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The Immigrant and the Citizen: Out-Group Evaluations and Well-Being of Turkish Immigrants From Bulgaria

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Abstract

This study examines the postulates of the Rejection Identification Model (RIM) and Rejection Disidentification Model (RDIM) in a sample of 314 ethnic Turks from Bulgaria who migrated to Turkey. We investigate the intervening roles of immigrant and citizen identifications between perceived discrimination and the outcome variables (well-being and out-group evaluations). The results indicate that perceived discrimination predicts negative affect and out-group evaluations. Besides, Turkish citizen identification significantly and positively predicts life satisfaction and satisfaction from living in Turkey, whereas immigrant identification negatively predicts satisfaction in Turkey. Citizen identification predicts positive, and immigrant identification predicts negative out-group evaluations. Immigrant identification plays a

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mediating role in the link between perceived discrimination and satisfaction in Turkey as well as in that between perceived discrimination and out-group attitudes. The results imply the importance of consideration of contextual factors, including historical and cultural backgrounds, and the meaning of different identities for minority groups in predicting well-being.

Keywords
Ethnic identity, national identity, citizenship, immigrants, well-being, out-group evaluations

Introduction

Prejudice and discrimination still victimize a large number of people around the world and research has demonstrated that targets of prejudice experience many negative consequences such as decreased mental performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995), lower mental and psychological health (Brown et al., 2000), or negative out-group evaluations (Branscombe et al., 1999). Studies also show that targets use different mechanisms to cope with the adverse effects; hence, the impact of discrimination decreases to the extent that people use healthy coping mechanisms (Branscombe et al., 1999; Noh et al., 1999).

The fundamental theoretical basis of this paper is the Rejection Identification Model (RIM), which focuses on in-group identification as a coping strategy with prejudice (Branscombe et al., 1999). According to RIM, perceived discrimination as a form of rejection negatively affects the well-being of minority group members (Giamo et al., 2012); but at the same time leads to greater identification with the group, hence counteracting some of the adverse impacts of prejudice. A second theoretical approach in this domain is the Rejection Disidentification Model (RDIM), which focuses more on the national identity component of minority group members (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Accordingly, national identification is expected to be weaker when minority groups do not feel accepted.

Researchers mostly employ RIM with outcomes related to well-being, while they use RDIM with out-group-related outcomes. However, disidentification from a national identity can also be consequential for well-being (Eyou et al., 2000; Phinney et al., 2001). Also, in-group attitudes might be influential on perceptions of out-groups (Chang & Ritter, 1976; Duckitt & Parra, 2004). Hence, perceived discrimination may predict well-being and out-group evaluations through the path of minority identity (in line with RIM) as well as through the path of the citizen identity (in line with RDIM).

A recent study by Bobowik et al. (2017) tests the hypotheses suggesting the mediatory roles of immigrant and national identity for the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being. In a sample of voluntary and forced immigrant groups, they find that perceived discrimination decreases identification with the host nation (Basque/Spain and the Netherlands), which in turn reduces happiness in various immigrant groups. This finding supports RDIM. Their evidence is less consistent concerning RIM: perceived discrimination predicts ethnic identity either negatively or does not predict it at all.

Closely following their footsteps, the first aim of the current paper is to provide an additional test for the predictions of RIM and RDIM in a distinct immigrant group with peculiar characteristics. This paper employs RDIM along with RIM (Bobowik et al., 2017); however, we use the models not only in predicting *well-being outcomes* but also in predicting *out-group evaluations* for people with Turkish ethnic background who migrated from Bulgaria to Turkey.[1]

As a scarcely studied group in the literature, Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria is peculiar because the migration experience of the sample is quite different from other immigrant groups. The Ottoman Empire conquested the lands of modern Bulgaria from the late 14th to the early 15th centuries, and Turks were the majority group from the 16th to the 19th century in that area (Dayıoğlu, 2005). In 1878, the Ottoman Empire lost the Russo-Turkish War, and the Bulgarian state was founded. During the War, many Turkish people left Bulgaria, and after the foundation of the Bulgarian State, Turks have always been the largest minority group in Bulgaria (Eminov, 1997). Not only during the War but also at different periods, Turks in Bulgaria migrated to Turkey. To illustrate, between 1950 and 1951, because of economic conditions and harsh minority policies of Bulgaria, more than 150 000 Turks from Bulgaria arrived at Turkey and from 1969 to 1978, according to the agreement signed by Turkish and Bulgarian States, around 130 000 Turks migrated from Bulgaria to Turkey (Dayıoğlu, 2005). At present, approximately 600,000 Turks (8.8% of the population) live in Bulgaria (Republic of Bulgaria National Statistical Institute, 2011).

The Bulgarian State employed liberal minority policies in some periods through its history, but in other periods, severely discriminatory forms of minority policies were in practice. As a critical event, in addition to other restrictions towards minorities, Turks in Bulgaria were obliged to change their Turkish names with Bulgarian ones during the 1980s. After this critical oppressive act by the Bulgarian State, Turkey opened the border, and about 300,000 Turks migrated to Turkey in 1989 (Dayıoğlu, 2005). This migration was the most significant migration wave in Europe since the Second World War, and Turkey welcomed Turks of Bulgaria not as "refugees" but as "immigrants." The state provided legal, social, and material assistance to the immigrant Turks (Ayaşlı, 2018). Turkey is a "symbolic homeland" because this group of immigrant Turks shares the same ethnic identity, language, and religion with the native majority Turks (Parla, 2006), which renders this group of immigrants

quite distinct in comparison to other immigrant groups. Bulgarian-born residents represent the largest foreign-born group in Turkey. According to the place of birth statistics in 2014, 37.6% (992,597) of total foreign-born residents in Turkey, was born in Bulgaria (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2015).

Minority identity has generally been operationalized in terms of ethnic identity. In contrast, we directly measure *immigrant identity* rather than merely an ethnic or a cultural one. Conceptualizing minority identity in terms of immigrant status (rather than ethnicity shared with the majority) could reveal that the role that this identity plays might be different from the previous literature. Therefore, one contribution of the current paper is that it sheds light on what is vital in an identity for the well-being of immigrants.

A second contribution of the present paper is how it investigates well-being. It employs both cognitive and affective dimensions (Diener et al., 1985). However, on top of that, it also takes into account the distinction between satisfaction in different domains of life and global life satisfaction (Wu & Yao, 2007). Verkuyten (2008) argues that for immigrants, it is essential to measure satisfaction in the settled country as a domain-specific aspect of well-being due to its centrality in immigrants' daily lives. Accordingly, he shows that compared to majority group members (Dutch), minority group members (Turkish Dutch) are less satisfied with their lives in the Netherlands. Hence, we test RIM and RDIM by including variables representing both general well-being (general life satisfaction and negative affect) and domain-specific well-being (satisfaction in Turkey). Both negative and positive experiences might influence different aspects of well-being (Suh et al., 1996), and this paper investigates the roles of perceived discrimination and group identities on these various aspects of well-being.

In summary, we aim to more closely investigate the identity dynamics of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria in response to perceived discrimination by simultaneously examining the direct and intervening roles of immigrant and citizen identities on different aspects of well-being and out-group evaluations (see Figure 1 for an overview of the proposed model).

Identities as influential factors on out-group evaluations and well-being

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), identification with a group, or the value and significance of group membership for an individual, is crucial for one's self-image (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT (Tajfel, 1982) indicates that members seek a positive identity, and one way of doing this is intergroup comparisons where individuals favor their in-group over the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, the relationship between in-group identification and out-group evaluations is not very consistent. Some studies report a direct negative association (Branscombe & Wann, 1992); others find no relationship (Jackson et al., 2001); and yet others report a positive correlation between ethnic identification and out-group attitudes (Kosic & Caudek, 2005). This inconsistency may be related to

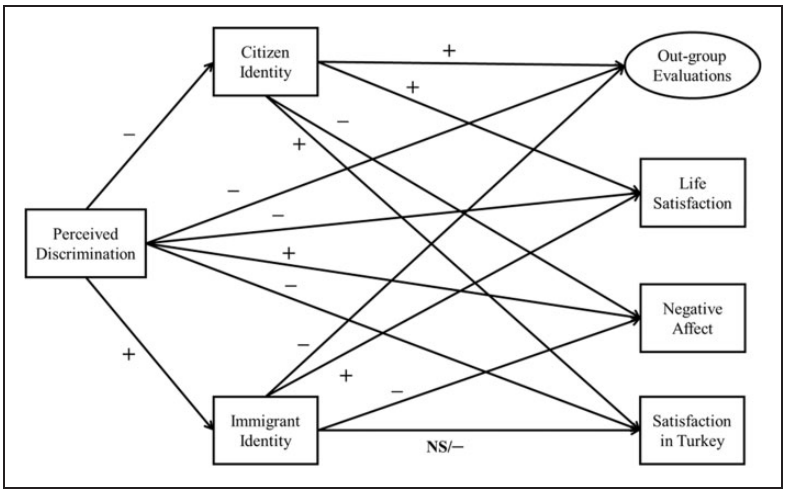


Figure 1. The proposed model and expected relationships where perceived discrimination is the predictor variable, immigrant and citizen identities as mediator variables, and out-group evaluations and well-being (life satisfaction, negative affect, and satisfaction in Turkey) as the criterion variables.

minority-majority status: the association between collective self-esteem and social distance towards the out-group exists for the majority, but not for the minority groups in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Masson, 1995). In parallel, Kosic and Caudek (2005) found that while for the majority group higher ethnic identification leads to less positive attitudes towards out-groups, for the minority, the higher scores in ethnic identification relates with more positive attitudes towards the out-groups. In other words, the studies in the literature indicate a negative association between ethnic identity and positive attitudes towards out-groups only for majority groups. Due to the operationalization of minority status and characteristics of the current sample, we expect a negative association between immigrant identification and evaluations of the majority (native) group. Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria share ethnicity and language with native Turks; hence minority group identity focuses on their immigrant status instead of ethnicity, possibly overemphasizing their difference from the native group. In addition to minority group identity, a national/civic identity described as "feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, the larger society" (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 497) can also influence out-group evaluations. A study conducted with multi-ethnic high school students in the USA shows that students who identify themselves primarily as an American have lower level intergroup bias towards other minority groups (Gaertner et al., 1996). Consistent with the literature, we expect a positive association between citizen identification and majority attitudes.

Ethnic and national identities are not only influential on out-group attitudes but also well-being. Findings regarding the effects of minority and national group identification on well-being consistently indicate positive associations of these variables with well-being (e.g., Deneve & Copper, 1998; Haslam et al., 2009). For example, African-American identification positively predicts personal and collective well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999), and Turkish identification has a positive association with the well-being of Turkish adolescents in Bulgaria (Dimitrova et al., 2013). Likewise, multi-racial group identification is associated with higher life satisfaction (Giamo et al., 2012) and well-being. For seven out of nine immigrant groups in the Netherlands, national identification relates to well-being (Bobowik et al., 2017). As another example, a study conducted with Jewish immigrants in Israel showed that Israeli identity predicts their life-satisfaction (Amit, 2010).

Although the literature supports the effects of national identity on well-being and out-group attitudes, researchers also accept that the interplay between ethnic and national identities are highly complex. Many factors come into play in predicting out-group evaluations and well-being, such as immigrant attitudes/characteristics, host society reactions, and the characteristics of the place of settlement (Phinney et al., 2001). Regardless, for the Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, it is plausible to expect a positive effect of Turkish citizen identity on well-being and out-group evaluations, namely native Turks. As stated before, Turks in Bulgaria were obliged to change their Turkish names with Bulgarian ones during the 1980s. As a consequence, the Republic of Turkey opened its borders for Turks in Bulgaria and granted them Turkish citizenship (Dayıoğlu, 2005; Eminov, 1997). Thus, for the current sample, Turkish citizenship might have symbolic importance because of its association with their liberation from harsh minority policies of Bulgaria. Besides, because of the shared ethnicity, language, and religion with the native majority, national identity (conceptualized as citizenship because of ethnic commonality) might be even more critical for this group. Identifying as a Turkish citizen might be related to feelings of commonality with native Turks and belongingness to Turkey where they currently live. Consequently, for the current sample, we expect a positive effect of citizen identification for variables measuring general well-being and satisfaction in Turkey as well as the perception of native Turks.

Immigrant identity as an intervening variable

The theoretical perspective of RIM and RDIM emphasize the intervening roles of social identities, rather than their direct effects on well-being and out-group evaluations. RIM proposes a direct negative and an indirect positive effect of perceived discrimination on well-being through minority identities. Empirical studies conducted with various groups such as Korean immigrants in Toronto (Noh & Kaspar, 2003) and Southeast Asian refugees in Canada (Noh et al., 1999) show this direct correlation between perceived prejudice and adverse outcomes.

Targets of prejudice will be less open to the negative influence of prejudice and discrimination if they can use healthy coping mechanisms (Clark et al., 1999; Meyer, 2003). RIM (Branscombe et al., 1999) suggests that minority group identification acts as a protective factor from the negative effect of perceived discrimination. RIM argues that individuals who are rejected from high-status positions by the dominant society identify more strongly with their in-group, which in turn positively affects their well-being. In other words, while perceived discrimination has a direct negative effect on well-being, it enhances well-being through strengthening in-group identification. Supporting evidence comes from many groups such as African Americans (Branscombe et al., 1999), Filipino Americans (Mossakowski, 2003), multi-racial people (Giamo et al., 2012), immigrants (Wiley, 2013), and women (Schmitt et al., 2002). From a longitudinal perspective, the data from international undergraduate students in Scotland shows the causal pathway to be from discrimination to identification –and not the reverse (Ramos et al., 2012).

Although there is no social psychological study directly examining the influence of perceived discrimination on the well-being of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, ethnographic studies illustrate that negative behaviors and comments of native Turks towards Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria regarding their cultural differences make them feel somewhat marginalized (Parla, 2006, 2009). Hence we expect to see a similar direct negative effect of perceived discrimination on well-being, in line with RIM. In the same line, we also expect immigrant identification to act as a buffer for the negative effect of perceived discrimination on general well-being, measured by negative affect and life satisfaction for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria. However, because immigrant identification emphasizes the minority status of this particular group in Turkey, it might imply the salience of a Bulgarian background and a longing to live in Bulgaria. Therefore, we do not expect the same buffer role of immigrant identification for the third indicator of well-being, satisfaction from living in Turkey.

Although studies investigating the intervening role of minority identity have mainly focused on well-being as a dependent variable, RIM also suggests a link between perceived discrimination and out-group negativity (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Studies show the association between perceived discrimination and out-group negativity (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999). However, there is no study directly investigating the intervening role of minority identity for the relationship between perceived discrimination and out-group evaluations. Thus, the present study contributes to this literature by investigating the intervening role of minority group identification in the relationship between perceived discrimination and negative out-group evaluations.

Citizen identity as an intervening variable

When we switch the domain from ethnic/minority identities to national identities, Rejection-Disidentification Model (RDIM) ascribes an intervening role to

national identification in the relationship between perceived discrimination and attitudes towards the national out-group (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). According to this model, discrimination perceived from the national society is an obstacle for minority members to attach to the superordinate national in-group, which in turn may lead to negative attitudes towards the national out-group. In support of the model, studies show a significant association between perceived discrimination and national (dis)identification, which in turn predicts negative out-group attitudes. In their examination of both forced and voluntary immigrant groups, Bobowik et al. (2017) confirm the link from perceived discrimination to national disidentification. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) also show that the more discrimination Turkish-Dutch Muslim participants perceive towards their in-group, the stronger they express their Turkish and Muslim identities, and the weaker they express their Dutch (national) identities. Likewise, perceived discrimination by British Muslims associates with weaker national identification and more negative attitudes towards non-Muslims (Hutchison et al., 2015).

In addition to the mentioned direct associations from perceived discrimination to national identification and out-group attitudes, Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2009) also show the mediating role of national identity in the relationship between perceived discrimination and out-group attitudes with an 8-year longitudinal study conducted with immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union to Finland. Other studies conducted with various groups such as migrants from Russia to Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012) and Romanian and Moroccan immigrants in France (Badea et al., 2011) also support the expectations of RDIM. In the present study, within the frame of RDIM, we expect national identification to mediate the relationship between perceived discrimination and out-group evaluations.

Although RDIM mainly emphasizes the link from perceived discrimination to out-group attitudes through national identification, perceived discrimination's effect on national identity is consequential not only for out-group attitudes but also for the well-being of immigrants. Bobowik et al. (2017) demonstrate the intervening role of national identification in the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being on a considerable number of immigrant groups. Considering their findings, we expect that in addition to its direct negative effect on well-being, perceived discrimination would also indirectly predict well-being through weakened Turkish citizen identification. Figure 1 presents the model we propose to test in the current study.

Method

Participants

All participants were Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria ($n = 314$) living in Bursa ($n = 89$), Ankara ($n = 72$), Çorlu ($n = 70$), İstanbul ($N = 77$) and other cities ($n = 3$), 3 participants did not indicate the city they live in. Participants'

ages varied between 18 and 72 ($M = 36.94$, $SD = 12.22$) and 141 of them were female (45%). The majority of participants reported that they migrated to Turkey in 1989 ($n = 201$), 5 participants before 1989, and 66 of them after 1989. Forty-two participants chose not to answer this question. The majority (77.1%, $n = 242$) reported that they live in immigrant-dense neighborhoods, while 68 of them (21.7%) lived in other neighborhoods, and 4 participants did not respond to this question.

Procedure

Upon ethics approval, we reached participants in the four cities through the associations and cafes in the relevant neighborhoods (where the population of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria is dense). The data were collected using convenience and snowball sampling techniques. Participation was voluntary, and they filled the scales in the same order. Later, they were debriefed and thanked verbally as well as in writing. The data were mainly collected by one of the researchers, who shares the same migration background with the respondents. Two research assistants (who did not share this background) assisted the data collection process in Çorlu and İstanbul. When people volunteered to participate in the study, the researcher or the two assistants presented the questionnaire to participants, sometimes together and sometimes separately. If they had any questions related to the survey, they were provided with further clarification by the researcher and the two assistants. Participants were assured about confidentiality. We employed the expectation-maximization (EM) algorithm in order to substitute the missing values, which were less than 5% of cases in all the variables.[2]

Measures

The measures, presented in the following order, were 5-point Likert-type scales (apart from Affect-Balance scale) to facilitate comprehension and responding. Except indicated otherwise, the endpoints of the scales were marked with 1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree."

Citizen and immigrant identification scale. The Importance of Identity scale (Sniderman et al., 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), which was adapted to Turkish by Baysu (2007), was used to measure identification with both *Turkish citizen* and *immigrant from Bulgaria* identities. We slightly adjusted the items in the scales according to the respective identities measured. A sample item for the 4-item citizen identification scale would be "I see myself as a typical ____" ("citizen of Turkey" for citizen identification and "immigrant from Bulgaria" for immigrant identification). The respective

Cronbach's alpha scores were .74 and .70 for the citizen and immigrant identification scales.

Perceived discrimination scale. We used the ten-item Perceived Discrimination scale by Gawronski et al. (2008). The scale includes questions about the extent to which participants think Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria face discrimination. We adapted the scale to Turkish with translation back-translation methodology. We dropped one item ("Immigrants of Bulgaria, as a group, rarely encounter prejudice or racial discrimination") because of low item-total correlation. Cronbach's Alpha for the 9-item scale was .85, and higher scores on the scale refer to a perception of higher discrimination.

Out-group evaluations. We used the previously adapted warmth-competence stereotypes scale (Aktan, 2008; Fiske, 2002; Wade & Brewer, 2006). Participants rated their perceptions of native Turks on warmth (e.g., aggregable, warm) and competence (e.g., competent, smart) dimensions, using 5-point scales. There were 7 warmth (Cronbach's Alpha = .89), and 7 competence adjectives (Cronbach's Alpha = .87) in the scale. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations of native Turks.

Satisfaction with life scale. Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985; Köker, 1991) measures individuals' general and subjective evaluations on their own life, representing the cognitive aspect of well-being. The Cronbach's Alpha score of the five-item scale was .82, and higher scores indicated greater satisfaction with life. An example item of the scale would be "I am satisfied with my life."

Negative affect. The ten-item Bradburn's Affect Balance Scale (Bradburn, 1969; Sümer et al., 2013) was used to measure positive and negative affect. Participants reported whether or not they felt the listed emotions in the last few weeks (1- No, 2- Yes). The example item for positive affect would be feeling "particularly excited or interested in something," and for negative affect, the example item would be feeling "depressed or very unhappy." The Cronbach's Alpha score for negative affect sub-scale was acceptable (.67); however, it was far below the acceptable levels for positive affect (.47). Thus, we include only the negative affect subscale, where higher scores indicated experiences of more negative feelings.

Satisfaction in Turkey scale. In addition to general well-being, domain-specific well-being was measured with satisfaction in Turkey scale, which was adapted to Turkish by Hünler (2007). Verkuyten (2008) developed the four-item scale to measure the satisfaction of Turks in the Netherlands. An example item for the scale would be "I feel at home in Turkey." In the present study, the Cronbach's Alpha for the four-item scale was .86. Higher scores indicated greater satisfaction from living in Turkey.

Results

Descriptive statistics and inter-correlations among the variables

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics and inter-correlations among all measures. The mean of the perceived discrimination scale is 2.68 ($SD = 0.81$), which is a little above the midpoint of the scale. This finding indicates that participants report experiencing discrimination to some extent. The results also show that Turks from Bulgaria identify strongly both as a Turkish citizen ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 0.83$) and as an immigrant ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.79$).

Consistent with the literature, the variables measuring well-being correlate significantly with each other, and there is also a positive correlation between perceived warmth and competence of native Turks. Unexpectedly, however, immigrant identification does not correlate with well-being variables and perceived competence of out-group. On the other hand, citizen identification is correlated significantly with life satisfaction and satisfaction in Turkey and the perceived warmth and competence of native Turks. Perceived discrimination, in the expected direction, was related to negative affect and satisfaction from living in Turkey and perceived competence and warmth of out-group. Notwithstanding the literature, perceived discrimination does not correlate with citizen identity, while it positively associates with immigrant identity.

Modeling the predicted relationships

The structural equation model (SEM), including the direct effect of perceived discrimination on life satisfaction, negative affect, and satisfaction in Turkey and the indirect effects of immigrant and citizen identification for the

Table 1. Summary of correlations, means, standard deviations, and reliability coefficients.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Perceived discrimination	–	−.05	.21**	−.30**	−.28**	−.11	.15**	−.21**
2. Citizen identity		–	.29**	.16**	.16**	.14*	−.04	.47**
3. Immigrant identity			–	−.16**	−.11	.06	.01	−.06
4. Out-group warmth				–	.68**	.10	−.08	.22**
5. Out-group competence					–	.11	−.11	.22**
6. Life satisfaction						–	−.35**	.43**
7. Negative affect							–	−.23**
8. Satisfaction in Turkey								–
M	2.69	4.03	4.13	2.99	3.26	3.66	1.33	4.05
SD	0.81	0.83	0.78	0.81	0.76	0.73	0.30	0.83
α	.85	.74	.70	.89	.87	.82	.67	.86

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being variables, was tested by using AMOS version 16. The fit indices used to evaluate the adequacy of the suggested model were the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Root Mean Square of Approximation (RMSEA), and the relative χ^2 score. CFI greater than .90, RMSEA up to .08 and relative χ^2 index, which is the ratio of χ^2 and the degrees of freedom, less than three are accepted as criteria for adequate fit (Weston & Gore, 2006). In order to examine the significance of mediators, the model is tested with 5,000 bootstrapped samples.

Before testing the structural model, the measurement model, which examines the pattern of observed variables for the latent constructs and the covariations among the latent constructs (Byrne, 2010), was tested. In this model, perceived warmth and competence measuring out-group evaluations are correlated. Similarly, the measures evaluating the well-being of participants, namely life satisfaction, negative affect, and satisfaction in Turkey, are also correlated. For the model, fit indices are $\chi^2 = 2158.78$, $df = 941$, $p < .01$, $\chi^2/\mathrm{df} = 2.29$, RMSEA = .06, CFI = .80. Considering the modification indices and theoretical justifiability of the changes (Hermida, 2015), we added correlations between latent constructs and covariances between error parameters.[3] All items loaded on their respective factors;[4] thus, the factorial validity of the theoretical constructs was provided. After the modifications, the fit indices were $\chi^2 = 1564.88$, $df = 916$, $p < .01$, $\chi^2/\mathrm{df} = 1.71$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .90. In the structural model, we describe the relationship between latent constructs (Byrne, 2010); besides, we include gender, age, migration year, and income as control variables. The fit indices are $\chi^2 = 1888.32$, $df = 1074$, $p < .01$, $\chi^2/\mathrm{df} = 1.76$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .87. After we trim the non-significant paths in the structural model (see Figure 2), the results indicate

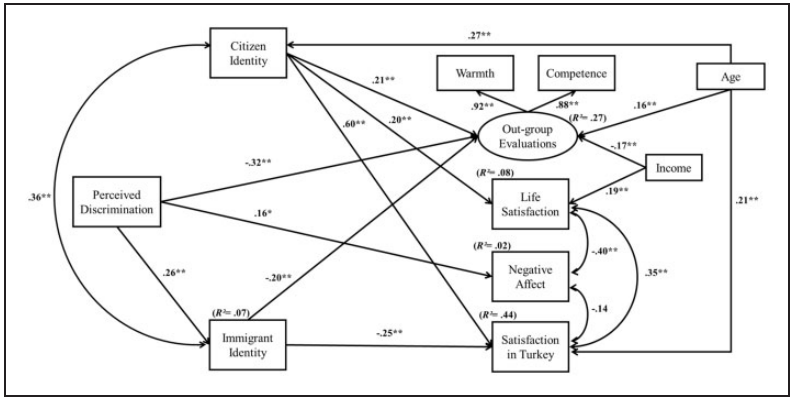


Figure 2. Standardized regression coefficients for the proposed model. Explained variances are given in parenthesis above each endogenous variable. Non-significant paths are trimmed. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

an acceptable fit, $\chi^2 = 1661.40$, $df = 995$, $p < .01$, $\chi^2/df = 1.67$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .90. Migration year and gender do not correlate with the variables in the model. Age positively correlates with citizen identity,[5] satisfaction in Turkey, and out-group evaluations, and higher-income associates with less positive evaluations of out-group and higher life satisfaction. In terms of the direct effects, the standardized path coefficients of perceived discrimination on out-group evaluations and negative affect are significant. Consistent with the argument of RIM, perceived discrimination is associated with stronger immigrant identification, and contrary to the postulations of RDIM, perceived discrimination is not significantly associated with citizen identification.

As predicted, citizen identification and immigrant identification significantly predict out-group evaluations. While citizen identification predicts positive out-group evaluations, immigrant identification negatively predicts out-group evaluations. Citizen identification significantly predicts life satisfaction and satisfaction in Turkey. However, immigrant identification does not predict life satisfaction and negative affect, and it negatively predicts satisfaction in Turkey. The SEM analysis resulted in a significant effect of immigrant identification on satisfaction in Turkey, yet these two variables are not significantly correlated at the zero-order level (see Table 1). The inconsistency between SEM results and the correlation coefficients indicates that citizen identity might be acting as a suppressor variable -a predictor increasing the predictive power of another variable when included in a regression equation (Rucker et al., 2011). In the model, with the inclusion of citizen identification, which positively predicts satisfaction in Turkey and is positively correlated with immigrant identity, the effect of immigrant identification on satisfaction in Turkey becomes negative and significant.

The standardized indirect effects from perceived discrimination to satisfaction in Turkey (−.07 (95% CI [−.13, −.03], $p < .01$) and to perception of out-group (−.05 (95% CIs [−.12, −.02], $p < .01$) via immigrant identification are significant. Perceived discrimination increases immigrant identification, which in turn negatively predicts satisfaction in Turkey and out-group evaluations.

Discussion

The present study examines the mediatory roles of immigrant and citizen identity in the effect of perceived discrimination on well-being and out-group evaluations in Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria. In terms of the direct relationships between the criterion variables, the current findings confirm the effect of perceived discrimination on negative affect and out-group evaluations. The findings regarding the predictive roles of citizen identification and immigrant identification on out-group evaluations are consistent with the literature: Turkish citizen identification positively predicts, and immigrant identification negatively predicts the evaluations of native Turks. Considering the role of

group identities on well-being, as expected, citizen identification is positively associated with life satisfaction and satisfaction in Turkey. However, unexpectedly, immigrant identification does not associate with general well-being and negatively relates to satisfaction in Turkey.

Our findings show that citizen identification is not a mediator between the proposed variables. Immigrant identification, on the other hand, mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and satisfaction in Turkey as well as the relationship between perceived discrimination and out-group evaluations. The findings point towards the importance of both RIM and RDIM in predicting well-being and out-group attitudes. Besides, the current study provides an insight into the identity-related dynamics of this unique sample.

The role of immigrant identity

According to RIM, when people from minority groups feel excluded by the majority, their minority identity becomes salient, and they attach more strongly to this identity, which in turn positively influences their well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999). As RIM proposes, for the current sample, perceiving higher discrimination associated with an increase in immigrant identification. However, immigrant identity is not related to general well-being (negative affect and life satisfaction), as was proposed by RIM. Moreover, immigrant identification seems to predict lower satisfaction in Turkey. Hence the mediating role of "immigrants from Bulgaria" identity for general well-being is not supported. However, in domain-specific terms, perceived discrimination predicts a stronger immigrant identification, which in turn decreases satisfaction in Turkey.

The literature is also not wholly consistent with regards to the predictions of RIM. For example, an 8-year follow-up study with panel data conducted with the immigrants in Finland from the former Soviet Union shows that ethnic identification is not affected by the absolute level of perceived ethnic discrimination, and ethnic identification does not predict well-being (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). For the current sample, regarding the non-significance of the relationship between immigrant identity and variables measuring general well-being and indirect effect of immigrant identification for the relationship between perceived discrimination and satisfaction in Turkey, two possible explanations can be suggested: (1) the content (negative or not-so-positive connotations) of minority identity, and (2) operationalization of minority identity. First, the positive relationship between group identity and well-being does not hold for some stigmatized identities. In some cases, perceived in-group norms or the negative stigma attached to a group may invalidate the positive effects of identification on well-being. For example, when residents of homeless shelters and accommodation services self-categorize themselves as homeless, they tend to report negative moods and lower scores on life satisfaction (Walter et al., 2015). Likewise, stronger identification with a mental health support group negatively predicts

the self-esteem of group members (Crabtree et al., 2010), and identification as a depressed person is negatively associated with well-being (Cruwys & Gunaseelan, 2016). Even though the "immigrants from Bulgaria" identity is not necessarily a stigmatized identity like above, we may suggest that there might be some meaning attached to this immigrant identity that might prevent this group from benefiting from that identity.

The second point, the peculiarity of the migration status and historical/cultural background of the sample, may provide an insight into understanding the negative meaning associated with the immigrants from Bulgaria identity. Previous research conducted with immigrant participants generally operationalizes "minority identity" as an ethnic identity. However, as discussed previously, the boundaries blur for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria because they share the same ethnicity and religion with native Turks. Thus, for the current sample, minority identity is not operationalized through ethnic identity but rather through their immigrant status. In the questionnaire, the items measuring minority identity included the phrase "immigrants from Bulgaria." Thus, the emphasis regarding minority identity is on their immigrant status and "Bulgaria" (their country of origin) and not on their shared Turkish ethnicity.

On Facebook groups of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria (e.g., "Bulgaristan Göçmenleri" meaning "Immigrants of Bulgaria"), many posts contain the sentiments "We are not Bulgarian, we are Turks from Bulgaria!" or "We are native Turks!" These comments show the importance of being accepted as Turkish and their reluctance to be seen as "Bulgarian." However, the association of immigrant identity with their minority status in Turkey might overemphasize their *difference* from native Turks. Hence, immigrant identity in this context is not a voluntary identity that is selected and maintained but is instead a label imposed from outside in an unexpected/unsolicited fashion –perhaps even against their immediate self-definitions. For example, British Muslims' various experiences in daily life and their *miscategorization* by others based on their religious or national identities is consequential in their negotiation of identity and practices of citizenship (Blackwood et al., 2015; Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011). Consequently, the immigrant status might be an obstacle for their desire to be accepted as Turkish, and this might be a reason why immigrant identification is negatively associated with satisfaction in Turkey and not related to negative affect or life satisfaction.

To sum, the results of the current study signify that while analyzing the direct and the intervening effect of minority identity, we need to differentiate ethnic identity from ascribed and non-voluntary minority group identities (e.g., refugee and immigrant identities). Besides, when a minority group has multiple identities (e.g., immigrants from Bulgaria, Muslim, and Turkish identities) available and a shared majority identity (through ethnicity or religion) is possible, the immigrant identity may not be as beneficial for their well-being. Accordingly, one line of investigation that would be worthwhile is the examination of different

identities that are separate from ethnicity or religiosity, to delineate their effects on well-being within RIM when possible multiple identities are available. Also, for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, it would be interesting to investigate the effects of other social identities (e.g., Turkish, Turks of Bulgaria, or European identities) on their well-being.

As the last point, for the negative effect of immigrant identity on satisfaction in Turkey, an explanation from a different perspective would be the recent migration history of the sample and correspondingly their attachment to Bulgaria (Parla, 2006). Immigrant identity might be associated with a longing for their lives back in Bulgaria, a form of nostalgic homesickness, which in turn may decrease life satisfaction in Turkey. Some ethnographic studies indeed show ambiguous feelings of Turkish immigrants about their "homeland" and that some do desire to be back in Bulgaria (Parla, 2006, 2009).

Another contribution of this study is its demonstration of the intervening role of immigrant identification for the relationship between perceived discrimination and perception of Native Turks. We find that in addition to its direct effect, perceived discrimination negatively predicts out-group evaluations through stronger immigrant identification. This finding again can be explained by the need for acceptance of the immigrant group as native Turks. Immigrant identity might symbolize their exclusion from native Turkish identity; thus, they might cope with this negative feeling by increasing their attachment to their minority identity, which in turn may lead to negative evaluations of native Turks.

This finding indicates the importance of consideration of RIM not only in predicting well-being but also in predicting attitudes towards the out-group. The current literature establishes the links from perceived discrimination to minority group identity and from minority group identity to out-group attitudes; however, this is the first study to our knowledge investigating the intervening role of immigrant identity between perceived discrimination and out-group evaluations. Hence, it may be fruitful to examine out-group attitudes within the framework of RIM as well.

Based on the findings, we may also claim that the attitudes of minority groups towards natives might be a function of the extent to which they feel accepted. Thus, besides focusing on the adaptation of minorities, it is crucial to research and implement policies aiming to improve the relationship between majority and minority groups and to decrease the prejudice of native groups towards immigrants.

Citizen identity as an intervening variable

RDIM suggests that for minority group members, rejection from the national society lead to weaker national identification, which in turn lead to a negative evaluation of the national out-group (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Although RDIM has mostly been employed to predict the out-group evaluations as an

outcome variable, the intervening role of the citizen identification for the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being is also directly examined in the literature (Bobowik et al., 2017). The intervening role of citizen identification in the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being, as well as out-group attitudes, is, therefore, worthy of further examination.

For the current sample, as expected, citizen identification is positively associated with variables measuring life satisfaction, satisfaction in Turkey, and evaluations of native Turks. However, the link between perceived discrimination and citizen identification is not significant. National identification does not mediate the relationship between either perceived discrimination and well-being or perceived discrimination and out-group evaluations. This finding is contradictory to the propositions of RDIM. The lack of a significant link between perceived discrimination and citizen identification might stem from the shared identities with the natives. Immigrants from Bulgaria are only different from native Turks in terms of geographical and cultural backgrounds. Considering shared ethnicity, language, and religion with native Turks, for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, attributions to discriminatory acts of natives might be different compared to other immigrant groups who share fewer characteristics with the native majority group. When they perceive discrimination from natives, similar to internal migrants, they may attribute these discriminatory acts to their immigrant status or other factors like the requirement of sharing resources on the settled areas (see, Sherif, 1956) rather than their citizen of Turkey identity. As a consequence, perceived discrimination might not influence their citizen identity for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria.

Another factor that may have weakened the relationship between perceived discrimination and citizen identification might be the meaning associated with "being a citizen of Turkey" for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria. Being a citizen of Turkey not only relates to "citizenship status," but it also symbolizes their liberation from the strict minority policies of Bulgaria and their settlement on the symbolic homeland where Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria feel belonging to some extent (Parla, 2009). In brief, Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria might feel attached to this citizen identity through their historical experiences, and they might feel belonging to Turkey as firmly as the Turkish natives. Consequently, perceived discrimination from native Turks might not be relevant to decrease citizen identification, at least in the presence of their *immigrant identities* in the same statistical model.

The importance attributed to being a Turkish citizen and the meaning of being a citizen of Turkey might also explain the direct positive effect of citizen identity on the perception of native Turks and variables measuring the well-being of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria. Citizen identification might imply that Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria become a member of the symbolic homeland. Consequently, as expected, to the extent that they attach to this group membership, they become more favorable to native Turks who are also

the members of this homeland, and their life satisfaction and satisfaction in Turkey increases. Also, the association of Turkish citizenship with their (Turkish) ethnicity, which is shared with native Turks, might underlie the positive association of citizen identification with the perception of native Turks. The items in the citizen identity measure included the phrase "citizenship of Turkey," which may have evoked thoughts and feelings about being Turkish.

People desire to have positively evaluated social identities, as stated by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, the dominant/majority group identity, i.e., a citizen of Turkey, would enable more favorable comparisons because, in Turkey, national flags, anthems, and poetry in the curriculum convey messages about "the greatness of being a Turk." Consequently, as a positively evaluated majority identity, "citizen of Turkey" identity might be a safe source for positive social identity and well-being. As ethnic Turks with Turkish citizenship, they might feel positively distinct compared to Turks in Bulgaria and other ethnic minority groups in Turkey.

The current study indicates a positive association between citizen identification and out-group attitudes. Although this finding is in line with the RDIM, to investigate the underlying mechanism between these variables, further research within the scope of the social identity paradigm would be interesting to consider. Accordingly, when the group boundaries are permeable, in other words, when individual mobility is possible, or when people justify the low status of their group, they might express a desire to be in the other group rather than their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Accordingly, the perceived legitimacy of status difference and perception of blurred boundaries between the groups of immigrants from Bulgaria and native Turks might associate positively with Turkish citizen identity, which represents a shared identity with Native Turks. Thus, perhaps as a more "superordinate" category, the strength of citizen identification may represent this common identity. In contrast, the immigrant identity may be perceived as a distinct and low-status category that predicts negative out-group evaluations. In order to examine this relationship between Turkish citizen identity and out-group attitudes for Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, perceived permeability of group boundaries and legitimacy of the group status can be further explored in future studies.

Furthermore, in the following studies, to understand the identification processes of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria in a broader sense, researchers can include system justification, which represents a set of beliefs and motivational tendencies to preserve the status quo in the social system (Jost & Banaji, 1994). System Justification paradigm (Jost et al., 2004) asserts that when there is no alternative to the existing social system, low-status group members might accept their inferiority, and they might show out-group favoritism. In the present study, we did not directly investigate the system justification tendencies of immigrants from Bulgaria. However, in the literature, there is an emphasis on the association between out-group favoritism and system justification tendencies.

Thus, further research conducted with Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria, which investigates the relationships of the system justification tendencies with Turkish citizen identification and out-group evaluations, would be enlightening.

The limitations of the current study relate to the design and sample. We used correlational survey design. Thus, it is difficult to identify cause and effect relationships and the changes that occur over time. Nevertheless, longitudinal and experimental designs, for example, a design manipulating the salience of immigrant and citizen identities, would be required to investigate the direction of causality between variables. Regarding the sample, we used convenience/snowball sampling methods, and the majority of participants in the current study live in neighborhoods where the density of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria is high. Thus, the results need to be replicated, especially to people living in neighborhoods with low immigrant densities, before making generalizations.

We statistically controlled for age and income within the model, due to their relations with the outcome measures. Age is an interesting variable to consider: it positively correlates with citizen identification, satisfaction in Turkey, and out-group evaluations. Thus, experiences, cognitions, and emotions of younger participants might be different from older ones, especially those who were born in Turkey and have never lived in Bulgaria. In this sample, only five participants reported having been born in Turkey. Due to this limited number, our data does not allow us to comment on age differences or factors behind possibly differential experiences or perceptions of first- versus second-generation immigrants. Even though their place of birth was Turkey, these participants might still have experienced discrimination because of their families' immigrant background. It is customary to visit the older relatives still living in their hometowns in Bulgaria every year because traveling is easy due to the geographical closeness. In our questionnaire, we did not ask about the frequency of visits to Bulgaria. Nevertheless, besides these positive correlations, it would be worthwhile to examine a younger group and their experiences of being a Turkish citizen and their perceptions of discrimination with a group of older adults who migrated under harsher conditions.

Although the study has its limitations, its contribution to the existing literature is three-fold. First, RIM and RDIM models are tested simultaneously through immigrant and citizen identities of an interesting group that has not been widely studied. Second, it demonstrates that minority identity, especially taken together with citizen identity, does not predict the well-being of Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria. This result draws attention to the importance of the operationalization of minority identity and calls for further research on the applicability of RIM and RDIM to different minority groups. Identification as an immigrant could be constructed quite differently from identification as another type of minority for groups where a collective ethnic or national identity is readily available. Hence, factors that might prevent minority group members from benefiting from their social identities (e.g., operationalization of minority identity, the meaning of

minority identity) are critical to consider in the future. Different from minority identity, citizen identity positively predicts well-being and out-group evaluations. In that sense, depending on the group and its relation to the host society, political and social messages underlining that natives and immigrants are the parts of the same whole, i.e., the superordinate/shared identity, may increase the well-being of immigrants. The current sample provides a new example to examine these relationships. Third, well-being is operationalized through general well-being (negative affect and life satisfaction), and domain-specific well-being (satisfaction from living in Turkey). The present research provides some preliminary evidence that the pathways to these different forms of well-being and out-group evaluations may be mediated through different forms of identities.

Conclusion

This study shows that identity-related issues and their role in general and domain-specific well-being of minority groups are highly complex. Minority identities come in many forms. The meaning associated with these identities regarding status, shared attributes with the majority, historical and cultural similarities or differences, and attributions regarding acceptance or rejection by the host society may be consequential in predicting the minority group members' well-being and out-group evaluations. There is a need for further studies that investigate these contextual and group-related factors. Such a line of research would enable us to understand better the extent to which a minority identity acts as a buffer for perceived discrimination's effects on well-being and out-group evaluations. Besides, further qualitative studies examining the meaning of both ethnic and citizen identities for the current and similar samples would provide a better understanding of the meanings and cultural associations attributed to these identities.

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Notes

1. In the following parts of the paper, considering the word limit, we use the label "Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria" to refer to people with Turkish ethnic background who migrated from Bulgaria to Turkey
2. The ratio of missing values for migration year, which is a control variable, is 13.4. However, considering non-significant associations of this variable with other criterion variables, we did not apply any optimization technique for the missing values on this variable.
3. Modification indices suggest modifications to improve the model's goodness of fit. The suggested modifications are applied if there is a justifiable reason. If variables or indicators share the same component, correlations between the errors of these variables or indicators are expected. Thus, to improve the model fit, letting the error terms of variables or indicators of a shared component to correlate freely is a commonly used technique. In the current study, considering the modification indices, error terms of six items of perceived discrimination scale, four items of perceived competence scale, seven items of the perceived warmth scale, two items of satisfaction with life scale were allowed to correlate with each other in the improved model. Also, the error term of one item from the perceived out-group competence scale was correlated with the error term of one item from the perceived out-group warmth scale. Also, the error term of the last item of Turkish citizen identification and the error term of the last item of the immigrant identification scale was indicated by the modification indices to improve model fit. Even though citizenship and immigrant identification scales are measuring different constructs, they both measure social identity. Thus, the error terms of the last items of these scales were allowed to correlate.
4. The factor loadings, which represent the shared variance of an indicator (item) with a latent variable, were as follows. The standardized coefficients for the Perceived Discrimination construct ranged from .26 to .83, for the construct Immigrant Identity they ranged from .42 to .72, and for the construct Citizen identity ranged from .47 to .85, for the construct Life Satisfaction ranged from .56 to .78, for the construct Negative Affect ranged from .38 to .74, for the construct Satisfaction in Turkey ranged from .61 and .93. The structural correlations between the constructs were: .35 ($p < .01$) for Satisfaction in Turkey and Life Satisfaction; $-.45$ ($p < .01$) for the Life Satisfaction and Negative Affect; $-.15$ ($p < .05$) for Satisfaction in Turkey and Negative Affect; and .81 ($p < .01$) for perceived competence and perceived warmth of out-group. Considering the modification indices, additional correlations were added between latent constructs: $-.23$ ($p < .01$). for Perceived Discrimination and Immigrant Identity; .54 ($p < .01$) for Satisfaction in Turkey and Citizen identity; .35 ($p < .01$) for Citizen identity and Immigrant Identity. The detailed results for the measurement model are available upon request.
5. In the model, we associated demographic variables only with dependent variables. We added the path between age and citizen identification considering modification indices.

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