

Understanding Mental Health Vulnerability Through Intersectionality: Racial Discrimination Among African Ethnic Minority Groups in Belgium

To what extent do specific socio-demographic characteristics amongst Sub-Saharan African ethnic minorities, moderate the relationship of microaggressions and harassment on mental health outcomes?

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Student number: 02212014

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Sorana Toma

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A dissertation submitted to Ghent University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Health Promotion

Academic year: 2024-2025



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FOREWORD

English

Writing this thesis and exploring this field of research has been an exceptionally enriching experience for me. It has undoubtedly provided me with many skills that I will apply and use throughout my future career. From reading to writing, analysing to reporting, and from understanding to articulating complex scientific concepts to the outside world. I continue to exceed my own expectations by accomplishing this alongside my main profession as a therapist in psychiatry and the artistic ambitions I pursue as a secondary occupation.

I would first and foremost like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Sorana Toma, who guided me exceptionally well throughout this entire process. She consistently maintained a critical perspective and read my work with great attention. Her feedback and insistence on clear core arguments have greatly enriched my academic skills. The career she has built and the way she delegates all the work while remaining involved in mine, shows a remarkable commitment to both academic excellence and her mentees.

Besides, I received tremendous support in the final stages of my thesis from her PhD researcher Sarah Derveeuw, who was always quick and thorough in assisting me. My co-supervisor, Els Clays, also provided a critical perspective on my work and supported me whenever needed, for which I am grateful.

Lastly, I want to thank my partner, Dana Sprung, who consistently helped me manage the divergence of my mind and therefore the realisation of this complex topic. She is an enormous contribution to my academic development.

Paloma Brent Moerenhout

Dutch

Het schrijven van deze thesis en het verkennen van dit onderzoeksveld is voor mij een bijzonder verrijkende ervaring geweest. Het heeft mij ongetwijfeld veel vaardigheden bijgebracht die ik in mijn toekomstige carrière zal toepassen en benutten. Van lezen tot schrijven, van analyseren tot rapporteren, en van het begrijpen tot het verwoorden van complexe wetenschappelijke concepten naar de buitenwereld toe. Ik blijf mijn eigen verwachtingen overtreffen door dit te realiseren naast mijn hoofdberoep als therapeut in de psychiatrie en de artistieke ambities die ik in bijberoep nastreef.

Allereerst wil ik mijn dank uitspreken aan mijn promotor, Sorana Toma, die mij gedurende dit hele proces op uitzonderlijke wijze heeft begeleid. Zij hield steeds een kritische blik en las mijn werk met grote aandacht. Haar feedback en haar nadruk op duidelijke kernargumenten hebben mijn academische vaardigheden enorm verrijkt. De carrière die zij heeft opgebouwd en de manier waarop zij al het werk delegeert terwijl zij toch betrokken blijft bij mijn traject, tonen een opmerkelijke toewijding aan zowel academische excellentie als haar ondergeschikten.

Daarnaast kreeg ik in de laatste fase van mijn thesis enorm veel steun van haar doctoraatsonderzoeker, Sarah Derveeuw, die mij steeds snel en grondig bijstond. Mijn co-promotor, Els Clays, bood eveneens een kritische blik op mijn werk en ondersteunde mij waar nodig, waarvoor mijn oprechte dank.

Tot slot wil ik mijn partner, Dana Sprung, bedanken, die mij telkens weer hielp om de divergentie van mijn denken in goede banen te leiden, en daarmee bijdroeg aan de realisatie van dit complexe onderwerp. Zij is een enorme bijdrage voor mijn academische ontwikkeling

Paloma Brent Moerenhout

ABSTRACT

English:

Objective: Racial discrimination in both overt and covert form remains a critical but underexamined determinant of mental health, especially among ethnic minority immigrant populations. The distinct impacts of microaggressions and harassment and their interplay with intersecting social identities, remain under-examined. This study investigates how microaggressions and harassment relate to mental health outcomes among sub-Saharan African minorities in Belgium, and whether gender, legal status, income, and language proficiency moderate these associations. **Method:** Data is analysed from the 2024–2025 ROAM-BE cross-sectional survey (N=923). Discrimination experiences were measured using multi-item scales for microaggressions and harassment. Mental health outcomes included general wellbeing, anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction. Multivariate regression models tested the main effects of discrimination and two-way interactions with each moderator, adjusting for key covariates. **Results:** Both forms of discrimination were significantly associated with increased anxiety, reduced sleep quality, and lower life satisfaction, following a dose-response pattern. Interaction models revealed that moderate language proficiency intensified the negative impact of harassment on sleep and life satisfaction, while low or high proficiency showed weaker associations. Financial insecurity predicted poorer mental health across all models, though its moderating role was limited. Legal insecurity and female gender strengthened the effect of microaggressions on anxiety. In contrast, harassment had a stronger impact on sleep and life satisfaction among women, suggesting heightened vulnerability to overt threats. **Conclusion:** These findings emphasize that discrimination's psychological impact cannot be fully understood in isolation but emerges from its entanglement with intersecting identities and structural inequalities.

Dutch:

Doelstelling: Raciale discriminatie, zowel in openlijke als subtiele vormen, blijft een cruciale maar onderbelichte determinant van mentale gezondheid, vooral onder etnische minderheidsgroepen met een migratieachtergrond. De verschillende effecten van microagressies en intimidatie, en hun wisselwerking met elkaar overlappende sociale identiteiten, zijn tot op heden onvoldoende onderzocht. Deze studie onderzoekt hoe microagressies en intimidatie samenhangen met mentale gezondheidsuitkomsten bij Sub-Sahara Afrikaanse minderheden in België, en of gender, verblijfsstatus, inkomen en taalvaardigheid deze verbanden modereren. **Methode:** De gegevens zijn afkomstig uit de ROAM-BE cross-sectionele survey van 2024–2025 (N=923). Discriminatie werden gemeten met behulp van meerdere items voor microagressies en intimidatie. De mentale gezondheidsuitkomsten omvatten algemeen welzijn, angst, slaapkwaliteit en levenstevredenheid. Multivariate regressiemodellen toetsten zowel de hoofdeffecten van discriminatie als tweezijdige interacties met elke moderator, gecontroleerd voor relevante covariabelen. **Resultaten:** Beide vormen van discriminatie waren significant geassocieerd met verhoogde angst, verminderde slaapkwaliteit en lagere levenstevredenheid, volgens een duidelijk dose-respons patroon. Interactiemodellen toonden aan dat matige taalvaardigheid het negatieve effect van intimidatie op slaap en levenssatisfactie versterkte, terwijl lage of hoge taalvaardigheid zwakkere verbanden vertoonde. Financiële onzekerheid voorspelde consequent slechtere mentale gezondheid, hoewel het slechts beperkt als moderator fungeerde. Een onzekere verblijfsstatus en vrouwelijk geslacht versterkten het effect van microagressies op angst. Daarentegen had intimidatie een sterkere impact op slaapkwaliteit en levenstevredenheid bij vrouwen, wat duidt op verhoogde kwetsbaarheid voor openlijke bedreigingen. **Conclusie:** Deze bevindingen benadrukken dat de psychologische impact van discriminatie niet los kan worden gezien van sociale identiteiten en structurele ongelijkheden, maar daar juist uit voortkomt.

Aantal woorden artikel: **6437** (exclusief woord vooraf, inhoudstafel, inleiding, abstract, bijlagen, tabellen en referentielijst)

- Aantal woorden inleiding: 1495
- Aantal woorden methodologie: 1593
- Aantal woorden resultaten: 1515
- Aantal woorden discussie: 1843

LITERATURE STUDY

Racial discrimination

Discrimination is a human rights violation as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948). It is constructed by sociocultural context and history. Race or ethnicity refers to the social practice of categorizing individuals based on physical characteristics and/or language (Carter et al., 2018). Racial discrimination involves distinctions or exclusions based on race, colour, descent, or ethnicity that hinder the equal enjoyment of human rights and freedoms (United Nations, 1965). Capitalist, imperial, and patriarchal systems maintain this global hierarchy (Grosfoguel et al., 2014). It lies at the intersection of power and prejudice, encompassing both the ideology of racial superiority (racism) and the social structures and interpersonal actions linked to dominance and oppression (Pieterse and Powell, 2016). Ethnic minorities, defined by cultural distinctiveness, exist in relation to dominant populations and are shaped by both internal and external processes of identity and recognition (Ford & Harawa, 2010). 38% of ethnic minorities in the EU report feeling discriminated against, with nearly one in five experiencing it in the past year, most commonly in Austria, Sweden, and Belgium (European Commission, 2019, 2024). Racial discrimination can be overt or covert: Overt forms are the undeniable aggressive and openly hostile, f.e. physical harassment, but are now less likely to be openly expressed or accompanied by violence (Mewes et al., 2015). Evidence indicates that microaggressions or subtle, covert forms of racial discrimination have become increasingly common (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018). These are brief, everyday verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities whether intentional or not that convey hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to minoritized or culturally marginalized groups (Sue et al., 2007). Examples include being avoided on public transport or denied jobs or housing due to skin colour. Experiences of microaggression are also linked to historical patterns of oppression (Forrest-Bank, 2019). Both overt and covert forms remain a systemic unfair treatment based on race, affecting rights and opportunities. Despite growing prevalence, literature remains limited on microaggressions and their impacts (Benner et al., 2018). Surveys often inadequately capture subtle forms of discrimination (Cross et al., 2023; Hatch et al., 2016). Nevertheless, both forms consistently correlate with negative mental health outcomes (Weeks & Sullivan, 2019; Anglin & Lui, 2021).

The impact on Mental health

Theoretical and empirical evidence consistently link racism and ethnic discrimination to poorer health, especially mental health, among recent migrants and Black ethnic groups (Sawyer et al., 2012 ; Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019). Racial discrimination has been shown to increase allostatic load and health risks (Tobin & Moody, 2021 ; Williams et al., 2019) with multiple forms

of discrimination exacerbating mental health issues (Franco et al., 2020). Discrimination increased the likelihood of mental health disorders by 60-263%, and experiencing multiple forms raised depression risk by 115 % over three years (Vargas, 2020). Among ethnic minority children, exposure to microaggressions predicts lower well-being and greater anxiety and depression (Metzner et al., 2022). According to Minority Stress Theory, cumulative stressors like discrimination contribute to long-term mental health deterioration, including depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, somatization, and substance abuse (Dhalimi et al., 2017; Frost & Meyer, 2023; Kwon & Han, 2019; Mewes et al., 2015). These experiences often lower resilience, increasing vulnerability, alienation, and internalized stigma. Discrimination in healthcare, workplaces, or social media amplifies these effects (Schouler-Ocak & Moran, 2022b). Some studies however, suggest repeated exposure may foster coping and resilience, indicating a complex interplay between harm and adaptation (Carter et al., 2018; Vargas et al., 2020). Harassment combined with microaggressions increases depression risk more than microaggressions alone (Jeffery et al., 2024 ; Lui et al., 2022 ; Tao & Fisher, 2021). Comorbid severe mental disorders and physical illnesses further reduce quality of life and increase healthcare costs (Elias & Paradies, 2016 ; Sartorius, 2022 ; Schouler-Ocak & Moran, 2022).

Current gap in literature

The association between discrimination and mental health is shaped by complex, multilevel factors, making causal interpretations difficult. Over 80% of variance in mental health outcomes remains unexplained, calling for nuanced models incorporating personality, identity, values, social structures, and psychological components (Balidemaj & Small, 2019 ; Mesoudi, 2018). Cultural, socio-demographic, and legal determinants remain insufficiently understood (Grosfoguel et al., 2014), particularly in how individual and group identities within broader systems might buffer or intensify mental health risks. Much existing research isolates single identities, which limits its scope and shows mixed results. However, emerging evidence shows that using an intersectional approach examining multiple social categories simultaneously (e.g., race and gender) show stronger, more consistent associations between discrimination and health outcomes (Goertz et al., 2008 ; Williams et al, 2019). The intersectionality framework analyses how certain individuals face multiple forms of oppression due to systems, institutions, socio-economic and political practices. It focuses on the overlap of social identities and their connection to systems of domination and discrimination (CRIAW-ICREF, 2022 ; Jayakumar, 2022 ; Simpson & CRIAW/ICRE, 2009).

Discrimination and Mental Health: Group-Level Variations

The psychological impact of racial discrimination is shaped by intersecting social identities, few investigate how these identities moderate the relationship between discrimination and mental health (Savaş et al., 2021). While many studies examine either differences in mental health

outcomes or discrimination experiences among minoritized individuals, few explore how group characteristics moderate the effect of discrimination on mental health. Some research suggests that intersectional identities may offer resilience, but findings are inconsistent, likely due to methodological variation (Vargas, 2020). A systematic review identified several predictors of mental health (Gleeson et al., 2020), which are further examined in this study: Household income, gender, legal status, and language proficiency

Gender

Gender plays a complex role in shaping both perceived discrimination and psychological distress, with inconsistent findings across studies. Landale et al. (2017) found men report higher levels of everyday discrimination, while Kumar (2022) showed that women experience discrimination through intersecting identities such as race, religion, and migration status. Women wearing hijabs report greater vulnerability to racial violence and public insecurity. (Gowayed, 2019). Although psychological illness is generally more prevalent among women (Elias & Paradies, 2016), prior intersectional research suggests ethnicity may outweigh gender in shaping both perceived discrimination and mental health responses (Vargas, 2020).

Legal status

Legal insecurity compounds the psychological burden of discrimination, although findings are mixed. Longer residency is associated with poorer mental health, possibly due to prolonged discrimination exposure (Di Napoli et al., 2021; Gee et al., 2006). Individuals without legal documentation report greater mental health problems and higher exposure to discrimination than documented peers (Cross et al., 2023; Rodriguez et al., 2023). However, Landale et al. (2017) observed undocumented immigrants did not report high discrimination levels, while second-generation immigrants reported more mistreatment in interpersonal and institutional contexts. Legal status also interacts with racial identity, affecting mental health differently across ethnic groups (Lo & Cheng, 2017). Prolonged asylum processes exacerbate psychiatric disorders, whereas securing residency or legal status improved mental health by increasing opportunities, resources, and support (Gleeson et al., 2020; Heeren et al., 2014; Laban et al., 2007).

Household income:

Socioeconomic status (SES) significantly influences mental health and the experience of discrimination, though findings vary. The integration paradox suggests that greater SES may increase awareness and perceived discrimination (Schaeffer, 2023; Arellano-Morales et al., 2015; Flippen & Parrado, 2015). Poverty has been shown to elevate anxiety symptoms in the context of discrimination (Weeks & Sullivan, 2019). Among high-skilled migrants, age, ethnicity, and perceived discrimination predicted depression and poor self-rated health

(Dhalimi et al., 2017). Young people experiencing labour market exclusion report higher discrimination, whereas well-integrated youth with higher education report fewer such experiences (Lindemann, 2019).

Language proficiency

Language proficiency may serve both as a protective factor and a source of vulnerability. Better language skills are associated with reduced healthcare discrimination (Gleeson et al., 2020). At the same time, a strong ethnic identity may protect against general discrimination. However, those with moderate proficiency may be particularly at risk: they are socially engaged but lack the fluency to assert themselves, potentially intensifying the psychological impact of discrimination (Dhalimi et al., 2017). While higher proficiency may buffer stress due to increased social capital, poor language skills can exacerbate mental health issues, including depression (Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019).

Research question

Despite calls for intersectional research, most studies examine either how identities influence discrimination or mental health but rarely how they moderate the link between the two. Incorporating these variables offers a more complete understanding of how intersecting identities influence the psychological effects of racism. More nuanced analyses are needed to understand how overlapping disadvantages interact and shape discriminatory experiences (Landale et al., 2017; Grollman, 2012). This also enhances generalizability by identifying who is more or less vulnerable to discrimination's mental health consequences (Hatch et al., 2016; Metzner et al., 2021). Building on this gap, this study builds on existing findings and explores two key questions: (1) To what extent are overt (harassment) and covert (microaggressions) forms of discrimination associated with negative mental health outcomes? (2) How do social positions such as gender, household income, legal status, and regional language proficiency moderate the relationship between discrimination and mental health, providing resilience or protection?

METHODOLOGY

Survey Design & sampling

The ROAM-BE is a cross-sectional survey, seeking to gain deeper insights into the circumstances, experiences, achievements, and challenges faced by individuals of sub-Saharan African descent residing in Belgium. Inclusion criteria included the following: (1) Participants must be at least 18 years old, (2) have lived in Belgium for at least one year and (3) have a sub-Saharan African background. All individuals are born in sub-Saharan Africa with African nationality at birth (first generation) or with at least one parent meeting this definition (second generation). The survey took place between late May 2024 to early February 2025 in all municipalities of Brussels, and in some of Flanders and Wallonia. A two-stage sampling method was used. First, municipalities were randomly selected based on the size of the population of sub-Saharan African origin in each area. Second, within each selected municipality, a quota sampling method was applied. Quotas were defined by country of origin, age group, sex, and generation (first, 1.5, or second). Recruitment was conducted in person by a team of 60 interviewers who completed a two-day training. Recruitment strategies included approaching individuals in public spaces, snowball sampling (referrals from respondents), and outreach through churches and community networks. Informed consent was obtained from all participants in the study. The survey lasts approximately one hour and participants received a €15 voucher. The final total sample included 923 participants from across Belgium. Ethics approval was granted by the institutional review boards of all partner universities.

Variables

Independent variables of Racial discrimination: microaggression and harassment

Harassment questions are taken from the EU MIDIS II questionnaire of the second European Union minorities and discrimination survey (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018), asking: “Has it ever happened to you, in Belgium, because of your skin colour or your origins that...” followed by five items on harassment, e.g. “Someone threatens you with violence in person”. Although the internal consistency of this scale was moderate (Cronbach’s $\alpha=0.664$), the EU MIDIS-II is a validated EU-wide questionnaire with strong precedent in large-scale public health research. Additional five items on microaggressions are modified by D’hondt et al. (2023), e.g., “Someone reaches for their bag as you walk by.” The modified microaggression scale showed acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach’s $\alpha=0.735$). All items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale (0=never to 6=almost every day). Both *microaggressions* (Skewness=0.672; Kurtosis=-0.134) and *harassment* (Skewness=1.736; Kurtosis=4.784) showed substantial positive skewness, indicating that most participants

reported none to low exposure while a smaller group reporting frequent experiences. Due to this strong right-skewness and high kurtosis, both variables were recoded into categorical formats in explorative models to enhance interpretability and analytical reliability. To enhance interpretability in exploratory models, responses were recoded: “Never” and “Not in the last 5 years”= 0; any more recent experience= 1. Binary scores were summed across the five items for each scale (range:0–5), then further categorized into exposure types: 0= “None”, 1=“1 type”, 2=“2 types”, 3+=“3 or more types.” For microaggressions, an alternate 3-level version (0; 1–2; 3+) was created and used, as it yielded comparable results. For multivariate regression analysis the scores are kept continuous due to superior statistical power and maximize the precision of estimates. Despite skewness, Logarithmic- and square-root-transformations were not needed, due to large sample size (>100) and normally distributed residuals.

Dependent variables of Mental health well-being

Wellbeing as primary outcome is self-assessed through the WHO-5 Five-well-being-Index. This questionnaire is a standardized, cross-cultural applicable and strongly psychometric validated self-report questionnaire (Lara-Cabrera et al. 2022), consisting of five items evaluating emotional well-being over the past two weeks. A. Cheerful and in good spirits, B. Calm and relaxed, C. Full of energy and vigorous, D. Woke up feeling fresh and ready for action, E. Daily life has been full of interesting things. Each item is rated on a 6-point Likert scale (0 = never to 5 = all the time), summed (0–25), and multiplied by four (range: 0–100), with higher scores indicating better well-being. Scores ≤ 50 indicate poor well-being (World Health Organization, 2024), and results are analysed both continuously and categorically (poor = 0, greater well-being = 1). Secondary mental health indicators include life satisfaction (“How satisfied are you at present with your life?”) and sleep quality (“How satisfied are you with your sleep?”), both were measured using 11-point semantic differential scales ranging from 0 (very bad/not at all satisfied) to 10 (excellent/totally satisfied). Anxiety is measured using two items from the PHQ-9: 1.feeling nervous, anxious, or tense; and 2.inability to control worrying. Each are rated from 0 (never) to 3 (almost every day), with a total score ranging from 0 to 6 (6 = worst anxiety). All secondary indicators are treated as continuous variables. Additionally, Direct perceived mental health effects of discrimination were assessed with the question: “How did this experience of discrimination and/or racism affect you?” followed by seven binary response items (Appendix A2, Table 1.3)

Confounding variables:

From drawing a directed acyclic graph (DAG) (Appendix A1), following demographic characteristics were identified to control for as confounders into the analysis: Gender, age, generation, subregion of residence legal status, francophone origin, highest educational degree, household income, language proficiency per region and religion. Additionally, selected

covariates were tested as moderators to assess how aspects of identity shape mental health outcomes after racial discrimination. Gender was measured as a binary variable (1=male, 2=female). Legal status was derived from responses to “How long is your current residence permit valid for?” and recoded into three categories: 1=no residence permit or less than 1 year; 2=temporary residence permit of more than 1 year; 3=Belgian nationality or exempt from needing a permit. Household income was measured by perceived financial ease: 1=living comfortably on current income, 2=coping on current income, 3=finding it difficult on current income and 4=finding it very difficult on current income with categories 3 and 4 merged for analytical balance. Education level was based on the highest diploma obtained in or outside Belgium, originally ranged from 1 (primary) to 6 (doctoral degree) but recoded into four categories: 1=primary education or less, 2=secondary education, 3=short-cycle higher education, and 4=long-cycle higher education (master’s/doctoral). This recoding allowed for simplified comparisons across diverse educational systems. Language proficiency was assessed for French, Dutch, and English based on self-rated speaking and reading/writing skills. For each language, speaking and literacy scores were combined and categorized as: little to none, intermediate, good and very good proficiency. To reflect regional language realities, a final variable was created: for participants living in Dutch-speaking regions, Dutch proficiency was used; for those in French-speaking regions, French proficiency was used; and for participants in Brussels, the best score across French and Dutch was selected. Generation of immigrants is categorised as 1, 1.5 and 2nd generation. Age is categorised into tertiles: 18-29= young adults; 30-44= middle-aged adults; 45+ =older adults. Francophone countries are those where French is an official or widely spoken language, including parts of Europe (e.g., France, Belgium) and Africa (e.g., Senegal, Ivory Coast). The OIF defines its members as states sharing the French language and common values (Glasze, 2007). Religion is categorised as Catholic, Protestant, Revival/Evangelical/Pentecostal churches; Muslim; No Religion and Other.

Statistical Analysis

All analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS 29. Post-stratification weights were applied to align the sample with the known population distribution of individuals of sub-Saharan African origin in Belgium, based on country of origin, age, sex, region, generation (first, 1.5, second), and nationality, ensuring greater representativeness. Cases with missing values on the relevant variables were excluded from the analyses. The analytic strategy proceeded in three stages. First, preliminary analyses summarized key variables using descriptive statistics (means, SDs for continuous; frequencies, percentages for categorical), and Pearson correlations examined associations. Distributions were assessed via boxplots and histograms to identify skewness or outliers and finalize covariate inclusion.

Second, one-way ANOVAs and chi-square tests identified which covariates predicted lower mental health scores and greater exposure to microaggressions or harassment (categorised format). Post-hoc Tukey tests assessed differences across exposure levels. For harassment, Mann–Whitney U tests were used due to unequal group variances (violated Levene’s test for homogeneity of variances). Bonferroni correction ($p < .009$) adjusted for multiple comparisons. For microaggressions, group sizes were relatively equal and large ($N > 200$), and given ANOVA’s robustness under such conditions, parametric testing remained appropriate for this variable. This combined approach of parametric and non-parametric test ensures a transparent and robust analysis.

Third, bivariate and multivariate regression models estimated the impact of microaggressions and harassment on all mental health indicators, controlling for possible confounding (gender, age, generation, subregion, legal status, francophone origin, education, income, regional language proficiency, and religion). All models were checked for assumptions, including multicollinearity, linearity, homoscedasticity, normality of residuals, independence of observations, and the absence of influential or outlying cases. Harassment and microaggression scores were treated as continuous variables to preserve superior statistical power. Further, separate regressions with two-way interaction terms tested whether gender, legal status, language proficiency, and household income moderated the effects of microaggressions and harassment. These moderators were selected based on theoretical relevance and prior links to mental health outcomes. Each model includes the main effect of harassment or microaggression, the main effect of the moderator, and the corresponding interaction term (e.g. harassment $\times$ gender). Interaction terms were entered one at a time to enhance statistical power, reduce multicollinearity, and allow for isolated interpretation. Residual diagnostics confirmed that assumptions for linear regression were sufficiently met. The most socially advantaged category (men, Belgian nationality, high language proficiency, living comfortably) served as the reference group in all dummy coding. Interaction terms indicate whether this association significantly differs across other subgroups.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics:

Table 1.1: Socio-demographic characteristics (unweighted), ROAM-BE survey (n=923)

	Sample size N	Sample size %
Age (in years)		
18-29 (<i>Young adults</i>)	314	34%
30-44 (<i>Middle-aged adults</i>)	416	45,1%
45+ (<i>older adults</i>)	193	20,9%
Gender		
Male	463	50,2%
Female	460	49,8%
Generation		
1 st	636	68,9%
1,5nd	106	11,5%
2 nd	181	19,6%
Duration of stay in Belgium		
Les then 5 years	268	29%
5 to 10 years	142	15,4%
10 years or more	332	36%
Born in Belgium	181	19,6%
Subregion living in Belgium		
Brussels	276	29,9%
Flanders	333	36,1%
Wallonia	314	34%
Francophone origin		
Francophone country	751	81,4
Other	172	18,6
Legal status / Residence permit		
No residence permit or permit of 1yr or less	263	28,5%

Residence permit of > 1 yr	176	19,2%
Belgian nationality	479	52,2%
Missing	5	
Household standard of living		
Living comfortable income is sufficient	148	16,2%
Very difficult to copy with income	385	42,1%
Language proficiency per region		
Very good	381	41,7%
Good	148	16,2%
Moderate	178	19,3%
Little to none	88	9,5%
missing	161	17,4%
Educational degree		
Primary or less	2	
Secondary	129	14
Higher short education	208	22,5
Higher long education	255	27,6
Religion		
catholic	331	35,9
protestant	301	32,6%
Revivalist, evangelical, Pentecostal	133	14,4%
Muslim	133	14,4%
No religion	187	20,3%
Other	101	10,9%
missing	67	7,3%
	1	

Table 1.2: Descriptives of dependent variables of mental health (unweighted) total N =923

	N	Mean / %	SD	Min	Max	Missing
WHO-5 wellbeing (100 = highest score)	921	54.96	23.45	0	100	2
Poorer well being (≤ 50)	417	45.2		-	-	-
Greater well being (> 50)	504	54.6	-	-	-	-
PHQ-2 anxiety (0 = Lowest anxiety ; 6 = Highest level of anxiety)	921	1.24	1.57	0	6	2
Sleep Quality (0= "very bad" and 10= "excellent")	918	7.57	1.52	0	10	5
Life satisfaction (0 = "not at all satisfied" and 10= "totally satisfied")	920	6.96	1.94	0	10	3

Table 1.1 presents the ROAM-BE sample (N=923), which was gender-balanced and mostly composed of young to middle-aged adults. The majority were first-generation migrants (69%) with francophone backgrounds (81%), and 71% had lived in Belgium for over five years. Over half (52%) held Belgian nationality. Financial hardship was common, with only 16% living comfortably. Most rated their language proficiency as good or very good (73%) and 64% had higher education. Catholics (33%) and Muslims (20%) were the largest religious groups. Table 1.2 shows moderate overall mental health: WHO-5 well-being averaged 54.96, with 45% scoring below the cut-off; anxiety was low (M=1.24), sleep quality high (M=7.57), and life satisfaction relatively high (M=6.96). Missing data were minimal. Among those who experienced recent discrimination (N=641), around one-third reported stress (28.2%), frequent rumination (27.6%), and avoidance behaviours (29.3%). Fewer reported sleep disruption (7.3%) or loss of confidence (9.3%). Notably, 43.9% mentally prepared for such situations, while 55.2% said they didn't worry (Appendix A2, Table 1.3). Table 2.1 (Appendix A2) showing that sociodemographic factors such as gender, legal status, household income, migration generation and language proficiency were strongly associated with variations in life satisfaction, anxiety, sleep quality, and wellbeing scores. In contrast, education and age showed weaker or non-significant associations.

Table 2.2: Associations between frequency of discrimination (unequal treatment, harassment, and microaggressions) and mental well-being indicators: Life satisfaction, sleep quality, anxiety, and WHO-5 wellbeing

	Life satisfaction average (Max score = 10)	Quality of sleep (Max score = 10)	Anxiety (max score = 6)	Wellbeing WHO5 (max score = 100)	Lower wellbeing (0-50) %	Higher wellbeing (50<) %	Unweighted frequencies	Unweighted percentages
Experienced unequal treatment/ discrimination in Belgium	F = 11,570 ; p<,001***	F = 7,302 ; p<,001***	F = 17,034 ; p<,001***	F = 1,558 ; p=,198	X ² = 0.948 ; p=,814		N=906 ; missing = 17	100%
<i>Never</i>	7,93	7,28	0,7973	53,6557	46,60%	53,40%	N=367	40,50%
<i>Once</i>	7,65	7,05	1,5013	58,5154	41,90%	58,10%	N=144	15,90%
<i>Sometimes</i>	7,33	6,73	1,4364	54,363	45,60%	54,40%	N=285	31,50%
<i>Often</i>	6,98	6,48	1,767	54,567	46,10%	53,90%	N=110	12,10%
Experienced unequal treatment in last 5 years	F=5,972 ; p<,001***	F = 5,691 ; p<,001***	F = 3,023 ; p = .029*	F = ,222 ; p=,881	X ² = 0.636 ; p=,888		N=534 ; missing=384	100%
<i>Never</i>	8	7,34	1,3081	54,5652	46,60%	53,40%	N=55	10,30%
<i>Once</i>	7,59	6,98	1,367	56,7945	41,90%	58,10%	N=136	25,50%
<i>Sometimes</i>	7,22	6,73	1,49	54,929	45,60%	54,40%	N=233	43,60%
<i>Often</i>	6,94	6,19	1,9307	55,7272	46,10%	53,90%	N=110	10,60%
Harassment (overt forms of discrimination):	F = 20,348 ; p<,001***	F = 23,409 ; p<,001***	F = 25,910 ; p<,001***	54,75 ; F = ,918 ; p = ,432	X ² = 1,697 ; p=,638		N=860 ; missing=63	100%
<i>No harassment experience in the last 5 years or never</i>	7,95	7,47	0,78	54,94	45,50%	54,50%	N=419	47,10%
<i>1 type of harassment exp</i>	7,36	6,7	1,48	56,91	44,90%	55,10%	N=205	23,00%
<i>2 types of harassment exp</i>	7,2	6,2	1,71	52,28	49,40%	50,60%	N=179	20,10%
<i>3 or more types</i>	6,92	6,55	1,92	55,94	41,10%	58,60%	N=87	9,80%
Microaggressions (covert forms of discrimination):	F = 17,324 ; p<,001***	F = 17,255 ; p<,001***	F = 18,320 ; p<,001***	54,62 ; F = ,923 ; p = ,398	X ² = 3,193 ; p=,203		N=860 ; missing=63	100%
<i>No micro-aggressions in the last 5 years or never</i>	8	7,5	0,77	52,71	51,20%	48,80%	N= 211	24,50%
<i>1 or 2 types of micro- aggression</i>	7,58	7,03	1,25	55,08	44,30%	55,70%	N= 307	35,70%
<i>3 or more types</i>	7,23	6,53	1,6	55,39	44,00%	56,00%	N= 342	39,80%

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed test)

In Table 2.2, experiences of unequal treatment or discrimination showed significant main effects for life satisfaction ($F=11.57$, $p<.001$), sleep quality ($F=7.30$, $p<.001$), and anxiety ($F=17.03$, $p<.001$), indicating that more frequent experiences of discrimination were associated with worse outcomes across all three indicators. Respondents who reported being treated unequally “often” had the lowest life satisfaction ($M=6.98$), poorest sleep quality ($M=6.48$), and highest anxiety ($M=1.77$), compared to those who reported “never” experiencing unequal treatment. However, no significant differences were found for WHO-5 well-being scores ($F=1.558$, $p=.198$) or its categorical classification ($\chi^2=0.948$, $p=.814$). A similar pattern was observed for recent discrimination in past 5 years (I4), with significant effects for life satisfaction ($F=5.97$, $p<.001$), sleep quality ($F=5.69$, $p<.001$), and anxiety ($F=3.02$, $p=.029$). Those with frequent recent experiences (“often”) scored lower on life satisfaction ($M=6.94$), sleep ($M=6.19$), and had higher anxiety ($M=1.93$), though no differences were observed for WHO-5 well-being ($F=0.222$, $p=.881$; $\chi^2=0.636$, $p=.888$). Harassment was also strongly associated with worse psychological outcomes. Life satisfaction ($F=20.35$, $p<.001$), sleep quality ($F=23.41$, $p<.001$), and anxiety ($F=25.91$, $p<.001$) declined significantly with increasing types of harassment experienced. Those reporting three or more types of harassment had the lowest scores for life satisfaction ($M=6.92$), sleep ($M=6.55$), and the highest anxiety ($M=1.92$), though no significant effects emerged for WHO-5 ($F=0.918$, $p=.432$; $\chi^2=1.697$, $p=.638$). Finally, microaggressions were significantly associated with declines in life satisfaction ($F=17.32$, $p<.001$), sleep quality ($F=17.25$, $p<.001$), and anxiety ($F=18.32$, $p<.001$), with outcomes worsening progressively across exposure levels. However, WHO-5 well-being remained unaffected ($F=0.923$, $p=.398$; $\chi^2=3.193$, $p=.203$).

Table 2.3: Chi-square test looking at frequency in types of microaggressions and harassments across sample characteristics (covariates)

Variable	Microaggression (3 cat) χ^2	p-value (microaggression)	Harassment (4cat) χ^2	p-value (harassment)
Gender	3.189	0.203	5.095	0.165
Age	18.034	0.001**	9.566	0.144
Generation	16.146	0.003**	8.307	0.216
Subregion of residence	21.888	<0.001***	9.377	0.153
Legal Status	5.163	0.271	4.810	0.568
Francophone Origin	9.388	0.009**	1.104	0.776
Highest educational degree	5.099	0.531	18.183	0.033*
Household income	13.642	0.009**	9.317	0.157
Language Proficiency	17.638	0.007**	16.944	0.050*
Religion	26.455	0.003**	11.760	0.697

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

The chi-square test results in table 2.3 indicate that experiences of microaggressions significantly vary by age ($p=0.001$), generation ($p=0.003$), subregion of residence ($p<0.001$), Francophone origin ($p=0.009$), household income ($p=0.009$), language proficiency ($p=0.007$), and religion ($p=0.003$). In contrast, experiences of harassment show significant variation only by highest educational degree ($p=0.033$) and language proficiency ($p=0.050$). Findings from table 2.4 and 2.5 (Appendix A2) revealed robust and statistically significant associations between increased exposure to both microaggressions and harassment and poorer outcomes across anxiety, life satisfaction, and sleep quality (all $p<.001$). The tables demonstrate a clear dose-response relationship with mental health outcomes, with individuals exposed to three or more types of microaggressions or harassment reported the poorest mental health indicator outcomes ($p<.001$). No significant differences were observed for WHO-5 wellbeing scores across any exposure levels in either tables. In table 2.6 (Appendix A2.6) The non-parametric test for harassment aligned with the original findings, reinforcing the validity of observed effects. Even one type of harassment is linked to a significant, immediate decline in mental health: participants reporting one type had higher anxiety ($Z=-6.633$, $p<.001$), lower life satisfaction ($Z=-5.246$, $p<.001$), and poorer sleep ($Z=-5.256$, $p<.001$) than those with no harassment. the largest gap consistently lies between those with no harassment and those with just one type. No significant group differences were found for WHO-5 well-being, confirmed by non-significant ANOVA and post hoc tests.

Multivariate regression analysis:

Table 3.1: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect among microaggression and harassment on primary mental health outcome: WHO-5 Wellbeing (N=908)

	Model 1a (Unadjusted)			Model 1b (Adjusted)		
	b	SE	p-value	b	SE	p-value
Wellbeing						
Microaggressions	0,07	0,12	0,575	0,12	0,1	0,35
Harassment	0,12	0,19	0,541	0,19	0,2	0,32
Life satisfaction						
Microaggression	-0,04	0,01	<.001***	-0,03	0,01	<.001***
Harassment	-0,08	0,01	<.001***	-0,07	0,1	<.001***
Sleep Quality						
Microaggression	-0,06	0,01	<.001***	-0,05	0,01	<.001***
Harassment	-0,1	0,02	<.001***	-0,09	0,1	<.001***
Anxiety						
Microaggression	0,04	0,01	<.001***	0,04	0,01	<.001***
Harassment	0,09	0,01	<.001***	0,1	0,1	<.001***

Note: Only microaggressions and harassment coefficients are shown; Full model outputs available in Appendix Table A3. Model 1b adjusted for age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

In the unadjusted models (Model 1a), neither microaggressions ($b=0.07$, $p=.575$) nor harassment ($b=0.12$, $p=.541$) were significantly associated with wellbeing. After adjusting for sociodemographic and socioeconomic covariates (Model 1b), these associations remained non-significant for both microaggressions ($b=0.12$, $p=.350$) and harassment ($b=0.19$, $p=.322$). As a result, no moderation analysis was conducted for the wellbeing variable. Microaggressions and harassment were significantly associated with all three secondary outcomes. In both unadjusted and adjusted models, higher levels of microaggressions were significantly associated with lower life satisfaction (adjusted: $b=-0.03$, $p<.001$), poorer sleep quality ($b=-0.05$, $p<.001$), and higher anxiety ($b=0.04$, $p<.001$). Similarly, harassment was consistently associated with decreased life satisfaction (adjusted: $b=-0.07$, $p<.001$), poorer sleep ($b=-0.09$, $p<.001$), and greater anxiety ($b=0.10$, $p<.001$). Some violations of assumptions were observed: particularly small heteroscedasticity due to positive skewness and influential observations. Models were tested excluding influential observations (Std. residuals $\geq -3/3$) and showed the same significance. No multicollinearity or non-linearity was found across all models (full adjusted models in Appendix A3, Table 3.1–3.8). Across all bivariate and multivariate regression models, household income (living comfortably), gender (female), and legal status (short/no permit) emerged as the most consistent predictors of mental health outcomes when controlling for microaggression, harassment, and other covariates. These factors significantly explained variance in wellbeing, anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction. Individuals reporting higher income consistently showed better outcomes across all domains, with large positive coefficients ($B=6.95$ for wellbeing, $p<.001$; $B=0.85$ for sleep, $p<.001$). In contrast, female participants and individuals with short legal status consistently reported worse mental health indicators ($B=-7.47$ for wellbeing among females, $p<.001$; $B=0.57$ for anxiety among those with no/short-term permits, $p<.001$). Strong language proficiency and 1.5 generation status were also associated with better mental health in several models, though the strength and consistency varied. Given the strength and consistency of these associations and their theoretical relevance based on prior literature, these four variables were included in the two-way interaction models to explore whether they moderated the relationship between discriminatory experiences and mental health.

Table 3.3: Two-way interaction multivariate regression models of mental health outcomes (anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction) by microaggression exposure and moderators (gender, legal status, language proficiency per region, and household income). (N=908)

	Anxiety				Sleep quality				Life satisfaction			
	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI
All two-way interactions for microaggressions:												
Microaggression x female	-0.04	0.02	0.007**	[-0.08, -0.01]	-0.01	0.02	0.583	[-0.05, 0.03]	-0.01	0.02	0.399	[-0.04, 0.02]
Microaggression x male (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Microaggression x No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less	-0.05	0.02	0.023**	[-0.08, -0.01]	-0.01	0.02	0.633	[-0.06, 0.04]	-0.03	0.02	0.15	[-0.06, 0.01]
Microaggression x Work permit of more than 1 year	-0.02	0.02	0.446	[-0.06, 0.03]	0.02	0.03	0.495	[-0.04, 0.07]	0.00	0.02	0.972	[-0.04, 0.04]
Microaggression x Belgian nationality / no need for permit (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Microaggression x little to none	-0.03	0.02	0.221	[-0.07, 0.02]	0.03	0.03	0.306	[-0.03, 0.08]	0.01	0.02	0.585	[-0.03, 0.06]
Microaggression x moderate	-0.04	0.03	0.132	[-0.09, 0.01]	0.02	0.03	0.525	[-0.04, 0.09]	-0.03	0.03	0.281	[-0.08, 0.02]
Microaggression x good	0.03	0.02	0.179	[-0.01, 0.07]	0.01	0.03	0.623	[-0.04, 0.07]	-0.01	0.02	0.765	[-0.05, 0.03]
Microaggression x very good (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Microaggression x Difficult or very difficult with current income	-0.04	0.02	0.067°	[-0.09, 0.00]	0.03	0.03	0.322	[-0.03, 0.08]	0.001	0.02	0.948	[-0.04, 0.04]
Microaggression x Sufficient income	-0.03	0.02	0.249	[-0.07, 0.02]	0.003	0.03	0.927	[-0.05, 0.06]	0.003	0.02	0.885	[-0.04, 0.05]
Microaggression x Living comfortable (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: Interaction effects are interpreted at conventional and marginal levels of statistical significance. Specifically, results are considered: $p < .001$: highly significant***; $p < .01$: significant**; $p < .05$: moderately significant*; $p \leq .10$: marginally significant (trend-level)°. Findings with $p \leq .10$ are discussed when theoretically relevant or consistent across models.

All models were adjusted for potential confounders, including age, generation, gender, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational attainment, language proficiency, household income, and religion. Each two-way interaction was tested in a separate model. This table shows a comprehensive overview.

Full table with main effect for microaggression, interaction effects by interaction term in appendix (A3 table 3.3)

Table 3.4: Two-way interaction multivariate regression models of mental health outcomes (anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction) by harassment exposure and moderators (gender, legal status, language proficiency per region, and household income). (N=908)

	Anxiety				Sleep quality				Life satisfaction			
	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI
All two-way interactions for harassment:												
Harassment x female	0.00	0.03	0.994	[-0.05, 0.05]	-0.06	0.03	0.054*	[-0.12, 0.00]	-0.04	0.02	0.070°	[-0.09, 0.00]
Harassment x male (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harassment x No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less	-0.10	0.03	<0.001***	[-0.16, -0.04]	0.02	0.04	0.599	[-0.05, 0.09]	-0.04	0.03	0.144	[-0.10, 0.01]
Harassment x Work permit of more than 1 year	-0.05	0.04	0.158	[-0.13, 0.02]	0.04	0.05	0.432	[-0.06, 0.13]	0.03	0.04	0.435	[-0.04, 0.10]
Harassment x Belgian nationality / no need for permit (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harassment x little to none language proficiency	-0.01	0.03	0.850	[-0.07, 0.06]	0.02	0.04	0.626	[-0.06, 0.10]	-0.06	0.03	0.083	[-0.12, 0.01]
Harassment x moderate language proficiency	0.06	0.05	0.187	[-0.03, 0.16]	-0.12	0.06	0.036**	[-0.24, -0.01]	-0.14	0.05	0.002**	[-0.22, -0.05]
Harassment x good language proficiency -	0.05	0.03	0.111	[-0.01, 0.12]	-0.01	0.04	0.711	[-0.10, 0.07]	-0.05	0.03	0.108	[-0.11, 0.01]
Harassment x very good language proficiency (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harassment x Difficult or very difficult with current income	-0.06	0.04	0.094°	[-0.13, 0.01]	-0.06	0.03	0.050*	[-0.12, 0.00]	0.03	0.03	0.381	[-0.04, 0.09]
Harassment x Sufficient income	-0.05	0.04	0.190	[-0.12, 0.02]	-0.06	0.03	0.050*	[-0.12, 0.00]	-0.04	0.03	0.262	[-0.11, 0.03]
Harassment x Living comfortable (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: Interaction effects are interpreted at conventional and marginal levels of statistical significance. Specifically, results are considered: $p < .001$: highly significant***; $p < .01$: significant**; $p < .05$: moderately significant*; $p \leq .10$: marginally significant (trend-level)°. Findings with $p \leq .10$ are discussed when theoretically relevant or consistent across models.

All models were adjusted for potential confounders, including age, generation, gender, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational attainment, language proficiency, household income, and religion. Each two-way interaction was tested in a separate model. This table shows a comprehensive overview.

Full table with main effect for microaggression, interaction effects by interaction term in appendix (A3 table 3.4)

Across all outcomes of anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction; exposure to microaggressions or harassment was significantly associated with poorer mental health. However, interaction effects varied by moderator and outcome.

Microaggression

Gender significantly moderated the effect of microaggressions on anxiety, with a weaker association among women ($b=-0.04$, $p=.007$). No such interaction was observed for sleep ($b=-0.01$, $p=.583$) or life satisfaction ($b=-0.01$, $p=.399$). Legal status moderated anxiety outcomes: participants with no or short-term permits showed a weaker association between microaggressions and anxiety ($b=-0.05$, $p=.023$). No interaction effects were found for sleep ($b=-0.01$, $p=.633$) or life satisfaction ($b=-0.03$, $p=.150$). Language proficiency showed no significant interaction effects across anxiety ($b=-0.03$, $p=.221$), sleep ($b=0.03$, $p=.306$), or life satisfaction ($b=0.01$, $p=.585$), though it was strongly associated with worse mental health in main effects. For instance, individuals with little to no proficiency reported significantly poorer sleep ($b=-1.00$, $p=.002$) and greater anxiety ($b=0.63$, $p=.015$). Household income did not significantly moderate the effect of microaggressions: interaction terms were marginally significant for anxiety ($b=-0.04$, $p=.067$), and non-significant for sleep ($b=0.03$, $p=.322$) and life satisfaction ($b=0.001$, $p=.948$). However, income level was significantly associated with all outcomes in main effects. Participants with income difficulties reported higher anxiety ($b=0.83$, $p<.001$), poorer sleep quality ($b=-1.08$, $p<.001$), and lower life satisfaction ($b=-0.73$, $p=.001$) compared to those living comfortably.

Harassment

For anxiety, harassment exposure predicted significantly higher symptoms ($b=0.10$, $p<.001$). A significant interaction was observed for legal status: individuals with no or short-term work permits showed a weaker association between harassment and anxiety ($b=-0.10$, $p=.001$). Moderated effects for women were seen for harassment on sleep quality ($b=-0.06$, $p=.054^\circ$) and life satisfaction ($b=-0.04$, $p=.070^\circ$). No significant moderating effects were found for language proficiency. For household income, a marginal effect was observed for difficult or very difficult income ($b=-0.06$, $p=.094$). Still, female gender ($b=0.32$, $p=.017$) and low income ($b=0.71$, $p<.001$) were independently associated with higher anxiety in main effects. For sleep quality, harassment was associated with poorer outcomes ($b=-0.06$, $p=.006$), with moderation emerging across multiple domains. A significant interaction was found for moderate language proficiency ($b=-0.12$, $p=.036$), suggesting those with moderate skills experienced sharper declines in sleep quality when harassed. A marginal interaction with gender ($b=-0.06$, $p=.054$) indicated a potential heightened vulnerability to poorer sleep quality among women. Household income significantly moderated the effect of harassment, with significant interactions for both difficult or very difficult income ($b=0.03$, $p=.050$) and sufficient income ($b=0.03$, $p=.050$). While

legal status did not moderate effects ($b=-0.01$, $p=.599$), individuals without a permit still reported significantly lower sleep quality ($b=-0.50$, $p=.044$). For life satisfaction, a significant moderation effect was observed for moderate language proficiency ($b=-0.14$, $p=.002$), highlighting greater vulnerability in this group. No significant interactions were found for gender ($b=-0.04$, $p=.070$), legal status ($b=-0.04$, $p=.144$), or income ($b=0.001$, $p=.948$), though participants with low income ($b=-0.85$, $p<.001$) and no permit ($b=-0.55$, $p=.003$) reported significantly lower life satisfaction in main effects

DISCUSSION

Key findings

Variables predicting poor mental health and those related to racial discrimination are often interconnected in the literature. The individual and group characteristics identified as significant predictors of mental health outcomes or discriminatory experiences in past studies also showed consistent associations in this study (Gleeson et al. 2020 ; Savaş et al. 2021). More participants reported experiencing microaggressions than harassment, with more individuals exposed to three or more types of microaggressions than similar levels of harassment. Still, Exposure to three or more types of either form was linked to the highest anxiety, lowest life satisfaction, and poorest sleep quality, following a clear dose-response pattern. These trends were consistent across both discrimination types (Weeks & Sullivan, 2019; Williams et al., 2019).

Approximately two-third of ethnic minorities in this sample experienced racial discrimination with just over half of them reported harassment. Cultural differences show how harassment is perceived, attributed or defined which in this paper may have led to under- or overreporting (Polanco-Roman et al., 2016). Besides, subjective perceptions influence how coping resources and self-esteem affect outcomes, so experiencing discrimination doesn't have to be objectively real to negatively impact mental health (Metzner et al., 2021). Greater variation in reported microaggressions suggests they are more widespread across backgrounds with harassment more concentrated in specific groups (Lindemann, 2019 ; Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019). As harassment appears to have declined possibly due to societal changes and increasing political correctness, microaggressions have become more prevalent (Kwon & Han, 2019). The integration paradox outlined by Schaeffer and Kas (2023, 2024), explains that greater integrated immigrant minorities report more discrimination due to increased exposure and cognitive awareness, although this awareness does not necessarily translate into policy change. These prior studies point out the value of incorporating both group and individual perspectives on perceived discrimination. Nevertheless this study uses comprehensive measures of discrimination, addressing gaps in earlier work (Cross et al., 2023).

In addition to mental health outcomes, discriminatory experiences likely influence other psychosocial domains that may be more responsive to microaggressions and harassment. These include feelings of inclusion, acculturation, coping strategies, and attitudes towards the national majority group. Participants exposed to discrimination still reported stable well-being scores despite higher anxiety, poorer sleep, and lower life satisfaction. Mean scores on mental health indicators and distribution of socio-demographics in the total sample suggest a relatively high proportion of participants held a privileged or protected status. Certain socio-cultural or

political structures in Belgium may at least superficially protect those individuals from its negative effects.

The intersectional identities that moderate discrimination in this study, helped to clarify and nuance mixed findings in prior research (Cross et al., 2023; Gleeson et al., 2020; Goertz et al., 2008; Landale et al., 2017; Paradies et al., 2015; Rodriguez et al., 2023; Vargas, 2020). Limited literature on how group-level differences shape mental health outcomes from discrimination is expanded here (Lee & Turney, 2012), with several predictors showing significant effects that support earlier work (Moody et al., 2021). Some of these may exert multiplicative influence when moderated and need further investigation.

Both microaggressions and harassment had weaker effects on anxiety among those with no or short-term work permits. While counterintuitive, this likely reflects adaptation to chronic instability. Prior research shows individuals in legally insecure positions normalize exclusion, prioritize survival needs, or suppress emotional responses. Not due to resilience but emotional numbing or under-prioritization of mental health (Higuera & Jiménez. 2023 ; Roberg et al. 2024).

Gender also moderated outcomes differently: women were less affected by microaggressions in anxiety, but more affected by harassment in sleep and life satisfaction. This may reflect qualitative differences in how women interpret interpersonal mistreatment: Microaggressions is seen as routine and therefore less impactful. Harassment is seen as threatening to physical safety, leading to greater psychological disruption. While women have lower mental wellbeing than men, being a woman seems to buffer the effect of micro-aggression and harassment experiences (Patil et al., 2017). Studies show women seek more active support than men, which helps them mitigate these negative experiences (Brownlow et al., 2019 ; Sullivan et al., 2021).

Language proficiency showed limited significance as a moderator, suggesting a buffering effect that mitigates mental health consequences of discrimination aligning with previous findings (Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019). Low proficiency might lead to unrecognized or unprocessed discriminatory experiences, while high proficiency may offer protection through perceived higher social status or social cohesion (Cooc, 2019). Only moderate proficiency consistently showed significant associations, suggesting it may worsen outcomes by increasing exposure through social engagement while lacking the communication skills to resist mistreatment. Low proficiency speakers may be excluded from harmful interactions or have lower expectations, reducing the perceived impact. Therefore, language interventions that go beyond fluency and include cultural navigation and assertiveness training, have proven effective (Li et al. 2016 ;Tip et al. 2018).

Household income was a consistent predictor in all models. Individuals facing income difficulty consistently reported poorer mental health than those living comfortably (Miller et al. 2019). Low income does elevate baseline distress, increasing the additional impact of discrimination. Harassment could undermine psychological safety, worsening financial strain and further disrupting mental health (Narayan, 2022). In contrast, the impact of microaggressions on mental health was not significantly moderated by household income across any mental health indicator. Although microaggressions remain psychologically harmful, they may be perceived as less detrimental to mental health than overt harassment in lower income households. Moreover, pressing economic stressors appear to exert a more pronounced influence on mental health outcomes than on microaggressions. (Vaid & Wadsworth, 2023). Whether or not income significantly moderates mental health outcomes, a clear disparity remains. This underscores the need for psychological and financial support, especially where harassment is frequent (Weeks & Sullivan, 2019).

Limitations

WHO-5 well-being scores did not significantly differ by discrimination exposure, suggesting limited sensitivity to racialized stress. This paper highlights that the WHO-5 in this context did not capture the psychological impact of discrimination across intersecting identities, as findings show that structural and social factors exert a stronger influence on general wellbeing, contributing to current gaps in research. The usage of this indicator fails to account for specific burdens such as chronic stress, identity threat, or internalized stigma, which remain largely unaddressed in existing literature (Scheim & Bauer, 2019). Sam (2024) notes that research has often focused on depression and anxiety, limiting insights into how discrimination may lead to externalizing symptoms. Dyar (2024) and Turan et al. (2019) highlight the need for more research on how these impacts manifest behaviourally and endure over time.

Secondary mental health indicators showed significant associations with racial discrimination. However, these were based on single-item measures rather than standardized multi-item scales like the WHO-5. Furthermore, all mental health outcomes in this study are cross-sectional, capturing a snapshot of participants' current psychological state, which may be influenced by temporary events or circumstances (Cross et al. 2023; Gee et al., 2006). The majority of studies call for longitudinal research to understand the causal pathways between perceived discrimination and mental health.

While mental health outcomes were normally distributed, discrimination variables were highly right-skewed with most reporting little to no exposure. This limited variability reduced the strength of correlations and the power to detect group differences, especially between microaggression and harassment. Because of the moderate sample size ($n=923$), reduced

variance in discrimination variables and favourable mental health scores, statistical robust analyses were needed. Although the large number of models increased the risk of Type I error, the limited literature in this area (Balidemaj & Small, 2019; Mesoudi, 2018) justified an exploratory approach to identify intersectional patterns.

Future directions

Moderation effects were small, suggesting that mental health impacts of harassment and microaggressions are shaped by intersecting factors rather than isolated characteristics. While three-way interactions could capture this complexity more precisely, they are harder to interpret and beyond the scope of this study. Given more time and resources, it would be valuable to investigate three-way interactions.

A MAIHDA (multilevel analysis of individual heterogeneity and discriminatory accuracy) is a valuable recommendation, estimating how much variance in outcomes is explained by specific intersectional combinations of characteristics, rather than individual-level differences alone. Unlike traditional regression models, which become unstable and difficult to interpret with numerous interaction terms (Evans, 2018). Its capacity to disentangle the effects of individual heterogeneity from systematic group-level inequalities makes it particularly well-suited for advancing intersectional research on racial discrimination. However, such analyses are challenging with smaller sample sizes and complex measured variables.

Frankly, literature shows that protective factors such as peer and community support, ethnic pride, hope and optimism and resilience mitigate the effects of discrimination much stronger than individual characteristics (De Anda & Becerra, 2022 ; Khamis, 2023 ; Organista & Ngo, 2018). Like most studies, these papers limit their analyses to interpersonal rather than structural forms of discrimination (Hatch et al., 2016; Rodriguez et al., 2023). However, incorporating structural measures can provide a more comprehensive understanding. It is important to note that this study is subject to certain contextual limitations, as the unique socio-political landscape, immigration policies, and cultural context of Belgium may limit the generalizability of the findings to other countries (Landale et al., 2017; Flippen & Parrado, 2015).

Finally, we have to explore phenomena such as polyculturalism, where individuals interact with multiple cultures, and the implications of super-diversity in urban settings (Meyers et al., 2019 ; Sam, 2024). Better understanding of integration on various heritage and cultural practices is needed. This could influence mental health positively or negatively taking into account individual's characteristics or cultural biases (Balidemaj & Small, 2019).

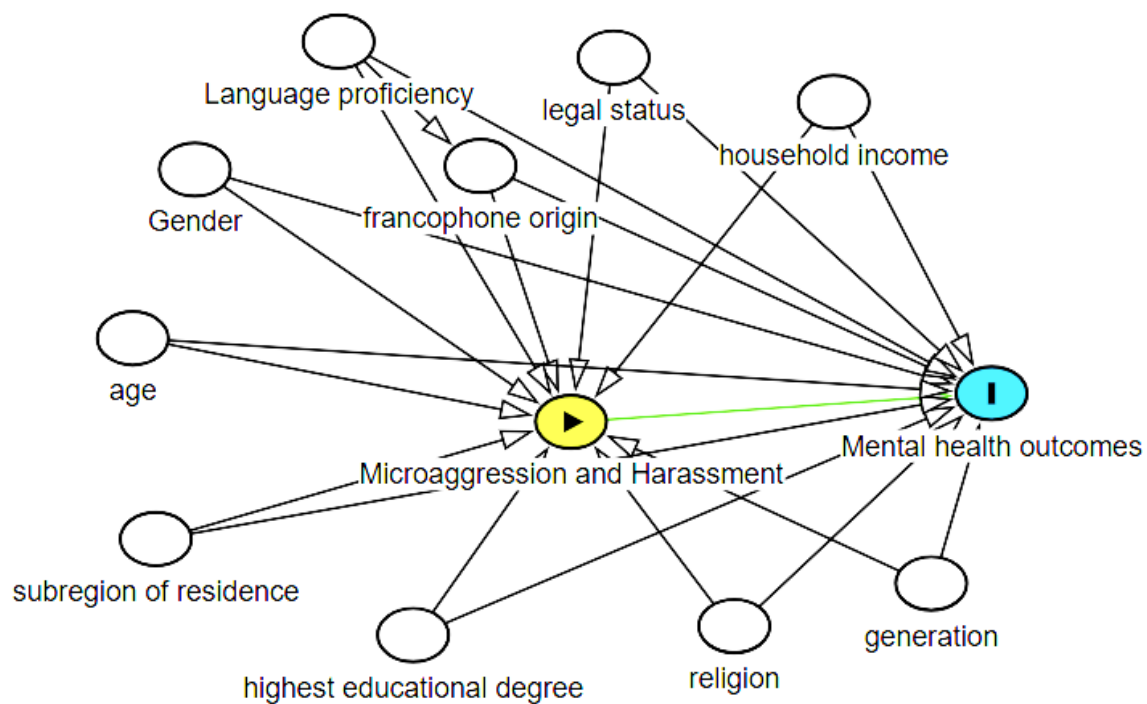
Conclusion

Racial discrimination continues to impact mental health of Immigrant groups in Belgium, even as our society grows more diverse. Migration, cultural mixing, and socioeconomic stratification have created a social landscape where discrimination continue to persist. This study underscores the need to differentiate between overt and covert forms of racial discrimination to better capture the complexity of these experiences. Among Sub-Saharan African minorities in Belgium, both microaggressions and harassment significantly impact mental health, influencing anxiety, life satisfaction, and sleep. As harassment becomes less common, microaggressions emerge more prominently, with their psychological toll shaped by intersecting social and structural factors. Women, individuals with lower income, insecure legal status, or moderate language proficiency were particularly vulnerable, as these identities influence how discrimination is perceived, internalized, and endured. These factors not only moderate the relationship between discrimination and mental health but also determine whether individuals experience compounded harm or find resilience. The impact of discrimination therefore, cannot be assessed by frequency alone. It must be understood through the lens of social positioning and systemic inequality. Discriminatory experiences, amplified by structural disadvantage, produce disproportionate psychological outcomes. to foster an inclusive and sustainable society, Countries must invest in understanding the lived realities of discrimination. This includes educating both youth and adults about the value of mutual respect, dignity, and the collective cost of social exclusion. This research highlights the urgent need to further develop society so all individuals regardless of their background can thrive, contribute, and feel a sense of belonging. It further addresses the importance for both scholarly and societal recognition of the mental health burden imposed by racialized stress.

APPENDIX

A1:

Directed Acyclic Graph (DAG)



A2:

Table 1.3: Direct effects of discriminatory effects on mental health

Table 1.3: Direct effects of discriminatory effects on mental health (total sample N= 641 (unweighted) ; 278 did not report recent experiences of discrimination)

Effect	N (Yes)	% Yes	N (No)	% No	Missin g
This has caused you a lot of stress	182	28.2%	462	71.6%	278
You think about it often	178	27.6%	467	72.4%	278
It keeps you awake	47	7.3%	598	92.7%	278
You've lost your self-confidence	60	9.3%	585	90.7%	278
You don't worry about it	356	55.2%	289	44.8%	278
You avoid this type of situation (friendships, relationships, certain places)	189	29.3%	456	70.7%	278
You try to prepare yourself mentally for this type of situation	283	43.9%	362	56.1%	278

Table 2.1 Mental health Well being scores on socio-demographics / covariates

	Life satisfaction average (Max score = 10)	Quality of sleep (Max score = 10)	Anxiety (max score = 6)	Wellbeing WHO5 (max score = 100)	Wellbeing WHO-5		Chi ² and p-value	unweighted frequencies
	Mean ; F ; p-value	Mean ; F ; p-value	Mean ; F ; p-value	Mean ; F ; p-value	Lower wellbeing (0-50) %	Higher wellbeing (50<) %		
Sexe	F = 8,576 ; p=,003**	F=6,184 ; p=,013*	f = 10,803 p=,001**	F = 20,250 ; p= <,001***	45.3%	54.7%	X² = 13.159 ; p=<.001***	N= 923
<i>Hommes</i>	7.72	7,12	1,06	58,5067	39,10%	60,90%		N= 463
<i>Femmes</i>	7.43	6,8	1,4	51,6202	51,10%	48,90%		N= 460
Age	F = 1,514 ; p=,221	F= 1,159 ; p=,314	f = ,372 ; p=,690	F = ,425 ; p= ,654	45.3%	54.7%	X ² = 3.359 ; p=,186	N=923
18-29	7,71	6,86	1,28	55,9397	40,70%	59,30%		N=314
30-49	7,51	6,95	1,19	54,797	46,80%	53,20%		N=416
50+	7,54	7,14	1,29	53,8996	48,30%	51,70%		N=193
Migration generation	F = 9,801 ; p= <,001***	F= 1,951 ; p=,143	F= 1,753 ; p=,174	F = 6,349 ; p=,002**	45.3%	54.7%	X² = 15.147 ; p=<.001***	N=923
<i>First generation</i>	7,48	6,93	1,26	53,5829	48,70%	51,30%		N=636
<i>1.5 gen</i>	7,46	6,74	1,41	62,3059	29,00%	71,00%		N=106
<i>Second generation</i>	8,07	7,2	1,05	56,1606	40,80%	59,20%		N=181
Region of residence	F = 5,593 ; p = ,004**	F = 4,236 ; p= ,013*	F=1,376 ; p =,253	F = ,111 ; p = ,895	45.3%	54.7%	X ² = 1.203 ; p=,548	N=923
<i>Brussels</i>	7,38	6,82	1,1215	54,9241	45,30%	54,70%		N=276
<i>Wallonia</i>	7,48	6,78	1,3447	54,4962	47,70%	52,30%		N=333
<i>Flanders</i>	7,77	7,18	1,2275	55,3533	43,40%	56,60%		N=314
Legal Status	F = 22,241 ; p= <,001***	F = 9,984 ; <,001***	F = 5,714 ; p= ,003**	F = 7,603 ; <,001***	45.2%	54.8%	X² = 14.691 ; p=<.001***	N=918
<i>No residence permit or 1 year or less</i>	6,97	6,46	1,5644	49,3807	56,70%	43,30%		N=263
<i>Residence permit of more than a year</i>	7,6	6,9	1,2145	57,2464	38,50%	61,50%		N=176
<i>Belgian nationality</i>	7,79	7,16	1,1298	56,4325	42,90%	57,10%		N=479
Origine (francophone ou pas)	F = 6,847 ; p=,009**	F = 5,122 ; p=,024*	F= ,177 ; p=,674	F = ,019 ; p= ,890	45.3%	54.7%	X ² = 0.435 ; p=,509	N=923
<i>Francophone origin country</i>	7,5	6,88	1,2483	55,0152	45,80%	54,20%		N=751
<i>Other African origin</i>	7,82	7,23	1,1952	54,7549	43,20%	56,80%		N=172
Highest educational attainment	F=2,934 ; p=,033*	F= 1,616 ; p=,184	F= 1,504 ; p=,212	F = ,382 ; p=,766	45.2%	54.8%	X ² = 2.560 ; p=,464	N=923
<i>Primary or less</i>	7,5	7,26	1,4136	56,4159	45,50%	54,50%		N=129
<i>Secondary</i>	7,84	6,82	1,2831	53,7336	43,30%	56,70%		N=208
<i>Short Tertiary</i>	7,48	6,98	1,2687	55,2485	42,70%	57,30%		N=255
<i>Long Tertiary</i>	7,49	6,89	1,0903	54,9125	48,80%	51,20%		N=331
Household standard of living	F = 57,085 ; p= <,001***	F= 16,951 ; p= <,001***	F = 26,833 ; p= <,001***	F = 5,361 ; p= <,001***	45.3%	54.7%	X² = 13.921 ; p=,003**	N=914
<i>Lives comfortably</i>	8,13	7,64	0,9089	60,7415	33,50%	66,50%		N=148
<i>Revenue is sufficient</i>	7,76	7,09	1,0481	55,2033	45,00%	55,00%		N=385
<i>Difficult to live with current revenue</i>	7,26	6,62	1,5433	51,8841	51,00%	49,00%		N=284
<i>very difficult to live with current revenue</i>	6,6	6,08	1,7571	52,1658	48,80%	51,20%		N= 97
Proficiency in language of the region	F = 4,253 ; p=,005**	F = 1,932 ; p=,123	F = 6,484 ; p= <,001***	F = 2,067 ; p=,103	45.2%	54.8%	X ² = 1.812 ; p=,612	N=921
<i>Very good</i>	7,75	7,06	1,0112	55,3739	44,30%	55,70%		N=494
<i>Good</i>	7,42	7,02	1,4779	53,9445	45,90%	54,10%		N=178
<i>Moderate</i>	7,31	6,79	1,4909	59,4266	41,20%	58,80%		N=88
<i>Little to none</i>	7,42	6,68	1,432	52,2986	49,10%	50,90%		N=161
Religion	F = 2,497 ; p=,029*	F = 1,765 ; p= ,117	F = 1,970 ; p=,081	F = 1882 ; p=,095	45.4%	54.6%	X ² = 7.527 ; p=,184	N=922
<i>Catholic</i>	7,31	6,9	1,3011	52,1968	50,50%	49,50%		N=301
<i>Protestant</i>	7,63	6,93	1,3848	58,0741	39,30%	60,70%		N=133
<i>Evangelical</i>	7,7	7,08	0,935	55,1896	46,70%	53,30%		N=133
<i>Muslim</i>	7,71	6,96	1,3829	55,1147	45,60%	54,40%		N=187
<i>No religion</i>	7,63	6,85	1,0703	54,1045	43,60%	56,40%		N=101
<i>Other</i>	7,76	7,52	1,1315	59,6984	36,60%	63,40%		N=67

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table 2.4: Post-hoc tukey comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of microaggression types experienced

Table 2.4: Post-hoc tukey comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of microaggression types experienced (N=854)

Dependent Variable	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	P-value	ANOVA F (p)	Interpretation
Anxiety (PHQ2)	No vs 1–2 Types	-0.478	0.002**	18.32 (p < .001)	Higher anxiety for 1–2 types vs none
	No vs 3+ Types	-0.834	<0.001***	18.32 (p < .001)	Highest anxiety in 3+ types group
	1–2 vs 3+ Types	-0.356	0.010**	18.32 (p < .001)	Anxiety increases with exposure
Life Satisfaction	No vs 1–2 Types	0.422	0.004**	17.32 (p < .001)	Lower satisfaction in 1–2 types
	No vs 3+ Types	0.769	<0.001***	17.32 (p < .001)	Significantly lower with 3+ types
	1–2 vs 3+ Types	0.347	0.008**	17.32 (p < .001)	Satisfaction decreases with exposure
Quality of Sleep	No vs 1–2 Types	0.472	0.014*	17.25 (p < .001)	Better sleep in no exposure group
	No vs 3+ Types	0.974	<0.001***	17.25 (p < .001)	Worst sleep in 3+ types group
	1–2 vs 3+ Types	0.502	0.002**	17.25 (p < .001)	Sleep quality declines with more exposure
WHO-5 Wellbeing	No vs 1–2 Types	-2.368	0.494	0.92 (p = .398)	NS – no significant difference
	No vs 3+ Types	-2.685	0.404	0.92 (p = .398)	NS – no significant difference
	1–2 vs 3+ Types	-0.317	0.984	0.92 (p = .398)	NS – no significant difference

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table 2.5: Post-hoc tukey comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of harassment types experienced

Table 2.5: Post-hoc tukey comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of harassment types experienced (N=884)

Dependent Variable	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	P-value	ANOVA F (p)	Interpretation
Anxiety (PHQ2)	No vs 1 Type	-0.698	<0.001***	25.91 (p < .001)	Significantly higher anxiety with 1 type
	No vs 2 Types	-0.933	<0.001***	25.91 (p < .001)	Anxiety rises with increased types
	No vs 3+ Types	-1.137	<0.001***	25.91 (p < .001)	Highest anxiety with 3+ harassment types
Life Satisfaction	No vs 1 Type	0.593	<0.001***	20.35 (p < .001)	Satisfaction declines with any harassment
	No vs 2 Types	0.748	<0.001***	20.35 (p < .001)	Lower satisfaction with 2 types
	No vs 3+ Types	1.035	<0.001***	20.35 (p < .001)	Lowest satisfaction at 3+ types
Quality of Sleep	No vs 1 Type	0.472	<0.001***	23.41 (p < .001)	Better sleep in no exposure
	No vs 2 Types	1.273	<0.001***	23.41 (p < .001)	Worst sleep with 2 types
	No vs 3+ Types	0.923	<0.001***	23.41 (p < .001)	Lower sleep quality in 3+ harassment types
WHO-5 Wellbeing	No vs 1 Type	-1.073	0.952	23.41 (p < .001)	NS – no significant difference
	No vs 2 Types	2.656	0.589	0.92 (p = .432)	NS – no significant difference
	No vs 3+ Types	-0.997	0.984	0.92 (p = .432)	NS – no significant difference

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table 2.6: Non-parametric comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of harassment types experienced (Mann–Whitney U tests)

Table 2.6: Non-parametric comparisons of mental health outcomes by number of harassment types experienced (Mann–Whitney U tests)

Dependent Variable	Comparison	Group 1 (N)	Group 2 (N)	Z-score	P-value	Interpretation
Anxiety (PHQ2)	<i>No vs 1 Type</i>	460	229	-6.633	<.001*	Higher anxiety with 1 type
	<i>No vs 2 Types</i>	460	199	-7.715	<.001*	Higher anxiety with 2 types
	<i>No vs 3+ Types</i>	460	96	-6.460	<.001*	Highest anxiety with 3+ types
	<i>1 vs 2 Types</i>	229	199	-1.404	.160	No significant difference
	<i>1 vs 3+ Types</i>	229	96	-1.709	.087	No significant difference
	<i>2 vs 3+ Types</i>	199	96	-.625	.532	No significant difference
Life Satisfaction	<i>No vs 1 Type</i>	459	227	-5.246	<.001*	Lower satisfaction with 1 type
	<i>No vs 2 Types</i>	459	198	-5.901	<.001*	Lower satisfaction with 2 types
	<i>No vs 3+ Types</i>	459	96	-5.998	<.001*	Lowest satisfaction with 3+ types
	<i>1 vs 2 Types</i>	227	198	-.849	.396	No significant difference
	<i>1 vs 3+ Types</i>	227	96	-1.998	.046	No significant difference
	<i>2 vs 3+ Types</i>	198	96	-1.226	.220	No significant difference
Quality of Sleep	<i>No vs 1 Type</i>	460	229	-5.256	<.001*	Poorer sleep with 1 type
	<i>No vs 2 Types</i>	460	199	-8.160	<.001*	Poorer sleep with 2 types
	<i>No vs 3+ Types</i>	460	96	-4.711	<.001*	Worst sleep with 3+ types
	<i>1 vs 2 Types</i>	229	199	-2.417	.016	Not significant after correction
	<i>1 vs 3+ Types</i>	229	96	-.380	.704	No significant difference
	<i>2 vs 3+ Types</i>	199	96	-1.664	.096	No significant difference
Wellbeing (WHO-5)	<i>No vs 1 Type</i>	461	229	-.096	.924	No significant difference
	<i>No vs 2 Types</i>	461	199	-1.972	.049	Not significant after correction
	<i>No vs 3+ Types</i>	461	96	-.342	.733	No significant difference
	<i>1 vs 2 Types</i>	229	199	-1.638	.101	No significant difference
	<i>1 vs 3+ Types</i>	229	96	-.209	.835	No significant difference
	<i>2 vs 3+ Types</i>	199	96	-1.799	.072	No significant difference

Significance threshold Bonferroni-corrected to $p < .009^*$ due to six comparisons per DV ($0.05/6 = 0.0083 \approx 0.009$).

A3:

Table 3.1- 3.8: Full Multivariate regression models estimating effect among microaggression and harassment on secondary mental health outcome: Life satisfaction, Sleep quality, Anxiety (N=908)

Table 3.1 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of microaggression on WHO-5-Wellbeing. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	SE	Sig.
(Constant)	64,74	6,06	<,001
SUM_microaggression	0,12	0,12	0,35
Gender_dummyfemale	-7,47	1,56	<,001
age_personne	-0,02	0,08	0,78
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-6,52	2,64	0,01
Legal_Status_Dummy2	1,12	2,43	0,65
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	-2,00	2,88	0,49
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	-1,11	2,87	0,70
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	4,53	3,15	0,15
householdincome_dummy1	6,95	2,41	0,00
householdincome_dummy2	2,69	1,80	0,14
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	1,77	2,03	0,38
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	-2,25	2,30	0,33
Generation_dummy1	-1,31	2,99	0,66
Generation_dummy2	6,04	3,08	0,05
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	-0,37	2,72	0,89
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	-3,66	2,37	0,12
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,73	2,10	0,73
religion_dummy1	-8,25	3,21	0,01
religion_dummy2	-2,97	3,48	0,39
religion_dummy3	-4,46	3,45	0,20
religion_dummy4	-6,13	3,30	0,06
religion_dummy5	-8,14	3,67	0,03
francophone_dummy1	1,67	2,12	0,43

Table 3.2 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of harassment on WHO-5-Wellbeing. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Sig.
(Constant)	64,89	6,02	<,001
SUM_harassment	0,19	0,19	0,32
Gender_dummyfemale	-7,57	1,56	<,001
age_personne	-0,03	0,08	0,76
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-6,42	2,64	0,02
Legal_Status_Dummy2	1,09	2,43	0,65
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	-1,96	2,88	0,50
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	-1,02	2,87	0,72
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	4,68	3,15	0,14
householdincome_dummy1	6,89	2,41	0,00
householdincome_dummy2	2,68	1,79	0,14
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	1,76	2,03	0,39
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	-2,23	2,30	0,33
Generation_dummy1	-1,28	2,99	0,67
Generation_dummy2	6,11	3,07	0,05
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	-0,31	2,72	0,91
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	-3,57	2,37	0,13
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,73	2,10	0,73
religion_dummy1	-8,08	3,20	0,01
religion_dummy2	-2,73	3,47	0,43
religion_dummy3	-4,31	3,45	0,21
religion_dummy4	-6,09	3,30	0,07
religion_dummy5	-8,12	3,67	0,03
francophone_dummy1	1,63	2,12	0,44

Table 3.3 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of harassment on anxiety. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Sig.
(Constant)	0,80	0,39	0,04
SUM_harassment	0,10	0,01	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	0,32	0,10	0,00
age_personne	0,01	0,01	0,13
Legal_Status_Dummy1	0,62	0,17	<,001
Legal_Status_Dummy2	0,19	0,16	0,24
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	-0,39	0,19	0,04
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	0,09	0,19	0,64
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	0,13	0,20	0,53
householdincome_dummy1	-0,50	0,16	0,00
householdincome_dummy2	-0,37	0,12	0,00
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,18	0,13	0,18
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	-0,12	0,15	0,41
Generation_dummy1	-0,39	0,19	0,04
Generation_dummy2	0,10	0,20	0,63
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	0,13	0,18	0,48
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	0,19	0,15	0,21
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	0,19	0,14	0,17
religion_dummy1	0,20	0,21	0,33
religion_dummy2	0,31	0,22	0,17
religion_dummy3	-0,15	0,22	0,49
religion_dummy4	0,26	0,21	0,22
religion_dummy5	-0,04	0,24	0,88
francophone_dummy1	0,02	0,14	0,90

Table 3.4 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of microaggression on life anxiety. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Sig.
(Constant)	0,85	0,40	0,03
SUM_microaggression	0,04	0,01	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	0,36	0,10	<,001
age_personne	0,01	0,01	0,12
Legal_Status_Dummy1	0,57	0,17	0,00
Legal_Status_Dummy2	0,19	0,16	0,24
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	-0,41	0,19	0,03
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	0,03	0,19	0,86
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	0,07	0,21	0,73
householdincome_dummy1	-0,49	0,16	0,00
householdincome_dummy2	-0,39	0,12	<,001
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,18	0,13	0,17
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	-0,14	0,15	0,37
Generation_dummy1	-0,40	0,20	0,04
Generation_dummy2	0,09	0,20	0,67
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	0,10	0,18	0,58
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	0,15	0,16	0,32
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	0,19	0,14	0,17
religion_dummy1	0,14	0,21	0,52
religion_dummy2	0,22	0,23	0,34
religion_dummy3	-0,21	0,23	0,35
religion_dummy4	0,25	0,22	0,25
religion_dummy5	-0,03	0,24	0,90
francophone_dummy1	0,03	0,14	0,84

Table 3.5 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of harassment on sleep quality. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Sig.
(Constant)	6,96	0,48	<,001
SUM_harassment	-0,09	0,02	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	-0,28	0,12	0,02
age_personne	0,01	0,01	0,24
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-0,42	0,21	0,05
Legal_Status_Dummy2	-0,25	0,19	0,20
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	0,75	0,23	0,00
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	0,55	0,23	0,02
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	0,21	0,25	0,39
householdincome_dummy1	0,87	0,19	<,001
householdincome_dummy2	0,40	0,14	0,01
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,12	0,16	0,45
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	0,32	0,18	0,08
Generation_dummy1	0,04	0,24	0,88
Generation_dummy2	-0,38	0,25	0,12
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	0,54	0,22	0,01
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	-0,14	0,19	0,46
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,04	0,17	0,80
religion_dummy1	-0,56	0,26	0,03
religion_dummy2	-0,63	0,28	0,02
religion_dummy3	-0,30	0,27	0,28
religion_dummy4	-0,53	0,26	0,04
religion_dummy5	-0,60	0,29	0,04
francophone_dummy1	-0,25	0,17	0,13

Table 3.7 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of microaggression on sleep quality. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	SE	P
(Constant)	7,02	0,48	<,001
SUM_microaggression	-0,05	0,01	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	-0,33	0,12	0,01
age_personne	0,01	0,01	0,29
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-0,37	0,21	0,08
Legal_Status_Dummy2	-0,26	0,19	0,19
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	0,77	0,23	<,001
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	0,60	0,23	0,01
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	0,28	0,25	0,27
householdincome_dummy1	0,85	0,19	<,001
householdincome_dummy2	0,40	0,14	0,01
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,13	0,16	0,43
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	0,33	0,18	0,07
Generation_dummy1	0,05	0,24	0,84
Generation_dummy2	-0,35	0,25	0,15
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	0,57	0,22	0,01
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	-0,10	0,19	0,60
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,05	0,17	0,78
religion_dummy1	-0,48	0,26	0,06
religion_dummy2	-0,52	0,28	0,06
religion_dummy3	-0,23	0,28	0,41
religion_dummy4	-0,51	0,26	0,05
religion_dummy5	-0,59	0,29	0,04
francophone_dummy1	-0,27	0,17	0,11

Table 3.7 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of harassment on life satisfaction. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	SE	P
(Constant)	8,10	0,37	<,001
SUM_harassment	-0,07	0,01	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	-0,27	0,10	0,01
age_personne	0,00	0,01	0,65
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-0,68	0,16	<,001
Legal_Status_Dummy2	-0,16	0,15	0,29
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	0,39	0,18	0,03
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	-0,03	0,18	0,88
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	-0,18	0,19	0,36
householdincome_dummy1	0,73	0,15	<,001
householdincome_dummy2	0,38	0,11	<,001
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,18	0,12	0,14
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	0,17	0,14	0,23
Generation_dummy1	0,02	0,18	0,90
Generation_dummy2	-0,46	0,19	0,02
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	-0,03	0,17	0,86
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	0,20	0,15	0,18
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,15	0,13	0,25
religion_dummy1	-0,37	0,20	0,06
religion_dummy2	-0,23	0,21	0,27
religion_dummy3	0,01	0,21	0,97
religion_dummy4	0,02	0,20	0,91
religion_dummy5	-0,16	0,22	0,47
francophone_dummy1	-0,23	0,13	0,08

Table 3.8 Model: Multivariate regression analysis estimating effect of microaggression on life satisfaction. Adjusted for covariates; age, gender, generation, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational degree, language proficiency, household income, and religion.

	Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	SE	P
(Constant)	8,07	0,37	<,001
SUM_microaggression	-0,03	0,01	<,001
Gender_dummyfemale	-0,30	0,10	0,00
age_personne	0,00	0,01	0,61
Legal_Status_Dummy1	-0,65	0,16	<,001
Legal_Status_Dummy2	-0,16	0,15	0,30
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy1verygood	0,40	0,18	0,02
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy2good	0,01	0,18	0,95
Languageproficiencyregion_dummy3moderate	-0,13	0,19	0,49
householdincome_dummy1	0,72	0,15	<,001
householdincome_dummy2	0,39	0,11	<,001
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy1	-0,18	0,13	0,15
subregion_of_residenceBelgium_dummy2	0,18	0,14	0,21
Generation_dummy1	0,03	0,18	0,88
Generation_dummy2	-0,45	0,19	0,02
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy1	-0,01	0,17	0,95
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy2	0,22	0,15	0,13
HighestEducation_4cat_dummy3	-0,15	0,13	0,24
religion_dummy1	-0,32	0,20	0,10
religion_dummy2	-0,16	0,21	0,45
religion_dummy3	0,05	0,21	0,80
religion_dummy4	0,04	0,20	0,86
religion_dummy5	-0,16	0,23	0,47
francophone_dummy1	-0,24	0,13	0,07

A4 :

Table 3.3-3.4 Full multivariate regression adjusted models with main effect and moderation effect for interaction terms

Table 3.3: Two-way interaction multivariate regression models of mental health outcomes (anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction) by harassment exposure and moderators (gender, legal status, language proficiency per region, and household income). All models were adjusted for potential confounders, including age, generation, gender (if not a moderator), legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational attainment, language proficiency, household income, and religion. Each two-way interaction was tested in a separate model. (N=908)												
With two-way interaction	Anxiety				Sleep quality				Life satisfaction			
	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI
Microaggression x gender (intercept)	-0.16	0.34	0.643	[-0.82, 0.51]	8.61	0.41	<.001	[7.80, 9.42]	9.161	0.32	<.001	[8.54, 9.78]
Microaggression (main effect)	0.07	0.01	<.001	[0.04, 0.09]	-0.05	0.01	.001	[-0.07, -0.02]	-0.03	0.01	.017	[-0.05, -0.01]
Microaggression x female	-0.04	0.02	0.007	[-0.08, -0.01]	-0.01	0.02	.583	[-0.05, 0.03]	-0.01	0.02	.399	[-0.04, 0.02]
Microaggression x male (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
female (Gender_dummy1)	0.69	0.16	<.001	[0.38, 1.00]	-0.25	0.20	.210	[-0.63, 0.14]	-0.20	0.15	.188	[-0.49, 0.10]
Microaggression x legal status (intercept)	-0.14	0.34	0.682	[-0.81, 0.53]	8.64	0.41	<.001	[7.82, 9.45]	9.15	0.32	<.001	[8.53, 9.77]
Microaggression (main effect)	0.06	0.01	<.001	[0.04, 0.08]	-0.05	0.01	<.001	[-0.08, -0.03]	-0.03	0.01	<.001	[-0.05, -0.01]
Microaggression x No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less	-0.05	0.02	0.023	[-0.08, -0.01]	-0.01	0.02	0.633	[-0.06, 0.04]	-0.03	0.02	0.15	[-0.06, 0.01]
Microaggression x Work permit of more than 1 year	-0.02	0.02	0.446	[-0.06, 0.03]	0.02	0.03	0.495	[-0.04, 0.07]	0.00	0.02	0.972	[-0.04, 0.04]
Microaggression x Belgian nationality or no need for a work permit (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less (legalstatus1)	0.94	0.24	<.001	[0.47, 1.40]	-0.27	0.29	0.353	[-0.84, 0.30]	-0.43	0.22	0.050	[-0.87, 0.01]
Work permit of more than 1 year (legalstatus2)	0.31	0.23	0.175	[-0.13, 0.76]	-0.39	0.28	0.162	[-0.93, 0.15]	-0.16	0.21	0.454	[-0.58, 0.26]
Microaggression x language proficiency per region (intercept)	-0.01	0.34	0.971	[-0.68, 0.66]	8.69	0.42	<.001	[7.87, 9.50]	9.19	0.32	<.001	[8.56, 9.82]
Microaggression (main effect)	0.05	0.01	<.001	[0.03, 0.07]	-0.06	0.01	<.001	[-0.09, -0.04]	-0.03	0.01	0.003	[-0.05, -0.01]
Microaggression x little to none	-0.03	0.02	0.221	[-0.07, 0.02]	0.03	0.03	0.306	[-0.03, 0.08]	0.01	0.02	0.585	[-0.03, 0.06]
Microaggression x moderate	-0.04	0.03	0.132	[-0.09, 0.01]	0.02	0.03	0.525	[-0.04, 0.09]	-0.03	0.03	0.281	[-0.08, 0.02]
Microaggression x good	0.03	0.02	0.179	[-0.01, 0.07]	0.01	0.03	0.623	[-0.04, 0.07]	-0.01	0.02	0.765	[-0.05, 0.03]
Microaggression x very good (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
little to none (languageprofdummy1)	0.63	0.26	0.015	[0.12, 1.14]	-1.00	0.32	0.002	[-1.62, -0.38]	-0.48	0.24	0.050	[-0.96, 0.00]
moderate (languageprofdummy2)	0.83	0.30	0.006	[0.24, 1.41]	-0.67	0.36	0.068	[-1.38, 0.05]	-0.30	0.28	0.284	[-0.85, 0.25]
good (languageprofdummy3)	0.25	0.21	0.231	[-0.16, 0.66]	-0.27	0.26	0.282	[-0.77, 0.23]	-0.34	0.20	0.087	[-0.72, 0.05]
Microaggression x household income (intercept)	-0.24	0.36	0.505	[-0.94, 0.46]	8.73	0.43	<.001	[7.88, 9.57]	9.20	0.33	<.001	[8.55, 9.86]
Microaggression (main effect)	0.07	0.02	<.001	[0.03, 0.11]	-0.07	0.02	0.006	[-0.11, -0.02]	-0.04	0.02	0.057	[-0.07, 0.00]
Microaggression x Difficult or very difficult with current income	-0.04	0.02	0.067	[-0.09, 0.00]	0.03	0.03	0.322	[-0.03, 0.08]	0.001	0.02	0.948	[-0.04, 0.04]
Microaggression x Sufficient income	-0.03	0.02	0.249	[-0.07, 0.02]	0.003	0.03	0.927	[-0.05, 0.06]	0.003	0.02	0.885	[-0.04, 0.05]
Microaggression x Living comfortable (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Difficult or very difficult with current income (householdincome1)	0.83	0.24	<.001	[0.35, 1.30]	-1.08	0.29	<.001	[-1.66, -0.50]	-0.73	0.23	0.001	[-1.18, -0.28]
Sufficient income (householdincome2)	0.30	0.22	0.177	[-0.14, 0.74]	0.47	0.27	0.081	[-1.00, 0.06]	-0.35	0.21	0.092	[-0.76, 0.06]

Table 3.4: Two-way interaction multivariate regression models of mental health outcomes (anxiety, sleep quality, and life satisfaction) by harassment exposure and moderators (gender, legal status, language proficiency per region, and household income). All models were adjusted for potential confounders, including age, generation, gender, legal status, subregion of residence, Francophone origin, highest educational attainment, language proficiency, household income, and religion. Each two-way interaction was tested in a separate model. (N=908)

With two-way interactions:	Anxiety				Sleep quality				Life satisfaction			
	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI	b	SE	p-value	95% CI
Harassment x gender (intercept)	-0.09	0.33	0.777	[-0.74, 0.56]	8.54	0.41	<.001	[7.74, 9.33]	9.18	0.31	<.001	[8.57, 9.79]
Harassment (main effect)	0.10	0.02	<.001	[0.06, 0.13]	-0.06	0.02	0.006	[-0.10, -0.02]	-0.05	0.02	0.005	[-0.08, -0.01]
Harassment x female	0.00	0.03	0.994	[-0.05, 0.05]	-0.06	0.03	0.054	[-0.12, 0.00]	-0.04	0.02	0.070	[-0.09, 0.00]
Harassment x male (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
female (Gender_dummy1)	0.32	0.13	0.017	[0.06, 0.57]	-0.08	0.16	0.609	[-0.40, 0.23]	-0.12	0.12	0.332	[-0.36, 0.12]
Harassment x legal status (intercept)	-0.20	0.33	0.553	[-0.85, 0.45]	8.63	0.41	<.001	[7.82, 9.43]	9.22	0.31	<.001	[8.61, 9.84]
Harassment (main effect)	0.12	0.02	<.001	[0.09, 0.15]	-0.10	0.02	<.001	[-0.14, -0.06]	-0.06	0.02	<.001	[-0.09, -0.03]
Harassment x No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less	-0.10	0.03	<.001	[-0.16, -0.04]	0.02	0.04	0.599	[-0.05, 0.09]	-0.04	0.03	0.144	[-0.10, 0.01]
Harassment x Work permit of more than 1 year	-0.05	0.04	0.158	[-0.13, 0.02]	0.04	0.05	0.432	[-0.06, 0.13]	0.03	0.04	0.435	[-0.04, 0.10]
Harassment x Belgian nationality or no need for a work permit (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No work permit or work permit of 1 year or less (legalstatus1)	0.95	0.20	<.001	[0.56, 1.34]	-0.50	0.25	0.044	[-0.98, -0.01]	-0.55	0.19	0.003	[-0.92, -0.18]
Work permit of more than 1 year (legalstatus2)	0.36	0.20	0.077	[-0.04, 0.75]	-0.37	0.25	0.138	[-0.85, 0.12]	-0.25	0.19	0.183	[-0.62, 0.12]
Harassment x language proficiency per region (intercept)	-0.07	0.33	0.830	[-0.72, 0.58]	8.60	0.41	<.001	[7.80, 9.39]	9.16	0.31	<.001	[8.55, 9.77]
Harassment (main effect)	0.08	0.02	<.001	[0.05, 0.12]	-0.08	0.02	<.001	[-0.12, -0.04]	-0.04	0.02	0.019	[-0.07, -0.01]
Harassment x little to none	-0.01	0.03	0.850	[-0.07, 0.06]	0.02	0.04	0.626	[-0.06, 0.10]	-0.06	0.03	0.083	[-0.12, 0.01]
Harassment x moderate	0.06	0.05	0.187	[-0.03, 0.16]	-0.12	0.06	0.036	[-0.24, -0.01]	-0.14	0.05	0.002	[-0.22, -0.05]
Harassment x good	0.05	0.03	0.111	[-0.01, 0.12]	-0.01	0.04	0.711	[-0.10, 0.07]	-0.05	0.03	0.108	[-0.11, 0.01]
Harassment x very good (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
little to none (languageprofdummy1)	0.40	0.22	0.067	[-0.03, 0.83]	-0.80	0.27	0.003	[-1.33, -0.27]	-0.18	0.20	0.379	[-0.58, 0.22]
moderate (languageprofdummy2)	0.30	0.25	0.239	[-0.20, 0.79]	-0.10	0.31	0.736	[-0.71, 0.50]	-0.08	0.24	0.739	[-0.54, 0.39]
good (languageprofdummy3)	0.31	0.17	0.068	[-0.02, 0.65]	-0.14	0.21	0.503	[-0.56, 0.27]	-0.24	0.16	0.135	[-0.56, 0.07]
Harassment x household income (intercept)	-0.21	0.34	0.540	[-0.87, 0.46]	8.54	0.41	<.001	[7.74, 9.33]	9.19	0.32	<.001	[8.56, 9.81]
Harassment (main effect)	0.14	0.03	<.001	[0.08, 0.20]	-0.06	0.02	0.006	[-0.10, -0.02]	-0.07	0.03	0.014	[-0.12, -0.01]
Harassment x Difficult or very difficult with current income (householdincome1)	-0.06	0.04	0.094	[-0.13, 0.01]	-0.06	0.03	0.050	[-0.12, 0.00]	0.03	0.03	0.381	[-0.04, 0.09]
Harassment x Sufficient income (householdincome2)	-0.05	0.04	0.190	[-0.12, 0.02]	-0.06	0.03	0.050	[-0.12, 0.00]	-0.04	0.03	0.262	[-0.11, 0.03]
Harassment x Living comfortable (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Difficult or very difficult with current income (householdincome1)	0.71	0.20	0.190	[0.32, 1.11]	-0.87	0.19	<.001	[-1.25, -0.50]	-0.85	0.19	<.001	[-1.22, -0.48]
Sufficient income (householdincome2)	0.29	0.19	0.120	[-0.08, 0.66]	-0.46	0.18	0.009	[-0.81, -0.12]	-0.24	0.18	0.18	[-0.58, 0.11]

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