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## CONSEQUENCES OF BIAS: PERSONAL COSTS OF PREJUDICE ON HAPPINESS, HEALTH AND LIFE-SATISFACTION IN A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

Prejudice is certainly consequential for the victim's well-being but the consequence of the same for perpetrators of prejudice is not clear-cut. This study therefore explores the impact of prejudice culpability on individuals' happiness, subjective health, and life satisfaction using cross-national data.

Analyzing secondary data from the 2017-2020 European Values Survey (N = 58,103) and the 2017-2021 World Values Survey (N = 76,897) across 81 countries, the study focuses on three indicators of prejudice: prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice, and prioritizing national individuals for employment during job scarcity. The Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test were employed to assess the equality of mean scores for happiness, subjective health, and life satisfaction among respondents exhibiting prejudice or aversion to it.

Results reveal that respondents culpable of prejudice against immigrants constituted 21.7%, racial prejudice was at 15.5%, and 66% were culpable of prioritizing national people for employment. Mean  $\pm$  SD scores indicate that happiness was  $3.13 \pm 0.69$  (min. = 1, max. = 4), subjective health was  $3.77 \pm 0.90$  (min. = 1, max. = 5), and life satisfaction was  $7.20 \pm 2.18$  (min. = 1, max. = 10). Notably, individuals culpable of all three forms of prejudice experienced significantly poorer happiness, subjective health, and life satisfaction ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Contrary to the notion that prejudice exclusively harms its victims, this study underscores the negative consequences of prejudice for both victims and perpetrators. Recognizing the adverse personal effects on those holding biased views offers a valuable perspective for designing interventions aimed at reducing prejudice. Hence, this nuanced understanding can inform the development of more holistic and effective prejudice reduction interventions.

**Key words:** Prejudice reduction intervention, immigrants, outgroup, subjective well-being.

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e-mail: [ibrahim.ab@unilorin.edu.ng](mailto:ibrahim.ab@unilorin.edu.ng)**Біржақтылықтың салдары: ұлтаралық зерттеуде бақыт, денсаулық және өмірге қанағаттану туралы теріс пікірдің жеке шығындары**

Біржақтылық құрбандарының әл-ауқатына әсері бар екені сөзсіз, бірақ бұл құбылыстың наным-сенімнің бастамашыларына әсері әлі де аз зерттелген. Бұл зерттеу ұлтаралық деректерді пайдалана отырып, алдын ала болжауға байланысты кінәнің бақытқа, субъективті денсаулыққа және жалпы өмірге қанағаттануға әсерін зерттейді.

2017-2020 жылдарға арналған Еуропалық құндылықтар сауалнамасы (N = 58,103) және 2017-2021 жылдарға арналған дүниежүзілік құндылықтар сауалнамасының (N = 76,897) екінші деректерін талдай отырып, зерттеу 81 елдегі үш негізгі индикаторға қарсы пікірге бағытталған: иммигранттар, нәсілдік алалаушылық және жұмыс тапшылығы кезеңінде азаматтардың жұмысқа орналасуына басымдық беру. Манн-Уитни U сынағы және Крускал-Уоллис сынағы біржақтылық немесе жек көретін респонденттер арасындағы бақыт, субъективті денсаулық және жалпы өмірге қанағаттану деңгейлері үшін орташа мәндердің теңдік дәрежесін бағалау үшін пайдаланылды.

Нәтижелер респонденттердің 21,7%-ы иммигранттарға бейтарап көзқарас танытқанын, 15,5%-ы нәсілдік алалаушылықты мойындағанын және 66%-ы жұмысқа орналасуда өз елінің азаматтарына басымдық беретінін мойындағанын көрсетеді. Орташа мәндер  $\pm$  SD бақыт деңгейі  $3,13 \pm 0,69$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 4), субъективті денсаулық  $3,77 \pm 0,90$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 5) және деңгейі өмірге қанағаттану  $7,20 \pm 2,18$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 10). Алдын ала қараудың барлық үш түріне қатысқан адамдар бақыттың, субъективті денсаулық пен өмірге қанағаттану деңгейін айтарлықтай төмендеткені байқалады ( $p < 0,05$ ).

Наным-сенім тек өз құрбандарына зиян тигізеді деген кең таралған пікірге қарамастан, бұл зерттеу алаушылықтың нысанасы болып табылатындар үшін де, алаушылық жасаушылардың өздері үшін де теріс салдарын көрсетеді. Алдын ала көзқарастарды ұстанатындарға жағымсыз жеке әсерлерді мойындау теріс пікірді азайту үшін тиімді араласуды дамыту перспективасын ашады. Осылайша, бұл егжей-тегжейлі түсінік теріс пікірмен күресудің жан-жақты және тиімді стратегияларын әзірлеу үшін негіз бола алады.

**Түйін сөздер:** наным-сенімді азайту үшін араласу, иммигранттар, сыртқы топ, субъективті әл-ауқат.

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### **Последствия предвзятости: личные издержки предубеждений на счастье, здоровье и удовлетворенность жизнью в межнациональном исследовании**

Предвзятость, несомненно, влечет за собой негативные последствия для благополучия её жертв, однако воздействие этого явления на инициаторов предрассудков остается недостаточно исследованным. В данном исследовании осуществляется анализ воздействия чувства вины, связанного с предрассудками, на уровень счастья, субъективное состояние здоровья и общую удовлетворенность жизнью с использованием межнациональных данных.

Путем анализа вторичных данных, собранных в рамках Европейского исследования ценностей за период 2017–2020 годов ( $N = 58\,103$ ) и Всемирного исследования ценностей за период 2017–2021 годов ( $N = 76\,897$ ) в 81 стране, настоящее исследование сосредотачивается на трех ключевых индикаторах предрассудков: предвзятость в отношении иммигрантов, расовые предрассудки и предоставление приоритета трудоустройству граждан страны в период нехватки рабочих мест. Для оценки степени равенства средних значений уровней счастья, субъективного состояния здоровья и общей удовлетворенности жизнью среди респондентов, проявляющих предвзятость или отвращение к ней, были использованы U-критерий Манна-Уитни и тест Крускала-Уоллиса.

Выявленные результаты свидетельствуют о том, что 21,7% респондентов признались в проявлении предвзятости в отношении иммигрантов, 15,5% – в расовых предрассудках, а 66% признали, что предпочитают гражданам своей страны при трудоустройстве. Средние значения  $\pm$  SD указывают на то, что уровень счастья составлял  $3,13 \pm 0,69$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 4), субъективное состояние здоровья –  $3,77 \pm 0,90$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 5), а уровень удовлетворенности жизнью –  $7,20 \pm 2,18$  (мин. = 1, макс. = 10). Заметно, что лица, причастные к проявлению всех трех форм предрассудков, испытывали значительно более низкий уровень счастья, субъективного здоровья и удовлетворенности жизнью ( $p < 0,05$ ).

Вопреки распространенному представлению о том, что предрассудки причиняют вред исключительно их жертвам, настоящее исследование подчеркивает негативные последствия данного явления как для тех, кто является объектом предвзятых взглядов, так и для самих инициаторов предрассудков. Признание неблагоприятного личного воздействия на тех, кто придерживается предвзятых взглядов, открывает перспективу разработки эффективных мер по снижению предрассудков. Таким образом, данное детальное понимание может послужить основой для разработки более комплексных и эффективных стратегий по борьбе с предрассудками.

**Ключевые слова:** вмешательство по уменьшению предрассудков, иммигранты, аутгруппа, субъективное благополучие.

## **Introduction**

Human beings have consistently prejudiced and discriminated against dissimilar persons throughout history (Kiernan, 2008; Nirenberg, 2015). The heavy baggage of negative intergroup relations across the world has been so persistent that efforts to check violence by the United Nations forces focus on the de-escalation of intergroup apprehensiveness globally (Dovidio *et al.*, 2011). The

British Equality and Human Rights Commission reported that two-fifths (i.e., 42%) of the residents of Britain had a prejudicial experience in the year before the national British survey (Abrams, Swift and Houston, 2018). The report further indicated that the outgroup status of British residents was vividly reflected as predisposing the experience of prejudice. Hence, 70%, 64% and 61% of Muslims, Blacks and mentally challenged persons experienced prejudice within the same period (Abrams,

Swift and Houston, 2018). In a similar vein, Cénat *et al.* (2022) found that at least two-fifths of respondents had a race-based prejudicial experience in a study comprising 845 Blacks in Canada. The study by Cénat *et al.* (2022) further indicated that 46% and 41% of respondents experienced poorer courtesy and harassment respectively, when compared with other persons. Schuch *et al.* (2021) found that more than a tenth (11.5%) of respondents had a race-based prejudicial experience in their secondary-data-based study among 2,798 persons in Australia. Certainly, prejudicial experiences are ubiquitous among non-dominant groups in multi-racial and multi-ethnic countries.

Logically, huge scholarly efforts and otherwise have been directed at questioning the detriments of prejudice and discrimination on victims and their communities. The psychosocial effects are evident: The review of 72 articles about the detriments of prejudice and discrimination by Negreiros, Dos Santos, Bolis and Silva (2022) indicated that the challenging socialization that victims experience, as attested by 20 of 72 (27.80%) articles. In educational locales, gross perpetration of prejudice and discrimination is experienced by minorities such that there exist two detached worlds in the same. Minorities including refugees, immigrants, Muslims, Blacks, etc., have comparatively different tales to tell when compared with their majority counterparts. Negreiros *et al.* (2022) further reported that a quarter of reviewed articles acknowledged the psychological aftermath of minorities' prejudicial and discriminatory encounters. Psychological conditions reported include the exhibition of antisocial behaviours, sad behaviours, trauma, depression, eating disorders, stress, alienation, anxiety, anger, etc. The review generally demonstrated that increased experience of discrimination worsens the experience of psychological malaise. The earlier cited study by Cénat *et al.* (2022), attested to the significantly inverse relationship between racial discrimination and life satisfaction including self-esteem. In addition to detrimental psychosocial effects, the physical and mental health of victims have been focused as reported as malaise of prejudicial practices. Weeks, Zapata, Rohan and Green (2022) reported a three-fold higher risk of having postpartum depressive symptoms as a consequence of experiencing racial discrimination in the United States. Hall (2013) reported a higher extent of anxiety and depression among victims of crimes that are driven by bias or prejudice. Evidence also indicates that even indirect victims who share targeted traits of victims are predisposed to clinically

identifiable posttraumatic stress (Fashola, 2011) as well as anxiety and depression (Tynes *et al.*, 2008).

### Literature Review

Certainly, prejudice is consequential for the victim. Still, there has to be consequences for individuals who perpetrate prejudice. The victims of prejudice usually appear too clear and therefore not warrant systematic investigation. So, the germane question of the impact of prejudice and discrimination on the majority, ingroup(s) is often ignored in the literature. There is a paucity of exceptions though: the work of Esses (2021) which focused on the detrimental consequence of prejudice and discrimination against immigrants is a case in point. Esses (2021) reflected on the disadvantages created for host societies. According to the scholar, immigrants are accepted into Western countries using a points-based system which implies that highly skilled individuals are admitted. Perpetrating discrimination in employment implies that the skills of migrants are underutilized, and this is a huge source of loss to tax revenue. Considering the generally acknowledged detrimental impact of prejudice and discrimination on the well-being of the victims at the receiving end, this work is an attempt to complete the equation by questioning the consequence of prejudice and discrimination on individuals who perpetrate the same. For instance, what is the difference in the degree of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction among individuals who are favourably disposed to prejudice and discrimination compared with those who are not?

Happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction are elements of subjective well-being which has become a cornerstone of assessing social progress in recent times. Subjective well-being is a popular variable in the field of positive psychology which has cognitive and affective dimensions (Yıldırım & Arslan, 2022). It is people's gratitude for their situation or the subjective gratification derived from their life (Pleeging, Burger & van Exel, 2021). Economic indicators of progress have hitherto dominated the field of examining social progress but the limitations of the same have been broadly theorized (Stiglitz, Sen & Fitoussi, 2009). An exemplification is the 2011 pronouncement by the United Nations General Assembly, which directed its member nations to understudy happiness among their citizens and make social policies to reflect their outcomes (Step-toe, 2019). Happiness improves health and lowers mortality (Step-toe, 2019). Subjective health is a

perceived health condition which spans the physical and mental (Kwak & Kim, 2019). Besides objective health, how people experience their health is germane and remains an indicator of the quality of their lives (Gadernann, Hubley, Russell, and Paplepu, 2014; Meiselman, 2016; Bloem *et al.*, 2020; Ehmann, Groene, Rieger and Siegel, 2020; Degnan, Berry, Humphrey and Bucci, 2021; Moon, Lee & Shim, 2022). Life satisfaction is a cognitive element of subjective well-being and has to do with individual judgement (Yıldırım & Arslan, 2022). It is associated with physical and psychosocial well-being (Willroth, Atherton & Robins, 2021; Kim, Delaney, Tay, Chen, Diener & Vanderweele, 2021).

The methodical questioning of the detrimental effect of holding prejudicial sentiment on happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction will generate empirical conclusions. This will afford the recognition of hidden knowledge about the consequences of prejudice and discrimination. Such questioning could also provide essential motivators for change. Besides, prejudice and discrimination are global social problems that warrant understanding in cross-national contexts. Hence, this work was designed to examine the effect of prejudice perpetration on peoples' happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction using secondary, cross-national data.

## Materials and Methods

Secondary data from the 2017–2021 Wave 7 World Values Survey (WVS) and the 2017–2020 European Values Survey (EVS) were used for the study. Respondents of the WVS/EVS were 135,000, selected from 81 different countries across the globe. The two polls were combined to provide the WVS/EVS data (WVS's  $N = 76,897 = 57\%$ ; EVS's  $N = 58,103 = 43\%$ ). These data were accrued from items on the questionnaire that were common to the two studies. Survey participants were chosen through a stratified random sample process and data were collected from them using face-to-face interviews. Participants in the survey were either 18 years old or over the age of 18 and were citizens or non-citizens of the nations they resided in. Consult the World Values Survey (2020) and Haerper, Inglehart and Moreno (2020) for more information about the surveys.

### Variables and their Measurement

**Prejudice.** The indicators of prejudice were three, including prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice and prioritization of national people for employment opportunities when jobs are scarce. The first and second indicators were elicited through

respondents' selection of "immigrants/foreign workers" and "people of a different race" from a list of "various groups of people" that respondents "would not like to have as neighbours". Responses included "mentioned (1)" and "not mentioned (0)". The third indicator was elicited through respondents' agreement with the assertion that "when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants". Responses were three including "agree (1)", "disagree (2)" and "neither (3)". All indicators of prejudice were therefore assessed nominally.

**Happiness.** Happiness was the respondents' feelings concerning their joy status. It was a continuous variable whose elicitation was by asking: "Taking all things together, would you say you are...". Responses categories included "very happy", "rather happy", "not very happy" and "not at all happy", and were re-coded from 4 to 1, respectively. Hence, the higher the score, the greater the respondent's happiness.

**Subjective Health.** Subjective health was respondents' evaluation of their health status. It was also a continuous variable elicited by asking: "All in all, how would you describe your state of health these days? Would you say it is...". Re-coded response categories were "very good (5)", "good (4)", "fair (3)", "poor (2)" and "very poor (1)". A higher score implied better health.

**Life Satisfaction.** Life satisfaction was how well respondents were content with their lives generally. It was elicited with the question: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?". Response pattern was continuous on a scale of 1 to 10, 1 means "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means "completely satisfied".

**Socio-demographic Characteristics.** Respondents' sex was observed unobtrusively. An unstructured item was used to assess age and then categorized as 15-29 years, 30-49 years and 50 above.

**Hypotheses.** The null hypotheses that were tested include:

$H_0^1$ : There will be no significant difference in the mean score of happiness between sub-groups of those culpable or averse to prejudice.

$H_0^2$ : There will be no significant difference in the mean score of subjective health between sub-groups of those culpable or averse to prejudice.

$H_0^3$ : There will be no significant difference in the mean score of life satisfaction between sub-groups of those culpable or averse to prejudice.

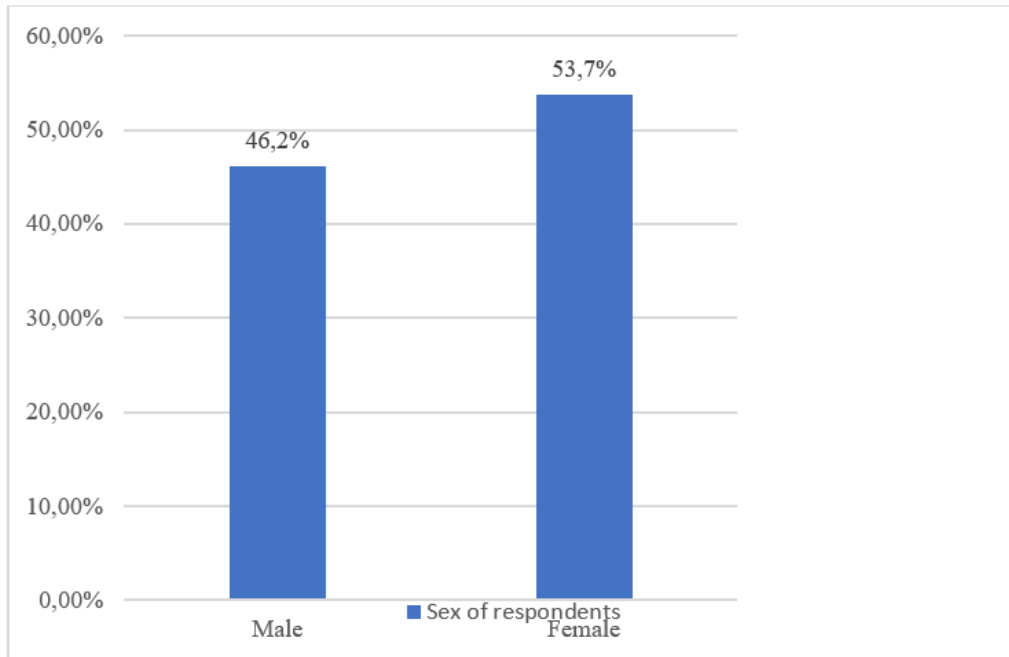
**Data Analyses.** Distributions of independent variables were examined using simple percentile

analysis while bar charts were employed to visualize such distributions. Mean±SD was used to summarize the dependent variables. The distributions of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction were checked for normalcy using the one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. Findings indicated that the distributions were significantly different from the normal distribution ( $p < 0.05$ ). In addition, Levene's test was used to examine the homogeneity of variance across sub-groups of all three forms of prejudice. However, homogeneity was not confirmed ( $p < 0.05$ ). Therefore, equality of mean scores of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction across sub-groups of respondents who were culpable of racial prejudice and prejudice against immigrants were tested using the Mann-Whitney U test. Kruskal-Wallis test was

used in the case of prioritization of national people for employment opportunities because the sub-groups were three. A pairwise multiple-comparison post-hoc test was also conducted to separate the mean ranks after the Kruskal-Wallis test. Epsilon and epsilon<sup>2</sup> were used as the measures of effect sizes. All data were analyzed using SPSS 27 for Windows.

**Results. Distribution of sociodemographic characteristics of respondents**

The distribution represented in Figure 1 indicates that male (62383, 46.2%) and female (72540, 53.7%) respondents were equitably represented in the study sample while the sex of a fringe (77, 0.1%) could not be determined.



**Figure 1** – A bar chart depicting the distribution of respondents' sex

In Figure 2, respondents aged 50 and above (55831, 41.4%) are reflected as being the simple majority. The proportion of those aged from 30 to 49 (49508, 36.7) and 15 to 29 (29018, 21.5%) is high and low respectively. A marginal propor-

tion of respondents (643, 0.5%) did not divulge information about their age. The age distribution is a reflection of the ageing global population, just about 1 of every 5 people is aged below 30 years.

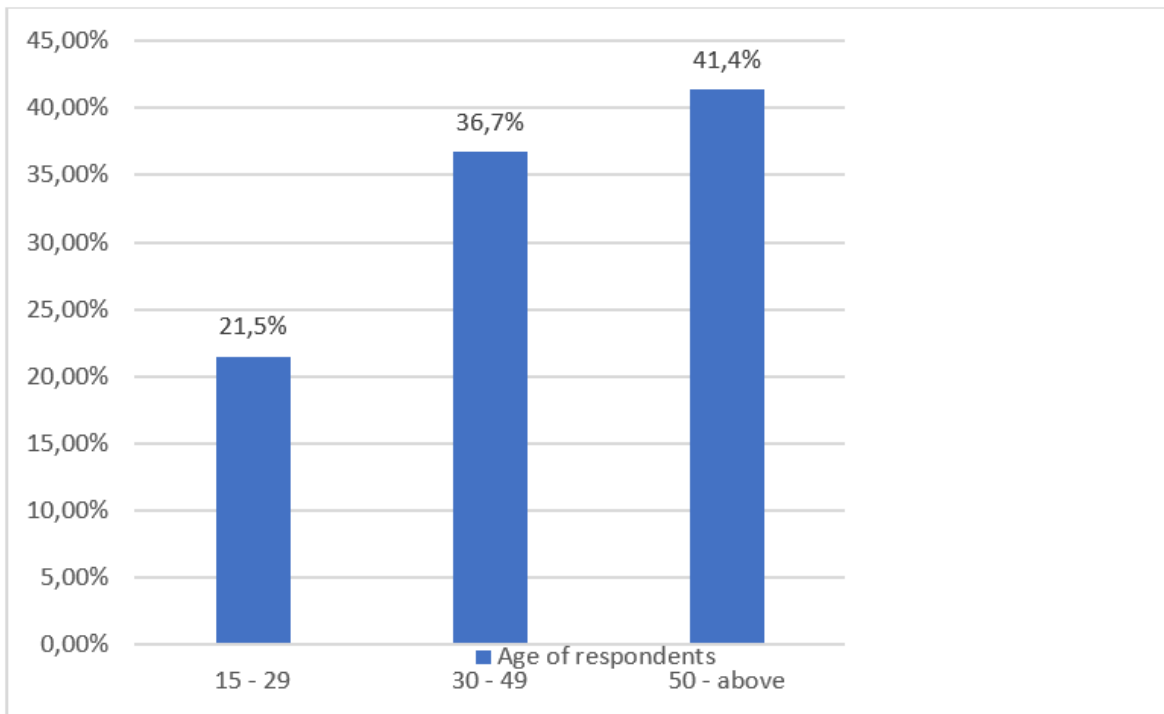


Figure 2 – A bar chart showing the distribution of respondents’ age.

**Univariate analysis of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction**

As represented in Table 1, the mean happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction scores are generally high.

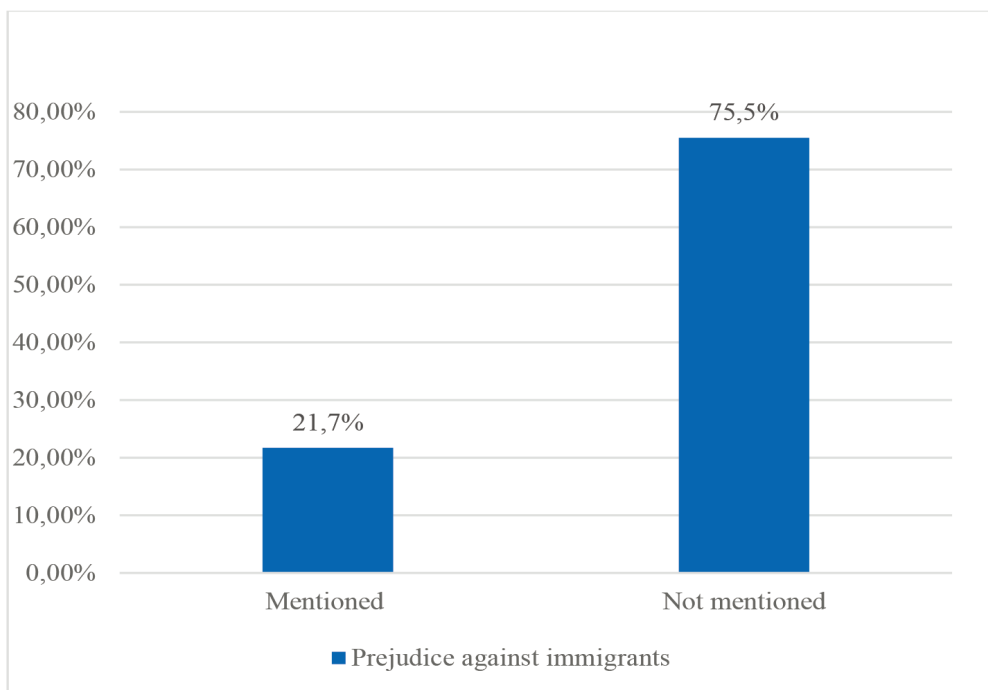
Table 1 – Summary of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction

Variable	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Happiness	3.13	0.69	1	4
Subjective health	3.77	0.90	1	5
Life satisfaction	7.20	2.18	1	10

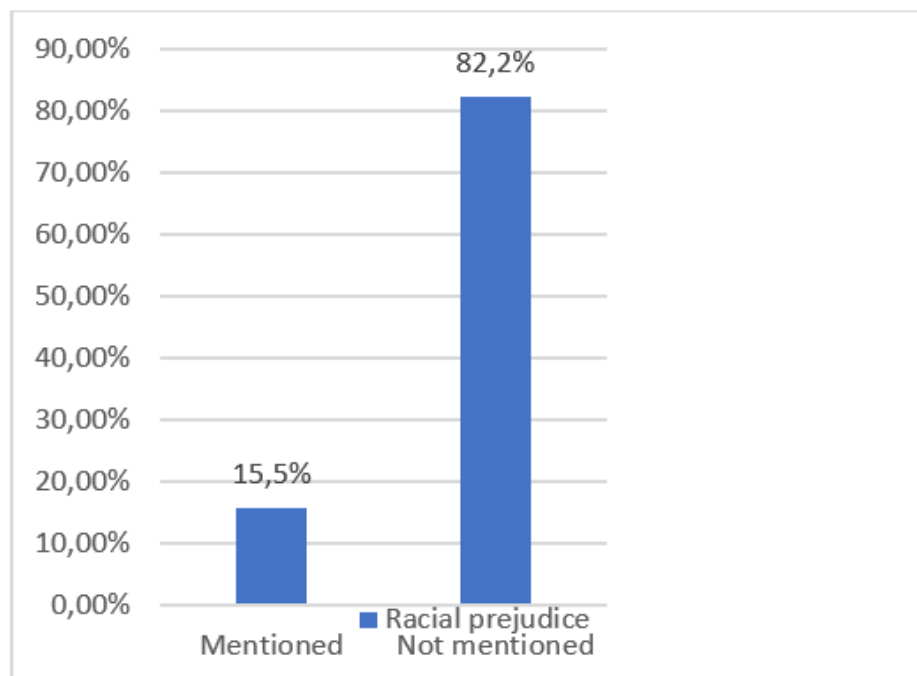
***Univariate distributions of prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice and prioritization of national people for employment opportunities.***

Prejudice against immigrants, represented in Figure 3, was endorsed by approximately a fifth of respondents (29,281, 21.7%). On the contrary, the dominant majority (101,913, 75.5%) demonstrated their aversiveness towards prejudice against immigrants while a marginal proportion (3,806, 2.8%) refrained from answering the relevant question. The distribution represented in Figure 4 indicates that an over-

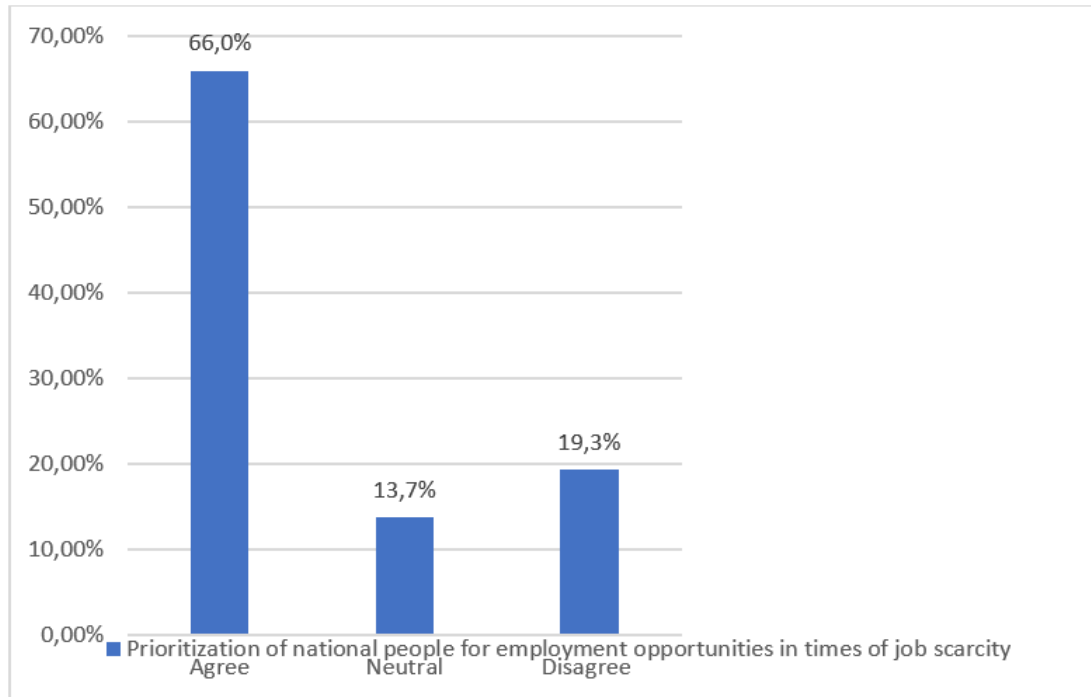
whelming majority of respondents (110,947, 82.2%) did not endorse racial prejudice but 15.5% (20,890) of respondents did while 0.1% (150) did not provide relevant information. As depicted in Figure 5, the majority of respondents (89,110, 66.0%) expressed the desire for national people to be prioritized for employment in times of job scarcity. However, a sizeable (26,026, 19.3%) proportion did not while a noticeable (18,468, 13.7%) proportion remained neutral. Fifty-five (0.0%) respondents did not provide relevant information.



**Figure 3** – Distribution of respondents according to their mention of “immigrants/foreign workers” as people they would not like to have as neighbours



**Figure 4** – Distribution of respondents according to their mention of “people of a different race” as people they would not like to have as neighbours



**Figure 5** – Distribution of respondents according to their agreement with the prioritization of national people for employment opportunities in times of job scarcity.

**Bivariate analysis**

***Prejudice and Happiness***

The results presented in Table 2 indicate that respondents who were averse to prejudice against immigrants (mean rank = 65838.35) were happier than those who were culpable of the same (mean rank = 62536.71). This difference was significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). In addition, respondents who were averse to racial prejudice were happier (mean rank = 65730.25) than those who were culpable (mean rank = 63740.31). This difference was also significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). Similarly, those who are averse to prejudice on account of prioritization of national people for employment were the happiest (mean rank = 70240.11), those who were neutral were

happier (mean rank = 66470.66) while those who are culpable were the least happy (mean rank = 65059.83). These differences were significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). Hence,  $H_0^1$  is not supported by data. The results of multiple pairwise comparison tests about prejudice on account of prioritization indicate that the ‘agree’ versus ‘disagree’ subgroups (test statistic = -5180.28,  $p = 0.000$ ), the ‘agree’ versus ‘neutral’ (test statistic = -1410.83,  $p = 0.000$ ) and ‘disagree’ versus ‘neutral’ sub-groups (test statistic = -3769.45,  $p = 0.000$ ) are significantly different from each other. Meanwhile, the value of epsilon<sup>2</sup> shows the very marginal extent to which perpetration of prejudice or otherwise accounts for happiness.

**Table 2** – Effects of prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice and prioritization of national people for employment opportunities on happiness

Indicator of prejudice (Independent variables)	Categorical responses	Mean rank	Mann-Whitney U test		Kruskal Wallis test		Epsilon (ε)	Epsilon <sup>2</sup> (ε <sup>2</sup> )
			Statistic	p-value	Kruskal-Wallis H	p-value		
Prejudice against immigrants	Mentioned	62536.71	1393686973.50	0.000	-	-	0.041	0.002
	Not mentioned	65838.35						



Racial prejudice	Mentioned	63740.31	1106287848.50	0.000	-		0.022	0.000
	Not mentioned	65730.25						
Prioritization of national people for employment opportunities	Agree	65059.83	-	-	467.092	0.000	0.059	0.004
	Neutral	66470.66						
	Disagree	70240.11						

**Prejudice and Subjective Health**

As shown in Table 3, respondents who were averse to prejudice against immigrants (mean rank = 66282.05) reported significantly better subjective health than those who are culpable of the same (mean rank = 62656.29) ( $p < 0.05$ ). In addition, respondents who are averse to racial prejudice reported significantly better subjective health (mean rank = 66373.88) when compared with those who were culpable (mean rank = 62694.38) ( $p < 0.05$ ). Further, those who are averse to prejudice on account of prioritization of national people for employment had the best subjective health (mean rank = 71863.61), those who were neutral had better subjective health (mean rank = 68591.36) while

those who are culpable had the worst subjective health (mean rank = 64753.80). These differences were significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). Hence,  $H_0^2$  is not supported by data. The outcome of multiple pairwise comparison tests to compare respondents' differential opinions regarding the prioritization of national people for employment indicates that the 'agree' versus 'disagree' subgroups (test statistic = -7109.82,  $p = 0.000$ ), the 'agree' versus 'neutral' (test statistic = -3837.57,  $p = 0.000$ ) and 'disagree' versus 'neutral' sub-groups (test statistic = 3272.25,  $p = 0.000$ ) are significantly different from each other. The value of epsilon<sup>2</sup> indicates that the variance in subjective health explained by the three forms of prejudice is very marginal.

**Table 3** – Effects of prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice and prioritization of national people for employment opportunities on subjective health

Indicator of prejudice (Independent variables)	Categorical responses	Mean rank	Mann-Whitney U test		Kruskal Wallis test		Epsilon (ε)	Epsilon <sup>2</sup> (ε <sup>2</sup> )
			Statistic	p-value	Kruskal-Wallis H	p-value		
Prejudice against immigrants	Mentioned	62656.29	1403864498.50	0.000	-	-	0.042	0.002
	Not mentioned	66282.05						
Racial prejudice	Mentioned	62694.38	1089555013.00	0.000	-	-	0.038	0.001
	Not mentioned	66373.88						
Prioritization of national people for employment opportunities	Agree	64753.80	-	-	832.76	0.000	0.079	0.006
	Neutral	68591.36						
	Disagree	71863.61						

**Prejudice and Life Satisfaction**

Table 4 indicates that respondents who were averse to prejudice against immigrants (mean rank = 66591.72) are significantly more satisfied with

their lives when compared with those who were culpable of the same (mean rank = 61013.84) ( $p < 0.05$ ). Moreover, respondents who were averse to racial prejudice were significantly more satisfied

with their lives (mean rank = 66465.21) when compared with those who were culpable (mean rank = 61434.11) ( $p < 0.05$ ). Furthermore, those who were averse to prejudice on account of prioritization of national people for employment reported the highest extent of life satisfaction (mean rank = 73140.33), those who were neutral had higher life satisfaction (mean rank = 66101.38) while life satisfaction was least among those who are culpable (mean rank = 64731.68). These differences were significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). Hence,  $H_0^3$  is not supported by data. The results

obtained from multiple pairwise comparison tests to compare respondents' differential opinions regarding the prioritization of national people for employment indicates that the 'agree' versus 'disagree' subgroups (test statistic = -8408.66,  $p = 0.000$ ), the 'agree' versus 'neutral' (test statistic = -1369.71,  $p = 0.000$ ) and 'disagree' versus 'neutral' sub-groups (test statistic = 7038.95,  $p = 0.000$ ) are significantly different from each other. The value of epsilon<sup>2</sup> indicates that the variance in life satisfaction explained by the three forms of prejudice is also very marginal.

**Table 4** – Effects of prejudice against immigrants, racial prejudice and prioritization of national people for employment opportunities on life satisfaction

Indicator of prejudice (Independent variables)	Categorical responses	Mean rank	Mann-Whitney U test		Kruskal Wallis test		Epsilon (ε)	Epsilon <sup>2</sup> (ε <sup>2</sup> )
			Statistic	p-value	Kruskal-Wallis H	p-value		
Prejudice against immigrants	Mentioned	61013.84	1353040079.50	0.000	-	-	0.062	0.004
	Not mentioned	66591.72						
Racial prejudice	Mentioned	61434.11	1060889572.50	0.000	-	-	0.049	0.002
	Not mentioned	66465.21						
Prioritization of national people for employment opportunities	Agree	64731.68	-	-	989.56	0.000	0.086	0.007
	Neutral	66101.38						
	Disagree	73140.33						

## Discussion

Happiness (mean±SD = 3.13±0.69, min. = 1, max. = 4); subjective health (mean±SD = 3.77±0.90, min. =1, max. =5) and life satisfaction (mean±SD =7.20±2.18, min. = 1, max. =10) were generally high but then, there is still a noticeable gap in the degree to which people experience or exhibit these indicators of subjective well-being. The findings are a reflection of the retrospective extent of the “good life” (Rombaoa & Heshmati, 2023) or the quality of life (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2009) that materializes in the human population cross-nationally. The findings showcase the summary of hedonic or good feelings (Abatista & Cova, 2023) as well as eudaimonic or virtuous/functional living, globally (Kimiecik, 2016; Heshmati, Kibrislioglu Uysal & Kim, 2023). The current summary of happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction also reflects the character of some

determinants of subjective well-being including cultural values (Rajkumar, 2023) corruption (Li & An, 2019) and uncertainty of economic policies (Tao & Cheng, 2023).

Current findings imply that roughly one of every five (21.7%) people endorse prejudice against immigrants. Racial prejudice was also endorsed by three out of every twenty persons (15.5%) while up to seven of ten persons (66%) desire that national people be prioritized for employment in times of job scarcity. Immigration-status-based, and racial prejudice are noticeably high. These distributions showcase the degree to which people embrace diversity approaches such as multiculturalism and colour blindness (Leslie, Bono, Kim, & Beaver, 2020; Wollast *et al.*, 2023). Incidentally, there was a higher incidence of prejudice on account of prioritizing national people for employment opportunities when jobs were scarce. This illustrates the high extent to

which individuals are unwilling to make sacrifices for persons that are dissimilar to them. Current findings regarding the central objective of this work are truly revealing. The findings indicate that happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction were significantly lower among respondents who were culpable of prejudice on account of immigration status, race and employment priority. This is a huge base for proclaiming the negative detriment of prejudice for those culpable of the same.

The consequences of prejudice are dominantly underscored for the victims of prejudice. Findings earlier described show that victims of racial discrimination suffer significantly from lower life satisfaction and self-esteem (Cénat *et al.*, 2022); and greater oral health impairment (Schuch *et al.*, 2021). Racially discriminated against pregnant women experience significantly higher postpartum depressive symptoms (Weeks, Zapata, Rohan and Green, 2022). The thematic review by Negreiros *et al.* (2022), earlier cited, shows that 27.80% of reviewed studies acknowledged the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination on victims' socialisation. In addition, Negreiros *et al.* (2022) found that 25% of the articles reported psychological consequences of prejudice and discrimination on the victims. The institutional consequences of prejudice were reported by 15.30% of the reviewed articles. The bias exhibited by social institutions such as the judiciary whereby minorities who are victims of prejudice are accorded harder sentences was the essence of this theme. The barriers encountered in gaining employment and the challenges that workplaces present to victims of prejudice were the essence of the theme on impact at work which was reported by 16% of the reviewed articles. Finally, health impacts were reported by 15.30% of the articles, and this bordered on access to care, quality of care, greater experience of pain, underrepresentation in scientific health research, mortality, etc.

Viewed from the framework of victims versus perpetrators, the comprehensive review by Negreiros *et al.* (2022) shows, like the dominant literature, that prejudice is often explored as detrimental to the victims of prejudice or discrimination. One

of the exceptions from the literature was the publication of Esses (2021), earlier cited, which focused on prejudice and discrimination against immigrants and described how host countries lose out on the prospects accruable from immigrants. According to Reitz and Banerjee (2007), prejudice and discrimination weaken social cohesion, which in turn weakens the welfare of receiving communities. Indeed, there is a gap in the literature concerning the consequences of prejudice on perpetrators of the same, the interest of which this study serves.

The finding of significantly poorer happiness, subjective health and life satisfaction among perpetrators of prejudice on account of immigration status, race and employment priority certainly represents an interesting pattern of empirical information. It calls for the interrogation of the possible pathways. Aversiveness to prejudice implies the manifestation of openness, tolerance, pluralism and other elements of left-wing political orientation which upholds the equality of all persons (Freire, 2015). Perhaps, the workings of the relationship between altruistic traits and personal well-being are at play. Likewise, socio-political activism has been reported dominantly as a determinant of well-being (Klar & Kasser, 2009; Foster, 2015, 2019; Boehnke & Wong, 2011; Vestergren, Drury & Hammar Chiriack, 2019).

## Conclusion

A non-prejudicial predisposition towards immigrants and persons of different races as well as non-prejudicial prioritization of national people for employment are significantly predisposing to greater happiness. The victimhood of prejudice traverses beyond the obvious victims but extends to those culpable of prejudice. In the light that “much research effort is theoretically and empirically ill-suited to provide actionable, evidence-based recommendations for reducing prejudice” (Paluck, Porat, Clark & Green, 2021: 533), it is argued that approaching prejudice-reducing interventions through stressing the negative personal consequences of prejudice for perpetrators, as this study shows, opens a new path towards positive intergroup relations.

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