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Protecting Well-being in face of Perceptions of Discrimination: Extending the Rejection Identification Model among low-status Turkish Cypriots

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Abstract

This research contributes to the development of a greater understanding of the intergroup relations between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus. We focus, specifically, on the perspective of the low-status groups members, the Turkish Cypriots, and on the outcomes in terms of well-being. 234 citizens participated through an online questionnaire. In line with the Rejection-Identification Model, we found an indirect effect of perceived discrimination on well-being through the identification with the in-group. The model was extended to include the contact and culture adoption based ingroup acculturation. Results show that ingroup acculturation does not substitute ingroup identification as a protective mechanism, but derives from it. Finally, we analyzed the moderation effect of out-group identification on the effect of in-group identification on well-being, showing greater well-being when Turkish Cypriots choose a dissociative strategy. Results are discussed in the context of intergroup relations model's adaptation to the study of deeply divided societies.

Keywords: deeply divided society, rejection-identification model, acculturation orientations, low-status, Cyprus

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Introduction

Social psychological research has primarily focused on dominant social groups in terms of prejudice and discrimination. There are considerable literature that address individual differences in willingness to discriminate, prejudicial attitudes and stereotyped beliefs against stigmatized and devalued groups (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Deaux, 1984; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Crandall, 1994). Instead of focusing on dominant groups, some researchers have begun to examine groups who are relatively powerless by focusing on experiences of the members of minority groups and the possible responses that individuals would exhibit when coping with difficulties (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Crosby, 1982; Deschamps, 1982; Dion & Earn, 1975; Major, 1994; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998; Tajfel, 1978). Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggest that identification with social groups is the way of individuals` find their place in the world as well as in their society. This dissertation is a contribute to this literature within the context of a deeple divided society and from a perspective of the low-status group in that society: Turkish Cypriots.

Chapter I

Literature Review and Present Research

1.1 Perceived Discrimination and Well-being

The negative relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological well-being has been found by many researchers in empirical studies (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2006; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Rejection Identification Model suggest that facing pervasive discrimination against to an in-group implies rejection and exclusion of that in-group from positions of status and power as well as broader social context (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Schmitt and Branscombe (2002) argued that when *pervasive discrimination* occurs across different and more than one context again and again this rejection turns to systematic discrimination. A meta-analytic review shows that perceptions of discrimination negatively affect both physical and psychological health (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This meta-analytic review examined 110 studies in the context of perceptions of discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, depressive symptoms, psychiatric distress, ethnicity and race relation to well-being. Researchers found two plausible pathways to poorer health through the perceived discrimination increase of stress and unhealthy behaviours (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).

Many social psychological theories support that people are motivated to avoid being excluded in a group, thus seeking inclusion (Maslow, 1968; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Williams & Sommer, 1997; Williams, Shore & Grahe, 1998). Feeling excluded and rejected will harm psychological well-being. Researchers indeed find that psychological well-being worsens when disadvantaged groups perceive discrimination directed at them and their group (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003; Wirth & Williams, 2009). This has wide implications with social rejection and exclusion resulting in depression (Frable, 1993), anxiety (Bowlby, 1973), lower levels in general life satisfaction (Cozzarelli & Karafa, 1998) and self-esteem (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). In addition to that, sense of belonging and acceptance, feelings of control and perceived meaningful existence are reduced when people encounter alienation. Durkheim (1897) even suggested that in case of an extreme forms of exclusion and perceived rejection are predictive of suicide.

1.2 In-group Identification

Many social psychologists have proven that the way individuals categorize themselves and others affect different aspects of people's lives (Allport, Clark & Pettigrew, 1954; Sherif & Sherif, 1967; Tajfel, 1981). Individuals see the world according to different social categorization criteria, ethnic groups, nationality, economic status, culture, sexual orientation or religion, and social categorization is likely to influence on individual's interrelations in this social world. Social identity is defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership" (Tajfel 1981, p. 255). The most dramatic influence on social judgement and perception seems to be the "us" and "them" distinction which result in intergroup discrimination (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Individuals have the motivation to maintain and enhance a positive social identity and this can be result in in-group bias and ethnocentrism (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, 1978). The self-image or the self-concept is determined by social categories which Tajfel and Turner (1979) defined as social identity and self-categorization becomes relevant when people identify themselves with their social category. In other words, individuals internalize this group membership as an aspect of self-concept. People constantly categorize themselves, determine the in-group and out-group worth, evaluate and compare their selves. Creating this social categorization allows people to get faster and better in social information processing when they interact with each other. The value of group membership, group evaluation and social categorization constitute people's social identity. Negative social identity led to cognitive strategies, social mobility behaviours or social competition to build a positive aspect of their own social group whereas positive social identity compensated with positive self-esteem (Tajfel, 1978). The "us" and "them" distinction is a specific aspect of the in-group and out-group, in other words, it is the decision whether to accept an individual as the member of the in-group or to exclude that individual as they belong to another group rather than in-group.

1.3 Perceived Discrimination, Minority Group Identification and Well-being

The Social Identity Theory (SIT), involves a number of interrelated components of intergroup relations, social comparison, social identity and self-enhancement (Tajfel & Turner 1979). According to SIT, believing that the one's own group has been illegitimately disadvantaged by powerful majority can lead to increased connection between their own group and its members. Turner, Hogg, Turner and Smith (1984) suggest that in-group identification and group cohesion

will increase when individuals feel failure which that threatens the status of their social group. In an experiment, researchers found that when future expectations manipulated likelihood of discrimination of a socially disadvantaged group caused increased identification with that particular group (Jetten, Branscombe, Spears & Schmitt, 2001). The Rejection-Identification Model (RIM) suggests that perceived discrimination against one's own group can lead to increased identification with their group. This in turn counteracts the negative effect of perceived discrimination on self-esteem, described above (Branscombe et al., 1999). Discrimination from mainstream groups present an image of a threat to individual's group identity as a result it implies that the culture decreases the value of that group membership. Branscombe and colleagues (1999) has showed that the individuals who feel belonging to minority groups and devalued because of that group identity frequently react to threats with increased group cohesion and group identification.

In line with Rejection-Identification model, different researchers have been found that the more that disadvantaged group members perceive or recognize stereotypical discrimination against their own social group, they are more likely to identify themselves with that particular group. Studies of women (Gurin & Townsend, 1986), Jews (Dion & Earn, 1975), the elderly (Garstka, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Hummert, 2004), African American (Thompson, et al., 1990), lesbians (Crosby et. al., 1989), international students (Ramos et al., 2016) and non-mainstream college groups (e.g. hippies, nerds, punks; Cozzarelli & Karafa, 1998) have all resulted with higher levels of in-group identification when they faced with prejudice and discrimination.

There are some research showing that the casual relation can be the reverse, as that attributions to prejudice are especially likely to increase and seen as pervasive when group's devalued status is made salient (Simon et al., 1998) and when the rejection comes from multiple out-group members (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park & Banaji, 1998). However, Ramos and colleagues (2016) tested both pathway in a longitudinal study, finding greater support for the model with perceived discrimination leading to increase in ingroup identification. One reason that people increase group identification when they encounter pervasive discrimination is people's desire to feel that they belong as it meets needs for acceptance. To enhance psychological well-being and feelings of acceptance, identifying with devalued in-group may be the best and adaptive possible strategy when members believe that fair treatment by a powerful group is unlikely (Branscombe, Schmith & Harvey, 1999). These adaptive strategies help people to make sense of their social place in the world and increase individuals' investment

in their own group. The feelings of belonging and inclusion are fundamental needs and when these needs encounter with discrimination, psychological well-being deteriorate (Giamo, Schmith, Outten, 2012). Branscombe and colleagues (1999) proposed that the core argument of this model is that pervasive discrimination damages psychological well-being, however the in-group identification has the capacity to counteract this negative effect on self-esteem. Thus, perceiving discrimination and rejection from out-group may have an indirect positive effect on well-being when this relationship is mediated by individuals' identification with their own minority group.

1.4 Acculturation

According to Berry (2005) acculturation is the dual process of psychological and cultural change occurs as a result of contact across two or more cultural groups and its members. It involves changes in cultural practices, social institutions and structures at the group level and changes in people's cognition and behaviour. Berry (1997) stated that individuals facing with two fundamental questions; to what extent people desire to maintain their participation in and contact with heritage culture and to what extent people desire to maintain their participation in and contact with dominant society. The answers to these questions result in adoption of a particular acculturation orientation. Berry's bidimensional framework conceptualizes four distinctive acculturation orientations. These orientations are integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Integration involves desire for both contact with the dominant culture and heritage culture maintenance. Assimilation involves desire to adopt the behaviours and beliefs of the dominant group but relinquishing own cultural heritage. Separation involves desire to maintain own heritage culture but no desire for intercultural contact with the majority group. Marginalization involves no desire to be in contact with the majority nor desire to maintain own heritage culture (Berry, 2005).

After Berry's contact conceptualization, other conceptualizations of acculturation were made. The wide range of literature and the scientific fields such as Social Psychology, Cross-cultural Psychology, Anthropology and Ethnic Studies have three views of conceptualization about its measure and definition of acculturation. These conceptualizations include contact, but also an adoption and identification conceptualizations (Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere & Boen, 2003).

Adoption conceptualization proposed by Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Sénécal (1997) is a combination of the culture adoption and attitudes toward cultural maintenance. The

identification conceptualization is based on the Bidimensional identification model proposed by Hutnik (1986, 1991) that describes four strategies of self-categorization parallel to the one's by Berry: acculturative (integration), dissociative (separation), assimilative (assimilation) and marginal (marginalization). This model determined by the extent of individuals define themselves within the majority and minority group. These three conceptualizations reflect a relational, ideological or cognitive conceptualization of such socio-psychological realities involve in the distance/closeness between heritage and mainstream groups.

Snauwaert and colleagues (2003) have shown that using different conceptualizations of acculturation can yield different patterns. They measured strength of identification with the dominant group, importance to attached to participation/contact in the host society as well as adoption of parts of Belgian culture among Turkish people. In other words, they compare results that come from measuring acculturation through an identification, contact and cultural adoption conceptualizations. Participants were from either born in Belgium or born in Turkey but arrived in Belgium at a young age. When cultural adoption conceptualization was used, 37% of the participants were favored integration and 56% favored separation. With the ethnic identification conceptualization, only 10% of the participants opted for acculturative (self-categorization as Belgian and as Turkish) and 80% of the Turkish participants opted for dissociative (self-categorization not as Belgian but as Turkish).

We can argue that the Rejection-Identification Model applied to the particular context of cultural minorities focuses on the protective role of in-group acculturation, which we argue it can be seen as a cognitive conceptualization of in-group acculturation. Given that the three conceptualizations are theoretically relevant but produce different patterns of results, there is a need to see if this protective role can be extended to other conceptualizations of in-group acculturation: adoption and contact.

In particular we will focus on that combines two independent acculturation dimensions which are the adoption and the contact model (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Extending the model to include other conceptualizations of ingroup acculturation can help build the bridge with the literature that studies the effects of perceived discrimination on minority group members acculturation strategies. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) stated that it is more difficult to assimilate or integrate for acculturating individuals when they face with discrimination and rejection. This is also consistent with evidence that perceiving discrimination is associated with a marginalization and separation orientations (Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

1.5 Present Research

Cyprus is an island located in the Eastern Mediterranean. The main geographical characteristic of the country is that ongoing division to two communities, with a UN-patrolled buffer zone, since 46 years. After 1974, Turkish military forces (30,000-40,000) occupied the north (37%) of the island to stand against to the military junta in Greece and to the `Megali Idea` which means that the union (*enosis*) of Greece and Cyprus. Throughout the history, Greek Cypriots has seen this as a violation of international laws. Moreover, the displacement of 160,000 individuals led to Greek Cypriots` ethnic cleansing from the north and resulted in occupation by Turkey of the island. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriot community has been seen this as liberation from the union with Greece and Greek Cypriot oppression. They portrayed it what is known as ``Cyprus Peace Operation``. After 1977, two communities in Cyprus agreed to negotiate of two separate geographical zones. Future negotiations led to the internal displacement of important number of Greek Cypriots and some Turkish Cypriots to their former residencies to returning to their communities.

By 1983, Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leadership, declared the independent state called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus which until today it has been recognized only by Turkey. The south of the island governed by Greek Cypriots, Republic of Cyprus, has been internationally recognized and joined in the EU by 2004. In 2003, Annan plan sponsored by UN to reunified these two communities. The majority of Turkish Cypriots accepted this plan and rejected by Greek Cypriots.

From 2003 up to today, there are 9 borders/ checkpoints to cross between two communities. This led social and developmental psychologists in Cyprus to work on intercultural relations, views of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, identity of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, identity formations and issues related to the contact (e.g. Mertan & Husnu, 2004; Loizidies, 2007; Mertan, 2011; Psaltis & Cakal, 2016; Husnu, Mertan & Cicek, 2018).

This research aims to contribute to this effort of developing a greater understanding of the context of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot relationship in Cyprus, from the perspective of the Turkish Cypriots. It will do so focusing on the well-being for it`s decrease and the factors that protect it.

As such we will start within the framework of the Rejection Identification Model (RIM). As seen above, this model argues that that in-group identification is an important buffer for the well-being of group members who perceive themselves to be the targets of discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey 1999). In other words, the perceptions of discrimination

increase group identification among disadvantaged groups and these negative perceptions are likely to be experienced as an exclusion from the dominant culture which in turn it harms well-being. However, increased minority group identification will also increase psychological well-being and suppressed the painful effect of perceived pervasive discrimination. As such 1) we will replicate the Rejection Identification Model in the context of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot relationship in Cyprus.

We continue by bringing the discussions of the different conceptualizations of acculturation to a possible extension of Rejection Identification model in order to include other conceptualizations of the protective mediator (Snauwaert et al., 2003). As such, 2) we predict that acculturation orientations based on increase willingness for contact and culture adoption will also serve as a buffer between perceived discrimination and well-being for the low-status Turkish Cypriots.

In the acculturation literature it is always relevant to consider the dynamic adaptation to both the ingroup/heritage group as to the outgroup/mainstream group, an effort we will mimic). As such we do an explorative effort of inclusion of identification with the Greek Cypriot outgroup in the model.

There is an evidence of a relationship between perceived discrimination on the willingness to acculturate to the mainstream group. Hewstone and Swart (2011) suggest that when group members of devalued groups expect discrimination and negative treatment, they tend to avoid contact with dominant groups. But there is a more consistent body of literature that analysis how different acculturation strategies that combine ingroup and outgroup acculturation result in different patterns of well-being or general positive outcomes (see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). As such, our 3rd hypothesis we will analyse this moderation effect between ingroup and outgroup identification and well-being and then include it the full model.

Chapter II

Methods

2.1 Participants

The number of people who participate in the study were 389 in total. We excluded all participants with incomplete data and people who did not meet inclusion criteria: having a passport or identity card from Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and currently living in Cyprus. The final sample was 234 participants (114 women, 104 men and 3 others). The age of the participants range between 18 and 66 years. old.

2.2 Materials

The questionnaire included the following measures:

Perceived Discrimination Scale

The Past Experiences with Racial Discrimination Scale adapted from Ramos and colleagues (2016). The items focused on Turkish Cypriots` perceptions of discrimination posed by Greek Cypriots. The scale had 6 items, with sample items such as: “In Greek part of the Cyprus there are not any discrimination against Turkish Cypriot people” and “On average, people in Greek Cyprus society treat Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots equally” (reversed code). Participants indicate the degree of agreement of each statement between (1=*strongly disagree*, 7= *strongly agree*). We computed an index of perceived discrimination by averaging the six items ($\alpha = .66$, $M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.67$).

Identification of the In-group and Out-group

Self-categorization scale was (Snauwaert et al., 2003) adapted to explore the degree of identification and importance with in-group and out-group. Participants have to indicate the degree of agreement with the statement. The 7-Likert Scale range between (1= *strongly disagree*, 7= *strongly agree*). There are four statements in total and it includes items like “I really consider myself as Turkish Cypriot” and “Being Greek Cypriot is important to me” Three indexes computed by the average of the in-group identification items ($\alpha = .85$, $M = 4.5$, $SD = 2.2$) and out-group identification items ($\alpha = .92$, $M = 1.5$, $SD = 1.5$).

Acculturation with the In-group

Identification with the heritage and mainstream culture measured by a scale adapted from *The Vancouver Index of Acculturation* (VIA) (Ryder et al., 2000) where participants indicated the degree of agreement or disagreement with statements (1= *strongly disagree*, 7= *strongly*

agree). The scale conceptualizes Contact and Adoption of the culture and involves 10 statements in total such as “I often participate in Turkish Cypriot cultural traditions”, “I believe in the values of the Turkish Cypriot culture” and “I would be willing to marry a Turkish Cypriot”. The average of the 10 items in the subscale was computed, resulting in an in-group acculturation index ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.4$).

Well-Being

Well-being and overall judgement of one’s life measured by the *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS) (Ryder et al., 2000). This scale has five items and it range between (1= *strongly disagree*, 7) *strongly agree*). Statements include “I am satisfied with my life” and “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”. We computed index of well-being by averaging the five items ($\alpha = .85$, $M = 4.2$, $SD = 1.4$).

Social Status

The perceived social status of in-group and out-group adapted from Fiske et al. (2012). There are six statements indicating social status such as “How economically successful have members of Turkish Cypriots been?” and “How economically successful have members of Greek Cypriots been?”. Participants indicate the degree of agreement of each statement between (1=*strongly agree*, 7= *strongly disagree*). Two social status indexes were not computed due to low reliability of one index: perceived in-group social status ($\alpha = .47$), perceived out-group social status ($\alpha = .70$). Analysis were run comparing individual items.

Sociodemographic questions

To characterize the participants we included (gender, age, education, city they live) as well as information related to the group membership: participants` passport or identity card, if they currently living in Cyprus, mother language, proficiency on Greek and English (7-point Likert Scale) and if they were allowed to legally pass the Turkish and Greek Cypriot borders.

2.3 Procedure

All measurements used in the study were translated and adapted to the Turkish language. To do so we used independent translators to make the first and the back translation. The questionnaire was developed through Qualtrics and distributed through social media. The online survey started with informed consent. It continued with the inclusion conditions since this research was on perceptions of Turkish Cypriots living in Cyprus, we excluded people who did not Turkish Cypriot identity card or passport and who were not living in Cyprus. After all the measurements of the questionnaire were answered, the participants were thanked and debriefed.

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Collected data was stored in Qualtrics and exported to Statistical Package for Social Sciences 22 (SPSS 22) once data gathering is finished.

Chapter III

Results

3.1 The Intergroup Context

Due to the complexity of the relationship between Turkish and Greek Cypriots we include a section in the results in which we describe the participants perceptions as to the differences in group status.

Results showed that the participants perceived the prestigious of typical jobs that achieved by the members of two communities is significantly different ($M = -.824, t(215) = -6.74, p < .001$). They perceived that the Greek Cypriots` typical jobs more prestigious ($M = 4.91, SD = 1.48$) than the Turkish Cypriots` typical jobs ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.23$). Results also showed that participants perceived members of these communities significantly different in economical success ($M = -1.91, t(215) = -12.54, p < .001$). Perceived economical success of Greek Cypriots` was much more higher ($M = 5.06, SD = 1.47$) than the perceived economical success of Turkish Cypriots` ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.63$). However, the results did not show any significant effect on perceived quality of education ($M = -.009, t(214) = -.093, p < .926$).

In deeply divided societies like Cyprus age differences seems to be very important. There is research found that the younger generations and the older generations think differently in the context of Cyprus issue (Latif & Sitas,2012), In a recent study, Yucel and Psaltis (2020) showed that in Cyprus there is a clear age differences on levels of trust, prejudice as well as readiness for cohabitation. Psaltis, Loizides, LaPierre and Stefanovic (2019) found negative correlation between age and acceptance of renewed cohabitation. In this research, age only correlated with in-group identification (see Table 1). This indicated that the older people had higher in-group identification than younger generations. However, no correlation was observed between age and the other variables in the study.

3.2 Relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being mediated by in-group identification

We predicted that perceived discrimination ($M = 3.42, SD = 1.67$) will lead to increased in-group identification ($M = 4.5, SD = 2.2$) which in turn it will increase well-being ($M = 4.2, SD = 1.4$). We started with an analysis of correlations between the variables (Table 1). The first results we highlight is that, contrary to our expectation, perceived discrimination is not correlated to well-

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being ($r = -.052, p = .429$). This suggest that the in-group identification will not work as a full mediation effect.

Table 1- Correlations between variables (* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Perceived Discrimination							
2.Well-being	-.052						
3.In-group Identification	.173**	.239**					
4.Out-group Identification	-.025	-.193**	-.157*				
5.Supraordinate category	-.070	.147*	.089	-.593**			
6.In-group Acculturation	.016	.327**	.528**	-.596**	.535**		
7.Outgroup Acculturation	-.155*	.065	.188**	-.100	.425**	.313**	
8. Age	.121	.047	.188**	-.072	.009	.058	.048

We still moved on to test the significance of the indirect effect (MacKinnon et al., 2002). Consistent with RIM, we found that the perceived discrimination predicted identification with in-group ($b=.30, SE = .11, t(230) = 2.66, p = 0.008$), which means that the higher perceptions of discrimination will lead to higher in-group identification. Also, in-group identification positively correlated with well-being ($b=.16, SE = .04, t(229) = 3.91, p < 0.001$), but, as described above, the perceived discrimination effect did not reached significance ($b = -.10, SE = .07, t(229) = -1.48, p = 0.14$).

The indirect effect was tested using a percentile bootstrap estimation approach with 10000 samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002), implemented with the PROCESS macro Version 3 (Hayes, 2017). Taken together these results indicated that despite not having a full mediation, there is significant indirect effect of perceived discrimination and well-being through the increase in in-group identification ($b = .0469, SE = .02, 95\% CI [.0125, .0916]$).

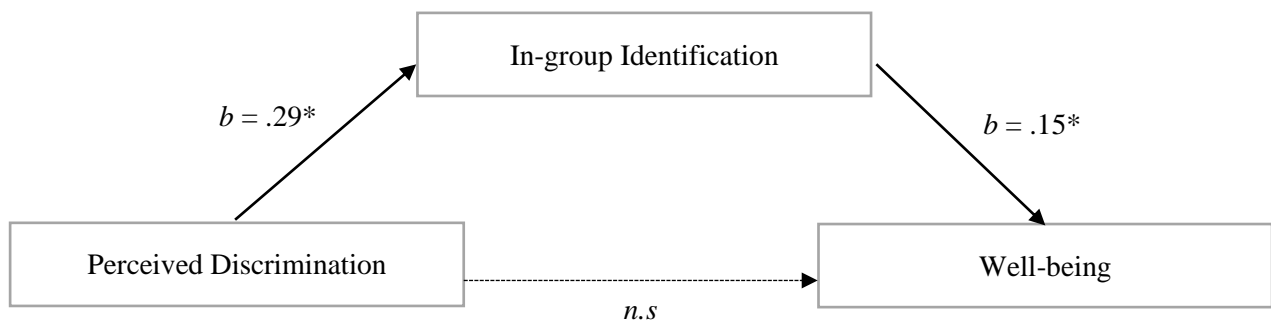


Figure 1- Representation of the indirect effect of Perceived Discrimination and Well-being through In-group Identification (* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$)

3.3 Extending the model to include in-group acculturation orientations, based on contact and culture adoption

We hypothesized that the perceived discrimination will positively affect the in-group acculturation which in turn will increase the well-being. We run the same regression analysis and bootstrapping analysis that for H1, this time replacing the in-group identification buffer with in-group acculturation. The relationship between in-group acculturation and well-being was significant effect ($b=.301, se = .056, t(229) = 5.3, p \leq 0.001$), but none of the other relevant effects were significant to support this hypothesis: perceived discrimination did not predict the in-group acculturation ($b = 0.18, se = .0774, t(230) = .23, p = .81$) and the indirect effect was not statistically different (effect = .005, $se = .023, 95\% CI [-.03, .04]$).

As replacing one conceptualization of in-group acculturation for the other did not produce the same indirect effect, we run further analysis based on Badea, Jetten, Iyer & Er-Rafiy (2011) evidence that group identification is a determinant of contact-based acculturation strategies. As such, we tested an inclusion of contact and culture-based acculturation as sequential variables in the direct effect of perceived discrimination on well-being.

Again, perceived discrimination did not show a significant effect on well-being ($b = -.080, se = .067, t(228) = -1.17, p = .24$). As theorized, this effect was serially mediated by in-group identification and in-group acculturation. The indirect pathway of the effect of perceived discrimination on well-being via in-group identification and in-group acculturation was significant ($b_{indirect} = .02, se = .013, 95\% CI [.0058, .0584]$). The mediation pathways fully accounted for the overall impact of perceived discrimination on well-being (See Figure 2).

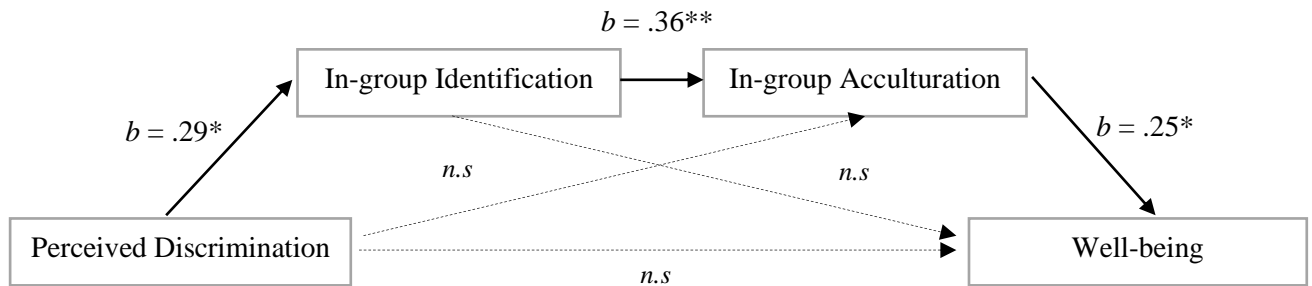


Figure 2 – Model with sequential indirect effect of in-group identification and in-group acculturation

3.4 Managing dual identities – including out-group identification

We started by analysing the particular interaction between self-categorizing as a Turkish Cypriot and as a Greek Cypriot in our main dependent variable: well-being.

A hierarchical multiple regression was performed by inserting in-group identification and out-group identification indices as predictors of the well-being index in the first step. Results show that in-group identification positively predicted well-being ($b_i = .207, se = .090, t(228) = 3.231, p = .001$) mimicking the results described above. As to out-group identification ($b = -.161, se = .090, t(228) = -2.505, p = .013$). The model was significant ($R^2 = .079, F(2, 229) = 9.87, p \leq .001$) but was improved. When the interaction term was added in a second step ($R^2 = .096, F(3, 228) = 8.027, p \leq .001; F_{change}(1, 228) = 4.064, p = .045$). The effects of in-group and out-group identification ($b_{ingroup} = .294, se = .090, p = .001; b_{outgroup} = -.346, SE = .100, p = .002$) held significance as did the interaction between in-group identification and out-group identification yielded a significant effect ($b_{interaction} = -.143, se = .083, p = .045$). The simple slopes of the link between in-group identification and well-being were calculated at three established cut-off points in out-group identification: the mean plus and the mean minus one SD, by followed Aiken and West's (1991) recommendation (Figure 3).

Results showed that in-group identification was not significantly linked with well-being when out-group identification high ($b = 0.13, se = 0.12, p = 0.30$). However, when outgroup identification as was low ($b = 0.46, se = 0.12, p \leq .001$) or moderate ($b = 0.29, se = 0.09, p = 0.002$) as ingroup identification increased so did well-being.

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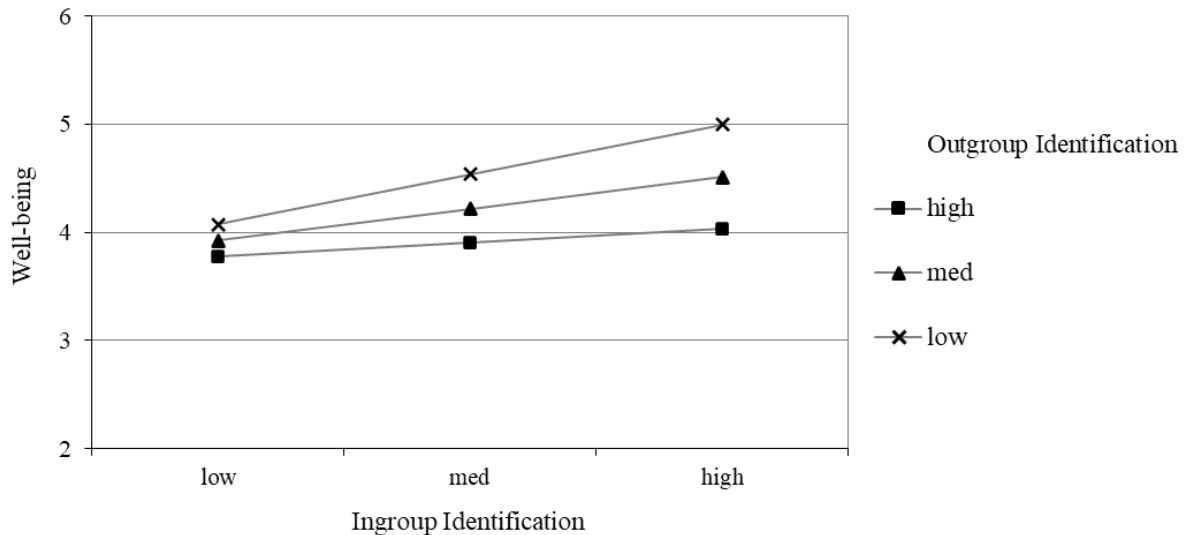


Figure 3- Well-being as a function of Turkish Cypriots self-categorization as Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots.

We utilized Model 14 of PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) to examine whether the relation between the in-group identification and the well-being were moderated by out-group identification when we include it in the first model (See Figure 4). Results showed that perceived discrimination positively predicted in-group identification ($b = .293, se = .113, t(228) = 2.63, p = .008$). Also, in-group identification had a significant positive direct effect on well-being ($b = .214, se = .056, t(225) = 3.80, p < .001$) mimicking the results described in the first model. The conditional effect showed that the low out-group identification positively predicted the relationship between in-group identification and well-being ($b = .167, SE = .043, 95\% CI [.082, .251]$). Results show, as in the moderation described above, that the relationship between in-group identification and well-being was weaker in the condition of high level of out-group identification.

In addition, the conditional indirect effect analysis further revealed that the overall indirect effect was more noticeable when Turkish Cypriots did not self-identify with Greek Cypriots ($b = .049, se = .021, 95\% CI [.012, .096]$), than for those who highly identify themselves with Greek Cypriots ($b = .035, se = .017, 95\% CI [.006, .075]$). Finally, the overall index of moderated mediation was also significant ($effect = -.013, se = .007, 95\% CI [-.031, -.000]$).

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Figure 4 – Model with Out-group identification moderating the indirect effect of perceived discrimination on well-being through in-group identification

Chapter IV

Discussion

Some previous research has found that in-group identification among members of the stigmatized minority groups is an important buffer that can protect the self from the painful effects of pervasive discrimination (Branscombe et al., 1999; Giamo et al., 2012; Ramos et al., 2012). At first, we tested this by using Rejection Identification Model in the context of Turkish Cypriot in Cyprus. In line with the Rejection Identification Model, the results of the model predicted that the perceived discrimination increases the in-group identification. Furthermore, consistent with the result of Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, and Smith` (1998) study, we found that increased minority group identification also increases psychological well-being. Turkish Cypriots who perceived lower level of discrimination felt decreased in-group identification whereas the perceptions of higher levels of pervasive discrimination from the members of Greek Cypriots led them to identify with their in-group identity even more. Through the results obtained in the analysis, the first model suggests that perceiving pervasive discrimination can indirectly enhance well-being by increasing in-group identification among the members of Turkish Cypriot community, thus partially confirming the first hypothesis.

The process of perceiving discrimination enhances minority identification with one`s cultural background has powerful implications on acculturating individuals as well as their societies such as immigrants and the host country. Another important consequence of this relationship rather than mitigating the negative effects of discrimination on well-being is that increased minority group identification might also increase the social support, thus, increase the coping strategy of individuals when they are under the stressful conditions (Haslam, O`Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005).

However, on the basis of our study the question that remains to explain is the lack of direct negative relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being. In this research, we selected one of many ways of operationalizing perceived discrimination: namely Experiences of discrimination (Ramos et al., 2016), Day-to-day discrimination (Ramos et al., 2016), Outgroup privilege (Branscombe et al. 1999, Ramos et al., 2016), Attributions to prejudice (Branscombe et al. 1999, Ramos et al., 2016). The option in this study fell in the first “experiences of discrimination” as it was the more general and as such most easily adaptable to fit the context, but also the measure that had a more consistent association to different dimensions of in-group identification (Ramos et al., 2016). However, the comparison between

the different scales of perceived discrimination might be better mapped through the other(s) scales and such direct comparison should be a focus of future research.

We extended Rejection Identification Model in the second hypothesis by including different conceptualizations of acculturation: contact and adoption conceptualizations. It was not clear in the literature if different in-group conceptualizations could serve as protection for the harmful effects of perceived discrimination. We examined if willingness for contact and cultural adoption within the group also served as a buffer between perceived discrimination and well-being among Turkish Cypriots. Most of the previous studies, examined acculturation orientation as an outcome variable of increased in-group identity and without considering different conceptualizations (Bastug & Akca, 2019). The results showed that the in-group contact and cultural adoption were not by themselves sufficient to increase well-being of members of Turkish Cypriots when they faced pervasive discrimination from the members of Greek Cypriot community. The in-group acculturation did not serve as a self-protective strategy among Turkish Cypriot community. However, results showed that the increased in-group identification among Turkish Cypriots led to increased willingness to having contact as well as an adoption of the Turkish Cypriots` culture. This, in turn, enhanced the psychological well-being. In other words, individuals who perceived discrimination more they also identify themselves as Turkish Cypriots more and these highly identified individuals were more willing to have the contact with the members of their community and adopt their culture, thus, enhance their well-being. This is, to your knowledge, a first integration of the Rejection Identification Model and the evidence by Badea et al.'s (2011) that group-based discrimination leads to ingroup identification, which in turn leads to ingroup acculturation. This contributes to the intragroup relations studies in deeply divided society Cyprus, suggesting that the willingness to contact with in-group and culture adoption of in-group does not serve as a self-protective method from outgroup`s discrimination alone but it also requires increased self-categorization with in-group, identifying as Turkish Cypriot.

The option to look at identification as a form of cognitive acculturation is not new in the literature (Abu-Rayya, 2009; Sánchez, & Fernández, 1993; Snauwaert et al., 2003) and can be used as a legitimate operationalization of it (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 2003). Nonetheless different patterns of results (Liebkind, 2001) - that we also describe here – should caution us to use the different conceptualizations interchangeably. Moreover, disentangling the different ways of looking at the dynamic distance and closeness to two groups can further help develop models that better represent the processes occurring in complex intergroup relations. Snauwaert

and colleagues (2003) looked into the patterns of results in different acculturation conceptualizations. As we mentioned before, these conceptualizations are *contact*, *adoption* and *identification conceptualizations*. According to research of Snauwaert and colleagues (2003), participants highlighted the importance of participation in the dominant/ mainstream society at the same time they were willing to maintain their culture (integration orientation) within the contact conceptualization. However, in the results of adoption conceptualization, willingness to adopting mainstream culture while maintaining the heritage culture (integration orientation) preferences considerably dropped. In accordance with the adoption conceptualization, very small minority of participants showed integration orientation within ethnic identification conceptualization. This imply that, the willingness to have intercultural contact does not necessarily mean that they are also willing to adopt the mainstream culture. Moreover, a refusal of adoption of the dominant group culture does not mean that they also refuse intercultural contact. This pattern reveals that ethnic identification integration cannot be equated with contact integration and that a contact separation cannot be equated with ethnic separation orientation.

Contact, ethnic identification as well as cultural adoption conceptualizations are different than the unidimensional models. These bi-dimensional models focus on both mainstream and heritage cultural identities as independently (e.g., Celano & Tyler, 1990; Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Joy, 1996; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). Ryder et al., (2000) mentioned that two core assumptions are generating these unidimensional models. There are some people who may base their identity on more than one cultural identity which might be independently range in strength. In addition to that, these unidimensional conceptualizations might result at the midpoint for both bicultural and non-bicultural individuals because they do not distinguish the individuals who have both reference group in strength, providing incomplete results. However, it seems like highly identified bi-cultural individuals would differ from individuals who does not highly identified with either group (Mavreas, Bebbington, & Der, 1989; Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernandez, 1980). As such whereas unidimensional models deal with the individual's behavioural and attitudinal responses to culture, bi-dimensional model focuses on the self in relation to other individuals which provides more inclusive and broader approach to acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000). These results reinforce the importance of using bidimensional acculturation.

Our study explores this bi-dimensionality by addressing different levels of interaction between categorizing the self as a Turkish Cypriot and as a Greek Cypriot on psychological

well-being. Turkish Cypriots who have low and moderate level of identification with Greek Cypriots showed increased well-being. Overall results indicate that out-group identification is an important variable in qualifying the relationship between in-group identification and well-being. This indicates that, at least in this deeply divided society, Turkish Cypriots that only self-categorize as Turkish Cypriots but not as Greek Cypriots (the dissociative orientation according to Hutnik, 1986), are the ones displaying higher levels of well-being. Moreover, it also indicates the importance of including out-group identification in the model, as described in Figure 4. The results showed that the high level of out-group identification worsens the relationship between in-group identification and well-being when Turkish Cypriots faced with discrimination from the members of the majority Greek Cypriots. This indicates that for Turkish Cypriots separative orientation is better for their well-being.

Within acculturation research there is a focus on both dominant and dominated group preferences, and also to acculturation outcomes on the basis of the fit between such preferences (Bourhis et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). According to these models, positive outcomes come from the fit between the preferences of both groups and of the perception of the preferences that the other group has. As such, it makes sense that in a deeply divided society, the preference for the dissociative strategy be the option that displays more fit and thus produces better outcomes, at least at the individual level.

It is important to say that the predicted outcomes in the model of acculturative integration (Bourhis et al., 1997) that never conceptualizes a good intergroup outcome when there is the option for separation. However, we may not disregard the data collected in this study, and even argue that in particular cases, that are limited by specific constrains, the choice for separation can indeed be more protective of individual well-being.

Lacher and Kaymak (2005) mentioned that long co-existing political and territorial division where separating these communities from one another on the membership of a particular group has significant effect on the identity formation of the individuals in Cyprus. In the history of Cyprus, the conflicts between these two communities fueled on divisive aspects of identity (Vural & Rustemli, 2006). Mertan (2011) mentioned that the sense of belonging and factors that constitute influence on ethnic group identities among children in Cyprus is highly depend on contextual variables such as the parental practices, close inter-generational relations, political discourse, media and the education system. Even more, due to TRNC is internationally unrecognized, children growth in a society that struggles as a distinct ethnical group which makes harder to have psychological freedom related to their identity fluctuations thus the

national identity turns into a rigid concept. Some researchers, even, put forward that the development of the in-group identity as Turkish Cypriot might be the result of conventional ethnic motivation (Mertan, 2011) and the nationalism might be driven by reaction to the out-group insecurity, demands and fears of marginalization (Loizides, 2007). We suggest that further studies should also looked into the political aspect of identity such as the level of politicized identity, and the protective effect of it between perceived discrimination and well-being.

It is very important to mention that even though these findings show dissociative orientation is better for well-being among Turkish Cypriots, it has a detrimental effect on intercultural/ intergroup relations among Turkish and Greek Cypriots in a very small island. Divided Cyprus forms very adequate example of such deeply divided societies (DDS). Thus, for the further implications, it shows the importance of giving careful attention to the psychological process of intercultural relations, intergroup contact, academic or educational collaborations, historical narratives and symbols, internal displacement and unresolved transitional justice issues: mainly the characteristics of deeply divided societies. To contribute to a practical point of view, Contact Theory (Allport, Clark, & Pettigrew, 1954) has been considered to improve intergroup relations very strongly and it reduces discrimination, prejudice as well as hostility towards the out-group. Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio and Pratto (2009) proved that the positive contact between group can alleviate perceptions about intergroup inequality. Change of political and historical narratives as well as increased interventions for positive contact between groups, by improving both quality and quantity, is needed to build trust and reduce prejudice between these groups. However, the negative contact can increase the perceived discrimination between groups (Barlow et al., 2012). Considering our results showed that the dissociative orientation is better for well-being in case of perceived discrimination, careful attention needs to be acknowledged in interventions. The perceptions of discrimination should decrease in these conditions which may lead to better intergroup relations in Cyprus.

Conclusion

To conclude, the present study focuses on the factors that protect the psychological well-being and the factors that decrease it when individuals faced with pervasive discrimination. Overall, the study showed that the identification with in-group is important to enhance well-being when Turkish Cypriots encounter with perceived discrimination from the majority group Greek Cypriots. In addition to that, we found that the willingness to contact with the members of their community and to adopt its culture (in-group acculturation) does not serve as a self-protective method. We found that, to be able to show the protective effects of in-group acculturation, individuals needed to be categorized themselves with in-group. Moreover, the study showed the effects high levels of out-group identification worsen the psychological well-being in the model. This study adds to the existing literature to develop greater understanding of perceptions of low-status/ minority Turkish Cypriots in inter-ethnically divided island of Cyprus and contribute to the literature on deeply divided society.

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