



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY  
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

*Dmitry Grigoryev*

**ACCULTURATION PROFILES OF  
IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR LEVEL  
OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
ADAPTATION**

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: PSYCHOLOGY  
WP BRP 58/PSY/2016

This Working Paper is an output of a research project implemented within NRU HSE's Annual Thematic Plan for Basic and Applied Research. Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE

*Dmitry Grigoryev*<sup>1</sup>

## **ACCULTURATION PROFILES OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR LEVEL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ADAPTATION<sup>2</sup>**

This article presents the results of a study on the relationship of acculturation profiles of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium, the duration of their stay in the host country, and their level of socio-economic adaptation. The data obtained is the result of a socio-psychological survey of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium and was processed using latent profile analysis (LPA). It was obtained from three groups of immigrants with relevant acculturation profiles: integration, assimilation and separation. It was found that orientation toward the host society (assimilation and integration) has a positive association with a high level of socio-economic adaptation among immigrants, but the level of socio-economic adaptation for the group of immigrants with an assimilation profile is higher than that for the group of immigrants with an integration profile. Also, the level of socio-economic adaptation is higher for immigrants who have stayed in the host country for more than 5 years.

**Keywords:** socio-economic adaptation, acculturation profiles, acculturation of immigrants, ethnic identity, labour market.

**JEL Classification:** Z

- 
- 1 International Scientific-Educational Laboratory for Socio-Cultural Research of the Expert Institute of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia), [dgrigoryev@hse.ru](mailto:dgrigoryev@hse.ru)
  - 2 The research was conducted within the framework of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) and supported within the framework of a subsidy granted to the HSE by the Government of the Russian Federation for the implementation of the Global Competitiveness Program.

## **Introduction**

Contemporary research shows that the majority of immigrants leave for another country primarily for economic reasons, for example, Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) have noted that, in spite of the sustained ambition of immigrants to gain financial security, they face serious obstacles, and that achieving economic success for them is more complicated than for natives. During the process of immigration to another country, a process which is often accompanied by considerable costs and risks, immigrants frequently become unemployed or have to work part-time. Particular difficulties are connected with obtaining recognition for educational qualifications and professional experience, especially there is a large cultural distance between the country of origin and the host country. Even when immigrants manage to find a job, they usually still are at a disadvantage compared with natives (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). In other words, socio-economic adaptation of immigrants to a new environment is the result of advances in acculturation toward socio-economic positions that allow immigrants to completely participate in the social and economic life of the host society (Grigoryev, 2015). But as Hayfron has noted (2006), economic studies on labour market outcomes for immigrants have not examined how the psychological problems immigrants face can impact their acculturation process, this is probably because most economists and sociologists consider this problem the domain of psychology, but the subject of socio-economic adaptation in general has been little studied by psychologists (see also Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008) and the vast majority of cross-cultural psychology literature that exists, meanwhile, has focused only on assimilation as one mode of acculturation (Hayfron, 2006).

Some researchers consider the motivation which is connected with success in the labour market to be the main driver of the social behaviour of immigrants (Gans, 2007; Lambert & Taylor, 1988). It is assumed that immigrants behave in a certain way depending on what they value and what economic benefits they desire to obtain for themselves. In one study on this topic, economic needs and the potential acquisitions of immigrants were considered key motives for assimilation in the host country (Gans, 2007).

In this study we will consider other factors that might be connected with the economic success of immigrants besides the obvious factors of education and work experience.

### **Ethnic social capital and socio-economic adaptation**

The cultural network, or ethnic social capital, of immigrants is usually presented as a very important for the integration process (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). The economic activity of immigrants is largely dependent on relations within the family and ethnic community

(Levanon, 2011). Newly arrived immigrants are often guided by the resources of their family or the resources their own ethnic group that belong to previous waves of immigration (Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Hirschman, 1982). For example, Light (1972) points to the moral character of kinship networks in communities of Asian immigrants. Immigrants who have already adapted to the host country may provide work, money and other assistance to relatives, even if they are obliged to reduce their own level of consumption in the process. Some studies show that when immigrants are able to use the support of both the family and their own ethnic group, they will use both (Nee & Sanders, 2001). Padilla et al. (1988) found that immigrants from Mexico and Central America often find employment in the US through family ties.

By itself, social capital is a psychological set of relationships based on identity within a particular group, as well as the relations of intra-group trust and reciprocity, which increase the material well-being of individuals and groups without harm to other actors in the broader economic system (Tatarko, 2009). In this context, the ethnic social capital of immigrants, or the social capital of immigrants in the framework of their own ethnic group, is a trust relationship inside the ethnic group which is regulated by certain informal norms, rules, and obligations that exist privately among immigrants.

Immigrants who have ethnic social capital at their disposal can obtain necessary information about work vacancies and some of the support needed for such work, which in the aggregate certainly eases socio-economic adaptation of immigrants in the host country (Allen, 2009; Portes, 1995; Gold, 1992). At the same time, for immigrants on the broader labour market, ethnic social capital can also be a limitation because of the mutual obligations and requirement to comply with social norms that accompany the use of any social capital (Bach & Carroll-Seguin, 1986; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Read, 2004). It might add that this statement is in agreement with the theory of ethnic enclaves (see Portes & Bach, 1985; Wilson & Portes, 1980), which states that, while cooperation with participants of within the ethnic group at first helps immigrants, in the long term this association offers diminishing benefits and can even become detrimental.

Studies conducted on different groups of adult refugees in the United States and Canada showed a number of contradictory results. For example, ethnic social capital has a small positive and statistically significant effect on employment status, but has no significant effect on income level (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). Refugees who actively used their ethnic social capital to find a job were much more likely to enjoy higher quality of employment in comparison to refugees who relied solely on their own efforts to find a job (Lamba, 2003). On the other hand, the use of ethnic social capital has no effect on the initial income of women and men in refugee communities (Montgomery, 1996; The Allen, 2009), but eventually has a negative effect on

women's earnings because of different expectations regarding the obligations of men and women and because of social norms that govern the behaviour of men and women differently (Menjivar, 2000; Allen, 2009). It should be noted, however, that there are differences between economic immigrants and displaced persons. Some studies have shown that the initial conditions faced by refugees are more difficult than those faced by economic immigrants, and that refugees need more time for socio-economic adaptation (Wooden, 1991).

Research conducted on a sample of illegal immigrants in the US has shown that the use of ethnic social capital is associated with lower hourly wages, and that the use of strong family ties in employment is associated with significantly lower earnings (Lebanon, 2011). This finding is consistent with other research, which has shown that the use of such ties entails a higher probability of employment in low-skilled jobs (Nee & Sanders, 2001). Thus immigrants that are using their own ethnic social capital can get only limited assistance, which may be useful only in the first years after immigration (Lancer, 2010; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008). The strong sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group may be a buffer against the negative effects of acculturation stress and perceived discrimination, which may generate also has a positive effect on adaptation. However, in the long term, a strong attachment to an ethnic group may hinder adaptation, whereas using the resources of interethnic networks may provide new and varied forms of help, which may in turn be converted into economic benefits (Ryan et al. 2008; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001; Besevegis & Pavlopoulos, 2008; Granovetter, 1973).

Thus prevalence of contacts within an ethnic group of immigrants or within the host society, as well as the length of these contacts, can largely determine the level of socio-economic adaptation of immigrants.

### **Acculturation strategies and socio-economic adaptation**

In cross-cultural psychology literature, in contrast to sociology, economics, and political science, attention has been given to several different modes of acculturation which differ in the frequency of contacts within an ethnic group of immigrants and with the host society. These modes include acculturation attitudes (or acculturation strategies, which includes behaviour) of immigrants that are a combination of: (1) orientation of immigrants towards their own group, with contacts limited mainly to within the ingroup and aimed at preserving cultural heritage and identity; and (2) orientation to the outgroup, with a preference for contact with the broader society and a focus on adopting the culture and identity of the host country. The combination of positive and/or negative responses to these options gives four acculturation his or her own culture. Integration occurs when the immigrant identifies with both his or her own culture and the host culture. Separation is characterized by denial of the host culture and maintenance of

identity with the culture of the country of origin. In this case, immigrants prefer a greater or lesser degree of isolation from the culture of the host country. Marginalization describes the loss of identification with the culture of origin on the one hand, and a lack of identification with the culture of the host country on the other (see Berry, 1997).

In a study by Besevegis and Pavlopoulos (2008) on a sample of immigrants in Greece, socio-economic adaptation was found to be positively associated with orientation toward the host group and negatively associated with orientation toward the immigrants' own ethnic group, in keeping with the authors' expectations. The integration and assimilation strategies had the most favorable results for socio-economic adaptation, while the separation strategy was associated with low levels of adaptation, regardless of the country of origin and the length of stay in the host country. Furthermore, the assimilation strategy and integration strategy, though differing in the frequency of contacts within the ethnic group, had equally positive results. Immigrants employing the integration strategy can access the resources of both their own ethnic group and the host society (Besevegis & Pavlopoulos, 2008). The assimilation strategy is also adopted because it facilitates contact with the dominant culture (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). The separation strategy has the worst effect on socio-economic adaptation because immigrants choosing separation face difficulties in trying to make contact with members of the host culture and to acquire basic social skills, such as learning the language of the country or getting a job (Nesdale & Mak, 2003).

Research conducted by the G-SOEP (German Socio-Economic Panel) on the influence of acculturation strategies on economic behaviour (including the probability of being employed, income, and ownership of housing) noted that the choice of acculturation strategy has statistically significant and economically important effects. Assimilation and integration have a positive effect on economic performance, while separation and marginalization have no positive effect (Constant & Zimmermann, 2008).<sup>3</sup>

Another study applying a more detailed theoretical model of socio-economic adaptation to a sample of immigrants in Belgium found that (1) acculturation attitudes of immigrants are independently of their level of socio-economic adaptation, i.e. the attitudes do not depend on the length of stay in the host country or language skills; (2) a high level of socio-economic adaptation is positively associated with orientation toward the host society (integration attitude and assimilation attitude), and negatively associated with orientation toward the original ethnic group (separation attitude); (3) strong ethnic and religious identification may facilitate the orientation of immigrants to their ethnic group, and strong ethnic identification prevents

---

3 Constant and Zimmermann (2008) use a two-dimensional "ethnosizer" very similar to Berry's approach.

assimilation (Grigoryev, 2015).

Thus immigrants who have a greater level of contact with the host society, and who are resident in the host country for longer, are more likely to have a higher level of socio-economic adaptation. What remains to be studied are specific details — namely, whether there is a difference in socio-economic adaptation based on varying orientations toward the host society (integration or assimilation) and the specific periods of stay in the host country? According to Berry (1997), the integration strategy is the most adaptive strategy, the majority of studies on the relationship between acculturation strategies and adaptation have been carried out in multicultural societies, and have shown this strategy to be most effective. In other recent studies on “melting pot” societies that are more assimilative in general orientation, the integration strategy also remained the most adaptive strategy.

### **The Belgian case: design and hypotheses of the present study**

In order to answer the question posed above, researchers have divided immigrants into populations according to certain acculturation profiles. In a number of studies, cluster analysis was used to place young immigrants in one of four “acculturation profiles” (for example, integration, national, ethnic and diffuse) based on their responses to questions related to their acculturation attitudes, cultural identity, language skills, family values, etc. (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Berry et al., 2011). Often, however, acculturation profiles have been given names similar to acculturation attitudes (see e.g. Ward & Kus, 2012; Fox, Merz, Solórzano & Roesch, 2013), and the choice of these names is not always uniform (see e.g. Fox, Merz, Solórzano & Roesch, 2013; Brown et al., 2013.; Inguglia & Musso, 2015), although usually there are no great differences in the content of acculturation profiles and acculturation attitudes (Berry et al., 2011).

The advantage of the acculturation profiles approach, according to some researchers (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Brown, Gibbons, & Hughes, 2013; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Rudmin, 2009; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010), is that it allows researchers to adopt a person-oriented approach rather than a variable-oriented approach in order to understand better patterns of acculturation (see Bergman & Magnusson 1997; Bergman & Trost, 2006). From this point of view, the use of grouping methods, such as a cluster analysis or latent class analysis, can be regarded as the proper base for the analysis of empirical evidence, as a more integrated approach to acculturation that allows the identification of a greater degree of realistic characteristics of immigrants than does the standard approach for addressing acculturation attitudes (see e.g. Brown et al., 2013.; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Inguglia & Musso, 2015).

The objective of this study is to investigate the main effects of acculturation profiles, the length of stay in the host country, and the interaction effect between acculturation profiles and the length of stay in the host country, on the level of socio-economic adaptation of immigrants.

Therefore, it proposes the following hypotheses:

**H1.** The group of immigrants with the assimilation and the integration profiles in the long term have a higher level of socio-economic adaptation than the group of immigrants with the separation profile.

**H2.** The group of immigrants with the integration profile at least initially have the highest level of socio-economic adaptation because they can use both the resources of their own ethnic group and the resources of the host society.

**H3.** Immigrants with the separation profile are expected to have the smallest growth in their level of socio-economic adaptation in response to an increase in their length of stay in the host country.

In order to test these hypotheses, it was conducted a social-psychological survey in several Belgian cities.

## Data and Methods

In total, during the study in 2014, 132 Russian-speaking immigrants to Belgium were surveyed (64% were residents of Brussels; 86% had attained a higher education degree; 47% were women; 72% were Russian Orthodox Christians). The respondents ranged in age from 19 to 65 years ( $M = 35.9$ ;  $SD = 9.3$ ), with the length of stay in Belgium ranging from 2 months to 18 years ( $M = 7.1$ ;  $SD = 5.0$ ).

Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium were invited to complete a questionnaire in Russian. First, respondents answered questions to determine their position along a scale of ethnic identification (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), with sample items such as: "I consider myself a Russian," and "I feel like a part of Russian culture," (5 = *Strongly agree*, 1 = *Strongly disagree*;  $\alpha$ -Cronbach = .81).

Secondly, respondents answered questions to their determine position along a scale of acculturation attitudes from the MIRIPS questionnaire (Tatarko & Lebedeva, 2011), with sample items such as: "It is important to me to be fluent in both Russian and the in languages that are represented in Belgium," "I prefer to have only Belgians friends," "I feel that Russians should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of Belgians" (5 = *Strongly agree*, 1 = *Strongly disagree*;  $\alpha$ -Cronbach for integration subscale = .70, for assimilation subscale = .83, and for separation subscale = .74).

Finally, respondents answered questions to determine their position along the scale of the



World Bank survey in Russian for index of socio-economic adaptation (indicators: professional status, full-time work at present, monthly savings, professional development, prospects for improving financial position, prospects for improving professional status) (Besevegis & Pavlopoulos, 2008), with sample items such as: "Do you work at this time?", "Do you have a permanent job?", (1 = *Yes*, 0 = *No*; positive answers to the questions with negative content, such as decreased occupational status and loss of skills, produce an answer of -1, with answers aggregated).

The scale also contained questions about level of language skills (understand, speak, write, read) for languages in the host country (Dutch, French, German, English), as well as open-ended questions to measure the length of stay in Belgium.

## Results

Mplus 7.1 was used to conduct a latent profile analysis (LPA) to group participants by acculturation profiles, using responses for questions of ethnic identification, acculturation attitudes, and language skills scales.

LPA is an empirically driven method that defines taxonomies or classes of people based on common characteristics. LPA is latent class analysis for continuous indicators. According to Williams and Kibowski (2016), latent class analysis is usually appropriate for samples of at least 100 participants, although there is evidence that Monte Carlo simulation could be used to model probable class solutions with data sets of smaller size and to thus extrapolate likely class numbers for hypothetical larger data sets (see Nylund, Asparouhov & Muthén, 2007).

Latent profile models containing 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 classes were fit to the data. The model fit indices for each LPA are available in Table 1.

*Table 1. Model fit indices for the 1-, 2-, 3-, 4- and 5-Class solution*

	Fit Indices				Likelihood Ratio Tests			Entropy	Min. Class Size
	LL	BIC	SSBIC	AIC	VLMR	Adj. LMR	BLRT		
1 Class	-5985	12269	12073	12094	NA	NA	NA	NA	132
2 Classes	-5615	11684	11387	11418	740 (1) ***	735 (1) ***	740 (1) ***	.990	62
3 Classes	-5398	11404	11005	11047	435 (2)	432 (2)	435 (2) ***	.992	32
4 Classes	-5236	11235	10736	10789	338 (3)	336 (3)	338 (3) ***	.984	23
5 Classes	-5125	11167	10566	10629	240 (4)	239 (4)	240 (4) ***	.987	8

**Note.** LL = loglikelihood; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; SSBIC = sample-size adjusted Bayesian information criterion; AIC = Akaike information criterion; VLMR = Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test for  $k - 1$  ( $H_0$ ) vs.  $k$  Classes; Adj. LMR = Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted loglikelihood ratio test; BLRT = parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test for  $k - 1$  ( $H_0$ ) vs.  $k$  Classes.

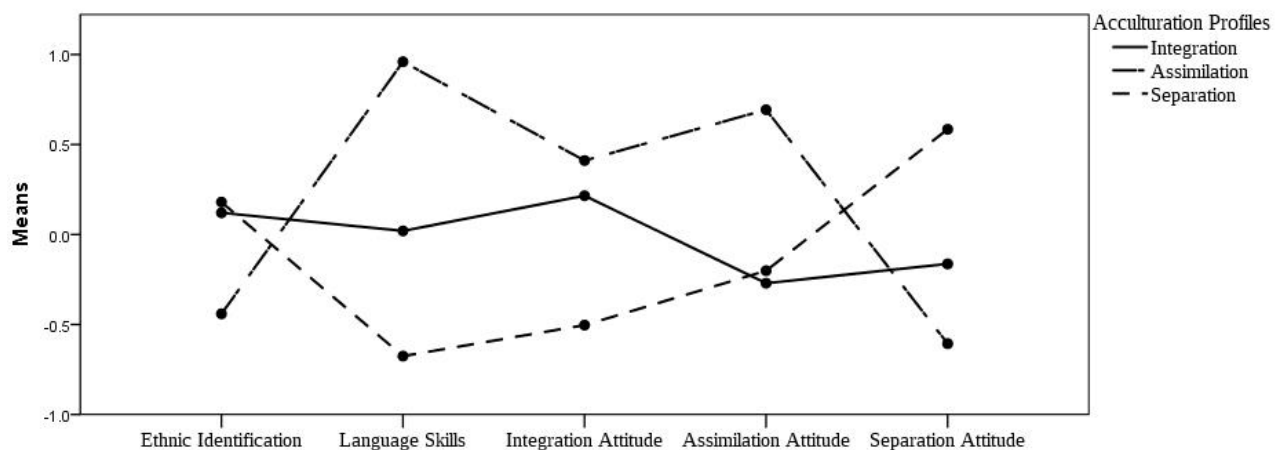
\*\*\* —  $p < .001$

It is often the case that model fit indices offer an ambiguous picture from which it is difficult to determine an appropriate number of classes. The adjusted LRT and VLMR indices were significant for the 2-Class model but not the 3-Class model. However, the majority of the other indices showed that the addition of each subsequent class produces a better fit for the data. This may be because of the large number of diverse items used, i.e. numerous arrangements by which participants can be grouped.

In this case, the appropriate solution for the number of classes was determined on the basis of theory, entropy values, and minimum class size. Entropy is an index that determines the accuracy of classifying participants into their respective profiles or classes, with higher values (i.e., closer to 1.0) indicating that a particular solution fits better (Williams & Kibowski, 2016). Furthermore, small classes (those that contain less than 5% of the sample) are typically considered spurious classes, a condition often associated with extracting too many classes or profiles, so class size was also considered when determining the optimal number of classes (Hipp & Bauer, 2006). A three-class solution appeared to be best, primarily because of theoretical considerations (a three-class solution corresponded to the items used for three of the acculturation attitudes), but also because of high entropy values (.992) and for pragmatic reasons (a class solution with fewer than 32 participants provided unsatisfactory information in subsequent analysis).

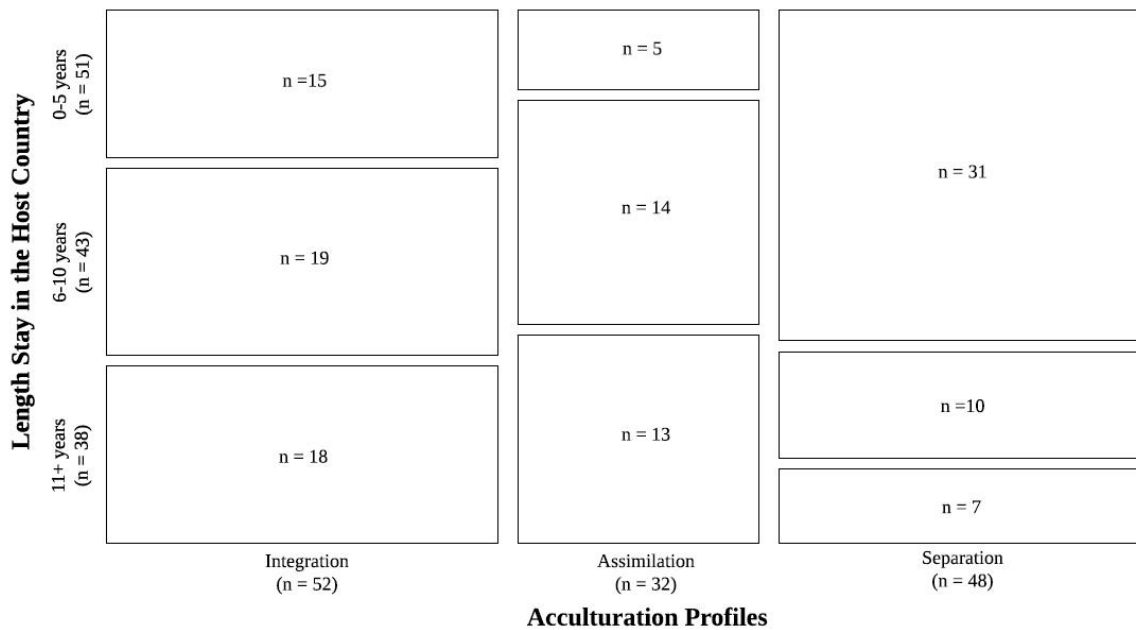
Next, it was considered three classes that are relevant to three acculturation profiles: integration, assimilation and separation. Means for ethnic identification, each of the acculturation attitudes, and language skill values for each of the three acculturation profiles are shown in Figure 1.

**Fig. 1** Means of used variables for acculturation profiles



Respondents were further divided into three groups depending on the length of their stay in Belgium. The results of this grouping are shown in the mosaic plot in Figure 2.

*Fig. 2 Mosaic plot for sample composition*



By applying the Dunn test with the Bonferroni correction (Dunn, 1961) to each of the items on the ethnic identification and acculturation attitudes scales and to language skill and length of stay variables that were significantly different ( $p < .05$ ), there was obtained: (1) members of the group of immigrants with an assimilation profile are characterized by the highest level of language skills, the highest degree of orientation toward the host society, and the lowest degree of shared ideas and beliefs of with other Russians, and are less likely to want to participate in social activities which include only Russian members; (2) members of the group of immigrants with an integration profile are characterized by an average level of language skills and a degree of compromising, in some ways very significant, with the host society, while at the same time retaining contact with their own ethnic group; (3) members of the group of immigrants with a separation profile are characterized by the smallest length of stay in the host country, the highest degree of orientation toward their own ethnic group, by a preference to be fluent in Russian rather than in the languages of Belgium, by the lowest level of Belgian language skills, and by a preference for having only Russian friends.

A factorial ANOVA was conducted to compare the main effects of acculturation profiles

and the length of stay in the host country and of the interaction effect between acculturation profiles and the length of stay in the host country on the level of socio-economic adaptation of immigrants.

All effects were statistically significant at the .05 significance level with adjusted alpha and the sequential Bonferroni procedure (see Cramer et al., 2015), except for the interaction effect between acculturation profiles and the length of stay in the host country (see Table 2).

The main effect for acculturation profiles yielded an F ratio of  $F(2, 123) = 17.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .195$ , indicating significant differences between the integration profile ( $M = 2.35$ ,  $SD = 2.01$ ), the assimilation profile ( $M = 4.31$ ,  $SD = 2.10$ ) and the separation profile ( $M = .54$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ). The main effect for the length of stay in the host country yielded an F ratio of  $F(2, 123) = 7.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .086$ , indicating a significant difference between durations of 0-5 years ( $M = .77$ ,  $SD = 1.87$ ), 6-10 years ( $M = 2.83$ ,  $SD = 2.55$ ) and 11+ years ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 2.51$ ). The interaction effect was not significant, with  $F(4, 123) = 1.57$ ,  $p = .185$ ,  $\eta^2 = .035$ .

A Bonferroni post hoc would provide information about which levels within each independent variable were significant. Confidence intervals were based on 1000 bootstrap samples. The pairwise comparison tests showed that there is a significant difference between the integration profile and the assimilation profile ( $M_{diff} = -1.50$ , BC 95% CI [-2.36, -.65],  $p = .008$ ), the integration profile and the separation profile ( $M_{diff} = 1.62$ , BC 95% CI [.67, 2.66],  $p = .001$ ), the assimilation profile and the separation profile ( $M_{diff} = 3.11$ , BC 95% CI [1.87, 4.33],  $p < .001$ ), and also between durations of stay of 0-5 years and of 6-10 years ( $M_{diff} = -1.53$ , BC 95% CI [-2.43, -.60],  $p = .006$ ), 0-5 years and 11+ years ( $M_{diff} = -1.87$ , BC 95% CI [-3.08, -.76],  $p = .001$ ). The difference between stays of 6-10 years and 11+ years was not significant ( $M_{diff} = -.34$ , BC 95% CI [-1.50, .76],  $p = 1.000$ ). The results of these tests are available in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Results of factorial ANOVA test

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	$\alpha_{adj. seqB}$	$H_0 seqB$	$\eta^2$
Acculturation Profiles	141.66	2	70.831	17.528	< .001	.017	rejected	.195
Length Stay in the Host Country	62.22	2	31.109	7.698	< .001	.025	rejected	.086
Acculturation Profiles × Length Stay in the Host Country	25.44	4	6.361	1.574	.185	.050	retained	.035
Residual	497.05	123	4.041					

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	$\alpha$ adj. seqB	$H_0$ seqB	$\eta^2$
Acculturation Profiles	141.66	2	70.831	17.528	< .001	.017	rejected	.195

**Note.** Type-III Sum of Squares.

$R^2 = .412$  (adj.  $R^2 = .374$ )

$\alpha$ adj. seqB = the adjusted alpha level with the sequential Bonferroni procedure;  $H_0$  seqB = evaluation of the null hypotheses with the sequential Bonferroni procedure.

Table 3. Results of post hoc pairwise comparisons test with the Bonferroni correction

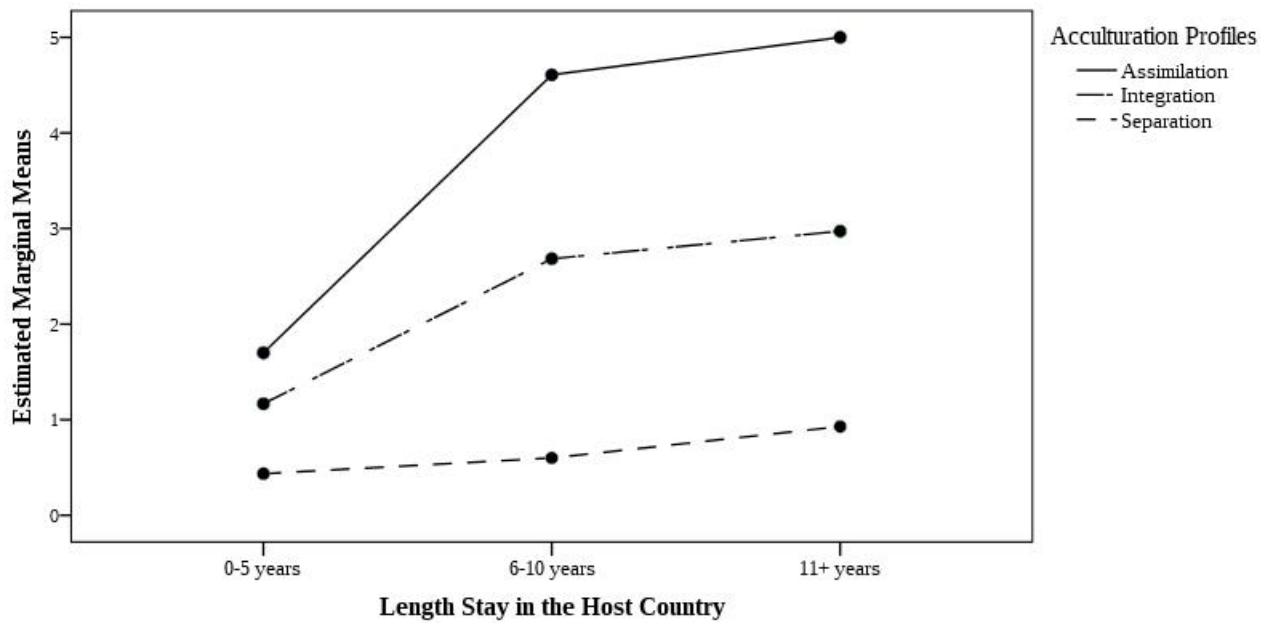
		Mean Difference	Bootstrap <sup>a</sup>			t	p-values <sup>b</sup>
			Bias	SE	BC 95% CI		
<i>Acculturation Profiles</i>							
Integration	Assimilation	-1.495	-.014	.465	[-2.364, -.648]	-3.084	.008
	Separation	1.620	.004	.517	[.665, 2.659]	3.603	.001
Assimilation	Separation	3.114	.017	.589	[1.871, 4.334]	5.886	< .001
<i>Length Stay in the Host Country</i>							
0-5 years	6-10 years	-1.530	-.011	.469	[-2.430, -.603]	-3.157	.006
	11+ years	-1.866	.000	.541	[-3.084, -.757]	-3.675	.001
6-10 years	11+ years	-.336	.011	.530	[-1.459, .756]	-.711	1.000

**Note.** <sup>a</sup> Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 1000 bootstrap samples.

<sup>b</sup> p-values with Bonferroni correction.

The estimated marginal means for acculturation profiles and length of stay in the host country are shown on the Figure 3.

**Fig. 3** The estimated marginal means for acculturation profiles and the length of stay in the host country



Thus members of the group of immigrants with the assimilation profile and the integration profile in the long term have a higher level of socio-economic adaptation than the group of immigrants with the separation profile (H1). However, counter to the expectation that members of the group of immigrants with the integration profile at least initially would have the highest level of socio-economic adaptation, the group of immigrants with assimilation profiles have the highest level of socio-economic adaptation across whole length of stay (H2). As was previously expected, members of the groups of immigrants with the separation profile have the smallest growth in their level of socio-economic adaptation in response to an increase in the length of stay in the host country (H3).

## Discussion

In this study, a sample of Russian-speaking immigrants with various lengths of stay in Belgium was considered. Despite considerable difficulties connected with obtaining Belgian visas and work permits and high levels of unemployment among immigrants relative to other EU countries, Belgium remains one of the most popular destination countries for Russian-speaking immigrants. Belgium has a high living standards and a stable economy that attracts large numbers of immigrants each year, and few immigrants return to Russia from Belgium. Immigration to Belgium has been occurring throughout the post-Soviet period, and it is therefore possible to consider the effect of various lengths of stay on immigrant socio-economic adaptation. Therefore, this sample is very suitable for research on socio-economic adaptation.

As was expected, levels of orientation to the host society (i.e., immigrants fitting the

assimilation profile and the integration profile) were positively associated with high levels of immigrant socio-economic adaptation, but the group of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium with the assimilation profile displays a level of socio-economic adaptation that is significantly higher than that of the immigrants with the integration profile. This finding is counter to results produced by Berry (1997). Also, the level of socio-economic adaptation is higher among immigrants whose length of stay in the host country is greater than 5 years. Apparently, this time is required for immigrants to find a permanent job, acquire necessary skills and local work experience and improve language skills, etc. Nevertheless, the role of the length of stay in the adaptation of immigrants is not fully understood. Some studies suggest the effect is direct (Grigoryev, 2015), while others suggest there is only an indirect effect (Pavlopoulos & Besevegis, 2009).

In conclusion, it can once again confirm that the phenomenology of immigration and economic adaptation is likely to vary depending on a variety of cultural, social, political and historical factors (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). In this regard, it is important for future research to consider multilevel models in order to understand fully the mechanism of contextual factors, namely, in which cases an assimilation strategy and in which cases an integration strategy leads to more effective adaptation, and how the length of stay and conditions of the local labour market influence adaptation (see also Grigoryev, 2015).

It can be concluded that at all desire of immigrants fully to adjust their social and economic life in the host society, they do it is not always possible for several reasons, sometimes, depending on the specific context, one of these reasons is the reliance to their own ethnic group, or because of neglect or the lack of opportunity for orientation towards the host society.

## **Acknowledgement**

The author wishes to thank Dr. Vassilis Pavlopoulos (University of Athens, Greece) for help with index of socio-economic adaptation scale in Russian.

## **References**

- Allen, R. (2009). Benefit or Burden? Social Capital, Gender and the Economic Adaptation of Refugees. *International Migration Review*, 43(2), 332–365.
- Bach, R. L., & Carroll-Seguin, R. (1986). Labor Force Participation, Household Composition

- and Sponsorship among Southeast Asian Refugees. *International Migration Review*, 20, 381–404.
- Bergman, L. R. & Magnusson, D. (1997). A Person-Oriented Approach in Research on Developmental Psychology. *Development and Psychopathology*, 9, 291–319.
- Bergman, L. R., & Trost, K. (2006). The Person-Oriented Versus the Variable-Oriented Approach: Are They Complementary, Opposites, or Exploring Different Worlds? *Merrill Palmer Quarterly*, 52, 601–632.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5–68.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 55(3), 303–332.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Breugelmans, S. M., Chasiotis, A., & Sam, D. L. (2011). *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications* (3rd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Besevegis, E., & Pavlopoulos, V. (2008). Acculturation Patterns and Adaptation of Immigrants in Greece. In M. Finklestein & K. Dent-Brown (Eds.), *Psychosocial Stress in Immigrants and Members of Minority Groups as a Factor of Terrorist Behavior* (NATO Science for Peace and Security Series, E: Human and Societal Dynamics, vol. 40, pp. 23–34). Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Brown, C. M., Gibbons, J. L., & Hughes, H. M. (2013). Acculturation Clusters and Life Satisfaction. *Acta de Investigación Psicológica*, 3, 1108–1121.
- Brown, R., & Zagefka, H. (2011). The Dynamics of Acculturation: An Intergroup Perspective. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 44, 129–184.
- Cramer, A. O. J., van Ravenzwaaij, D., Matzke, D., Steingroever, H., Wetzels, R., Grasman, R. P. P. P., Waldorp, L. J., & Wagenmakers, E.-J. (2015). Hidden Multiplicity in Exploratory Multiway ANOVA: Prevalence and Remedies. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*. <http://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-015-0913-5>
- Constant, A. F., & Zimmermann, K. F. (2008). Measuring Ethnic Identity and its Impact on Economic Behavior. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6(2-3), 424–433.
- Dunn, O. J. (1961). Multiple Comparisons among Means. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 56, 52–64.
- Fox, R. S., Merz, E. L., Solórzano, M. T., & Roesch, S. C. (2013). Further Examining Berry's Model: The Applicability of Latent Profile Analysis to Acculturation. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 46(4), 270–288.
- Gans, H. J. (2007). Acculturation, Assimilation and Mobility. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30,



- 152–164.
- Gold, S. J. (1992). *Refugee Communities: A Comparative Field Study*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties: Network Theory Revisited. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 18(40), 279–288.
- Grigoryev, D. (2015). Ethnic and Religious Identification, Acculturation Attitudes and the Socio-Economic Adaptation of Immigrants (April 30, 2015). *Higher School of Economics Research Paper No. WP BRP 37/PSY/2015*. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2600845> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2600845>
- Hayfron, J. E. (2006). Immigrants in the Labor Market. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. (pp. 439–452). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschman, C. (1982). Immigrants and Minorities: Old Questions for New Directions in Research. *International Migration Review*, 16(2), 474–490.
- Hipp, J. R., & Bauer, D. J. (2006). Local Solutions in the Estimation of Growth Mixture Models. *Psychological Methods*, 11(1), 36–53.
- Inguglia, C., & Musso, P. (2015). Intercultural Profiles and Adaptation Among Immigrant and Autochthonous Adolescents. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 11(1), 79–99.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2008). Long-Term Immigrant Adaptation: Eight-Year Follow-Up Study among Immigrants from Russia and Estonia Living in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, 43(1), 6–18.
- Lamba, N. K. (2003). The Employment Experiences of Canadian Refugees: Measuring the Impact of Human and Social Capital on Quality of Employment. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 40, 45–64.
- Lambert, W. E., & Taylor, D. M. (1988). Assimilation versus Multiculturalism: The Views of Urban Americans. *Sociological Forum*, 3, 72–88.
- Lancee, B. (2010). The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 202–226.
- Levanon, A. (2011). Ethnic Social Capital: Individual and Group Level Sources and Their Economic Consequences. *Social Science Research*, 40, 77–86.
- Light, I. (1972). *Ethnic Enterprise in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Massey, D. S., & Espinosa, K. E. (1997). What's Driving Mexico-US Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology* 102, 939–999.
- Montgomery, J. R. (1996). Components of Refugee Adaptation. *International Migration Review*,

- Nee, V., & Sanders, J. (2001). Understanding the Diversity of Immigrant Incorporation: A Forms-of-Capital Model. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 386–411.
- Nesdale, D., & Mak, A. (2003). Ethnic Identification, Self-Esteem and Immigrant Psychological Health. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 23–40.
- Nylund, K., Asparouhov, T., & Muthén, B. O. (2007). Deciding on the number of classes in latent class analysis and growth mixture modeling: A Monte Carlo simulation study. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 14, 535–569.
- Padilla, A. M., Cervantes, R. C., Maldonado, M., & Garcia, R. E. (1988). Coping Responses to Psychosocial Stressors among Mexican and Central American immigrants. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 16, 418–427.
- Pavlopoulos, V., & Besevegis, E. (2009). Acculturation Patterns of Immigrants in Relation to Their Level of Adaptation. *Paper presented at the 14th International Metropolis Conference, September 2009*. Copenhagen, Denmark.
- Portes, A. (1995). Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview. In A. Portes (Ed.) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration* (pp. 1–41.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A., & Bach, R. L. (1985). *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1320–1350.
- Potocky-Tripodi, M. (2004). The Role of Social Capital in Immigrant and Refugee Economic Adaptation. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 31(1), 59–91.
- Read, J. G. (2004). Cultural Influences on Immigrant Women's Labor Force Participation: The Arab-American Case. *International Migration Review*, 38, 52–77.
- Rudmin, F. W. (2009). Constructs, Measurements and Models of Acculturation and Acculturative Stress. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33, 106–123.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2008). Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London. *Sociology*, 42(4), 672–690.
- Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research. *The American Psychologist*, 65, 237–251.
- Schwartz, S. J., & Zamboanga, B. L. (2008). Testing Berry's Model of Acculturation: A Confirmatory Latent Class Approach. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*,

14, 275–285.

- Tatarko, A. N. (2009). Kul'turno-psikhologicheskie osobennosti sotsial'nogo kapitala etnicheskikh grupp Rossii [Cultural and psychological features of the social capital of ethnic groups in Russia]. *Psikhologicheskii zhurnal [Psychological journal]*, 30(2), 67–80. (In Russian)
- Tatarko, A. N., & Lebedeva, N. M. (2011). *Metody etnicheskoy i krosskul'turnoy psikhologii. [Methods of Ethnic and Cross-Cultural Psychology]*. Moscow: Publ. NIU VShE. (In Russian)
- Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2007). National (Dis)Identification, and Ethnic and Religious Identity: A Study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33, 1448–1462.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The Psychology of Culture Shock* (2nd ed.). Hove, UK: Routledge.
- Ward, C., & Kus, L. (2012). Back to and Beyond Berry's Basics: The Conceptualization, Operationalization and Classification of Acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36, 472–485.
- Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, R. (1999). Acculturation and Adaptation Revisited. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30(4), 422–442.
- Williams, G. A., & Kibowski, F. (2016). Latent Class Analysis and Latent Profile Analysis. In L. A. Jason & D. S. Glenwick (Eds.), *Handbook of Methodological Approaches to Community-Based Research: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods* (pp. 143–153). Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, K. L., & Portes, A. (1980). Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cuban in Miami. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86(2), 295–319.
- Wooden, M. (1991). The Experience of Refugees in the Australian Labor Market. *International Migration Review*, 25(3), 514–535.

**Dmitry S. Grigoryev**

International Scientific-Educational Laboratory for Socio-Cultural Research of the Expert  
Institute of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia);

E-mail: [dgrigoryev@hse.ru](mailto:dgrigoryev@hse.ru)

**Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily  
reflect the views of HSE.**

© Grigoryev, 2016