaining SWB changes among the immigrants. In other words, after controlling for a range of key demographic factors, there was no significant association between life satisfaction and time since migration as well as English language proficiency, thus not confirming the second and fourth hypotheses of present study.

One of the intriguing findings to note in this chapter is that language proficiency does not play a prominent role in determining levels of SWB among immigrants here in the UK; contrary to our initial hypothesis. Immigrants who speak other languages apart from English as their first language do not vary significantly in terms of level of life satisfaction from British natives or other immigrants who speak English as their first language. This result is in contrast to numerous past studies (e.g. Angelini, et al., 2015; Dorsett, et al., 2015; McAreavey, 2010) in which the researchers found evidence that highlighted the importance of language for migrants' cultural assimilation and positive integration into the host society as being able to take part in the local communities and interacting with native populations were associated with higher well-being and lower mental distress. However, as compared to the study of Angelini et al. (2015), perhaps English language does not demonstrate as strong a significant effect on immigrants' life satisfaction as the German language because English is more widely spoken by people from all over the world since it is one of the most common native languages in the world. English is a global *lingua franca* that is not only used in the United Kingdom but also in the United States, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, and some areas of the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia as well as widely learned as second language in other previous Commonwealth sovereign states (Crystal, 2003). Hence, it is not surprising to find that many migrants who moved across international borders into the UK were able to speak at least elementary level of English and did not face communication barriers while integrating into this new country. More specific evidence in relation to fluency

in English was also demonstrated in Dorsett et al. (2015)'s paper in which a more direct interpretable variable, i.e. "*difficulty in day to day English*" was found to be irrelevant to immigrants' life satisfaction, in coherence with the present empirical findings.

Failure to detect any significant effect of English language proficiency on SWB in this study also suggests potential limitation of using English as first language as the measure of language proficiency. The question for English as a first language is asked of all respondents where binary responses were collected, whereas alternative variables such as difficulties in speaking and reading English required ordinal responses and were asked only of those who indicated English is not their first language. Due to this structure, native English speakers who have difficulties speaking or reading cannot be separated out to explore how these difficulties impact SWB across language nativity. Consequently, differences of language difficulty between native and non-native speakers and among non-native speakers with different levels of speaking and/or reading skills remain unexplored in this study. The dichotomous structure of the English as first language variable presents a high threshold for English proficiency and therefore may not be the most appropriate and stringent measure of language proficiency.

Another noteworthy yet controversial finding in this chapter concerns the measure of cultural similarity based on country of birth. While evolutionary theory suggested that cultural similarities in terms of cultural origins and history featured similar mental dispositions and similar reactions to similar environmental conditions (Stade, 2001), there are many perceptions of cultural similarities related to different historical and contemporary ideas across different domains, i.e. psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, etc. An apparent interpretation of cultural similarity relates to the connection with former colonial powers and political allegiances. Former colonial powers of Britain, France and the Netherlands recorded significant numbers of settlers from their former colonies (Institute for



Public Policy Research; IPPR, 2006), thus suggesting the possibility that, for instance, people from non-European continent like Ghana or India are more culturally similar to people in the UK than people from Eastern Europe such as Poland, Bulgaria and Romania.

Building on current study, future relevant researches are encouraged to employ a more meticulous quantitative measure for cultural similarity of groups of people, i.e. the Index on Cultural Similarity. The underlying theory of this index relates to the understanding of culture as “temporally relatively stable interpretation frames and values, which are shared by a group of people and are used for the interpretation of the world” (Gerhards, 2000, p. 98). This index is first constructed by Roose (2012) based on the value questions used in the European Social Survey, which refer to the value dimensions suggested by Schwartz (1992). Using pairwise discriminant analysis of the populations of two countries over a set of value question, this Index on Cultural Similarity can predict the extent of cultural similarity or diversity on a range between 0 and 1 with 1 indicating maximum similarity and 0 indicating the minimum similarity (Roose, 2012). To date, the abovementioned index is used to compare between European countries, future researches can employ similar method of pairwise discriminant analysis to predict cultural similarity beyond the continent of Europe.

In line with my testable prediction in which I anticipated positive association between having school-age children and life satisfaction among immigrants, the results were mixed. In general, having children across all ages ranging from zero to fifteen years is significantly correlated with higher levels of well-being. However, having more children living in a household can negatively affect adults' well-being. Among the immigrant sample only, I instead failed to detect any significant relationship between the presence of children in the household and immigrants' life satisfaction; thus not confirming my sixth hypothesis. Based on empirical results, I imply that having school-age children does not account for immigrant parents' well-being to a significant extent and does not facilitate the social integration process

of migrant families into a new community and country. This indirectly contradicts with previous research on Australian migrants in which the researchers discovered that non-native individuals with a school-going child in the family were more assimilated to the host country (Pakrashi & Frijters, 2013). There probably are other unobserved external variables such as motivation and optimism that may influence the life satisfaction among migrants in the UK but were not captured in the present study.

In conclusion, this chapter goes beyond previous research to gain a better understanding of immigrants' SWB in the UK. One of the main novel results in the present findings implies that socioeconomic determinants outweigh migration-related variables in influencing SWB of immigrants in general. Countries of origin with diverse cultures and number of years spent in the host country may seem like key aspects of integration process and cultural assimilation, however in long-term perspective, fundamental SWB measures such as health, employment status and marital status still prevail as the main predictors of immigrants' life satisfaction in the host country. Furthermore, in contrast with most of the migration literature, the present study questions the importance of language competence among immigrants in facilitating social integration, as the empirical results do not show a significant association between English as a first language and one's life satisfaction.

### Chapter summary

In this chapter, I examine the impact of cultural background, roles of spousal characteristics and migration-related components as important determinants of individuals' subjective evaluations of their overall life circumstances among the immigrants, and how these evaluations fluctuate systematically across the years spent in the UK. More specifically, cultural background among immigrants were determined based on their different countries of origin and categorised according to geographical continents whereas spousal characteristics entailed whether or not immigrants' spouses were native-born, otherwise, their cultural background as well as their English language proficiency. Analysing 23 waves of two panel surveys combined (i.e., the BHPS and the UKHLS), I discover that, in general, immigrants in the UK report lower (or similar) levels of life satisfaction relative to corresponding British natives, except for Irish immigrants. I interpret this finding in coherence with the logic of cultural similarity such that the stark differences between British culture and the cultures of Middle East, South Asia, Africa and Caribbean countries pose detrimental effect on the well-being of immigrants who originated from these destinations. On the other hand, immigrants from Western Europe, Ireland and Historical British Colonies such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States of America share similar cultural values as the British thus facilitate their integration into British society and leading to higher or similar SWB levels as the natives. Investigation into spousal characteristics also reveals several interesting observations such that immigrants whose spouses originated from the Mediterranean or other Commonwealth countries are more satisfied with life as compared to immigrants with British spouses whereas those who were married to partners from Central and South America report poorer SWB levels. In addition, results from this chapter prove that language proficiency does not play a key role in determining immigrants' evaluations of their post-migration lives, and neither does the presence of school-going children in the households improve

immigrants' well being as parents in a new community and country. All in all, this study highlights the prominence of standard socioeconomic indicators that overwhelm the significance of migration-related variables in explaining SWB changes among the immigrants over the years, and provides valuable and more comprehensive insights into the immigrant situation in the UK spanning across two decades. In the next chapter, I will continue to investigate the SWB differences between immigrants and members of ethnic minorities in the UK as compared to British natives and members of white majority group by using primary data collection and incorporating two crucial psychological components that shape immigration experience – multiculturalism and acculturation.

**Chapter appendix****Table 3.10.A:** Birth Country Groups among the First-Generation Immigrants

Country of Birth (in groups)	Number of First Gen Immigrants
South Asia	12,975
Africa	7,029
Central and South America	3,008
Central and Eastern Europe	2,945
Western Europe	2,716
Ireland	2,393
Far East Asia	2,237
Historical British Colonies	984
Middle East	791
Mediterranean and Other Commonwealth	636

**Table 3.10.B:** List of Countries of Birth among Immigrants in the UK (1991-2013)

Country label	BHPS		UKHLS	
	Code	<i>N</i> (waves)	Code	<i>N</i> (waves)
<i>Ireland</i>	6	1,882	5	1,268
<i>Historical British Colonies</i>				
Australia	11	346	13	274
Canada	12	160	15	237
New Zealand	13	131	14	218
United States of America	52	489	16	523
		<b>Σ = 1126</b>		<b>Σ = 1252</b>
<i>Western Europe</i>				
Belgium	66	76	132	96
Canary Islands	-	-	153	5
Denmark	67	42	179	68
France	68	111	6	326
Finland	86	17	198	38
Germany	73	616	7	1,037
Germany Democratic Republic (East)	76	29	-	-
Germany Federal Republic (West)	72	443	-	-
Greece	83	11	209	75
Italy	69	307	8	349
Netherlands	71	123	353	163
Norway	87	12	296	43
Portugal	84	64	312	236
Spain	85	91	9	185
Sweden	88	68	346	92
Switzerland	82	56	347	33
		<b>Σ = 2,066</b>		<b>Σ = 2,746</b>
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>				
Albania	74	8	108	33
Austria	81	133	123	79
Belarus	-	-	131	11
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-	-	140	41
Bulgaria	75	6	147	52
Croatia	-	-	173	4
Czechoslovakia	77	21	177	3
Czech Republic	-	-	176	61
Estonia	-	-	192	4
Georgia Republic	-	-	205	7
Hungary	78	7	223	111
Kosovo	-	-	248	26
Latvia	-	-	252	64
Lithuania	-	-	259	141
Macedonia	-	-	263	1
Moldova	-	-	278	23
Poland	79	128	10	1,308
Romania	80	6	318	120
Russia	-	-	320	113
Serbia	-	-	327	25
Slovakia	-	-	332	55
Slovenia	-	-	333	6
Turkey	91	57	12	370
Ukraine	-	-	365	78
USSR	92	155	367	11
Yugoslavia	89	6	385	6
Other Europe	90	25	-	-
		<b>Σ = 552</b>		<b>Σ = 2,753</b>

<i>Africa</i>				
Algeria	45	27	110	92
Angola	-	-	112	100
Benin	-	-	134	6
Botswana	20	0	141	4
Burkina Faso	-	-	148	3
Burundi	-	-	149	25
Cameroon	-	-	152	48
Cape Verde	-	-	154	9
Democratic Republic of Congo	-	-	178	185
Djibouti	-	-	180	3
East Africa	-	-	103	12
Egypt	49	54	188	158
Eritrea	-	-	191	101
Ethiopia	-	-	193	103
Gabon	-	-	202	5
Gambia	21	0	203	71
Ghana	22	69	23	841
Guinea	-	-	215	5
Guinea-Bissau	-	-	216	16
Ivory Coast	-	-	235	83
Kenya	14	500	22	754
Liberia	-	-	255	18
Libya	48	13	256	34
Malawi	17	5	265	136
Morocco	46	5	283	77
Mozambique	-	-	284	18
Namibia	-	-	286	8
Nigeria	23	112	24	1195
Rwanda	-	-	321	13
Senegal	-	-	326	21
Sierra Leone	24	44	330	134
Somalia	-	-	335	674
South Africa	50	354	26	689
Sudan	-	-	343	98
Swaziland	-	-	345	2
Tanzania	16	85	351	162
Togo	-	-	355	6
Tunisia	47	1	361	8
Uganda	15	175	25	422
West Africa	-	-	105	12
Zaire	-	-	168	10
Zambia	18	45	386	163
Zimbabwe	19	173	387	637
Other Africa	51	143	106	26
		<b><math>\Sigma = 1,805</math></b>		<b><math>\Sigma = 7,187</math></b>
<i>South Asia</i>				
Afghanistan	-	-	102	201
Bangladesh	33	223	20	3,152
India	34	1,024	18	4,341
Kashmir	-	-	242	71
Nepal	-	-	288	162
Pakistan	56	650	19	3,688
Sri Lanka	35	99	21	982
		<b><math>\Sigma = 1,996</math></b>		<b><math>\Sigma = 12,597</math></b>

**Far East Asia**

Brunei	-	-	146	8
Cambodia	-	-	151	3
China + Hong Kong	58+36	229	17	754
Indonesia	-	-	228	68
Japan	59	43	236	104
Korea, Republic of	-	-	247	18
Laos	-	-	251	1
Malaysia	37	170	266	307
Myanmar	57	0	285	77
Philippines	60	101	309	418
Singapore	38	189	331	189
Taiwan	-	-	349	26
Thailand	-	-	352	188
Vietnam	61	12	377	99
Other Asia	65	39	-	-
		<b>Σ = 783</b>		<b>Σ = 2,260</b>

**Caribbean, Central and South America**

Anguilla	-	-	113	17
Antigua	-	-	114	24
Argentina	-	-	116	21
Bahamas	-	-	126	13
Barbados	25	33	129	188
Beliza	31	2	-	-
Bermuda	-	-	135	27
Bolivia	-	-	137	3
Brazil	-	-	142	89
Central America	54	10	-	-
Chile	-	-	161	47
Colombia	-	-	165	69
Cuba	-	-	174	13
Dominica	-	-	182	53
Dominican Republic	-	-	183	7
Ecuador	-	-	187	13
El Savador	-	-	189	9
Falkland Islands	-	-	195	5
Guadeloupe	-	-	204	4
Guatemala	-	-	213	2
Guyana	32	67	217	180
Grenada	-	-	211	113
Haiti	-	-	218	4
Honduras	-	-	222	1
Jamaica	26	349	27	1408
Martinique	-	-	271	1
Mexico	-	-	275	20
Montserrat	-	-	282	67
Nevis	-	-	337	60
Panama	-	-	303	5
Paraguay	-	-	306	5
Peru	-	-	307	12
South America	55	130	336	8
St. Lucia	-	-	339	91
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	-	-	341	41
Trinidad and Tobago	27	36	359	197
Uruguay	-	-	370	5
Venezuela	-	-	376	19
West Indies	29	25	382	34
The Caribbean / French Caribbean	53	4	388	12
Other Caribbean Commonwealth	30	83	-	-
		<b>Σ = 739</b>		<b>Σ = 2,887</b>



<i>Middle East</i>				
Aden	-	-	101	13
Armenia	-	-	118	1
Azerbaijan	-	-	124	2
Bahrain	-	-	127	15
Dubai	-	-	184	2
Iran	62	82	230	209
Iraq	-	-	231	204
Israel	63	1	234	41
Jordan	-	-	241	13
Kazakhstan	-	-	243	18
Kuwait	-	-	249	16
Lebanon	-	-	253	54
Palestine	-	-	301	34
Qatar	-	-	314	13
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	-	-	325	67
Syrian Arab Republic	-	-	348	19
Tajikistan	-	-	350	5
United Arab of Emirates	-	-	368	14
Yemen	-	-	384	72
Other Middle East	64	184	276	3
		<b><math>\Sigma = 267</math></b>		<b><math>\Sigma = 815</math></b>
<i>Mediterranean and other Commonwealth</i>				
Cyprus	39	184	11	249
Fiji	-	-	197	28
Gibraltar	40	46	206	33
Madagascar	-	-	264	8
Malta	41	174	269	103
Mauritius	43	44	273	237
Papua New Guinea	-	-	305	5
Seychelles	42	41	328	30
St. Helena	-	-	338	5
Tuvalu	-	-	364	5
Other New Commonwealth	44	40	-	-
		<b><math>\Sigma = 529</math></b>		<b><math>\Sigma = 703</math></b>

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **The subjective well-being of immigrants in the United Kingdom: Associations with multiculturalism and acculturation**

## Introduction

Eight years ago in February 2012, a thought-provoking news article in *The Telegraph* with the headline – “*Multiculturalism has left Britain with a toxic legacy*” (Palmer, 2012), polls from the Scottish referendum two years later which saw 45% of people saying “Britishness” was not for them, have left people pondering how to ensure that Britain remains a society that accepts multiculturalism. This is especially relevant as the pace of immigration to Britain remains strong. An important question for policymakers is therefore how to integrate immigrants into British society, so that they participate fully in it, sharing and respecting its values. This question is even more pertinent today than it was a few decades ago. Hence, understanding the experiences of recent immigrants and other multicultural individuals, such as their descendants, is of great importance in this diverse society. The present chapter aims to incorporate immigrants’ voice to better understand the impact of migration as a whole on their sense of belonging and their self identities and understand the implication of acculturation preferences among ethnic minorities on individuals’ subjective well-being. Aside from comparing between natives and immigrants of various generations akin to previous chapters, present study also focuses on contrasting between majority (white or Caucasian ethnic origin) and other minority ethnic groups.

With reference to previous chapters, the underlying rationale of present chapter is to investigate the SWB differences of immigrants and ethnic minority groups in the UK as compared to the white ethnic majority and British natives while incorporating two key psychological processes involved in the migrant experience that are associated with the SWB of immigrants – multiculturalism and acculturation. Throughout history, anthropologists and social scientists have concluded that migration between human populations can affect the cultural repertoire of both immigrant and resident (host) groups in numerous ways (e.g., Sanjek, 2003; Portes, 2001). Migration between countries is a worldwide phenomenon that

generates demographic and cultural diversity within nations. On a national level, cultural evolution that take place as the outcome of international migration has traditionally been studied in the framework of ‘acculturation’ and ‘multiculturalism’ (Castles & Miller, 2009; Verkuyten, 2005). Acculturation is defined as “*those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups*” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Multiculturalism, on the other hand, refers to the diverse ethnic make-up of contemporary societies as a result of migration (Green & Staerklé, 2013). In a normative and prescriptive sense, multiculturalism is a desirable way of achieving diversity within a country by promoting openness towards others and preventing discrimination (Kymlicka, 1995).

On an individual level, as a consequence of cultural evolution, a growing number of people have to integrate multiple cultural identities within their global self-concept. Extensive academic research and political debate on ‘multiculturalism’ has been divided into either celebration of the complexity of a multicultural society in embracing diverse populations within a common framework (Parekh, 2000), or apprehension of the incompatibility of different identities and potential political unease provoked by strong minority ethnic and religious identities (Cameron, 2011; Huntington, 1993).

This increased cultural diversity highlights the need for a better understanding of the role that cultural affiliations play in determining people’s subjective well-being. The manner in which one’s different cultural affiliations are negotiated has been found to predict individual well-being. Multicultural individuals often need to navigate the different norms and values associated with their multiple cultural identities. Verkuyten (2007) also stressed that identities are, however, not strictly binary or contradicting. In other words, people can preserve multiple identities and practise different values at different levels of ‘abstraction’ in

which these identities may well be mutually reinforcing, rather than opposing one another. Dual identities, with positive attachment to an overarching group (national or ethnic), are often associated with more positive adaptation to receiving dominant societies and better psychological well-being (Sam & Berry, 2010).

While investigating the organisation of multiple cultural identities among Canadian immigrants living in the province of Quebec, Carpentier and de la Sablonnière (2013) highlighted the importance of achieving coherence between identities while maintaining a strong identification to the original cultural group. They also pointed out that it might be easier and more beneficial to embrace a multiculturalism policy and for Canadian immigrants to achieve coherence between identities and to maintain their original culture than it is for immigrants moving to countries with other national policies such as colorblindness in France (based on decategorisation; racial or ethnic membership should not matter because people are all the same; Richeson and Nussbaum, 2004) or assimilation in Germany (immigrants are expected to adopt the culture of the dominant group and leave behind their own cultural characteristics; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994). Such national policies have an impact on intergroup attitudes, which in turn influence immigrants' integration process.

### **Multiculturalism**

Drawing upon the multifaceted nature of the concept of multiculturalism, its different definitions span across demographic features, policy issues and various psychological aspects. The policy and political relevance of multiculturalism is captured in when it is defined as “*the recognition of group difference within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity*” (Modood, 2007, p.2). Policymakers often adopt the term multiculturalism to address issues relating to cultural diversity and to devise policy plans to encourage the integration process of

immigrants into mainstream society through active social participation, improving immigrants' socioeconomic position, establishing equal rights for all groups and last but not least, by eradicating discrimination (van de Vijver, Schalk-Soekar, Arends-To'th, & Breugelmans, 2006). Most importantly, in terms of psychological concept, the definition of multiculturalism refers to an attitude towards a culturally heterogeneous society; more specifically, it refers to the acceptance of cultural differences and support of equal opportunities. This further implies that cultural diversity is not merely a demographic characteristic of the society but also an important goal for societal progress and functioning as a whole (Berry, 1984; Berry & Kalin, 1995). Therefore, in this thesis, multiculturalism is mainly referred to as an attitude.

The concept of multiculturalism was initially introduced in Canada since 1971 as a policy goal to relinquish the idea of cultural assimilation in which immigrants or ethnic minorities were expected to forgo their original ethnic identity and to adopt a new form of identity parallel to the mainstream society. Hence, the Canadian Multicultural Ideology Scale was one of the first instruments to measure multiculturalism and to assess support for a culturally pluralistic society in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995). In this empirical chapter, I administered the 10-item British Multicultural Ideology Scale (BMIS, Berry & Kalin, 1995) which is essentially an adaptation from the original Canadian Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995). In addition to attitudes towards multiculturalism, various related constructs were also included in this scale such as expected acculturation orientations and opportunities of ethnic minorities or immigrants in British society as perceived by the majority group, as well as the frequency of contacts with the ethnic minorities or immigrants.

Multicultural ideology can be interpreted as an overall evaluation of both ethnic minority and majority groups addressing the extent to which they acquire positive attitudes towards cultural diversity in which ethno-cultural groups preserve and share their cultures

with others and all groups play active roles in the life of a larger pluralistic society. This concept encompasses the general view that diversity is by and large beneficial for a society and for its individual members (high value on cultural maintenance) and that such diversity should be integrated in an equitable way (high value on contact and participation). This ideology is a pre-requisite for multiculturalism and in establishing harmonious intergroup relations as it attempts to achieve balance between unity and diversity within a culturally diverse society (Citrin, Sears, Muste, & Wong, 2001).

Over the past two decades, various researchers have begun to systematically analyse the relationship between attitudes toward multiculturalism and minority acculturation processes (e.g., Berry, 2001; Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Kagitcibasi, 1997, etc.). Attitudes of the ethnic majority group have been found to have direct implications on the acculturation process of ethnic minorities, especially ethnic minority immigrants. Previous studies on multiculturalism revealed that ethnic majority group members generally did not have positive attitudes towards immigrants (Simon & Lynch, 1999). Ho (1990) found only moderate support for multiculturalism in Australia. Similarly, Taylor and Lambert (1996) found that a majority of European Americans were not in favour of cultural diversity. These respondents believed that immigrants and minority groups should keep their culture only in private spheres of life and instead should adapt to the customs and culture of the larger society in public. Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) concluded that the idea of multiculturalism was not prominent in German society.

In the UK context, an analysis of the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey demonstrated that the attitudes of the British public towards immigration were comparable to the unfavourable attitudes found in other countries that I described above. Three out of four (75%) British respondents demanded a reduction in overall immigration rates, a significant percentage rise since 1995 when it was only 63% (Ford, et al., 2012); perhaps due to

increased social division about the economic and cultural impact of immigration (Ford, et al., 2012; Ford and Heath, 2014). Immigration-related findings from the European Social Survey (ESS) revealed that views on the economic and cultural impacts of migration were somewhat polarised. The proportion that judged that immigration has worsened the British economy increased from 43% to 52% between 2002 and 2011 (Ford, et al., 2012) but the percentage of those who had a positive view of the economic impact of immigration also increased from 27% to 40% between 2002 and 2014 (Ford & Lympelopoulou, 2017). In 2014, from an economic perspective, more people still viewed immigration as threatening to the labour market than it being an engine of job creation. Across different migrant groups, the British public responded more positively towards the arrival of migrant students or skilled professionals as compared to other migrant groups such as migrants of family reunions or unskilled labourers (Ford et al., 2012; Hainmuller and Hiscox, 2010).

However, views about the cultural impact of immigration remained negative during the same period suggesting that the public remained sceptical about the cultural benefits of immigration. In fact, the proportion of the public who thought that large numbers of immigrants undermine British culture rose from 32% to 38% between 2002 and 2014 (ESS, 2014). After a decade of unprecedented migration inflows, attitudes about the impact of immigration on crime levels have improved but nonetheless remain strongly negative overall (Curtice & Tipping, 2018). In addition, Ford and Heath (2014) discovered that having more migrant friends and acquaintances is associated with positive opinions about immigration. Further investigation into regional variations revealed that Londoners especially and those with migrant heritage who are more likely to be acquainted with immigrants on a regular basis reported more positive than negative opinions about the effects of immigration in general. Taken together, based on public opinion surveys of majority group members which suggested little political enthusiasm for immigration, the ideology of multiculturalism should



be advocated and implemented. This would facilitate the adoption of integration strategies among the immigrants and minorities for the better prospect of British society and nation.

### **Acculturation**

The concept of acculturation was initially developed to describe transitions at the group level in behaviours and cultural patterns during a process of adaptation that occurs when two separate ethnic groups / cultural identities come into continuous contact (Berry, 1997; 2005). This often results in a change of beliefs, values and behaviours of immigrants (Berry, Trimble & Olmeda, 1986). Instead of a linear process of assimilation described in traditional theories (Gordon, 1964), acculturation is the dynamic interplay of behaviours and identity representing acculturation ‘strategies’. They are termed as “strategies’ instead of ‘attitudes” because they consist of both attitudes and behaviours (i.e., including both the preferences and the consequences) that are expressed on daily intercultural encounters.

While acculturation may be conceptualised as unidimensional in which the process of acculturation takes a single direction from the original culture, it is more often described as a multidimensional concept experienced by immigrants with two or more cultural orientations (Berry, 2003). Four strategies have been derived from two basic notions: a relative preference for maintaining one’s culture characteristics and identity; and a relative preference for actively engaging in the larger society along with other ethno-cultural groups. These strategies involve the adoption (or not) of majority/mainstream culture and identity and the maintenance (or not) of minority/heritage culture and identity, where such adoption and maintenance is conditioned by reception and reaction in the receiving society.

Berry and Sam (1997) identified four potential pathways that behavioural and identity acculturation could take among immigrants and their descendants who come into contact with a very different cultural context. These are illustrated in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1:** Measurement of Identity Acculturation

		<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	
		Is it important to maintain one's identity and characteristics?	
		Yes	No
<i>Contact Participation</i>	Yes	<b>Integration</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>
Is it important to maintain relationships with larger society?	No	<b>Separation</b>	<b>Marginalisation</b>

*Note.* Adapted from “Britishness and identity assimilation among the UK’s minority and majority ethnic groups”, by A. Nandi and L. Platt, 2014, *Understanding Society Working Paper Series*, p. 35, Figure 5. Copyright 2013 by Economic and Social Research Council.

*Integration* involves a high degree of both own cultural maintenance and majority society engagement. Individuals who aim to retain their original culture while actively pursuing frequent interactions with a host culture adopt an *integration* strategy. *Assimilation* refers to a situation that involves loss of the minority culture with the adoption of the majority culture. Individuals who do not want to retain their original culture and look for frequent interactions with a host culture are said to adopt an *assimilation* strategy. *Separation*, on the other hand, is used to describe the exclusive maintenance of the minority culture whereby individuals who value and seek to retain their original culture while at the same time avoiding interaction with a host culture adopt a *separation* strategy. Finally, *marginalisation* is the situation where there is loss of the minority culture but with no compensating gain or investment in the majority culture. Immigrants who have either limited opportunities or interest in retaining one’s original culture while at the same time displaying little interest or have restricted opportunities for interaction with a host culture are said to adopt a *marginalisation* strategy.

Previous findings from Robinson (2009) which explored acculturation preferences among South Asian adolescents in Britain demonstrated that the acculturation attitude most favoured by Indian adolescents was Berry’s *integration* strategy and *marginalisation* was least favoured by Indian and Pakistani adolescents. However, the *separation* strategy was

most favoured by Pakistani adolescents. In the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) found that Turkish adolescents emphasised the importance of cultural maintenance by ethnic minorities but also favoured adaptation. Studies of young Asian people have shown that most young people prefer the integration mode of adaptation (Ghuman, 1991, 1999; Robinson, 2003). The majority of young Asians in Ghuman's (1999) sample were bi-cultural and bi-lingual. They have maintained some aspects of their own culture and at the same time adopted some of the majority cultural norms. They defined their personal identity in a 'hyphenated way' (for example, Indo-English). However, this has not changed the fact that they continued to suffer racial abuse both in and out of school and had mixed feelings about whether they belonged in Britain (Ghuman, 2003).

In contrast to what has been often suggested in the acculturation literature, integration does not always seem to be the most successful acculturation attitude for minority adaptation in the UK (Brown, Zagefka & Tip, 2016). In some studies it was associated with better well-being, but sometimes separation was the more adaptive strategy. Brown, et al. (2016) speculated that different contextual influences and the majority's attitude towards cultural diversity such as prejudice levels among the majority and minority members' perceived discrimination, both played vital roles for the acculturation attitudes displayed by immigrants as well as their overall well-being. On the one hand, this is promising, because it means that by lowering prejudice and discrimination, acculturation attitudes and their consequences can be improved. However, the political and popular climate in Britain towards immigration shows that there might be a steep hill to climb.

### **Identity configuration**

As researchers have started to emphasise the importance of the host society in immigrants' acculturation process (e.g. Van Oudenhoven, et al., 2006), they have considered

that factors such as level of acceptance of multiculturalism and strength of identification to both cultures are integral in shaping the identity structure and well-being of immigrants and natives in host countries. Recent research on multicultural identification has focused on how individuals who belong to multiple cultural groups manage these different identities within the self, and how this process predicts well-being; how biculturals and multiculturals intra-individually integrate their different cultural identities within themselves, and how they subjectively reconcile these different identities (e.g. Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002). In this chapter, identity configuration is assessed by using the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1999) and targeting participants of different ethnic origins other than from a white/Caucasian background.

The two theoretical approaches underlying the MEIM are the development theory of Erikson (1968) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to Erikson's (1968) theory of identity development, an individual forms their unique identity through a process of exploration and commitment during the adolescent years. Learning about one's own ethnicity or group over the years eventually leads to a commitment or decision in important identity domains. Ideally, the learning phase of this development approach leads to a clear understanding of one's own ethnic identity and a secure, confident sense of group membership (Phinney, 1999). In the MEIM, this first component of ethnic identity is termed 'ethnic identity achievement' and assessed by seven items consisting of four exploration items and three commitment items. The second theory postulates that sense of belonging to a group is an essential part of the self-concept in which people generally attribute value and develop attitudes towards the group to which they belong and eventually derive self-esteem from their sense of belonging to that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Ethnic identity is considered to be one type of group identity that is pivotal to the self-concept of ethnic minority group members. Hence, based on social identity theory, the second major

component of the MEIM – affirmation and belonging – assesses the strength and valence of ethnic identity.

As the omnipresence of multiculturalism or biculturalism continues to rise following increasing migration trends, research on the experiences of multicultural individuals has revealed intriguing insights. The growing literature examining the well-being of biculturals and multiculturalists suggests that integrating one's cultural identities – being involved in both one's mainstream and one's heritage cultural groups – seems to yield greater subjective well-being. For acculturation research, Berry et al. (2006) revealed that immigrant adolescents who reported an integration orientation experienced greater life satisfaction, self-esteem, and less behavioural problems compared to those who only associated with their heritage culture, those who only assimilated into the majority culture, and those who were marginalised outside of both heritage and majority cultures. A meta-analysis of the acculturation literature by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2013) demonstrated that biculturalism, or affiliating with both heritage and mainstream cultural groups, was significantly and positively associated with psychological adjustment, more so than associating solely with either the heritage or the mainstream. These findings from acculturation research indicate that being involved in both heritage and mainstream cultural groups with minimal cultural conflict and distance predicts enhanced subjective well-being

### **Overview of the current study**

Thus far, research on identity integration and subjective well-being indicates that integrating one's multiple cultural identities predicts greater subjective well-being than compartmentalising or categorising these identities. However, what importance should be given to each cultural identity in an integrated self-concept? Does having an integrated identity mean strongly identifying with all groups of belonging? Or does it mean to be able to equally and simultaneously identify with all groups?

The present chapter seeks to deepen this line of inquiry by first capturing the complexity of the multicultural identity configuration experience - by assessing the strengths of identification / sense of belonging to ethnic groups and national identity and evaluating the perceived distance and conflicts between identities. Next, the present study aims at better understanding the immigrant situation in the UK by exploring acculturation orientations (Berry's Acculturation Model – Acculturation Attitudes Scale) and reflecting on acculturation expectations (Multicultural Ideology Scale and Berry's Acculturation Expectation Scale). In addition, the chapter considers levels of discrimination and respondents' opinions on how acculturation should take place as well as perceived opportunities for immigrants in order to provide a more accurate picture of how multiple cultural belongings affect immigrants' subjective well-being.

I utilise different approaches to assess how well minority groups fare in terms of subjective well-being compared to the white British majority, taking into account several key variables. The first important measure used in this study – the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) addresses individuals' strengths of identification and sense of belonging as well as commitment to their respective ethnic groups and national identity. The British Multicultural Ideology Scale, on the other hand, aims to assess the perceived national support and opportunities rendered to minority ethnic/cultural groups and immigrants in the UK. Last

but not least, the final scale presented in this study is the Acculturation Attitudes Scale or Acculturation Expectation Scale. The former scale targets the non-dominant group, i.e. ethnic minorities whereas the latter targets the dominant cultural group in the UK, i.e. the white British majority. Both scales embody four salient topic areas that reflect various issues confronting ethnic minorities, i.e. language knowledge and usage, preference for friendships, maintenance of cultural traditions, and desired social contacts and activities. The sub-scales of the Acculturation Attitudes Scale taps into the four modes of acculturation proposed by Berry and Sam (1997): Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalisation. Similarly, the Acculturation Expectation Scale which is completed by the white British respondents is transcribed into four modes: Multiculturalism, Melting pot, Segregation and Exclusion.

In light of the past literature and research evidence, the hypotheses for the current study are as follows:

**H1:** There are SWB differences between people of a white or Caucasian ethnic background and people of non-white ethnic origins.

**H2:** There are SWB differences between immigrant generations. First-generation immigrants report, on average, lower levels of SWB for all four measures - life satisfaction, flourishing, positive affect and negative affect - compared to second-generation immigrants and British natives.

**H3:** Among non-white participants, both constructs of the MEIM - Ethnic identity achievement and Belonging – are positively associated with all four measures of SWB.

**H4:** There are significant associations between SWB measures and the BMIS score: respondents who favour multiculturalism report, on average, higher levels of subjective well-being.

**H5:** Among non-white ethnic minorities or immigrants, respondents who adopt an *Integration* strategy as their acculturation strategy report higher levels of SWB compared to those who opt for a *Marginalisation* strategy.

**H6:** Among white respondents, those who adopt *Multiculturalism* as an acculturation expectation strategy report higher levels of SWB compared to those who select the *Exclusion* strategy.

## Methods

### Participants

A total of four hundred and thirty-four participants comprising 181 males and 253 females currently residing in the United Kingdom were recruited online over a three-month period from March to June 2018. Data were collected online via the participant recruitment platform, Prolific Academic. The sample included 176 natives and 258 immigrants from various ethnic groups in the United Kingdom. In order to access the study, respondents clicked a link provided on the Prolific Academic platform which then directed them to a secure online survey website called Qualtrics. Upon giving consent, respondents completed a 20-minute survey and were paid £2 in exchange for their active participation. Customised pre-screening was applied prior to the start of the questionnaire in which only respondents of at least 18 years of age and currently residing in the United Kingdom for at least six months were allowed to take part in the survey. The sample was recruited in three stages in which each stage targeted a sample of a different ethnic background and country of birth in order to achieve a balanced ratio of native and immigrant respondents from either white or non-white ethnic background. All three sub-samples were recruited at the same time. The first stage recruited only British nationals of white ethnic background (8 participants were rejected due to ineligibility), the second stage recruited immigrants of white or Caucasian ethnic



background but were born outside the UK (13 respondents were disqualified), and the third stage recruited participants of different ethnic origins other than white or Caucasian ethnic group regardless of their country of birth (16 participants were rejected due to ineligibility). Respondents who failed the attention checks (for instance, “*Please select strong disagree for this statement*”) and those who completed the survey in an unrealistic amount of time (less than 5 minutes), and those who failed to complete the whole survey were eliminated from the final sample.

According to ethnicity facts and figures from 2011 Census data (Office for National Statistics; ONS, 2016), the UK population is made up of 87% white people and 13% Black, Asian, Mixed or other ethnic groups. Hence, the white population is the majority ethnic group in this country. This study was therefore designed to explore differences in ethnic and national identities as well as acculturation attitudes and expectations between the white and non-white population, controlling for demographic and socioeconomic status. 70% of the sample was of white / Caucasian ethnic origin whereas the remaining 129 non-white participants belonged to Asian / Asian British, Black / African / Caribbean, Mixed, Hispanic, Arab or Other ethnic backgrounds. The white sample consisted of 188 females and 117 males; their mean age was 32.8 years ( $SD = 9.8$ ). The non-white group consisted of 65 females and 64 males; with a mean age of 31.5 years ( $SD = 9.9$ ).

First and second-generation immigrants were classified based on the country of birth of the individual and both parents. First-generation immigrants are immigrants who were born outside of the current country of residence. Among the British nationals who were born in the country, some were descendants of immigrant families with both foreign-born parents (Generation 2.0) or children of immigrants with only one foreign born parent and one native parent (Generation 2.5). Participants from the non-white group were largely comprised of first-generation immigrants with only 23 native-born individuals whereas in the white

samples, respondents were evenly distributed between native-born and foreign-born individuals, 153 and 152 respectively.

### **Data quality**

Various forms of quality checks and timed responses were implemented throughout the survey in order to detect inattentive respondents. The questionnaire incorporated six attention checks in total including one warning statement to ensure that the respondents were reading the questions and answering honestly. Four other attention checks such as “*Please select ‘strongly agree’ for this statement*” were integrated into matrix-style questions in the Flourishing Scale, MEIM, AAS and AES. One remaining attention check was featured in the midst of the questionnaire (Q24) which prompted respondents to only select swimming and running as favourite hobbies when asked, “*which of these activities do you engage in regularly*”. Inattentive respondents who answered these questions incorrectly were not allowed to complete the remaining questionnaire and respondents who failed to complete the survey within the given time frame (45 minutes) were disqualified from the study. In total, twenty-three timed-out responses and one hundred and seventy-seven respondents who failed the attention checks were automatically eliminated from the final sample. Furthermore, the survey was designed to disqualify any participants who completed the matrix style questions by choosing the same choice for every item in the questionnaire (for instance, selecting “Agree” for all 20 items in the PANAS) to exclude response sets; however, no participants were ruled out in this sample. The final sample comprised of 434 participants with valid responses.

## Measures

The survey consisted of three major parts. The first part requested demographic and socioeconomic information. The second part focused on three components of subjective well-being as the dependent variables in this study. As mentioned in the previous section, the notion of SWB generally encompasses two types of well-being, i.e. hedonic well-being (cognitive and affective judgements) and eudaimonic well-being. The present study incorporated three scales in order to address both well-being models; i.e., the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985), the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) and the Flourishing Scale (FS; Diener et al., 2009).

### *Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)*

The cognitive part of one's long-term well-being – namely life satisfaction - was measured using the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), an instrument developed by Diener and colleagues (1985) to evaluate individuals' overall life satisfaction across a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree (see Appendix A). Scores from all items were summed up; a low overall score indicates a low level of life satisfaction whereas a high overall score indicates a high level of life satisfaction (see Table 4.2 for descriptive statistics).

### *Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS)*

The Positive and Negative Affect Scales (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) is a 20-item instrument that captures the affective part of well-being by asking respondents to rate the intensity of their present emotions on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) very slightly or not at all to (5) extremely (see Appendix B). This instrument consists of two 10-item scales in

which one measures positive affect and the other measures negative affect (Watson, et al., 1988). Items from each scale were calculated independently; a low overall score implies a low level of affect and a high overall score implies a high level of affect (see Table 4.2).

### *Flourishing Scale (FS)*

Eudaimonic well-being was assessed using an 8-item Flourishing Scale developed by Diener and colleagues (2009). Respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they perceive their own accomplishment in important areas such as life purpose, self-esteem, relationships and optimism on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strong disagree to (7) strongly agree. An example for one of the statements in this scale includes, “*I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me.*” (see Appendix C). Scores from all eight items were then summed; a low overall score represents a low level of eudaimonic well-being and a high overall score represents a high level of eudaimonic well-being (see Table 4.2). An individual who scores high on the Flourishing Scale is considered to be a person with many psychological resources and strengths (Diener, et al., 2009).

The third part of the inventory focused on the main independent variables of the current study by using three different scale instruments, i.e., the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1999), the British Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995), and the Acculturation Attitudes / Expectations Scales (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989).

### *Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)*

The Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure is a 20-item scale proposed by Phinney (1999) to assess the importance of ethnic identity as a key part of self-concept and ego-identity. Participants were asked to indicate their responses on a 4-point Likert scale ranging

from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree. The MEIM scale comprises of four subscales of which two are distinguished by cognitive and affective components, i.e. ethnic identity achievement (cognitive and development), affirmation, belonging and commitment (affective), other group orientation and ethnic behaviour. Out of the 20 items, the cognitive component of ethnic identity – ethnic identity achievement – is assessed by seven items (items 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 13 and 14 in Appendix D), including four exploration items such as activities to learn about a person's ethnic group and three commitment items which entail a clear understanding of a person's ethnic group. One of the seven items that is categorised as ethnic identity achievement component took the following form: *"In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group"*. Response categories for two of the items (items 8 and 10) were reversed and scores from all seven items were summed then divided by seven, with a low mean score indicating a low level of ethnic identity achievement and a high mean score indicating a high level of ethnic identity achievement (EI achievement, hereinafter).

The second major component of this scale – affirmation and belonging, is represented by five items that assess attachment, pride and positive feelings about the person's ethnicity (items 6, 11, 15, 19 and 21 in Appendix D). The summed score on this particular component represents the strength and valence of one's own ethnic identity. The examples for the affirmation and belonging component include: *"I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me"* and *"I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group"*. Similarly, the summed score for all five items were divided by five; a low mean score represents little exploration of affirmation and belonging in one's ethnicity whereas a high mean score represents a high sense of affirmation and belonging to one's own ethnic identity. Two items (items 2 and 17) refer to the third and less important component – ethnic behaviour. Following the scoring guide provided by Phinney (1999), the total score and mean

value of the MEIM are derived by summing and averaging across these 14 items from the abovementioned three subscales: ethnic identity achievement, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behaviour. The third subscale – ethnic behaviour, was not included in the regression models in the present chapter because according to Floyd & Widaman (1995), merely two items are insufficient to be considered a viable subscale or a factor.

The remaining eight items from the scale belong to the fourth component of ethnic identity – other group orientation. This specific component describes ethnic behaviours towards other ethnic groups, for instance, “*I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own*”. However, this separate construct was also not included in the statistical analysis at a later stage, as orientation towards other ethnic groups is not exactly part of the self-identity scale, and thus less relevant for the present study. In addition, several other studies such as Worrell, et al. (2006) and Ponterotto et al. (2003) revealed low reliability scores for this specific component. As the MEIM measures the extent to which one’s original ethnic identity is vital to one’s self, in this study, this scale was only limited to respondents who selected an ethnic group other than of white origin in the previous demographic section of the survey (see Table 4.2 for descriptive statistics).

#### *British Multicultural Ideology Scale (BMIS)*

In an effort to better understand the multifaceted and dynamic nature of the concept of multiculturalism, Berry and Kalin (1995) developed the Multicultural Ideology Scale (MIS) to measure attitudes towards multiculturalism and assess people’s perceptions on whether cultural diversity and multiculturalism are, by and large, beneficial for society and its members. The MIS encompasses themes such as diversity (i.e., whether diversity generates more advantages than disadvantages for society), acculturation strategies by minorities in the society (i.e., cultural integration or maintenance by immigrants), and acculturation strategies

by the majority members of the host society (i.e., whether the majority should be more proactive in embracing and understanding minorities). This scale was first developed in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995) and subsequently used as a reliable instrument measuring attitudes towards multiculturalism in several cross-cultural studies (e.g., van de Vijver, et al., 2008).

The Multicultural Ideology Scale was adapted to the British context in the present study in order to measure the attitudes towards multiculturalism in the United Kingdom (see Appendix F). Using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each of the statements, for instance, “*A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur*”. There are ten items in this scale, five of which are negatively worded (i.e., items 3, 5, 6, 7, and 10) and thus were reverse coded when summing up the score from each item. A low overall score on this scale suggests negative attitudes towards multiculturalism whereas a high overall score on the MIS suggests positive attitudes towards multiculturalism (see Table 4.2 for descriptive statistics).

#### *Acculturation Attitudes / Expectations Scales (AAS / AES)*

The original version of the Acculturation Attitude scale was first developed by Kim (1988, as cited in Dona & Berry, 1994) to measure various cultural integration issues confronting Korean-Canadians. Twenty topic areas such as friendship, food preference, child rearing, selecting a marriage partner, newspaper readership, etc. were selected and included in the scale which comprises a total of 80 items. This instrument was then replicated and shortened version were developed by several other researchers to assess the attitudes, beliefs and values that immigrants or minority ethnic group members in plural societies may experience in the process of acculturation (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989;

Leung, Leung, & Chan, 2007). Acculturation attitudes influence individuals' preferences in daily life in two underlying ways: the extent to which they choose to cultivate their heritage cultures and identities, and the extent to which they choose to be in contact with people outside their own group and to participate in social activities of the larger society. When these two issues converge, four acculturation attitudes / strategies are developed; namely, Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalisation (Berry, 1970; Berry, et al., 1986).

Essentially, the Acculturation Attitudes Scale (AAS) assesses these four different preferences for how immigrants or minority ethnic members acculturate, i.e., Integration, Separation, Assimilation and Marginalisation. In this chapter, I modified the original research instrument to adapt to the British context and only focused on four domains of cultural experience and identity in everyday life, i.e., cultural traditions, language usage, social activities and choice of friends (see Appendix G). For each domain, four items were formulated that represent the different acculturation strategies. In total, there are 16 items (plus one random statement for an attention check) which were included in randomised order for the AAS in this study. A sample item reads, "*I prefer to have only friends from my own ethnic group*" (friendship), and strong preference for this statement suggests Separation as one's acculturation strategy. Responses for all items were anchored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Items from each strategy were summed and averaged separately. A high mean value for items 1, 4, 9 and 15 denotes a strong preference for the Separation strategy; a high score for items 2, 3, 7 and 14 denotes a strong preference for the Marginalisation strategy; whereas a high score for items 5, 10, 16 and 17 and a high score for items 6, 11, 12 and 13 denote strong preferences for the Integration and the Assimilation strategies, respectively.

Based on the Acculturation Attitudes Scale, in this study, I also adopted an alternative scale referred to as the Acculturation Expectations Scale (AES; Berry, 1997) to measure



similar data with members of the majority ethnic group, i.e. the white ethnic individuals living in the UK. For immigrants and minority ethnic group members, the AAS evaluates how they prefer to acculturate into the host society. On the other hand, for white ethnic individuals, the AES evaluates how they perceive or expect that immigrants or minorities should acculturate. The AES has been previously used in other cross-cultural research with immigrants and natives in Germany (Schmitz & Berry, 2011).

Similar to the AAS, the Acculturation Expectations Scale comprises of four different preferences statements based on the exact same life domains, the four expectation strategies are Multiculturalism, Melting Pot, Segregation and Exclusion. One sample item from the AES reads, *“I feel that immigrants / people of other ethnic groups should adopt the British cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own”*, strong preference for this statement suggests the adoption of Melting Pot as an acculturation expectation strategy. 16 items (with an additional statement for an attention check) from each strategy were summed and averaged separately. A high mean value for items 5, 10, 16 and 17 denotes a strong preference for the Multiculturalism strategy; a high score for items 6, 11, 12 and 13 denotes a strong preference for the Melting Pot strategy, whereas a high score for items 1, 4, 9 and 15 and a high score for items 2, 3, 7 and 14 denote strong preferences for the Segregation and the Exclusion strategies, respectively (see Appendix H for the scale items of the AES). In the present study, the AAS was strictly limited to non-white participants only whereas the AES was released to white participants only.

**Table 4.2:** Descriptive Statistics for all Study 3 Variables

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Cronbach's alpha
<b>Dependent variables</b>					
Life satisfaction	4.55	1.57	1	7	0.87
Positive affect	30.40	8.07	10	50	0.89
Negative affect	16.69	7.10	10	42	0.90
Flourishing	40.00	7.52	9	55	0.89
<b>Independent variables</b>					
Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure ( <i>N</i> =123)					0.84
MEIM EI achievement	2.85	0.55	1.43	4.00	
MEIM belonging	3.04	0.72	1.00	4.00	
British Multicultural Ideology Scale ( <i>N</i> =434)	37.10	7.26	12.00	50.00	0.86
Acculturation Attitudes Scale ( <i>N</i> =129)					0.81
AA integration	4.09	0.71	1.75	5.00	
AA assimilation	2.18	0.82	1.00	4.75	
AA marginalisation	2.06	0.76	1.00	4.50	
AA separation	2.13	0.74	1.00	4.00	
Acculturation Expectations Scale ( <i>N</i> =305)					0.77
AE multiculturalism	4.23	0.61	2.50	5.00	
AE melting pot	1.90	0.63	1.00	3.75	
AE segregation	1.99	0.55	1.00	3.75	
AE exclusion	1.87	0.63	1.00	3.75	

Note: *N*=434 unless stated otherwise

### *Control variables*

Similar to the previous empirical chapters, I also included a variety of control variables such as age, gender, education level, marital status and current socioeconomic status in the present chapter. These socio-demographic characteristics have been proven to be significantly associated with SWB in previous studies (Diener, et al., 1999; Deeming, 2013; Portela et al., 2013; Vera-Villarroel et al., 2012). I included a quadratic age term in the regression models to investigate if age has a curvilinear relationship with any of the four dependent variables. Descriptive statistics for all variables can be found in Table 4.3.

Aside from demographic information such as highest education achievement, marital and job status, immigrant-specific factors such as length of stay in the UK, immigrant generation and English language proficiency were also included in the survey. In terms of employment status, participants were asked to choose the employment category that best

applied to their current situation. The sample was largely comprised of white-collar individuals (i.e., clerk, salesperson, secretary), professionals (i.e., doctor, lawyer, teacher, business executive) and students. The remaining 46.7% of the sample were distributed among six categories; i.e., skilled and unskilled workers, self-employed and unemployed, homemakers and others. Examples of skilled work and non-skilled work are technician, carpenter, hairdresser, seamstress; and farm labour, food service, house cleaner, respectively. The two most common types of employment status among white respondents were professional and white-collar work whereas the most common status among the non-white respondents was students.

Past research, such as Dustmann and Fabbri (2003), highlighted the importance of host language proficiency among foreigners in increasing employment possibilities and its strong association with higher wages thus facilitating integration in the destination country. In this study, participants who self-reported as being multi-lingual were asked further questions to examine how well they understand, speak, read and write English. Their English language acquisition was evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale and then computed as four levels (plus native language) in which a higher level denotes a better grasp of the English language. English native speakers who do not speak any other language aside from English were automatically included as the reference group for this category, assuming that this group has perfect English proficiency. Multi-lingual participants were also assessed on how well they master their other language but this measure was not included in the subsequent analysis. Out of a total of 434 respondents, 181 people indicated that they are native speakers whereas 165 people perceived themselves as having strong English language proficiency (i.e., Level 4) and the remaining respondents were at Levels 1 to 3.

Neighbourhood ethnic composition was another factor that I took into consideration as it is possibly associated with attitudes held towards the out-group; in this case, the

acculturation attitudes among immigrants or ethnic minorities and acculturation expectations among natives or members of the majority ethnic group. Besides that, three statements regarding perceived discrimination were incorporated in the questionnaire to examine whether participants had experienced being insulted, threatened or treated unfairly due to their ethnic background. Despite having 18 participants who chose the '*not applicable*' option, most participants, 245 to be exact, reported little experience of being discriminated against whereas eighteen participants experienced high levels of discrimination. Interestingly, more than half of the non-white participants reported medium levels of perceived discrimination whereas 70 per cent of the white participants experienced low levels of perceived discrimination.

Cultural and national identities were addressed using five statements to capture individuals' sense of belonging and feeling of pride of their original ethnic culture and British culture. The third statement in this variable – "*Being part of my original ethnic group is embarrassing to me*" was reverse coded in the analysis so that higher scores denote a higher degree of ethnic and national identities. Descriptive statistics for these control variables can be found in Table 4.3, questions from the control variables can be found in Appendix I).

**Table 4.3:** Descriptive Statistics for Study 3 Control Variables

Control variables	Coding	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Female	1 if female, 0 if male	0.58	0.49	0	1
Age	Continuous variable	32.40	9.79	18	67
University degree	1 if university degree or higher, 0 if below university degree	0.62	0.48	0	1
Job status					
Not employed	Dummy=1 if not employed	0.06	0.25	0	1
Self employed	Dummy=1 if self employed	0.11	0.31	0	1
Unskilled work	Dummy=1 if unskilled work	0.07	0.25	0	1
Professional	Dummy=1 if professional	0.19	0.39	0	1
White collar office work	Dummy=1 if white collar work	0.19	0.40	0	1
Skilled work	Dummy=1 if skilled work	0.09	0.28	0	1
Homemaker	Dummy=1 if homemaker	0.09	0.29	0	1
Student	Dummy=1 if student	0.15	0.36	0	1
Other	Dummy=1 if other	0.05	0.22	0	1
Marital status					
Never married	Dummy=1 if never married	0.49	0.50	0	1
Married	Dummy=1 if married	0.47	0.50	0	1
Divorced	Dummy=1 if divorced	0.02	0.14	0	1
Separated	Dummy=1 if separated	0.01	0.12	0	1
Widowed	Dummy=1 if widowed	0.01	0.07	0	1
Ethnic group					
White/Caucasian	Dummy=1 if White/Caucasian	0.70	0.46	0	1
Hispanic	Dummy=1 if Hispanic	0.03	0.18	0	1
Asian/Asian British	Dummy=1 if Asian/Asian British	0.14	0.35	0	1
Black/African/Caribbean/ /Black British	Dummy=1 if Black/African/ Caribbean/Black British	0.06	0.24	0	1
Mixed	Dummy=1 if Mixed	0.05	0.21	0	1
Arab/Other	Dummy=1 if Arab/Other	0.01	0.12	0	1
Years spent in the UK					
< 1 year	Dummy=1 if < 1 year	0.22	0.42	0	1
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	Dummy=1 if > 1 to ≤ 5 years	0.14	0.35	0	1
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	Dummy=1 if > 5 to ≤ 10 years	0.09	0.29	0	1
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	Dummy=1 if > 10 to ≤ 20 years	0.09	0.29	0	1
> 20 years	Dummy=1 if > 20 years	0.04	0.20	0	1
Migrant generation					
Generation 1.0	Dummy=1 if Gen 1.0	0.59	0.49	0	1
Generation 2.0	Dummy=1 if Gen 2.0	0.04	0.19	0	1
Generation 2.5	Dummy=1 if Gen 2.5	0.06	0.23	0	1
English proficiency					
Level 1	Dummy=1 if level 1	0.02	0.14	0	1
Level 2	Dummy=1 if level 2	0.06	0.25	0	1
Level 3	Dummy=1 if level 3	0.12	0.32	0	1
Level 4	Dummy=1 if level 4	0.38	0.49	0	1
Native language	Dummy=1 if native language	0.42	0.49	0	1
Ethnic Identity score	Continuous variable	10.81	3.43	0	15
National Identity score	Continuous variable	6.02	2.95	0	10
Perceived Discrimination score ( <i>N</i> =416)	Continuous variable	5.54	2.27	3	14
Neighbourhood composition	Continuous variable	2.93	1.26	1	5

Note: *N*=434 unless stated otherwise.

## **Data analysis**

Using R statistical software (R Core Team, 2020), I first conducted zero-order correlations to investigate the relationships between all study variables. Then, I conducted multiple ordered probit (OP) regressions to test the study hypotheses. As the study employs four measures of SWB, I ran each reach regression model for each of the outcome variables (life satisfaction, eudaimonic well-being, positive affect and negative affect).

Accounting for the ordinal nature of the outcome variables, ordered probit regressions were employed as the modelling methodology in this study to estimate the relationships between various explanatory variables and SWB measures among native residents and immigrants in the United Kingdom. As all four SWB scales were comprised of Likert-type items, where respondents rated their agreement on an ordered scale, the OP model provides an appropriate method for these data by preserving the ordering of response options while making no assumptions of the interval distances between ordinal classes in each of the dependent variables.

In the initial ordered probit regression model, I investigated associations between different explanatory variables and each of the SWB measures across all respondents – both white and non-white samples as well as natives and immigrants. In a second step, I focused only on white respondents and accounted for additional measure from the third part of the survey, i.e. the AE scale. The final round of ordered probit regressions included only non-white respondents who completed additional measures such as the MEIM scale and the AA scale from the third part of the survey.

## **Results**

The results for the Pearson's correlations between relevant study variables can be found in Table 4.4.

**Table 4.4:** Pearson's Correlations for Study 4 Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Life Satisfaction														
2. Flourishing Scale	0.61***													
3. Positive Affect	0.40***	0.59***												
4. Negative Affect	-0.28***	-0.41***	-0.03											
5. Female	0.04	0.01	-0.12**	0.02										
6. Age	-0.02	0.14***	0.12**	-0.13***	0.17***									
7. University degree	0.15***	0.16***	0.15***	-0.10**	-0.02	0.10**								
8. Employed	0.13***	0.14***	0.13***	-0.06	-0.02	0.21***	0.11**							
9. Married	0.21***	0.26***	0.14***	-0.11**	0.15***	0.40***	0.12***	0.12**						
10. White ethnic origin	0.08*	0.01	-0.08	0.04	0.10**	0.06	-0.14***	0.09*	0.00					
11. Born in UK	0	0.01	0.12**	0.04	-0.14***	-0.09*	0.22***	-0.04	-0.03	-0.30***				
12. Years spent in UK	-0.12*	-0.02	-0.06	-0.14**	0.28***	0.49***	0.06	0.10*	0.21***	-0.10	NA			
13. English proficiency	-0.04	0.05	0.00	-0.22***	0.11*	0.05	0.18***	0.11*	-0.05	-0.03	-0.19***	0.26***		
14. Neighbourhood composition	0.06	0.02	0.00	-0.04	-0.01	0.03	-0.09*	0.07	-0.03	0.34***	-0.30***	-0.21***	-0.06	
15. Ethnic Identity	0.04	0.17***	0.09*	-0.13***	0.05	0.07	0.15***	-0.01	0.08	-0.10**	0.10***	0.05	0.01	-0.07
16. National Identity	0.17***	0.21***	0.14***	-0.06	0.13***	0.15***	-0.03	0.03	0.09**	0.01	-0.45***	0.33***	0.13**	0.03
17. Perceived Discrimination	-0.15***	-0.09*	0.02	0.14***	-0.04	0.04	0.07	-0.08	0.01	-0.41***	0.10**	0.10	0.08	-0.29***
18. BMIS score	0.07	0.17***	0.06	-0.15***	0.24***	0.04	0.14***	0.01	0.00	0.01	-0.05	0.10	0.23***	0.03
19. MEIM Achievement	0.18**	0.43***	0.40***	-0.09	0.06	0.09	0.14	0.11	0.07	-0.14	-0.15	-0.03	0.10	0.07
20. MEIM Belonging	0.29***	0.50***	0.44***	-0.11	0.15*	0.10	0.08	0.03	0.17*	0.01	-0.01	-0.09	-0.07	0.03
21. AAS Separation	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.27***	0.00	-0.16*	-0.07	-0.11	0.02	NA	0.08	-0.29***	-0.25**	0.18**
22. AAS Marginalisation	-0.20**	-0.24***	-0.08	0.29***	-0.15*	0.00	-0.21**	0.04	-0.01	NA	-0.09	0.07	-0.09	0.06
23. AAS Integration	0.21**	0.31***	0.28***	-0.14	0.02	-0.10	0.12	-0.11	0.06	NA	0.04	-0.11	0.20**	0.16*
24. AAS Assimilation	-0.15*	-0.20**	-0.04	0.25***	-0.03	0.05	-0.05	-0.09	0.02	NA	-0.08	0.09	-0.11	0.02
25. AES Segregation	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.10*	-0.09	-0.27***	0.03	-0.03	NA	-0.36***	0.05	0.03	0.09
26. AES Exclusion	-0.08	-0.20***	-0.18**	0.10*	0.04	-0.18***	-0.13**	-0.08	-0.03	NA	-0.11*	-0.07	-0.04	-0.05
27. AES Multiculturalism	-0.02	0.08	0.13**	-0.08	-0.04	0.06	0.08	0.01	0.01	NA	0.28***	0.07	-0.04	-0.09
28. AES Melting Pot	0.02	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.08	0.11*	-0.15**	0.03	0.11*	NA	-0.17***	0.20**	0.04	-0.05

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	28
15. Ethnic Identity													
16. National Identity	0.04												
17. Perceived Discrimination	0.03	-0.05											
18. BMIS score	0.17***	-0.04	-0.11**										
19. MEIM Achievement	0.38***	0.25***	0.20**	0.23**									
20. MEIM Belonging	0.62***	0.07	0.06	0.40***	0.59***								
21. AAS Separation	0.11	-0.15*	0.05	-0.05	0.20**	0.26***							
22. AAS Marginalisation	-0.19**	0.01	0.04	-0.44***	-0.06	-0.23**	0.48***						
23. AAS Integration	0.24***	0.05	0.03	0.31***	0.28***	0.49***	-0.10	-0.32***					
24. AAS Assimilation	-0.34***	0.25***	-0.09	-0.58***	-0.11	-0.39***	0.23***	0.50***	-0.34***				
25. AES Segregation	0.02	0.11*	-0.01	0.10*	0.54	0.75	NA	NA	NA	NA			
26. AES Exclusion	-0.07	-0.03	0.07	-0.01	-0.39	-0.57	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.38***		
27. AES Multiculturalism	0.07	-0.08	-0.07	0.11*	-0.16	-0.04	NA	NA	NA	NA	-0.39***	-0.30***	
28. AES Melting Pot	0.01	0.13***	0.15***	-0.16***	-0.39	-0.09	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.24***	0.13**	-0.07

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . University degree is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed. Years spent in the UK is a continuous variable which applies to foreign-born participants only ( $N=258$ ). English proficiency is a continuous measure completed by multi-lingual participants in this study ( $N=253$ ).



### **All respondents: Life Satisfaction and Flourishing Scale**

Table 4.5 summarises the ordered probit regression output for all respondents who participated in this study; both white and non-white respondents as well as natives and immigrants currently residing in the United Kingdom. The first and second columns of Table 4.5 show regressions with self-reported life satisfaction as the dependent variable whereas the third and fourth columns presents regressions on the flourishing scale which captures several other universal human psychological needs and prosperity; for instance, the need for competence, relatedness, self-acceptance, and personal growth. In addition to socioeconomic factors, variables related to ethnic and national identities, perceived discrimination and multiculturalism scores which may potentially be affecting subjective well-being measures were also included in the analysis, as reported in the second and fourth columns in Table 4.5.

In line with most of the findings in the subjective well-being literature, the present analysis revealed significant associations between SWB outcomes (i.e., life satisfaction, flourishing scale, positive affect and negative affect) and socioeconomic predictors such as age, highest education level ever achieved, labour market status and marital status. A significant negative association between life satisfaction and age suggested that each additional year of age decreases the prospect of reporting better life satisfaction by 0.08 points at the 5% significance level, holding other variables constant (Model 1, Table 4.5). However, this significant negative association was not found for the flourishing scale, suggesting that people do not change their assessment of their capabilities or success in essential life aspects like relationships, self-esteem, optimism and purpose with age. Education level, which was converted into a binary variable, indicated that people who were at least holding a university degree reported life satisfaction levels that are 0.39 points higher, on average, compared to those who had not completed tertiary education. The education coefficient was significant at the 1% significance level (Model 1, Table 4.5); it was slightly

lower ( $B = 0.33, p < 0.01$ ) when more variables were added in Model 2 (see Table 4.5). Similarly, higher levels of human flourishing among the educated were also observed in Model 3 ( $B = 0.31, p < 0.01$ ) but not in Model 4.

In terms of labour market status, the not employed and participants who were classified as “Other”, which mostly consisted of the retired and the sick or disabled, reported marginally lower life satisfaction levels than the self-employed (Model 1 and Model 2, Table 4.5). Interestingly, individuals who work as white-collar office personnel and homemakers were also found to be report lower levels of flourishing as compared to those who are self-employed, at statistical significance level of 0.05. Students also scored marginally lower on the flourishing scale than self-employed adults when more covariates were added to the regression equation in Model 4 ( $B = -0.36, p < 0.1$ , Table 4.5). As predicted and shown in previous subjective well-being studies, married people were found to be significantly more satisfied with their life and reported higher levels of flourishing compared to individuals who have never been married, while there were no differences in subjective well-being between never married individuals and those in other marital status categories (i.e., separated, divorced and widowed), with one exception. In this study, divorcees reported significantly higher scores ( $B = 0.75, p < 0.05$  in Model 3 and  $B = 0.86, p < 0.05$  in Model 4) on the flourishing scale relative to the never married. In addition, Black, African and Caribbean ethnic respondents tend to report higher levels of flourishing compared to people of white or Caucasian ethnic background in the UK.

With regards to migration-related factors such as migrant generation and years spent in the UK since migration, first-generation immigrants reported significantly lower levels of life satisfaction and flourishing in Models 1 and 3 ( $B = -0.65, p < 0.05$  and  $B = -0.54, p < 0.1$ , respectively) than native residents in the UK with both native-born parents. Respondents with one native parent and one immigrant parent (i.e., Generation 2.5) scored significantly lower

on the flourishing scale ( $B = -0.48, p < 0.05$ , Model 3, Table 4.5), suggesting that this immigrant generation perceived themselves as less successful and less thriving than native residents who were born to two native-born parents. Contrary to one of my initial hypotheses which stated that immigrants will report lower life satisfaction scores than natives, results from the present chapter reveal that immigrants, regardless of number of years spent in the UK, demonstrated significantly higher levels of life satisfaction and flourishing than native-born residents, with one exception (see all models in Table 4.5). Immigrant respondents who had spent more than 5 years but less than or equal to one decade in the UK were found to be report the same levels of life satisfaction and flourishing as native-born respondents (Models 1 and 3, Table 4.5). Due to multicollinearity issues stemming from an insufficient number of responses for the year group of more than 20 years spent in the UK, this particular year group ( $n = 19$ ) was automatically dropped during the regression analysis in R software. Pearson's correlations between year groups of time spent in the UK and SWB outcomes revealed that belonging to the group who had spent more than 20 years in the UK was negatively correlated with life satisfaction ( $r = -0.15, p < 0.01$ ) but no significant correlation was found for the flourishing scale, positive affect or negative affect.

With regards to other covariates, neighbourhood ethnic composition was not significantly associated with either life satisfaction or human flourishing among the respondents in this study. Ethnic identity and national identity were both significantly associated with flourishing ( $B = 0.04, p < 0.05$  and  $B = 0.11, p < 0.01$ , Model 4), suggesting that people with strong cultural and national identities are more likely to experience positive psychological and social functioning most of the time. Life satisfaction, on the other hand, was only found to be significantly associated with one's national identity but not ethnic identity ( $B = 0.10, p < 0.01$ , Model 2).

**Table 4.5:** Life Satisfaction and Flourishing Scale – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>		<i>Flourishing Scale</i>	
	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>	<b>Model 4</b>
Female	0.10 (0.11)	0.06 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.19* (0.11)
Age	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	0.09* (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)
University degree or higher	0.39*** (0.12)	0.33*** (0.13)	0.31*** (0.12)	0.18 (0.12)
<b><u>Employment status</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Self employed)</i>				
Professional	0.10 (0.20)	0.05 (0.21)	-0.12 (0.19)	-0.23 (0.20)
White-collar office work	-0.03 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.21)	-0.40** (0.19)	-0.44** (0.20)
Skilled work	0.17 (0.24)	0.12 (0.25)	-0.17 (0.23)	-0.24 (0.24)
Unskilled work	0.23 (0.25)	0.17 (0.26)	0.04 (0.25)	-0.06 (0.25)
Not employed	-0.44* (0.26)	-0.46* (0.26)	-0.28 (0.25)	-0.32 (0.26)
Homemaker	-0.21 (0.24)	-0.26 (0.25)	-0.48** (0.24)	-0.57** (0.25)
Student	0.03 (0.22)	0.01 (0.23)	-0.29 (0.21)	-0.36* (0.22)
Others	-0.54* (0.28)	-0.62** (0.29)	-0.63** (0.27)	-0.66** (0.28)
<b><u>Marital status</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Never married)</i>				
Married	0.56*** (0.13)	0.56*** (0.13)	0.58*** (0.12)	0.64*** (0.13)
Separated	-0.59 (0.46)	-0.46 (0.51)	0.08 (0.44)	0.16 (0.49)
Divorced	0.30 (0.38)	0.11 (0.43)	0.75** (0.37)	0.86** (0.42)
Widowed	-1.03 (0.85)	-0.80 (0.87)	0.22 (0.76)	0.60 (0.76)
<b><u>Ethnic origin</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = White/Caucasian)</i>				
Hispanic	-0.25 (0.31)	-0.24 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.30)	-0.17 (0.31)
Mixed	-0.24 (0.26)	-0.31 (0.28)	-0.26 (0.25)	-0.23 (0.27)
Asian/Asian British	-0.15 (0.17)	-0.31* (0.18)	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.28 (0.17)
Black/African/Caribbean	0.10 (0.23)	0.19 (0.23)	0.44** (0.22)	0.54** (0.23)
Arab and Others	-0.26 (0.45)	-0.08 (0.46)	-0.14 (0.44)	0.03 (0.45)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
Gen 1.0	-0.65** (0.30)	-0.48 (0.30)	-0.54* (0.29)	-0.40 (0.29)
Gen 2.0	-0.21 (0.31)	-0.11 (0.32)	-0.01 (0.30)	0.09 (0.30)
Gen 2.5	-0.17 (0.25)	-0.10 (0.25)	-0.48** (0.24)	-0.33 (0.25)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
≤ 1 year	0.69** (0.30)	0.94*** (0.31)	0.57** (0.29)	0.91*** (0.30)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	0.65** (0.31)	0.85*** (0.31)	0.62** (0.30)	0.87*** (0.30)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	0.52 (0.32)	0.65** (0.32)	0.31 (0.31)	0.52* (0.31)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	0.86*** (0.31)	0.81** (0.32)	0.68** (0.30)	0.64** (0.31)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Native English)</i>				
Level 1	0.11 (0.41)	0.02 (0.41)	-0.29 (0.40)	-0.42 (0.40)

Level 2	-0.05 (0.25)	0.05 (0.26)	-0.16 (0.24)	-0.04 (0.25)
Level 3	-0.11 (0.21)	-0.10 (0.21)	-0.22 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.21)
Level 4	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.004 (0.16)	0.01 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)
<b>Other covariates</b>				
Neighbourhood composition	0.06 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)
Ethnic Identity score		0.01 (0.02)		0.04** (0.02)
National Identity score		0.10*** (0.02)		0.11*** (0.02)
Perceived Discrimination score		-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)
<b>BMIS</b> - Multiculturalism score		0.01* (0.01)		0.03*** (0.01)
Observations	431	414	431	414

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree.

### All respondents: Positive Affect and Negative Affect

Similar to the previous table, Table 4.6 displays the regression output for positive affect and negative affect for all respondents including both white and non-white respondents as well as natives and immigrants in the UK. The first and third column (Model 5 and Model 7) of the table displays coefficients for all socioeconomic variables and migration-related factors whereas the second and fourth column (Model 6 and Model 8) of Table 4.6 includes additional covariates such as ethnic and national identities, perceived discrimination score and multiculturalism score on a slightly reduced sample size. Unlike the other two SWB measures previously reported, positive affect was found to be significantly and negatively associated with gender, with females reporting significantly lower positive affect than males ( $B = -0.27, p < 0.05$ , Model 5;  $B = -0.39, p < 0.01$ , Model 6). A marginally significant association between age and negative affect ( $B = 0.07, p < 0.1$ , Model 8, Table 4.6) indicates that older respondents experienced more negative affect in general than younger participants. Respondents who graduated from university reported higher positive affect than those who had not completed a university degree ( $B = 0.24, p < 0.05$ , Model 5). However, this significant effect diminished when additional covariates were inserted into the regression model (Model 6). Employment status was converted into a dummy variable in which self-employed, white-

collar or office work, professional work, skilled and unskilled work were all categorised as being employed whereas homemakers, students, the retired, the sick or disabled and the others were grouped together with the non-employed. Relative to respondents who are not employed, employed individuals reported higher levels of positive affect and there was no significant association with negative affect. On the other hand, married people reported higher levels of positive affect in Models 5 and 6 ( $B = 0.21, p < 0.1$ ;  $B = 0.23, p < 0.05$ , respectively) and lower levels of negative affect in Models 7 and 8 ( $B = -0.28, p < 0.05$ ;  $B = -0.27, p < 0.05$ , respectively). Similar to previously reported results of significant positive relationship between Black, African and Caribbean ethnic members and flourishing scale in Table 4.5, this ethnic group also reported significantly higher levels of positive affect when compared to the majority ethnic group of white or Caucasian ( $B = 0.83$  and  $B = 0.90$ , both at 1% significance level, Model 5 and Model 6, Table 4.6).

As compared to native residents with both native-born parents, first-generation immigrants exhibited marginally lower levels of positive affect in Model 5 ( $B = -0.53$  at 10% significance level) while second-generation immigrants who were born in the UK but have two foreign-born parents exhibited borderline lower levels of negative affect, as reported in Model 8 ( $B = -0.56, p < 0.10$ ). Similar to the significant positive results regarding life satisfaction and flourishing previously reported in Table 4.5, immigrants across all four year groups of time spent in the UK exhibited higher levels of positive affect when compared to residents who were born in the UK, except for one year group in Model 5. Before additional covariates were included in the regression models, immigrants who had spent between five to ten years in the UK did not show significantly different levels of positive affect than the reference group and displayed marginally higher levels of negative affect than those who were born and raised in this country ( $B = 0.53$  and  $B = 0.52$ , both at 10% significance level, Model 7 and Model 8 in Table 4.6).

No evidence of a significant association was found between English proficiency and any of the SWB measures, but one. Relative to native speakers whose sole language is English ( $N = 181$ ), non-native speakers with a poorer grasp of English (i.e., Level 1, 2 or 3) exhibited significantly higher levels of negative affect (see Models 7 and 8). After taking into account additional covariates in the regression models, no significant association was found between neighbourhood ethnic composition and both positive and negative affect. The ethnic identity score was found to be significantly associated with negative affect ( $B = -0.03$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , Model 8) while the national identity score was found to be significantly associated with positive affect ( $B = 0.11$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This result implies that respondents with a strong cultural identity were more likely to experience lower levels of negative emotions and those with a strong national identity were more likely to experience higher levels of positive emotions. Perceived discrimination was found to be significantly associated with negative affect ( $B = 0.10$  at 1% significance level) but not with life satisfaction, flourishing or positive affect; further indicating that respondents who had been discriminated against, insulted or threatened in the past due to their ethnic background experienced higher levels of negative emotions in general. Last but not least, the multiculturalism score was, on a marginal level, positively associated with life satisfaction ( $B = 0.01$ ,  $p < 0.1$ , Model 2, Table 4.5) and negatively associated with negative affect ( $B = -0.01$ ,  $p < 0.1$ , Model 8, Table 4.6). On the other hand, this parameter is found significantly associated with one's flourishing state ( $B = 0.03$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , Model 4, Table 4.5) as well as positive affect ( $B = 0.02$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , Model 6, Table 4.6). This result implies that respondents who acquired higher scores in the British Multicultural Ideology Scale (BMIS), which suggest positive attitudes towards multiculturalism, were more satisfied with their lives, perceived themselves as more flourishing as a person, and experienced higher levels of positive emotions and lower levels of negative emotions in general.

**Table 4.6:** Positive Affect and Negative Affect – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Positive Affect</i>		<i>Negative Affect</i>	
	<b>Model 5</b>	<b>Model 6</b>	<b>Model 7</b>	<b>Model 8</b>
Female	-0.27** (0.11)	-0.39*** (0.11)	0.11 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)
University degree or higher	0.24** (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.12)
Employed	0.24** (0.11)	0.20* (0.11)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)
Married	0.21* (0.11)	0.23** (0.12)	-0.28** (0.12)	-0.27** (0.12)
<b><u>Ethnic origin</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = White/Caucasian)</i>				
Hispanic	-0.14 (0.30)	-0.16 (0.30)	0.25 (0.30)	0.08 (0.31)
Mixed	0.14 (0.25)	0.15 (0.26)	0.07 (0.26)	-0.14 (0.27)
Asian/Asian British	0.03 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.17)	-0.12 (0.18)
Black/African/Caribbean	0.83*** (0.22)	0.90*** (0.23)	0.04 (0.22)	-0.10 (0.23)
Arab and Others	-0.78* (0.43)	-0.69 (0.44)	-0.26 (0.45)	-0.39 (0.45)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
Gen 1.0	-0.53* (0.28)	-0.40 (0.28)	-0.41 (0.30)	-0.43 (0.30)
Gen 2.0	0.01 (0.30)	-0.0002 (0.30)	-0.42 (0.31)	-0.56* (0.31)
Gen 2.5	-0.17 (0.24)	-0.06 (0.24)	-0.09 (0.24)	-0.19 (0.25)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
≤ 1 year	0.65** (0.29)	0.95*** (0.29)	0.34 (0.30)	0.38 (0.31)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	0.83*** (0.29)	1.03*** (0.30)	0.36 (0.31)	0.42 (0.31)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	0.44 (0.30)	0.62** (0.30)	0.53* (0.32)	0.52* (0.32)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	0.74** (0.30)	0.69** (0.30)	-0.03 (0.31)	0.07 (0.32)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Native English)</i>				
Level 1	0.41 (0.39)	0.37 (0.40)	0.73* (0.40)	0.85** (0.40)
Level 2	0.22 (0.24)	0.32 (0.24)	0.55** (0.24)	0.56** (0.25)
Level 3	0.08 (0.20)	0.13 (0.20)	0.46** (0.20)	0.53** (0.21)
Level 4	0.13 (0.14)	0.15 (0.15)	0.07 (0.15)	0.12 (0.15)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>				
Neighbourhood composition	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)
Ethnic Identity score		0.02 (0.02)		-0.03** (0.02)
National Identity score		0.11*** (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)
Perceived Discrimination score		0.01 (0.03)		0.10*** (0.03)
<b>BMIS</b> - Multiculturalism score		0.02*** (0.01)		-0.01* (0.01)
Observations	431	414	431	414

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not



employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed.

### **White respondents only**

Focusing on white respondents only, Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 summarise ordered probit regression output for all four SWB outcomes (i.e. life satisfaction, flourishing, positive affect and negative affect) with additional variables derived from the Acculturation Expectation Scale (AES) while accounting for all previously reported study variables in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 (socioeconomic determinants and migration-related factors). The first and second columns of Table 4.7 show regressions related to life satisfaction whereas the third and fourth columns are related to the flourishing scale. Regression results reported in Table 4.8 refer to positive affect in the first two columns whereas the last two columns refer to negative affect.

Participants of white ethnic origin who had a strong preference for Exclusion as their acculturation expectation strategy were associated with significantly lower levels of flourishing ( $B = -0.31, p < 0.01$ , Model 12, Table 4.7) and positive affect ( $B = -0.25, p < 0.05$ , Model 14, Table 4.8). On the other hand, participants who opted for the Segregation strategy were associated with significantly higher levels of positive affect ( $B = 0.31, p < 0.05$ , Model 14). Current analysis did not detect any significant association between Multiculturalism as an acculturation expectation strategy with any of the four SWB outcomes.

**Table 4.7:** Life Satisfaction and Flourishing Scale; White respondents only – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>		<i>Flourishing Scale</i>	
	<b>Model 9</b>	<b>Model 10</b>	<b>Model 11</b>	<b>Model 12</b>
Female	0.17 (0.14)	0.15 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.14)
Age	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	0.13** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)
University degree or higher	0.40*** (0.14)	0.43*** (0.15)	0.14 (0.13)	0.18 (0.14)
Employed	0.36** (0.15)	0.35** (0.15)	0.32** (0.14)	0.29** (0.14)
Married	0.64*** (0.15)	0.64*** (0.15)	0.58*** (0.14)	0.61*** (0.14)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
Gen 1.0	-0.76* (0.45)	-0.74 (0.46)	-0.90** (0.44)	-1.00** (0.45)
Gen 2.0	0.40 (0.56)	0.35 (0.56)	0.29 (0.53)	0.32 (0.53)
Gen 2.5	0.02 (0.30)	-0.01 (0.31)	-0.33 (0.29)	-0.44 (0.29)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
≤ 1 year	1.46*** (0.49)	1.51*** (0.49)	1.48*** (0.47)	1.60*** (0.48)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	1.41*** (0.49)	1.47*** (0.49)	1.54*** (0.48)	1.61*** (0.48)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	1.13** (0.49)	1.15** (0.49)	0.94** (0.48)	1.01** (0.48)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	1.52*** (0.50)	1.56*** (0.50)	1.13** (0.48)	1.25*** (0.48)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Native English)</i>				
Level 1	-0.10 (0.64)	-0.02 (0.64)	-0.47 (0.61)	-0.29 (0.62)
Level 2	-0.04 (0.32)	-0.05 (0.32)	0.03 (0.30)	0.04 (0.30)
Level 3	-0.08 (0.25)	-0.03 (0.25)	-0.003 (0.24)	0.05 (0.24)
Level 4	-0.13 (0.20)	-0.12 (0.20)	0.10 (0.19)	0.14 (0.19)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>				
Neighbourhood composition	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Ethnic Identity score	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
National Identity score	0.15*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Perceived Discrimination score	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
<b>BMIS</b> - Multiculturalism score	0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)
<b><u>AE Scale</u></b>				
AE segregation		0.05 (0.15)		0.22 (0.14)
AE exclusion		-0.03 (0.12)		-0.31*** (0.11)
AE multiculturalism		-0.12 (0.12)		0.04 (0.11)
AE melting pot		0.13 (0.11)		0.07 (0.10)
Observations	288	288	288	288

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed.

**Table 4.8:** Positive Affect and Negative Affect; White respondents only – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Positive Affect</i>		<i>Negative Affect</i>	
	<b>Model 13</b>	<b>Model 14</b>	<b>Model 15</b>	<b>Model 16</b>
Female	-0.24* (0.14)	-0.23* (0.14)	0.21 (0.14)	0.20 (0.14)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	0.02*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
University degree or higher	0.08 (0.13)	0.14 (0.14)	0.02 (0.14)	0.01 (0.14)
Employed	0.25* (0.14)	0.22 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.14)
Married	0.20 (0.13)	0.22 (0.13)	-0.26* (0.14)	-0.27* (0.14)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
Gen 1.0	-0.17 (0.44)	-0.21 (0.44)	-0.16 (0.46)	-0.08 (0.46)
Gen 2.0	0.03 (0.53)	0.07 (0.53)	-0.67 (0.55)	-0.71 (0.56)
Gen 2.5	-0.02 (0.29)	-0.05 (0.30)	-0.19 (0.30)	-0.11 (0.30)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Natives)</i>				
≤ 1 year	0.57 (0.47)	0.68 (0.47)	-0.13 (0.49)	-0.16 (0.49)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	0.73 (0.47)	0.78* (0.47)	0.07 (0.49)	0.06 (0.49)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	0.10 (0.47)	0.18 (0.48)	0.11 (0.49)	0.11 (0.49)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	0.22 (0.48)	0.32 (0.48)	-0.32 (0.50)	-0.36 (0.50)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b>				
<i>(Reference = Native English)</i>				
Level 1	0.04 (0.61)	0.16 (0.62)	0.49 (0.64)	0.41 (0.65)
Level 2	0.64** (0.30)	0.62** (0.31)	0.53* (0.31)	0.52* (0.31)
Level 3	0.44* (0.24)	0.46* (0.24)	0.58** (0.24)	0.57** (0.25)
Level 4	0.44** (0.19)	0.45** (0.19)	0.12 (0.20)	0.11 (0.20)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>				
Neighbourhood composition	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
Ethnic Identity score	-0.0004 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
National Identity score	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Perceived Discrimination score	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)
<b>BMIS - Multiculturalism score</b>	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
<b><u>AE Scale</u></b>				
AE segregation		0.31** (0.14)		-0.02 (0.15)
AE exclusion		-0.25** (0.11)		0.11 (0.11)
AE multiculturalism		0.10 (0.11)		-0.10 (0.12)
AE melting pot		0.01 (0.10)		-0.07 (0.11)
Observations	288	288	288	288

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed.

### **Non-white respondents only**

Excluding white respondents from the full dataset of all respondents in this study, Table 4.9 and Table 4.10 summarise ordered probit regression output for non-white respondents across all four SWB measures. In addition to all the variables adopted in the previous tables, including socio-demographic determinants, migration-related factors as well as relevant covariates, four variables derived from the Acculturation Attitudes Scale (AAS) were introduced to replace the four variables of AES. Two components of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) were also incorporated into the regression models in Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

Among all the participants of different ethnic groups other than the white or Caucasian ethnic group (i.e. Hispanic, Mixed, Asian, African or Others), those who had strong preferences for Integration as their acculturation attitude strategy reported higher scores on the life satisfaction ( $B = 0.30, p < 0.1$ , Model 17, Table 4.9) and flourishing scales ( $B = 0.32, p < 0.05$ , Model 19). This particular group of people who opted for an Integration strategy also displayed higher levels of positive affect ( $B = 0.34, p < 0.05$ , Model 21, Table 4.10). Furthermore, the results also revealed a positive association between Separation as an acculturation attitude strategy and life satisfaction ( $B = 0.42, p < 0.05$ , Model 17) as well as the flourishing scale ( $B = 0.30, p < 0.1$ , Model 19). However, these significant effects diminished when MEIM components were incorporated into the regression models (see Model 18, Model 20 and Model 22, Table 4.9 and Table 4.10).

Contrary to the Integration and Separation strategies, the Marginalisation strategy was found to be negatively associated with one's overall life satisfaction ( $B = -0.58, p < 0.01$ , Model 17) and one's flourishing state ( $B = -0.40, p < 0.05$ , Model 19). These negative associations remained significant after MEIM components were inserted into the regression models (see Model 18 and 20). With regard to affective well-being measures, a borderline

significance between Marginalisation strategy and negative affect indicate the participants who strongly preferred this acculturation attitude strategy reported higher levels of negative emotions in general ( $B = 0.33, p < 0.1$ , Model 23). No evidence of a significant relationship was found between the Assimilation strategy and any of the SWB outcomes.

Two principal components were derived from the MEIM scale, namely ethnic identity achievement (the cognitive component) and belonging, affirmation and commitment (the affective component). The cognitive component of the MEIM was found significant only with flourishing scale ( $B = 0.73, p < 0.01$ , Model 20, Table 4.9) whereas the latter component was significantly associated with three SWB outcomes in present analysis. This affective component of belonging, affirmation and commitment was positive associated with life satisfaction ( $B = 1.00, p < 0.01$ , Model 18, Table 4.9), the flourishing scale ( $B = 0.96, p < 0.01$ , Model 20) and positive affect ( $B = 0.89, p < 0.01$ , Model 22, Table 4.10).

Further interpretation of the results will be provided in the next section of this chapter in light of past literature and research evidence. New insights and implications that emerged as a result of the current study will also be discussed in the next section.

**Table 4.9:** Life Satisfaction and Flourishing Scale; Non-white respondents only – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Life Satisfaction</i>		<i>Flourishing Scale</i>	
	<b>Model 17</b>	<b>Model 18</b>	<b>Model 19</b>	<b>Model 20</b>
Female	-0.15 (0.22)	-0.27 (0.23)	-0.40* (0.21)	-0.52** (0.22)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)
University degree or higher	-0.18 (0.26)	-0.09 (0.28)	0.08 (0.24)	-0.12 (0.26)
Employed	0.50** (0.22)	0.32 (0.24)	0.36* (0.20)	0.06 (0.23)
Married	0.91*** (0.28)	0.89*** (0.31)	0.79*** (0.26)	1.00*** (0.29)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b> (Reference = Natives)				
Gen 1.0	-0.37 (0.79)	0.05 (0.82)	-0.01 (0.75)	0.79 (0.78)
Gen 2.0	-0.69 (0.73)	-0.87 (0.74)	-0.60 (0.69)	-0.64 (0.70)
Gen 2.5	-0.89 (0.76)	-1.04 (0.77)	-0.77 (0.73)	-0.75 (0.74)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b> (Reference = Natives)				
≤ 1 year	-0.47 (0.48)	-1.04* (0.54)	-0.43 (0.46)	-1.41*** (0.51)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	-0.64 (0.51)	-1.14** (0.56)	-0.58 (0.48)	-1.34** (0.53)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	-0.80 (0.56)	-1.33** (0.60)	-0.74 (0.52)	-1.42** (0.55)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	-0.53 (0.50)	-1.20** (0.56)	-0.38 (0.47)	-1.44*** (0.52)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b> (Reference = Native English)				
Level 1	-0.14 (0.60)	-0.19 (0.84)	-0.63 (0.58)	-1.43* (0.83)
Level 2	0.21 (0.45)	0.70 (0.52)	-0.39 (0.43)	0.13 (0.49)
Level 3	-0.17 (0.45)	0.47 (0.53)	-0.66 (0.44)	0.59 (0.51)
Level 4	0.09 (0.26)	0.48 (0.31)	-0.27 (0.25)	0.14 (0.29)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>				
Neighbourhood composition	-0.04 (0.10)	0.08 (0.11)	0.03 (0.09)	0.02 (0.11)
Ethnic Identity score	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.12** (0.05)	0.07** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.05)
National Identity score	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Perceived Discrimination score	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
<b>BMIS</b> - Multiculturalism score	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.002 (0.02)
<b><u>AA Scale</u></b>				
AA separation	0.42** (0.18)	-0.005 (0.22)	0.30* (0.17)	-0.04 (0.21)
AA marginalisation	-0.58*** (0.19)	-0.46** (0.22)	-0.40** (0.18)	-0.37* (0.21)
AA integration	0.30* (0.16)	-0.001 (0.20)	0.32** (0.15)	0.10 (0.19)
AA assimilation	0.13 (0.18)	0.31 (0.21)	0.11 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.19)
<b><u>MEIM</u></b>				
MEIM EI achievement		0.13 (0.27)		0.73*** (0.26)
MEIM belonging		1.00*** (0.31)		0.96*** (0.28)
Observations	126	115	126	115

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01. The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not

employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed.

**Table 4.10:** Positive Affect and Negative Affect; Non-white respondents only – Estimation using Ordered Probit Regressions

	<i>Positive Affect</i>		<i>Negative Affect</i>	
	<b>Model 21</b>	<b>Model 22</b>	<b>Model 23</b>	<b>Model 24</b>
Female	-0.63*** (0.21)	-0.72*** (0.22)	0.18 (0.21)	0.26 (0.23)
Age <sup>2</sup> /100	-0.0003 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
University degree or higher	0.32 (0.24)	0.29 (0.26)	-0.21 (0.25)	-0.19 (0.27)
Employed	0.25 (0.20)	-0.02 (0.22)	0.12 (0.21)	0.24 (0.24)
Married	0.43* (0.25)	0.42 (0.28)	-0.09 (0.26)	-0.13 (0.29)
<b><u>Migrant generation</u></b> (Reference = Natives)				
Gen 1.0	-1.15 (0.76)	-0.80 (0.78)	-0.53 (0.80)	-0.81 (0.83)
Gen 2.0	-0.93 (0.70)	-1.09 (0.71)	0.001 (0.70)	-0.04 (0.71)
Gen 2.5	-1.20 (0.73)	-1.33* (0.74)	0.17 (0.73)	0.18 (0.75)
<b><u>Years spent in the UK</u></b> (Reference = Natives)				
≤ 1 year	0.95** (0.46)	0.56 (0.49)	1.61*** (0.52)	1.92*** (0.59)
> 1 to ≤ 5 years	1.00** (0.48)	0.66 (0.51)	1.44*** (0.54)	1.83*** (0.60)
> 5 to ≤ 10 years	0.73 (0.52)	0.43 (0.54)	1.62*** (0.58)	1.87*** (0.62)
> 10 to ≤ 20 years	0.85* (0.48)	0.28 (0.51)	1.07** (0.52)	1.32** (0.58)
<b><u>English proficiency</u></b> (Reference = Native English)				
Level 1	-0.33 (0.58)	-0.87 (0.83)	0.98* (0.58)	0.94 (0.84)
Level 2	-0.97** (0.43)	-0.57 (0.49)	0.62 (0.44)	0.44 (0.50)
Level 3	-1.01** (0.44)	-0.41 (0.50)	0.19 (0.44)	-0.07 (0.51)
Level 4	-0.72*** (0.25)	-0.47 (0.29)	-0.04 (0.26)	-0.24 (0.31)
<b><u>Other covariates</u></b>				
Neighbourhood composition	0.07 (0.09)	0.15 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.001 (0.11)
Ethnic Identity score	0.08** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)
National Identity score	0.09** (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.08* (0.05)
Perceived Discrimination score	-0.01 (0.04)	0.005 (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.05)
<b>BMIS</b> - Multiculturalism score	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.004 (0.02)
<b><u>AA Scale</u></b>				
AA separation	0.09 (0.17)	-0.28 (0.21)	-0.004 (0.17)	0.16 (0.22)
AA marginalisation	-0.05 (0.18)	0.08 (0.20)	0.33* (0.19)	0.32 (0.21)
AA integration	0.34** (0.15)	0.09 (0.19)	-0.02 (0.16)	0.14 (0.19)
AA assimilation	0.25 (0.17)	0.28 (0.19)	0.16 (0.18)	0.12 (0.20)
<b><u>MEIM</u></b>				
MEIM EI achievement		0.32 (0.25)		-0.22 (0.27)
MEIM belonging		0.89*** (0.28)		-0.46 (0.29)
Observations	126	115	126	115

*Note:* \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ . The regression table shows unstandardised regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. University degree or higher is a binary variable with 1 denoting that the respondent has completed at least a university degree. Employed is a binary variable with 1 comprising of self-employed, professionals, white-collar office work, skilled work and unskilled work whereas 0 includes the not employed, homemaker, student and others. Married is a binary variable in which 1 represents married whereas 0 represents never married, separated, divorced and widowed.

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to conduct an in-depth investigation to assess how well ethnic minority groups in the UK fare in terms of subjective well-being as compared to the white majority and British natives. The analysis accounted for several key predictors including migration-related variables, multiculturalism and acculturation orientations. Utilising different scales, I explored the SWB difference between people of white or Caucasian ethnic background and people of other non-white ethnic origins to address individuals' strength of identification and sense of belonging (Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure), attitudes towards multiculturalism (British Multicultural Ideology Scale), as well as acculturation strategies/preferences among the ethnic minorities (Acculturation Attitudes Scale) and ethnic majority members in the UK (Acculturation Expectations Scale). In this chapter, the subjects were segregated into two groups based on their ethnic groups and were speculated independently, i.e. the white as the dominant ethnic in the UK and the non-white ethnic group in which, interestingly, at least 82 per cent (106 out of total 129) of the non-white respondents were comprised of first-generation immigrants. The underlying postulation of this research is that the non-white residents who identify themselves as multicultural individuals tend to associate their subjective well-being differently than the majority white ethnic group of the country, taking into account various cultural aspects such as ethnic and national identities scores, multiculturalism score, acculturation attitudes and expectations.

The primary results of the empirical analysis were consistent with previous studies highlighting the importance of socioeconomic determinants in predicting subjective well-being (i.e. Diener, et al., 1999; Deeming, 2013; Portela et al., 2013; Vera-Villaruel et al.,



2012, etc.). University degree holders, the employed, and married people, on average, reported higher levels of life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect than their counterparts. Preliminary results from Pearson's correlations displayed significant positive correlations between being employed with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect but no significant correlation with negative affect. The life satisfaction of the employed seemed comparable to that of self-employed business owners and entrepreneurs. Homemakers and white-collared employees or office work personnel reported lower flourishing scores, thereby suggesting that monotonous and repetitive daily chores that perhaps lack challenges do not satisfy human psychological needs. More specifically, theories on eudaimonic well-being (EWB) stress that striving for competence, relatedness and personal growth is considered a general propensity of individuals (Deci & Ryan, 2002). From a career perspective, one essential aspect underlying EWB is meaningfulness (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002) and is represented by job significance and importance (Steger & Dik, 2010). Being in a job that generates a sense of competence, autonomy and personal growth can influence one's psychological well-being, especially among white-collar workers (Lindfors, et al., 2006).

Despite significantly lower levels of life satisfaction, the not-employed reported similar levels of flourishing as self-employed business owners, indicating that being temporarily laid off from a job and/or actively looking for another career opportunity may not pose a significant long-term impact on eudaimonic well-being outcomes. According to Harpaz and Fu (2002), the meaning of a job is profoundly rooted in individuals' values and beliefs, and thus is not easily affected by temporary layoffs. However, subjects who fall into the "Other" category, which mainly consisted of retirees and sick or disabled individuals, reported lower levels of hedonic and eudaimonic well-being compared to the self-employed and people of alternative labour market statuses. When grouped together with the not employed, they too displayed lower levels of positive affect. This result further confirmed

previous research evidence on the detrimental impact of unemployment on mental health, including SWB (e.g., McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Paul & Moser, 2009).

Similarly, education is significantly associated with one's overall life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect – but not negative affect. This result is in line with most of the previous SWB literature (e.g., Nikolaev, 2018) in which people with higher education are more likely to report higher levels of eudaimonic and hedonic SWB as they perceive their lives as more meaningful and experience more positive emotions and less negative ones. Although the positive association between SWB and education is substantial, it is occurring at a decreasing rate in which the SWB advantages from achieving a graduate degree are much lower compared to obtaining a college degree (Nikolaev, 2018). Moreover, a further analysis of white respondents and non-white respondents in the present study revealed that such significant associations were only found among white participants for whom those who graduated from tertiary education were more satisfied with life compared to those who did not obtain a university degree. Intriguingly, mixed results were found when additional multiculturalism and acculturation factors were accounted for. Academic high achievers among white respondents (approximately 58 per cent of the white sample) reported higher levels of negative affect whereas academic high achievers among the non-white samples (approximately 73% of the non-white sample) experienced more positive emotions as compared to non-university graduates. A previous meta-analysis also highlighted significant positive relationships between educational attainment and SWB; however, when occupational status – but not income – was included as a control variable, the education-SWB relationship was diminished (Witter, et al., 1984). After controlling for all relevant socioeconomic determinants, empirical findings from the present study comparing SWB difference between respondents of white or Caucasian ethnic background and respondents of other non-white ethnic origins revealed that only participants originating from a Black, African or Caribbean

ethnic background reported higher flourishing and experienced more positive affect compared to white participants in this study, thus confirming my first research hypothesis.

Additional migration-related factors – migration generation and language proficiency revealed surprising results. Previous subjective well-being research on Chinese Americans pointed out that immigrants with host language difficulties were less satisfied with their lives, hence concluding that lack of proficiency in the dominant language of the host country poses as a detrimental post-migration stressor affecting one's overall life satisfaction and acculturation process (Ying, 1996). On the contrary, the current analysis did not reveal any significant association between English language proficiency and subjective well being measures except for increased negative affect. A separate investigation of two distinct ethnic samples delivered mixed results in terms of positive and negative affect; white participants with poorer English language acquisition reported higher levels of both positive and negative emotions compared to native English speakers whereas non-white respondents who were less proficient in English demonstrated lower levels of positive affect and marginally higher levels of negative affect and flourishing as compared to other non-white respondents whose sole language acquisition is English. Overall life satisfaction and eudaimonic well-being among immigrants and ethnic minority members were not affected by one's language abilities because most of them already possessed high language acquisition and thus had minimal issues adapting into the host society. 82% of the immigrants in the present study have multi-lingual abilities. While 18% of the immigrants regarded English language as their mother tongue, a majority of 68% scored the highest level of language proficiency question examining their abilities to understand, speak, read and write English. Previous literature which focused on labour market performances, on the other hand, suggested that language fluency among ethnic minority immigrants in the UK is still strongly associated with occupational success, improved employment opportunities and with higher wages (Dustmann

& Fabbri, 2003, Shields & Price, 2002). Poor psychological well-being and a slow acculturation process demonstrated by unemployed or underemployed Turkish immigrants in Canada was mainly attributed to the lack of competence in the official language (Aycan & Berry, 1996). In addition, the fact that present survey was conducted in English only and participants were recruited through a British academic platform could contribute to sampling bias towards immigrants with good English proficiency which might not reflect typical immigrants in the UK in general.

My results further unveiled significant SWB differences across different immigrant generations, thereby partially confirming my second research hypothesis which predicted significant generational differences across all four SWB measures, especially when comparing between first-generation immigrants and other groups. Compared to British natives, first-generation immigrants demonstrated significantly lower levels of life satisfaction and flourishing (albeit borderline significance for FS), as well as lower levels of positive emotions in general. Second-generation immigrants (both Gen 2.0 and Gen 2.5) expressed lower levels of negative affect and flourishing compared to the native-born. Notably, significantly lower levels of life satisfaction and flourishing among first-generation immigrants were largely portrayed by white respondents. This group of white first-generation immigrants also displayed lower levels of negative emotions compared to white natives. Among non-white participants, first-generation immigrants demonstrated similar SWB levels as non-white natives while second-generation immigrants reported lower levels of positive affect and life satisfaction (only for Gen 2.5) as compared to the non-white participants who were born in the UK. I initially assumed that the differences in SWB levels across immigrant generations could largely be explained by their perceived discrimination and the extent to which they identify with their original ethnic culture as well as the host nation. However, further analysis comparing the white ethnic group versus the non-white ethnic group revealed

otherwise. Perceived discrimination was found to be significantly associated with life satisfaction only among non-white respondents. This further suggests that the decline in life satisfaction among first generation white immigrants was not explained by perceived discrimination. Non-white first-generation immigrants seemed barely affected by perceived discrimination as their life satisfaction remained similar to that of natives. The significant negative relationship between perceived discrimination and negative affect across both white and non-white groups was also consistent with previous evidence from a meta-analysis which highlighted the negative consequences and pervasiveness of perceived discrimination on negative affect as well as psychological distress such as depression and anxiety (Schmitt, et al., 2014).

While national identity was found to be significantly and positively associated with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect, the extent to which respondents identify with their original ethnic culture was found to be positively associated with eudaimonic well-being and negatively with negative affect. The positive associations between national identity and the three SWB measures mentioned earlier were generally depicted by the dominant ethnic group whereas ethnic minorities only showed significant associations for affect (i.e., positive affect and negative affect) but delivered mixed results for life satisfaction and flourishing. Following the preliminary correlation analysis which featured significant correlations between ethnic identity with flourishing, positive and negative affect, the subsequent regression results showed a (borderline) negative association with negative affect in the majority ethnic group. The remaining two significant associations were found for ethnic minorities, thus suggesting that non-white ethnic members or immigrants with stronger identification towards their original cultural heritage tend to flourish better and experience more positive emotions in general. Similar research evidence was also reported by another cross-cultural study based in one of the largest immigrant-receiving countries, the United

States; in which researchers emphasised that greater ethnic identity, alongside greater feminine gender identity and perceived family social support, significantly predicted life satisfaction and positive affect among Mexican American women (Diaz & Bui, 2017). Alternative studies also indicated that ethnic identity is a strong predictor of better mental health outcomes (Constantine & Sue, 2006), especially among ethnic minorities (Neville & Lilly, 2000; Beale Spencer & Tinsley, 2008). Vera, et al. (2011) found evidence that ethnic identity served as a moderator for the relationship between perceived discrimination and life satisfaction, thus suggesting that incorporating cultural characteristics into one's self-concept and belonging to a minority ethnic group within the larger society may act as a protective buffer in reducing the potential impact of culturally relevant stressors on well-being.

Another research instrument employed in the current study to measure the magnitude of one's ethnic identity among participants of non-white ethnic origins, i.e. the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) displayed significant positive associations between its components with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect - but not with negative affect. With regard to the third research hypothesis, the analysis that included the MEIM indicated that for ethnic minorities in the UK life satisfaction, personal flourishing and positive emotions are significantly associated with one of the two important components of this ethnic identity measure, i.e. sense of belonging. Derived from the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), this specific theoretical component consists of commitment, affirmation and a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, combined with pride and positive feelings about the ethnic group (Phinney, 1992). Specifically, social researchers explained that ethnic identity is one of the most important group identities that is integral to one's self-concept among members of ethnic minority groups. People generally attribute value to the ethnic group to which they belong and derive self-esteem from their sense of belonging to that particular group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The present investigation of ethnic minority

members in the UK further extended this research by clarifying that a sense of belonging to one's heritage culture group not only generates self-esteem, but is also crucial in determining one's overall life satisfaction, flourishing as well as positive affect in general. Strong feelings of attachment and belonging to a group were found to be positively associated with different aspects of psychological well-being, i.e. coping, mastery, optimism, self-esteem and happiness; but negatively associated with loneliness and depression (Roberts, et al., 1999). Although some researchers (e.g., Roberts, et al., 1999) interpreted that sense of belonging to a group were deemed as part of ethnic identity achievement, Phinney (1992) insisted that these two components, belonging and ethnic identity achievement, are distinct on both theoretical and statistical grounds. Ideally, a developed ethnic identity depicts a clear understanding of an individual's ethnicity and is characterised by commitment to that ethnic group and a secure, confident sense of group membership (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1992). Despite significant correlations found between ethnic identity achievement with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect from the Pearson's correlation table, the ethnic minority samples in this study did not report any significant impact on their SWB influenced by this specific component, suggesting that a clear understanding of one's ethnic heritage and active involvement in one's ethnic group do not contribute to well-being improvement.

For my fourth testable prediction, I anticipated positive associations between the multiculturalism score and SWB measures, i.e., people who support multiculturalism ideology - measured using the British Multiculturalism Ideology Scale (BMIS), tend to report higher levels of subjective well-being, and such relationship will be especially significant among the white ethnic sample. As predicted, the regression analysis outlined that evaluations of cultural diversity and support of multiculturalism were significantly and positively associated with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect. In addition, significant relationships with life satisfaction and flourishing were largely found among white

respondents but not among ethnic minority groups. This contradicts findings from Canada in which both minority and majority cultural groups supported multiculturalism policies in Canada, and support from the minority groups was stronger (Arends-To'th & Van de Vijver, 2003). The ideology of multiculturalism emphasises minority acculturation as well as mainstream support (Schalk-Soekar, 2007, as cited in Murdock & Ferrings, 2016). The results from the current study suggest that the mainstream society in the UK is largely in favour of multiculturalism and minority acculturation and this is associated with increased life satisfaction and eudaimonic well-being. Mainstream support for an ideology of multiculturalism is often deemed as a crucial prerequisite for establishing harmonious intergroup relations in culturally plural societies and it directly affects the acculturation strategies that are available to the minority groups (Berry, 2001; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). In their description of the Interactive Acculturation Model, Bourhis, et al. (1997) outlined the extent to which the interaction between majority attitudes with state immigration policies and minority acculturation preferences can influence acculturation outcomes on a societal level. These researchers emphasised that a congruent and harmonious multicultural society can only be achieved when both immigration policies and mainstream attitudes are favourable toward multiculturalism; then only can minorities cultivate successful integration into a culturally diverse host society (Bourhis, et al., 1997).

As previously mentioned, the strength of support for a multiculturalism ideology can have direct relevance for the choice of acculturation strategies (Berry, 2001). Pearson's correlation results revealed a similar pattern. In light of cultural diversity, acculturation attitudes among ethnic minorities were strongly correlated with the multiculturalism score, especially Marginalisation, Assimilation and Integration strategies – but not the Separation strategy. The former two strategies were negatively correlated with multiculturalism whereas the latter strategy was positively correlated with multiculturalism. However, the correlation



results between the multiculturalism score and acculturation expectations among the dominant ethnic group were rather intriguing. Borderline positive correlations were found between multiculturalism with the Segregation strategy as well as the Multiculturalism strategy, whereas the Melting Pot strategy was significantly negatively correlated with multiculturalism. The subsequent regression analysis focusing on the minority ethnic sample indicated that non-white respondents who had a strong preference for Separation and Integration strategies reported higher levels of life satisfaction and flourishing whereas individuals who preferred the Marginalisation strategy reported lower levels of life satisfaction and flourishing, thus confirming my fifth research hypothesis. However, these significant effects disappeared when MEIM scores were added to the regression model, suggesting that the strength of one's ethnic identity has a stronger association with cognitive, eudaimonic and affective well-being than one's acculturation strategy. Although the positive associations between the Integration strategy and life satisfaction were only marginal, individuals who opted for this strategy also displayed significantly higher levels of flourishing and positive affect. Two out of four acculturation expectation strategies manifested by majority ethnic members were found to be significantly associated with SWB measures. White respondents who had strong preferences for the Segregation strategy expressed significantly higher levels of positive affect. The final research hypothesis of this study was only partially confirmed as white research participants who selected the Exclusion strategy exhibited significantly lower levels of flourishing and positive affect. Contrary to my initial prediction, there was no significant association between Multiculturalism as an acculturation expectation strategy with any of the four SWB measures adopted in present study.

While the past acculturation literature outlined that the most favoured acculturation strategy among ethnic minorities was integration followed by separation (e.g., Koydemir,

2013; Robinson, 2009), contradicting results from the current study can be interpreted alongside Brown's, et al. (2016) justification that integration is not (yet) the most prominent and successful acculturation attitude for minority adaptation in the UK despite its positive contribution to well-being outcomes. The difference in statistical significance between the Integration and Separation strategies with cognitive and eudaimonic well-being outcomes suggest that Separation was in fact a more adaptive strategy primarily adopted by ethnic minorities in the UK vis-à-vis cultural diversity in this plural society. Nevertheless, even if separation might occasionally prove pragmatically adaptive for some minority groups, its widespread adoption would hardly be beneficial for society as a whole. This underlines the importance of exploring and affirming the multicultural ideologies and attitudes displayed by both the majority/mainstream and minority/heritage cultural members in a society in order to preserve the multicultural climate in the country as a whole.

### **Limitations and directions for future work**

The main limitation of the present study lies in its cross-sectional design: the analyses are correlational and do not allow causal inferences. Longitudinal data collection is needed to further establish if the relationships between ethnic and national identities, strength of multiculturalism ideology, acculturation strategies and subjective well-being found in this study are in fact causal in nature. It is possible that the significant association found in this study between the multiculturalism score and SWB, for instance, may reflect that people who advocate for multiculturalism and respect minority acculturation are more likely to enjoy higher SWB, or that, in fact, individuals with higher SWB levels are more supportive of the ideology of multiculturalism; i.e. the direction of causality could run both ways. Hence, it is advisable for future studies to address these causality issues.

Although the research participants in this study were paid with monetary incentives, it was conducted on a voluntary basis; the sample may therefore suffer from self-selection bias. In addition, the respondents were drawn from a Western sample, the results therefore only characterise the multicultural climate in the UK and may not generalise to other cultures or nations. Future research could include comparisons between multicultural respondents in Western countries and in Eastern countries to verify whether these results are specific to individualistic-analytic cultures or whether they too, apply to collectivistic-holistic cultures of the mainstream society.

Another limitation of this work includes the lack of measures that reflect actual national or state policies implemented by British governments as such an analysis would require a multi-year longitudinal sample. While it is widely acknowledged that many Western countries have formulated social policies aimed at promoting multiculturalism, future research may delve into the interaction between the feasibility and effectiveness of specific policy interventions, acculturation preferences and SWB with regard to immigrants and minorities. The process of investigating how minorities or multicultural individuals fare in a culturally diverse mainstream society in reaction to existing policies can provide a plethora of information to improve relevant policies and services available in our society.

Furthermore, several thought-provoking findings from the present analysis lack empirical support from past studies and therefore merit attention. Intriguing findings from the socioeconomic determinants of the current study include the eudaimonic well-being outcomes portrayed by divorcees and individuals originated from a Black, African or Caribbean ethnic background. These two subsamples demonstrated higher levels of flourishing compared to their counterparts, i.e., the never married and white respondents. To the best of my knowledge, there was no previous empirical evidence that could support nor contradict these novel associations. Another instance of surprising findings infer that the

rationale underlying the positive relationship between Segregation as an acculturation expectation strategy and multiculturalism scores remain unconfirmed. Segregation strategy expressed by the dominant ethnic group implies a general notion that individuals from ethnic minority groups should have exclusive and strong identification with their original heritage while avoiding all interactions with the mainstream society; and such a concept undermines the basic definition of multiculturalism. Similarly, the positive relationship between Multiculturalism as an acculturation expectation strategy and the multiculturalism score derived from the British Multicultural Ideology Scale only featured marginal statistical significance. These limitations could be due to the small sample size included in the current study or the possibility that the data was collected from a specific subsample of the white population in the UK and thus is not representative of the entire mainstream group of the society. Future research seeking to replicate and extend these results should include a larger representative sample or investigate if an additional variable for responses across different geographical locations in the UK can be distinguished from one another and implicate the key variables in this study (i.e. multiculturalism, acculturation and SWB measures). Nevertheless, the abovementioned flaws in empirical results can be accounted for from a social perspective. If the findings are valid, it is plausible to construe that the mainstream society in the UK is not (yet) gaining SWB benefits from embracing multiculturalism in light of the merely marginal (or absent) associations of Multiculturalism and Integration acculturation strategies with SWB measures for both the majority group and minorities in the UK.

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<sup>5</sup> In the original analysis, this chapter incorporated an additional inventory scale called the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-1) developed by Benet-Martínez (2003) to target respondents who view themselves as multicultural relating to or representing several different cultures or cultural elements. However, due to potential implications of an overfit model, this scale was removed as the two components derived from this scale: cultural blendedness and cultural harmony did not display any significant associations with all four measures of SWB in all regression models across both white and non-white samples in this study. After excluding these two parameters, the calculated power value improved to 0.795 indicating that the current regression model (Model 18) has adequate statistical power.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter contributes to the SWB literature by establishing that (at least in this sample) there are significant associations between ethnic and national identities, multiculturalism and acculturation orientations across hedonic and eudaimonic well-being measures, i.e., life satisfaction, flourishing, positive affect and negative affect. While controlling for standard socioeconomic determinants and migration-related variables, this chapter primarily assesses the strength of identifications towards one's own heritage culture and national identity, explores the acculturation orientations depicted by ethnic minorities, reflects on the acculturation expectations expressed by the mainstream ethnic group; and last but not least, evaluates the perceived national support and opportunities rendered to minority groups and immigrants in the UK as we embrace multiculturalism. The empirical results reveal significant immigration generational differences across all four SWB measures, especially when comparing first-generation immigrants and natives. While national identity is positively associated with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect, ethnic identity is associated with greater eudaimonic well-being and lower levels of negative affect. My investigation of ethnic minorities in the UK suggests that their life satisfaction, flourishing and positive emotions are strongly associated with a sense of belonging to their ethnic group. The results also suggest that preferences for acculturation strategies explain some of the SWB mainstream and minority ethnic group members. Most importantly, the present results further consolidate the subjective well-being benefits conferred by a multiculturalism ideology in which positive evaluations of cultural diversity and support of multiculturalism are positively associated with life satisfaction, flourishing and higher levels of positive affect.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **General discussion**

## Introduction

With the increasing emphasis on subjective well-being as an essential individual and social outcome in recent decades, the extent to which international migration influences immigrants' life satisfaction, day-to-day emotional responses and eudaimonic well being is subject to a growing body of research. Although research to date has shed some light on the relationship between immigration and subjective well-being, the work in this thesis further contributes to the SWB literature in several important ways. In this thesis, I have explored how different standard socioeconomic indicators, migration-specific factors, host country attitudes, cultural factors and the social climate in host societies are associated with subjective well-being. To the best of my knowledge, these factors have heretofore not been studied together in a comprehensive analysis. Throughout the thesis, I have presented evidence of SWB differences between native-born individuals and immigrants of different generations in the UK and across Europe while taking into account a wide range of individual-level and country-level predictors. I first reviewed the circumstances of international immigrants in Europe by drawing on panel data from the European Social Survey (ESS) and presented a comprehensive perspective of the SWB among immigrants in the top ten immigrant-receiving European countries. This analysis included micro-level individual characteristics, macro-level host country attitudes and human core values based on Schwartz's Human Values Scale. As the ESS is a repeated cross-sectional survey which did not allow me to follow individual migrants over time, I subsequently narrowed my focus in Chapter 3 to review migration trends only in the UK. I hereby used data from two nationally representative longitudinal surveys, i.e. the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS), which allowed me to follow immigrants' life satisfaction trajectories while accounting for cultural, economic, social and psychological variables. My final empirical chapter presented new evidence on how ethnic and national

identities, attitudes towards multiculturalism and acculturation orientations are differently associated with various components of SWB. I collected primary data among immigrants and native-born respondents in Britain for this analysis.

In this chapter, I will present a summary of the substantial findings from each study and discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the work in this thesis. I will also outline the limitations of the thesis and suggest possible directions for future research.

### **Study summaries by chapter**

#### **Chapter 2**

Drawing on data from the first eight waves of the European Social Survey (ESS, 2002-2016) and taking into account both micro-level individual factors as well as macro-level host country attitudes, this chapter analysed the life satisfaction of first-generation immigrants compared to natives and second-generation immigrants in the top ten Northern and Western European countries with the highest permanent inflow of immigrants in proportion to the total population for the past decade. These proportions were similar to the latest trend updates in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development migration database (OECD, 2018).

A preliminary analysis demonstrated that reported life satisfaction of immigrants was significantly lower than that of native-born respondents whereas second-generation immigrants with only one foreign-born parent exhibited similar levels of life satisfaction as the native population, thus suggesting a potential pivotal role played by the native-born parent in the household in helping their offspring assimilate into the host society. When comparing across immigrant generations, my results implied that second-generation immigrants were more likely to culturally and socially assimilate into the host societies,



perhaps due to sharing similar values, beliefs and behaviours with native-born respondents; thus achieving higher SWB than first-generation immigrants.

Using multi-level regression methods, my initial results for individual-level socioeconomic indicators were consistent with past research on SWB determinants (e.g., Diener, et al., 1999; Diener, et al., 2009; Portela et al., 2013). The negative association found between the duration of stay in the destination country and life satisfaction may be explained by language proficiency and labour market opportunities available to the immigrant population in European host countries. Difficulty in conversing and understanding native languages may impede social integration and economic choices. While newly settled immigrants may not be as successful in terms of economic performance compared to similar natives, their economic status usually improves over time (Büchel & Frick, 2005). Although the results in Chapter 2 indicated that immigrants who spent more than a year in a European host country were less satisfied with life than the native population, previous studies showed otherwise, suggesting that findings on the well-being outcomes of migration vary by host countries. Newly arrived immigrants in the UK reported higher levels of SWB than comparable natives (Dorsett, Rienzo, & Weale, 2015) while other researchers explained that such increases usually do not last long as their life satisfaction eventually decrease as compared to similar natives over time; such a years-since-migration (YSM) effect has also been found in Germany (Yaman, Cubi-Molla & Plagnol, 2020).

Next, I investigated how the opinions of the native population on public and immigration concerns were associated with the life satisfaction of all country residents. The results outline the importance of trust and help among one another in a cohesive society in determining subjective well-being levels among citizens. On the national level, I found that Europeans who reported higher level of overall life satisfaction, by and large, have a positive perception regarding the consequences of international immigration; for instance, they tend to

agree that immigration has improved the national economy and transformed the host country into a better place to live as a whole. Two of the most interesting takeaways from this chapter are; firstly, life satisfaction tends to be higher among people who are more accepting of immigrants of the same ethnic group as the majority of the host society but less accepting of immigrants whose race or ethnicity are different from the majority in the destination country; and secondly, people who emphasise the importance of fairness in a society report, on average, lower life satisfaction scores. The first account can be explained by in-group and out-group biases that have been proposed in social psychology (Lee & Ottati, 2002) whereas the latter statement is somewhat contradictory to recent finding from panel data of 28 European countries which established that increased levels of social justice and fairness across all EU member states also improve the level of national life satisfaction (Di Martino & Prilleltensky, 2020).

In the subsequent analysis, I specifically focused on cross-national differences in the life satisfaction levels of first-generation immigrants by incorporating a random slope in the existing regression models and concluded that although most of the immigrants migrated from other European nations of somewhat similar cultural backgrounds, their levels of life satisfaction in the destination countries differ. Across the ten Northern and Western European countries included in this chapter, the mean life satisfaction of all samples in France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland were below the overall average; and first-generation immigrants residing in Austria and Belgium also exhibited lower life satisfaction scores than the overall mean life satisfaction. Results from interactions between each immigrant generation and each of the human values acquired from Schwartz's Human Values Scale provided insight on the extent to which the association between life satisfaction and human values fluctuates between first- and second-generation immigrants based on how they distinguish the importance of each value in shaping their well-being.

### Chapter 3

The purpose of chapter 3 was to investigate changes in immigrants' life satisfaction over time in the UK since their time of arrival. By employing data from the combination of two nationally representative longitudinal surveys spanning twenty-three years, i.e. the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS; 1991-2008) and the UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS; 2009-2013), I first compared levels of life satisfaction between the British natives and immigrants according to their countries of origin and examined how subjective well-being varies with socio-economic conditions as well as migration-related variables. I further evaluated the life satisfaction gap among immigrants of different generations and spousal cultural backgrounds.

While exploring the relationship between life satisfaction and cultural similarity (or diversity) among immigrants, preliminary findings of post-migration well-being based on their different countries of origin confirmed that those who arrived from different cultural backgrounds such as the Middle East, South Asia, Africa and other Caribbean countries, expressed lower levels of life satisfaction relative to comparable British natives. The variation in their subjective well-being can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, immigrants from the Middle East or Africa may experience more racial and religious discrimination, and encounter more social difficulties while integrating into the host society due to unfamiliarity and stark differences in cultures as compared to corresponding immigrants from Western Europe, Ireland, Australia, etc. which share similar cultural values and societal norms with the British; thus leading to poorer SWB level; and secondly, the initial motivation that led this group of immigrants to relocate to a new country may have detrimental effects on their long-term SWB as most migrant groups from the Middle East, South Asia, Africa and Caribbean countries arrived in the UK two decades ago due to political unrest, ethnic prejudice and economic crisis in their birth countries (ONS, 2013).

Next, I excluded the native sample to focus solely on immigrant respondents to examine associations between life satisfaction and socioeconomic predictors as well as migration-specific factors. Results of estimations from Chapter 3 illustrate that migration-related variables such as country of origin, number of years spent in the UK since migration and English language proficiency have a minor role in explaining SWB changes among the immigrants, whereas the importance of standard socioeconomic determinants such as education level, marital status, etc., is more pronounced in predicting their life satisfaction. Contrary to several past studies which emphasised the prominent role of host language proficiency in facilitating cultural assimilation and positive integration into the host society (e.g., Angelini, et al., 2015; Dorsett, et al., 2015; McAreavey, 2010), the chapter revealed that immigrants who speak other languages apart from English as their mother tongue do not vary significantly in terms of overall life satisfaction from similar British natives or other immigrants whose first language is English.

Contradictory to my initial prediction, I did not find any evidence of a positive association between having school-age children and life satisfaction for immigrants. Before native respondents were excluded, the analysis showed significant and positive coefficients, thus implying that the presence of school-age children in an immigrant household does not account for immigrant parents' subjective well-being and does not facilitate the social integration process of migrant families into a new host community. This chapter also discovered several significant spousal characteristics in determining the life satisfaction of immigrants. Interestingly, relative to immigrants with British spouses, immigrants who are married to spouses from the Mediterranean and other Commonwealth countries were more satisfied with life whereas those who were married to partners from Central and South America were less satisfied with life. Another spousal characteristic that influences immigrants' SWB is English language proficiency. Due to a lack of literature on the

relationship between spousal characteristics and SWB specifically among immigrants, I can only speculate that the spouse's English proficiency facilitates the integration into the host society in various ways; for example, by offering better employment opportunities. Hence, further research is needed to sufficiently explain the extent to which native or immigrant spouses can affect one's overall SWB.

#### **Chapter 4**

Thus far, in the previous two empirical chapters, I explored macro-level host country characteristics such as attitudes towards immigration and public perceptions of the costs and benefits of international immigration; as well as micro-level individual attributes such as standard socioeconomic predictors, cultural background, spousal characteristics. Moving forward, this chapter aimed at better understanding immigrants' circumstances in the UK by investigating how well immigrants and ethnic minority groups fare in terms of subjective well-being as compared to the white majority and British natives. Chapter 4 complements previous research work by taking a more comprehensive and integrated perspective on subjective well-being across the UK by incorporating two key psychological components of migration in the analysis: multiculturalism and acculturation. In this chapter, the terms 'strategies', 'preferences', 'orientations' and 'attitudes' were used interchangeably when referring to aspects of acculturation. In doing so, I do not imply that all acculturation attitudes are chosen freely, however, due to the possibility of many other situational constraints preventing preferred choices. The dominant group is, by default, larger and has more impact on which acculturation strategies are available to minority group members and, consequently, minorities are not always free to endorse whichever acculturation strategy they deem appropriate.

Unlike the previous chapters which focused on a singular measure of SWB – self-reported life satisfaction, Chapter 4 addressed four integral yet independent measures of SWB simultaneously, i.e., life satisfaction, flourishing score, positive affect and negative affect, in an attempt to better capture individuals' evaluation of their quality of their life, both cognitively and emotionally. The analysis of socioeconomic indicators was largely similar as reported in Chapter 2 and was found to be consistent with past research (e.g., Diener, et al., 1999; Diener, et al., 2009; Portela, et al., 2013), with several additional insights. In terms of eudaimonic well-being, white-collared office personnel, homemakers and students reported lower levels of flourishing than self-employed adults whereas married people and divorced individuals reported higher levels of flourishing than the never married. Contrary to the empirical evidence found in Chapter 3 that demonstrated that immigrants originating from Africa and Caribbean countries express lower levels of life satisfaction, results in Chapter 4 indicated otherwise such that members from this particular ethnic group reported higher levels of flourishing and experienced more positive affect as compared to White/Caucasian natives in the UK. In Chapter 4, respondents of Black/African or Caribbean ethnic origin were largely (80% of 27 people) first-generation immigrants but the sample size was arguably insufficient to replicate the evidence derived from the nationally representative panel data in Chapter 3.

An investigation of migration-specific factors such as migration generation, years spent in the UK and language proficiency yielded mixed results across all four outcome variables, especially when compared across two ethnic samples – a white sample versus a non-white sample. Similar to the evidence discovered in Chapter 3, overall life satisfaction and eudaimonic well-being among immigrants and ethnic minority members in Chapter 4 were not affected by one's English language proficiency. However, white respondents with poorer English language acquisition exhibited higher levels of both positive and negative

emotions whereas non-white participants with poorer grasp of the English language exhibited lower levels of positive affect and higher levels of negative affect as compared to native English speakers in the respective groups. Aside from comparing SWB heterogeneity across different immigrant generations, I also interpreted and discussed other key variables in Chapter 4, such as perceived discrimination, neighbourhood ethnic composition, as well as cultural and national identities, in order to provide a more accurate picture of how cultural belonging and cultural climate affect individuals' subjective well-being.

The primary focus of Chapter 4 was to explore the extent to which multiculturalism and acculturation are associated with subjective well-being among mainstream and minority group members in the UK. Using multiple inventory scales, the aim was achieved by first assessing the strength of identification and sense of belonging, speculating on public attitudes towards multiculturalism, and last but not least, exploring acculturation orientations and subsequently reflecting on acculturation expectations among minority groups in the UK vis-à-vis the white majority and British natives. Regression results in Chapter 4 revealed several significant associations between SWB measures with specific components from each scale. For instance, significant positive associations found between sense of belonging with life satisfaction, flourishing and positive affect alongside the analysis from the BMIS revealed that positive evaluations of cultural diversity and support of multiculturalism are significantly associated with positive life satisfaction, increased personal flourishing as well as a higher prevalence of positive affect in general.

As one of the main conclusions in Chapter 4 based on the findings from the AAS and AES, I argued that perhaps the Integration strategy is not yet the preeminent and chosen acculturation attitude among minority groups to facilitate the adaptation into the mainstream society in the UK despite its positive contribution to well-being outcomes as reported in past literature (e.g., Ghuman, 1991; Ghuman, 1999; Robinson, 2009). Significant association

between the adoption of Segregation strategy among the white majority group and positive affect in addition to zero significant association between Multiculturalism as an acculturation expectation strategy with greater subjective well-being suggest very little political enthusiasm for immigration and the ideology of multiculturalism, which makes it more difficult for minorities to adopt an integration strategy. To sum, empirical evidence from Chapter 4 implied that there might be a steep hill to climb for the political and social climate in Britain towards embracing true multiculturalism and fruitful immigration.

### **Theoretical implications**

The results of this thesis encompass theoretical implications and references for future research. Overall, these implications emphasise taking individual heterogeneity and host country attitudes into account when investigating factors pertaining to immigration, and illustrate how these variables are best measured and interpreted to comprehend how they shape immigrants' experience in terms of subjective well-being.

### **Subjective well-being**

Subjective well-being is essentially an umbrella term that embodies hedonic well-being, eudaimonic well-being and affect. The tripartite structure of SWB first introduced by Diener (1984) generally describes hedonic well-being which includes both emotional reactions and cognitive judgements about one's quality of life. In his definition, the tripartite model refers to three primary components: life satisfaction, positive affect and negative affect. A plethora of past immigration literature typically operationalise SWB by utilising a single component of SWB – life satisfaction (e.g., Amit, 2010; de Vroome & Hooghe, 2014; Nesterko, et al., 2013). The first two empirical chapters in this thesis involved data derived from large nationally representative panel surveys, i.e., the ESS, BHPS and UKHLS, and



measures of other SWB components aside from life satisfaction scale were scarcely available and thus not included in the empirical analysis. As Chapter 4 involved online data collection, the multifaceted nature of SWB was taken into consideration. Along with the tripartite model of SWB proposed by Diener (1984), eudaimonic well-being was also assessed in Chapter 4 using the Flourishing Scale developed by Diener and colleagues (2009).

For reasons of readability, I followed the mainstream literature in using the terms subjective well-being and life satisfaction interchangeably throughout Chapters 2 and 3; therefore, I hereby invite readers to refer exclusively to the life satisfaction component when interpreting the results in these two chapters. However, in the subsequent chapter, each distinct component of SWB was termed and applied specifically to address the varying components of the SWB framework. In particular, eudaimonic well-being implies a premise that people achieve happiness through meaningfulness, sense of purpose and value of their life; and “flourishing” is a term that has been suggested (Keyes, 2002) and adopted in multiple studies (e.g., Diener, et al., 2010; Huppert & So, 2013) to capture the essence of this dimension of well-being and characterise social-psychological prosperity. There has been less research on eudaimonic well-being than on either cognitive or affective well-being; consequently, its role in explaining SWB as a whole is less well understood. Thus, future work should use multiple SWB constructs simultaneously in order to yield more comprehensive scientific well-being evidence across diverse research disciplines.

### **Micro-level individual characteristics and macro-level host country attitudes**

All three empirical chapters in this thesis incorporated standard sociodemographic indicators such as gender, age, highest education level, labour market status and marital status when investigating the extent to which these factors are associated with immigrants' overall SWB. The results of these chapters corroborated previous findings that contributing

factors to higher life satisfaction are better health status, stable employment status and relationships, etc. (e.g., Diener, 1998; Diener, Lucas, Oishi & Suh, 2002; Blanchflower & Oswald, 2005; Clark, Frijters, & Shields, 2008). Micro-level individual variables also include migration specific aspects such as immigrant generation, years spent in the destination country since migration and host language proficiency.

On top of the aforementioned individual socio-economic variables, the first empirical chapter of this thesis (Chapter 2) also included macro-level national attitudes in an attempt to interpret SWB differences among immigrants in Europe. Since Safi (2010) discovered significant national-level differences in life satisfaction among European migrants, the importance of incorporating national-level characteristics in explaining variation in SWB among immigrants has been reinforced in several empirical studies, such as Bartram (2010) and Hendriks (2015). The national traits of European host societies considered in Chapter 2 were public perceptions of the costs and benefits of immigration, perceived trust, fairness and support in the host society, as well as attitudes towards immigration exhibited by native-born respondents. The attitudes manifested by the native-born population are fundamental in shaping immigrants' perceptions of social approval and thus have substantial impact on their level of life satisfaction (Reitz, 2002; Kogan, Shen & Siegert, 2018). All in all, Chapter 2 extends the existing literature by combining both individual-level characteristics and host-country traits in determining to what degree the variation in life satisfaction among immigrants is attributable to micro-level individual factors or macro-level host country attitudes in Europe.

As the ESS data employed in Chapter 2 only allows for cross-sectional analysis, Chapter 3 goes beyond previous research by following the well-being trajectories of the same immigrants over time in order to gain a better understanding of immigrants' SWB in the UK. One of the main findings in Chapter 3 implied that socioeconomic determinants outweigh

migration-related variables in influencing immigrants' SWB in general. Countries of origin with different cultures and the number of years spent in the host country may seem like key aspects of the integration process and cultural assimilation; however, in a long-term perspective, the usual predictors of SWB such as health, employment status and marital status prevail as the main determinants of immigrants' life satisfaction in the host country.

### **Multiculturalism, Acculturation and Subjective well-being**

Following large increases in migration flows in the past decades, the increased cultural diversity within nations demands for a better understanding of the role of multiple cultural affiliations in determining people's SWB and highlights the need to examine factors such as level of acceptance of multiculturalism, acculturation preferences and strength of identification to multiple cultural orientations in shaping one's identity structure and the subjective well-being of immigrants and natives in destination countries. Although acculturation research to date, especially in cross-cultural psychology, has shed some light on the relationship between acculturation and psychological adaptation issues and acculturative stress (e.g., Berry, et al., 1987; Chataway & Berry, 1989; Dona & Berry, 1994), Chapter 4 expanded on previous research by evaluating the associations between acculturation preferences and four SWB constructs (i.e. life satisfaction, flourishing, positive affect and negative affect) across two distinctive groups, i.e. the dominant white ethnic group and minority non-white ethnic groups.

The analysis presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis demonstrates that ethnic and national identities, multiculturalism and acculturation orientations are, to a certain extent, associated with hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Most importantly, the empirical results further suggest that a positive perception of cultural diversity and strong support for the ideology of multiculturalism are positively associated with life satisfaction, personal

flourishing as well as experiences of positive affect in general. In terms of acculturation, Berry (1984; 1994) described that the underlying dimensions of acculturation are maintenance of original cultural identification and maintenance of relations with other groups. Four acculturation attitudes or strategies may be distinguished from the dichotomised responses to these two dimensions, namely, integration, separation, assimilation and marginalisation (Berry, 1994). Although further studies are needed to confirm whether UK respondents are prepared to embrace a truly multicultural society, Chapter 4 takes a first step in identifying the comparisons of acculturation strategies between the mainstream and minority group members in the UK to be associated with SWB components.

### **Practical implications**

For the most part throughout this century, a growing body of evidence on immigration and mobility across international borders describes that immigration undeniably generates global economic, social and political impact that is felt across a wide range of high-priority policy issues (e.g., Castles, 2010; Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, 2011; Koser, 2016; Triandafyllidou, 2018). As the processes of globalisation deepen, these transformations increasingly shape our daily lives – in workplaces, at home, in social lives, etc. and thus affect our overall well-being and quality of life. The unprecedented pace of transformation in the (geo)political, social and environment realms has inspired some researchers to coin terms, such as the “*age of accelerations*” (Friedman, 2016), the “*fourth industrial revolution*” (Schwab, 2016) and the “*age of change*” (Mauldin, 2018). In this era of intense turbulence, the escalation of exponential transformations due to migration is upending long-held assumptions about politics, economics and security on a societal as well as national level (Muggah & Goldin, 2019).

Considering that the pace of change worldwide seems to be accelerating beyond expectations and predictions, the increasing complexity of global migration calls for the need to deepen our understanding of immigrants' experience by assessing how well they fare compared to natives. According to the most recent World Migration Report 2020 (International Organization for Migration; IOM, 2020), the notion of "migrants' inclusion" was introduced and emphasised due to its close association with social cohesion. Social cohesion can be loosely translated to a "harmonious co-existence" or an invisible bond connecting a community together based on trust and common social norms; more importantly, the impact of cultural diversity, as a consequence of immigration, on social cohesion has been brought to light (Zetter, et al., 2006). Despite the lack of a universal definition, migrants' inclusion can be interpreted as comprising of social cohesion and entailing a psycho-sociological process of mutual adaptation and acceptance between immigrants and receiving communities (IOM, 2019). While factors influencing migrants' process of inclusion include a wide range of demographic and personal characteristics such as age, gender, level of education, etc. (Castles, et al., 2002; Fokkema & de Haas, 2011; Charsley & Spencer, 2019), each country and society may approach inclusion differently hinging on their respective economic situation, sociocultural values and political contexts. As reported in the World Migration Report 2020 (IOM, 2019), Table 5.1 summarises a few of the most extensive past and present national policy models of inclusion, i.e. assimilation, multiculturalism and integration.

**Table 5.1:** Summary of the main inclusion models

<b>Inclusion model</b>	<b>Degree of adaptation by migrants</b>	<b>Degree of accommodation by society</b>	<b>Example of policies</b>	
Assimilation	High	Low	White Australia policy, 1901-1966 <sup>a</sup>	Restricting “non-white” immigration and assimilating “white” immigrants <sup>b</sup>
Multiculturalism	Low	High	Canada, Multiculturalism Policy, 1971-present <sup>c</sup>	Identifying that “multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society” <sup>d</sup>
Integration	Medium	Medium	European Union Action Plan on the Integration of Third-Country Nationals, 2016 <sup>e</sup>	Considering integration as a “dynamic two-way process” <sup>f</sup>

*Note.* Reprinted from “Migration, inclusion and social cohesion: Challenges, recent developments and opportunities,” by C. Bauloz, Z. Vathi and D. Acosta, 2019, *World Migration Report*, p.189. Copyright 2019 by International Organization for Migration.

*Source:* <sup>a</sup> National Museum Australia, n.d.; <sup>b</sup> Ibid.; Berndt, 1961; <sup>c</sup> Government of Canada, 2018; <sup>d</sup> Ibid., 1985; <sup>e</sup> European Commission, 2016; <sup>f</sup> Ibid.

In reference to Berry’s acculturation framework (1994), assimilation implies a one-way policy where immigrants are expected to fully embrace the host national identity and societal values of the mainstream society while discarding their original cultural identification and heritage values. While the assimilation strategy has been translated to a “melting pot” strategy when describing acculturation expectation strategy exhibited by the majority group of the society or country, multiculturalism has been referred to as a “salad bowl”: a melting pot is consisted of ingredients that melt together to achieve high resemblance; one the contrary, a salad bowl contains a variety of ingredients which co-exist side by side harmoniously (IOM, 2019). Assimilation as an inclusion model was commonly adopted by traditional immigration countries, Latin American countries in particular, during the earlier twentieth century (Acosta, 2018) but they eventually shifted to adopting

multiculturalism in the 1970s in an attempt to accommodate increasingly diverse societies (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

Taken together, inclusion models are important tools to be incorporated into national policies aiming to cultivate a healthy balance between diversity and unity as well as to foster social cohesion. Compared to assimilation and multiculturalism models, the integration model would seem to be a win-win strategy, as it generally requires a two-way process in equilibrium of mutual adaptation and accommodation by immigrants and the receiving societies (International Organisation for Migration; IOM, 2019). On a national level, the absence or insufficient effort in immigration policies may be catastrophic, as it not only causes immigrants to suffer discrimination and marginalisation by the mainstream society, but also provokes social tensions, riots and even civil unrest thus undermining social cohesion in the receiving society (Gagnon & Khoudour-Castéras, 2012).

Despite the increasing complexity of migration, this thesis complements existing socioeconomic indicators that explain SWB variances among immigrants in the UK and across Europe while taking into account a wide range of national-level characteristics. The systematic measurement of multiple SWB constructs (in Chapter 4) provides novel information on the associations between these SWB measures with multiculturalism and acculturation in the country as a whole, thus suggesting new insights to policymakers and national leaders. Overall, the studies presented in this thesis contribute to the body of research on SWB and migration and can help policy-makers evaluate policies to promote societal progress beyond economic growth.

### **Limitations and Future directions of work**

All things considered, the results of this thesis should be interpreted in light of some limitations. As the empirical data in Chapters 2 and 3 were primarily derived from nationally

representative panel datasets and due to the lack of availability of other SWB components such as positive affect, negative affect and eudaimonic well-being, I could only focus on using a single measure of life satisfaction to assess the SWB among immigrants relative to natives. Although most studies on subjective well-being employ measures of life satisfaction and still yield valid and conclusive results (e.g., Di Tella & MacCulloch, 2008; Lucas & Schimmack, 2009; Okulicz-Kozaryn et al., 2014; Veenhoven & Ehrhardt, 1995), I strongly encourage future work to focus on SWB to employ multiple measures simultaneously to fully comprehend the impact of migration on SWB. In order to compensate for this shortcoming, I designed an online survey to collect empirical data for Chapter 4 and hereby included all relevant SWB constructs – the tripartite model of SWB plus eudaimonic well-being. Although the aforementioned components of SWB seem relevant to all cultures, other collectivistic forms of well-being such as family well-being and relationship harmony might yield somewhat different results and interesting perspectives.

The main limitation of this thesis is that the analyses are correlational and two out of three empirical chapters employ cross-sectional data. I therefore cannot provide evidence of the direction of causality. For instance, in Chapter 2, it is theoretically plausible that citizens who enjoy higher life satisfaction have a more positive outlook that people living in the same society are trustworthy, fair and helpful; and in Chapter 4, the negative association between *Marginalisation* acculturation attitude and life satisfaction does not preclude the possibility that ethnic minorities who endure lower SWB levels choose to marginalise themselves from larger society. As highlighted in a recent longitudinal study that causality does run in the direction expected (Shakya & Christakis, 2017), more longitudinal research is required to sufficiently establish the direction of causality for the associations specified in this thesis.

The work in Chapter 4 in particular relied on self-reported data. While respondents were informed prior to answering the questionnaire that their data was completely



anonymous, their reports of their identity and SWB were subjective and could be influenced by various response biases, for instance, acquiescence (socially desirable responding), or reference group effects that impact self-report ratings. Although stringent data quality checks were added throughout the survey to ensure that respondents were following the instructions carefully, it is not possible to account for whether they were entirely honest or accurate in their responses. Moreover, although customised pre-screening requirements were applied prior to the start of the questionnaire to recruit a wide variety of ethnic minorities, almost 70 per cent of the non-white participants belonged to only two ethnic groups, i.e. Asian and Black/African. In addition, data was collected online via a participant recruitment platform – Prolific Academic; most of the participants were at least college educated and could have heard about this platform through their college or university affiliation. It is advisable for future studies to be conducted with community samples in order to explore the generalisability of findings to wider populations who are more exposed to different acculturation stressor and are likely to develop different acculturation orientations.

For the analysis of the ESS, BHPS and UKHLS in Chapters 2 and 3, some variables were created based on other existing variables which could allow for some error; for instance, the variable for migrant generation was created based on whether or not the respondents were born in the country and their fathers' and mothers' countries of birth. Future studies can explore other explanations or mediators of the relationship between multiculturalism, acculturation and SWB. Aside from all the relevant factors included in this thesis, perhaps there are other cultural variables that may have been overlooked and neglected in this study that can further explain or mediate the important links between multiculturalism and SWB or acculturation and SWB. Future studies should also incorporate larger samples from each geographical region worldwide to examine the differences and consolidate the findings yielded from this thesis.

Employing alternative research designs such as qualitative methodologies would also enrich this growing body of research where participants are able to contribute their personal perspectives on, for instance, how multiple cultural and national identities influence their well-being. While scholars and policymakers have long emphasised how the public conceptualises migration in general (Faist & Schiller, 2009; Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2008), it is increasingly essential to incorporate immigrants' voices to better understand the repercussion of migration as a whole on their sense of belonging and their self identities. Future research should employ longitudinal migrant surveys when exploring migrants' insights on their inclusion process, aspirations and well-being consequences in order to evaluate the efficiency of existing national policies pertaining to immigration matters.

Overall, the research in this thesis features a more comprehensive framework that highlights the importance of considering subjective well-being accounts of immigrants in Europe to promote societal well-being across Europe in the United Kingdom in particular.

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# Appendices

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**Appendix A: Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, et al., 1985)**

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 7-point scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by choosing the appropriate number. Please be open and honest in your response.

- 1: strongly disagree
- 2: disagree
- 3: slightly disagree
- 4: neither agree nor disagree
- 5: slightly agree
- 6: agree
- 7: strongly agree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I am satisfied with my life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. So far I have got the important things I want in life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

**Appendix B: Positive and Negative Affect Scales (Watson, et al., 1988)**

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then select how much you feel like this from the scale. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment.

Use the following scale to record your answers.

1: very slightly or not at all

2: a little

3: moderately

4: quite a bit

5: extremely

1. Scared
2. Distressed
3. Upset
4. Proud
5. Strong
6. Enthusiastic
7. Interested
8. Hostile
9. Guilty
10. Excited
11. Attentive
12. Determined
13. Active
14. Ashamed
15. Alert
16. Jittery
17. Irritable
18. Afraid
19. Inspired
20. Nervous

### Appendix C: Flourishing Scale (Diener, et al., 2009)

This questionnaire contains a series of statements that refer to how you may feel things have been going in your life. Read each statement and decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. Try to respond to each statement according to your own feelings about how things are actually going, rather than how you might wish them to be.

Use the following scale to record your answers.

1: strongly disagree<sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>

2: disagree<sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>

3: slightly disagree<sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>

4: neither agree nor disagree

5: slightly agree

6: agree<sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>

7: strongly agree

1. I lead a purposeful and meaningful life.
2. My social relationships are supportive and rewarding. <sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>
3. I am engaged and interested in my daily activities.
4. I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others.
5. I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me. <sup>[[1]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>
6. I am a good person and live a good life.
7. I am optimistic about my future.
8. People respect me.

## Appendix D: Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1999)

Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ on how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behaviour is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

*Note: 'Ethnic group / background' refers to the same ethnic origin that you answered previously in Q17. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are White or White British, Asian or Asian British, African, Caribbean or Mixed, etc.*

Use the numbers given below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement

- 1: strongly disagree
- 2: somewhat disagree
- 3: somewhat agree
- 4: strongly agree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organisations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.
8. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
9. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
12. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.
13. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
14. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
15. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.
16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
17. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.
18. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
19. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.
20. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

**Appendix E: British Multicultural Ideology Scale**

*(adaptation of the Canadian Multicultural Ideology Scale; Berry & Kalin, 1995)*

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using a 5-point scale.

- 1: strongly disagree
- 2: disagree
- 3: neither disagree nor agree
- 4: agree
- 5: strongly agree

1. We should recognise that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of British society
2. We should help ethnic and racial minorities preserve their cultural heritages in the UK.
3. It is best for the UK if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.
4. A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.
5. The unity of this country is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.
6. If people of different ethnic and cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.
7. A society that has a variety of ethnic or cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.
8. We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.
9. Immigrant / ethnic parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.
10. People who come to the UK should change their behaviour to be more like us.



**Appendix F: Acculturation Attitudes Scale (adapted from Kim, 1988)**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using a 5-point scale. You are free to use all numbers between 1 to 5 to indicate varying degrees of disagreement or agreement.

- 1: strongly disagree
- 2: disagree
- 3: neither disagree nor agree
- 4: agree
- 5: strongly agree

1. I feel that my ethnic group should maintain our own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of the British
2. It is not important to me to be fluent either in my own ethnic language or English.
3. I don't want to attend either British or own ethnic social activities.
4. I prefer social activities which involve my own ethnic group members only.
5. It is important to me to be fluent in both English and in my own ethnic language.
6. I prefer social activities which involve the British only.
7. I feel that it is not important for my ethnic group either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adopt those of British.
8. It is more important to me be fluent in my ethnic language than in English.
9. I feel that my ethnic group should maintain our own cultural traditions but also adopt those of British cultures.
10. I feel that my ethnic group should adopt the British cultural traditions and not maintain those of our own.
11. I prefer to have only British friends.
12. It is more important to me to be fluent in English than in my ethnic language.
13. I don't want to have either British or own ethnic friends.
14. I prefer to have only friends from my own ethnic group.
15. I prefer social activities which involve both British members and members from my ethnic groups.
16. I prefer to have both British friends and friends from my own ethnic group.

### Appendix G: Acculturation Expectations Scale (Berry, 1997)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. You are free to use all numbers between 1 to 5 to indicate varying degrees of disagreement or agreement.

- 1: strongly disagree
- 2: disagree
- 3: neither disagree nor agree
- 4: agree
- 5: strongly agree

1. I feel that immigrants of different ethnic groups should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of the British
2. It is not important for immigrants or other ethnic groups to be fluent either in their own language or English.
3. Immigrants / People from different ethnic backgrounds should not engage in either British or their own groups' social activities.
4. Immigrants / People from different ethnic backgrounds should engage in social activities which involve their own group members only.
5. Immigrants / People from different ethnic backgrounds should be fluent in both English and in their own ethnic language.
6. Immigrants / People from different ethnic backgrounds should engage in social activities that involve the British only.
7. I feel that it is not important for immigrants or other ethnic groups either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adopt those of British.
8. It is more important for immigrants / people of other ethnic groups to be fluent in their own language than in English.
9. I feel that immigrants / people of other ethnic groups should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adopt those of British cultures.
10. I feel that immigrants / people of other ethnic groups should adopt the British cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own.
11. Immigrants / People from different ethnic backgrounds should have only British friends.
12. It is more important for immigrants / people of other ethnic groups to be fluent in English than in their own language.
13. I don't want to have either British friends or friends from other ethnic groups.
14. Immigrants / People from different ethnic groups should have only friends from their own ethnic groups.
15. Immigrants / People from different ethnic groups should engage in social activities that involve both British members and members from their own ethnic groups.
16. Immigrants / People from different ethnic groups should have both British friends and friends from their own ethnic groups.

## Appendix H: Demographic and Filter Questions for Survey in Study 3

### Data collection was opened with the following filter questions:

1. What year were you born?  
(drop down list of years from 1918 to 2018, respondents who indicate they are under the age of 18 were disqualified)
2. How long have you lived in the UK?  
(drop down list of duration from “less than 6 months” to “ > 60 years”, respondents who indicate the first option “less than 6 months” were disqualified)

### **Demographic Questions Part I: gender, country of birth, citizenship**

1. Please enter your prolific academic ID
2. What is your gender?
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
3. Were you born in the United Kingdom?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
4. Which country were you born in? *{display logic: Q3 = No}*  
(drop down list of countries)
5. Do you hold British citizenship?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
6. Do you hold any other citizenship (non-British)?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
7. Do you hold dual citizenship?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
8. Was your father born in the UK?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
9. Was your mother born in the UK?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

## **Demographic Questions Part II: education, socioeconomic and marital statuses**

1. What is the highest level of education that you have obtained?
  - a. No formal qualifications
  - b. CSE grade 2-5 / GCSE grades D-G or equivalent
  - c. CSE grade 1 / O-level/GCSE grades A-C or equivalent
  - d. A-level, AS-level or equivalent
  - e. University: undergraduate degree or equivalent
  - f. University: post graduate degree
  - g. Don't know
  
2. What statement best describes your current employment status?
  - a. Self-employed (e.g. business owner, entrepreneur, etc.)
  - b. Unskilled work (e.g. farm labour, food service, house cleaner, etc.)
  - c. Professional (e.g. doctor, lawyer, teacher, business executive, etc.)
  - d. White collar / office work (e.g. clerk, salesperson, secretary, etc.)
  - e. Skilled work (e.g. technician, carpenter, hairdresser, seamstress, etc.)
  - f. Not working (temporary layoff from a job)
  - g. Not working (looking for work)
  - h. Not working (retired)
  - i. Not working (sick / disabled)
  - j. Not working (homemaker)
  - k. Not working (student)
  - l. Others, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  - m. Don't know
  
3. What is your current marital status?
  - a. Never married
  - b. Married or in a civil partnership
  - c. Separated
  - d. Divorced
  - e. Widowed
  
4. Does / Did your spouse come from the same ethnic group as yourself? {*display logic: Q3 = married, separated, divorced, widowed*}
  - a. Yes
  - b. No; if not, which ethnic group? \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Would you prefer to marry someone from the same ethnic group as yourself? {*display logic: Q3 = never married*}
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. No preference

### **Demographic Questions Part III: ethnic origin, cultural and national identities**

#### **Ethnic origin question:**

What is your ethnic group?

Choose one section from A to E, then tick one box to best describe your ethnic group or background

*Note: Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural origins of ancestors. Ethnic origin refers to a person's 'roots' and should not be confused with his/her citizenship, nationality, language or place of birth. For example, a person who has British citizenship, speaks Mandarin and was born in Canada may be of Asian Chinese or Asian British ethnic origin. According to the classification of ethnicity in the UK, membership of an ethnic group is usually subjectively meaningful to the person concerned.*

#### A. White

- i. English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British
- ii. Irish
- iii. Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- iv. Any other White background, write in \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. Mixed / multiple ethnic groups

- i. White and Black Caribbean
- ii. White and Black African
- iii. White and Asian
- iv. Any other Mixed / multiple ethnic background, write in \_\_\_\_\_

#### C. Asian / Asian British

- i. Indian
- ii. Pakistani
- iii. Bangladeshi
- iv. Chinese
- v. Any other Asian background, write in \_\_\_\_\_

#### D. Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

- i. African
- ii. Caribbean
- iii. Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, write in \_\_\_\_\_

#### E. Other ethnic group

- i. Arab
- ii. Any other ethnic group, write in \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Cultural and National Identities:**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- 0 = Not applicable  
 1 = Strongly disagree  
 2 = Somewhat disagree  
 3 = Neither agree nor disagree  
 4 = Somewhat agree  
 5 = Strongly agree

1. I feel that I am part of my original ethnic culture. [Ethnic Identity]
2. I am proud to belong to my original ethnic group. [Ethnic Identity]
3. Being part of my original ethnic group is embarrassing to me. [Ethnic Identity]
4. I feel that I am part of British culture. [National Identity]
5. I am proud of being British. [National Identity]

Mono- or Multicultural question:

Do you identify yourself as a monocultural or multicultural individual?

*Note: Monocultural means relating to a single, homogenous culture;*

*Multicultural means relating to, or representing several different cultures or cultural elements*

- a. I identify myself as a monocultural individual
- b. I identify myself as a multicultural individual
- c. Don't know

Neighbourhood Ethnic Composition:

Which statement is most true about the neighbourhood / village where you live?

- a. Almost all people are from a different ethnic group than mine
- b. A majority of the people is from a different ethnic group than mine
- c. There is about an equal mix of people from my ethnic group and other groups
- d. A majority of the people is from my ethnic group
- e. Almost all people are from my ethnic group

Perceived Discrimination:

Below are three statements with which you may or may not experience. Please be open and honest in your response.

0 = Not applicable

1 = Never

2 = Rarely

3 = Sometimes

4 = Often

5 = All the time

- a. I think that others have behaved in an unfair or negative way towards my ethnic group.
- b. I have been teased or insulted because of my ethnic background.
- c. I have been threatened or attacked because of my ethnic background.

### **Demographic Questions Part IV: language**

#### Language knowledge:

1. Do you speak any other language/s aside from English?
  - a. No
  - b. Yes, I speak one other language, which is \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Yes, I speak two other languages, which are \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Yes, I speak more than two other languages, which are \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What language do you speak at home?
  - a. English
  - b. Others, please write \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. What language do you speak at work?
  - a. English
  - b. Others, please write \_\_\_\_\_

#### Language proficiency:      {*display logic: language Q1 = Yes*}

Please indicate how well you do with each of the following statements based on a 5-point scale

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = A little
- 3 = Somewhat
- 4 = Fairly well
- 5 = Very

4. How well do you:
  - i. understand English
  - ii. speak English
  - iii. read English
  - iv. write English
  
5. How well do you:
  - i. understand [your other language]
  - ii. speak [your other language]
  - iii. read [your other language]
  - iv. write [your other language]