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## **Discordance of Acculturation Attitudes of the Host Population and Their Dealing with Immigrants**

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### **Abstract**

We set out to quantitatively evaluate the discordance between perceived and desired acculturation attitudes by immigrants in Russia in the eyes of host group members and consider relationships between this discordance and other intergroup attitudes. We used the coefficient of intrarater agreement as a measure of discordance between acculturation attitudes of the host population. The host population in Russia mostly preferred an assimilative acculturation strategy by immigrants but believed that immigrants prefer separation. Discordance between acculturation attitudes can have consequences for intergroup relations. Further investigation of the discordance can help to better understand the process of mutual accommodation and the evaluation of discordance can help to enhance this accommodation.

*Keywords:* discordance of acculturation attitudes, acculturation expectations, multicultural ideology, right-wing authoritarianism, willingness to engage in intergroup contact, discrimination of immigrants

## Discordance of Acculturation Attitudes of the Host Population and Their Dealing with Immigrants

Immigrant acculturation outcomes are influenced by the attitudes of both immigrants and the host population (see, e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003). Notably the discrepancies between acculturation orientations and practices by immigrants, as perceived by the host population, and the practices and orientations, deemed desirable by the host population, can affect intergroup relations (see, e.g., António & Monteiro, 2015; Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2015; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). There are a few models that address attitudes towards immigrant acculturation and differences of these attitudes among immigrants and the host population (e.g., Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Navas et al., 2005; Piontkowski et al., 2002). The Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al., 2005) makes a distinction between what is called in the model the ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ situation in the acculturation process: (1) ‘the real situation’ refers to the acculturation strategies that immigrants put into practice, as perceived by the host population (i.e., host situation perception) and (2) ‘the ideal plane’ is defined by the position the host population would like immigrants to take (i.e., acculturation expectations). The authors argue that the two groups do not always have the same preferences and that larger disparities between the preferences of immigrants and the host population carry a greater potential risk of individual and intergroup conflict. In addition, the RAEM poses that there could be heterogeneity in acculturation orientations across life domains as the process of acculturation unfolds (Navas et al., 2015). The seven life domains are spread on a continuum from material to symbolic domains. Political, work, and economic elements are on one end, religious beliefs and ways of thinking are located on the opposite end, and social and family relationships are in the center. Accordingly, the host population may have a representation of how immigrants should adjust in each of these domains which would

constitute an ideal plan in terms of the RAEM.

Moreover, there is a certain imbalance in the influence that the host population and immigrants can have on each other in the process of acculturation. Piontkowski, Rohmann, and Florack (2002) noted that the dominant and the non-dominant groups differ in the degree to which they can control the acculturation process; the dominant group, which is the most common case, will have the power to determine whether or not the non-dominant group is allowed to maintain its own culture and have relationships with the dominant group. At the very least, the dominant group will try to impose its own expectations concerning the correct acculturation strategy on immigrants (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). In terms of the RAEM, these adjustment expectations will shape acculturation strategies the host population will prefer in immigrants. Kauff, Asbrock, Issmer, Thörner, and Wagner (2015) argued that the host population can have other acculturation preferences than immigrants: unlike a preference for integration often adopted by immigrants, many host population members prefer an assimilation strategy by immigrants because assimilation does not challenge the status quo and provides a justification of the dominant identity and position of the host population (Verkuyten, 2005). The latter group often believes that immigrants prefer a separation strategy, which amounts to a refusal of contact with the host society (e.g., van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Previously, Rohmann, Florack, and Piontkowski (2006) showed that such a proposed discordance between the immigrants and the host population in acculturation preferences is related to increased feelings of threat of the latter group. Unwillingness to adapt to the host society can lead to increased feelings of intergroup threat that in turn facilitate discriminatory behavioral intentions by the host population (Kauff et al., 2015). The idea of a negative effect of discordance between acculturation attitudes of the host population on attitudes towards immigrants may have its roots in the beliefs of autochthony (Geschiera, 2009). These beliefs imply that immigrants should play the game by the rules of the original inhabitants because immigrants have a subordinate position and the dominant group claims primordial rights and

advocates the principle of ‘first come-first rule’ (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013). Moreover, immigrants who agree with the beliefs of the dominant group are evaluated more positively and should consequently be perceived as less threatening, whereas differences in values and interests may lead to intercultural threat and conflict (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). Thus, Piontkowski et al. (2002) assume that the degree of mismatch between the attitudes of the dominant group and the non-dominant group is a crucial factor determining the relationship between the two groups. They proposed the Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA) including four types of concordance that represent different possibilities of (mis)matched attitudes: consensual, culture-problematic, contact-problematic, and conflictual. Previous studies showed that the level of concordance is related to perceived intergroup threat and/or enrichment when controlling for the underlying acculturation attitudes: the greater the concordance between the acculturation attitudes of the host population and the perceived attitudes of immigrants, the lower the perceived threat, discriminatory behavioral intentions and the higher the perceived enrichment (Kauff et al., 2015; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2008). Thus, an important element of the acculturation of immigrants is constituted by the expected acculturation strategies among the host population. The mismatch of the real behavior of immigrants and an ideal picture among the host population of what immigrants should do could be a source of threats and discrimination.

Another well documented predictor associated with the perceived threat and endorsement of discrimination of immigrants is authoritarianism, sometimes named right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) (see, e.g., Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010; Oyamoto et al., 2012). RWA, according to Altemeyer (1996), covers three aspects: (1) uncritical subjection to authority (authoritarian submission); (2) feelings of aggression towards norm violators (authoritarian aggression); and (3) strict adherence to conventional norms and values (conventionalism). RWA expresses a motivational goal made chronically salient for individuals by their personalities and social worldviews (Duckitt, 2006). High-RWA individuals perceive the world as a dangerous place and tend to maintain social and

collective security, cohesion, and order and they perceive immigrants as a threat to traditional norms and values (Duckitt, 2006; van Assche, Roets, Dhont, & van Hiel, 2014). It is assumed that RWA is closely related to intergroup perception processes (van Assche, Roets, Dhont, & van Hiel, 2014, 2016; Kauff et al., 2015). For instance, a high level of RWA leads to a special sensitivity of individuals to external groups, thus, immigrants are perceived as marginal subjects with wrong and dangerous cultural and social norms that threaten the social order and the security of the host society (Cohrs & Stelzl, 2010). Thomsen, Green, and Sidanius (2012) believe that immigrants who refuse to fully assimilate and "dissolve" in the host society will be a source of frustration for high-RWA individuals. Kauff et al. (2015) in their study showed that authoritarianism is a moderator of the link between perceived unwillingness to integrate and intergroup threat. Thus, it can be assumed that RWA strongly associates with the discordance between the ideal plan for acculturation of immigrants (especially complete assimilation expectation) and their real acculturation strategies in the REAM framework.

In contrast, a multicultural ideology which is a pluralistic ideology, aims to promote the acknowledgment and celebration of differences, and helps to ensure the co-existence of various cultural orientations and behaviors in the society (Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). Thus, a multicultural ideology not only recognizes cultural diversity but also encourages it (Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014). Verkuyten (2005) reported that the more the host population endorse multiculturalism, the less likely they are to show negative outgroup evaluation. Dixon et al. (2012) also found a more positive evaluation and emotions in relation to other ethnic groups among individuals with a higher level of support of a multicultural ideology. Later, Guan et al. (2011) also found a beneficial effect of multiculturalism in the case of value incongruence. In addition, multicultural ideology is associated with the maintenance of an anti-discrimination social policy and with the formation of an environment providing equal rights for immigrants (Guimond et al., 2013). Multiculturalism is also closely related to an intergroup perception process since it is based on one

of the principles of intergroup categorization (Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014). In this way, RWA and multicultural ideology may contain two opposite motives to evaluate discordance between perceived and desired acculturation attitudes by immigrants in the eyes of the host population: (in-)tolerance towards diversity in behavior.

There is plenty of evidence to point to the potential of intergroup contact for reducing prejudice and intergroup tension (see, e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006); yet, this potential can be realized only when group members are willing to engage in intergroup contact (Ron et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2014). The positive effects of contact confirm the importance of establishing conditions that increase the willingness of individuals to engage in intergroup contact; individuals should be in a mindset in which contacts will not intensify prejudice (Grigoryev, 2016; Wang et al., 2014). However, if these conditions are not met, contact can strengthen tension and negative attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Constructive intergroup contact is the first step for establishing and maintaining intercultural communication (Wang et al., 2014). According to the Integrative Communication Theory, communication of immigrants with the host population is the key component for their successful adaptation to a new environment (Kim, 2001). Intercultural communication includes three categories: cognitive, affective and operational, covering various domains of immigrant life. Interpersonal communication with the host population provides vital information to immigrants and forms an idea of the norms and behavior of the host population that in turn represents a reference point for the behavior of immigrants (Kim, 2001; Kramer, 2000). In addition, communication ensures the social participation of immigrants and inclusion in the host society. Since in the initial stages most immigrants are limited in access to material and symbolic resources, the information and emotional support that they receive in the process of communication can compensate for this lack of resources. All this becomes possible only if the host population have the willingness to come into contact with immigrants (Shelton & Richerson, 2005). As Ron, Solomon, Halperin, and Saguy (2017) noted, obstacles and motivations for entering intercultural contact can be developed at

three levels: at the level of the existing intergroup conflict (macro-level), belonging to social groups (meso-level), and at the interpersonal level. One of the main barriers is a high level of perceived threat manifested in intercultural communication (Croucher, 2013; Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997). Thus, a high level of authoritarianism and discordance in acculturation attitudes as predictors may accompany a high level of perceived threat and have negative associations with the willingness to engage in intergroup contact and positive associations with the endorsement of discrimination of immigrants. In contrast, there is evidence that the endorsement of multicultural ideology is negatively associated with social distance toward outgroups and positively with the willingness to engage in intergroup contact (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014).

Besides a lack of contacts and communication with the host population, discrimination is also a major obstacle to the full integration of immigrants in the labor market and in society in general; the actual prevalence of discrimination is difficult to assess (OECD, 2013). Discrimination has a negative effect both on immigrant well-being and on the social and economic state of the host society (Hanson, 2009). Studies based on personal perception of immigrants indicate that discrimination can accompany them at all stages of the employment cycle, such as the employment for which they are overqualified, discrimination at the workplace, a high risk of lower wages, and lack of career prospects (Dancygier & Laitin, 2014; Mallender et al., 2014). There is also evidence of discrimination in the housing market and in the education system (OECD, 2013). Discrimination in the socioeconomic domain is closely associated with other forms of discrimination and inequality, which makes it one of the most complex and destructive types of inequality in society (OECD, 2013). As immigration to developed countries will probably increase in the coming years, economic discrimination against immigrants can evolve into a grave long-term problem requiring a comprehensive solution. The challenges in a new society encountered by immigrants, such as problems in economic integration, have negative consequences for social cohesion, reduce immigrants' investments in their own education and professional qualifications, which, subsequently, leads to

significant economic losses for the host country (Crepaz, 2008; Dancygier & Laitin, 2014). The inability of immigrants to spend resources on their own education and professional training (or receive sponsoring), along with the alienation and distrust they experience towards the host society can lead immigrants to perform low-skilled jobs or become unemployed (OECD, 2013). This negative condition of immigrants enhances the negative attitudes of the host population and serves in a sense as self-fulfilling prophecy. In the other words, the lack of positive contact with immigrants can breed discriminatory attitudes among the host population, which in turn stimulates the avoidance of intercultural interaction, developing into a vicious circle (Wang et al., 2014). Therefore, discrimination of immigrants in the socioeconomic domain and a lack of willingness to engage in intergroup contact can be considered one of the main obstacles on the part of the host population to the adjustment of immigrants and two common aspects of their dealing with immigrants. Since both discrimination of immigrants and a lack of willingness to engage in intergroup contact are revealed as a certain behavior of the host population towards immigrants, it can be assumed that they both relate to dealing with immigrants. In the area of intercultural communication, it is a strategy of active avoidance of intergroup communication with immigrants and intention to force them to leave the country by discrimination.

There are only a few investigations of discordance of acculturation attitudes; one of the problems in these studies is the absence of a simple measure of discordance. In the study, we set out to quantitatively evaluate the discordance between acculturation attitudes of the host population using Robinson's A coefficient for intrarater agreement as the measure of mismatch of a perception of the acculturation strategies of immigrants (real situation) and acculturation expectations towards immigrants (ideal situation) in the public and private acculturation domains within the framework of RAEM; in addition, we were interested in the direct and indirect links between this discordance and relevant other intergroup variables. The present study makes a contribution to the acculturation literature by introducing a novel, quantitative approach to evaluate the discordance between

acculturation attitudes and also poses two dimensional model of antecedents and outcomes of this discordance for the host population. We pose that authoritarianism and multicultural ideology are associated with the discordance in two different ways: (1) RWA is related to the perception of acculturation of immigrants as more deviant from the ‘right’ way and it requires of adjustments according to mainstream cultural norms; (2) multicultural ideology promotes the acceptance of cultural diversity emphasizing the plurality of different groups and acknowledging and valuing group memberships, and in this case, the desired acculturation attitudes of immigrants should be less divergent from perceived ones. So, we assumed that RWA is positively associated with the discordance and multicultural ideology is negatively associated with the discordance. Additionally, RWA is a barrier to a positive intergroup contact, primarily by restricting the willingness to participate in such contact (e.g., Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017), whereas valuing diversity is positively associated with interest in intergroup contact (e.g., Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). So, we assumed that RWA is negatively associated with positive aspects of dealing with immigrants and multicultural ideology is positively associated with positive aspects of dealing with immigrants. We tested the conceptual model of Figure 1 in the Russian context. We addressed host population’ attitudes in Russia, where acculturation issues have been infrequently addressed, although the Russian population comprises more than 190 ethnic groups and the United Nations estimated the Russian Federation as the world's second-leading country in the number of immigrants in 2013 (Lebedeva, Tatarko, & Berry, 2016).

[Figure 1. The tested conceptual model]

## Method

### Participants

The total sample of 576 host population members from 33 regions of Russia, included 212 women (39.6%) and 324 men (60.4%), aged from 15 to 79 years ( $M = 35.1$ ,  $SD = 13.4$ ); 115 participants (21.5%) were students (40 participants did not provide this background information).

The sociodemographic characteristics of the sample are shown in more detail in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 here]

### **Procedure**

The data were collected online via social media. All participants filled in the questionnaire voluntarily and did not receive any remuneration. We recruited participants using targeted, paid ads in “VK”, the most popular social network in Russia. This social network covers more than 90 million Russian citizens, and provides good access to major parts of the Russian population. Participants were given a questionnaire and asked to read the instructions, which included information about the main topics discussed in the study, confidentiality policy, and how to contact the researchers.

### **Measures**

All measures were administered in Russian. We used an adaptation of these measures by Grigoryev and van de Vijver (2018), which were adapted by back-translation and cognitive interviews with the think-aloud technique, followed by statistical analyses to ensure their internal consistency and factor structure.

#### *Antecedent Variables*

**Right-wing authoritarianism.** We used a short version of RWA scale, a nine-point Likert scale containing six items (Altemeyer, 1996), which were selected in pre-tests in Russia using confirmatory factor analysis in order to equal represent the three subdimensions of Altemeyer’s widely used RWA scale (i.e., conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression), with sample items such as "Most bad people in this country are those who do not respect our flag, our politicians and traditions," and "In these troubled times, laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up" ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

**Multicultural ideology.** We used a 7-point Likert scale comprising 6 items (Berry & Kalin,

1995), with sample items such as "A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur," and "We should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Russian society" ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

**Acculturation attitudes.** We used a 7-point Likert scale with items for two dimensions (adoption and maintenance) from the RAEM (Navas et al., 2005). We measured the perception of the acculturation strategies of immigrants (real situation) and acculturation expectations towards immigrants (ideal situation) in both public domains (i.e., work, social relationships and friendship, the use of language, political system, and government) and private domains (i.e., family economy and consumer habits, family relationships, religious beliefs and customs, and ways of thinking: values and principles).

#### *Outcome Variables*

**Willingness to engage in intergroup contact.** We used a 9-point Likert scale with 4 items (Halperin, Canetti-Nisim, & Pedahzur, 2007), with sample items such as "I would agree to live in the same neighborhood with a labor migrant" and "I am willing to invite a labor migrant to a social event at my home" ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

**Endorsement of discrimination of immigrants in the socioeconomic domain.** We developed a 7-point Likert scale with 6 items (Grigoryev & van de Vijver, 2018). The questionnaire contained items asking for endorsement of behaviors that reflect discrimination of immigrants in the work place, labor market, rental housing sectors, and other domains. We focused on the socioeconomic domains deemed relevant in the literature (see Dancygier & Laitin, 2014; Mallender et al., 2014; OECD, 2013), with sample items such as "Paying immigrants lower wages than the host population, provided equal qualifications and level of education," and "The lack of career prospects for immigrants" ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

#### **Data Analysis**

Using R (R Core Team, 2017), we conducted data screening including checking for outliers

and missing data. We used the lavaan R package (Rosseel, 2012) to construct the measurement model with four latent factors (RWA, multicultural ideology, willingness to engage in intergroup contact, and endorsement of discrimination) and checked the fit of that model to data applying CFA. Estimation of the model and subsequent models was carried out with the use of robust statistics chi-square (Satorra-Bentler corrections — MLM estimator). We employed commonly recommended global fit measures: CFI > .90 and SRMR < .08 (Kline, 2016), and RMSEA value taking into account measurement quality, while an RMSEA value of .06 or above can be considered poor fit with low measurement quality, adequate fit with loadings near .70, or excellent fit with high measurement quality (see McNeish, An, & Hancock, 2018). In addition, we checked local fit using correlation residuals and modification indices and their power approach for model fit evaluation (semTools Contributors, 2016).

In the next step we addressed indicators of reliability as well as convergent and discriminant validity of the scales. We calculated the following coefficients: Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ), Raykov's composite reliability ( $\omega$ ), maximal reliability (H), average variance extracted (AVE), maximum shared variance (MSV), average shared variance (ASV), and the square root of AVE. The cutoffs for coefficients were as follows: a scale is reliable if  $\alpha > .70$  and  $\omega > .70$ ; convergent validity is supported if  $AVE > .50$ ; discriminant validity is supported if  $MSV < AVE$ ,  $ASV < AVE$  (Hair et al., 2010) and if the square root of AVE is larger than inter-construct correlations (Fornell & Lacker, 1981). The cutoff for maximum reliability is reached if  $H > .80$  (Hancock & Mueller, 2001).

To control for possible common method bias, we used the unmeasured latent method construct (ULMC) technique, which implies adding a common latent factor to capture the common variance among all observed variables in the model (Podsakoff et al., 2003). We added to the measurement model the uncorrelated UCLC with four configurations, in which factors loadings were: (1) freely estimated, (2) fixed to equal factor loadings, (3) fixed to 1, and (4) fixed to 0. Next,

by comparing chi-square fit statistics, we identified a common variation of the latent constructs, due to the use of a single method and/or source (e.g., response style).

Our test of an individual-level model, as described above, can only be adequate if observations are independent of region membership (so that individual-level data do not reflect confounding regional differences); the data has 33 clusters, with from 5 to 144 observations per cluster (average cluster size is 16.21). In contrast to, for example, Levene's homogeneity of variance test, multilevel modeling has a good opportunity of detection possible standard error bias due to clustering that leads to inflated type-I error rates and incorrect confidence intervals. In case of multilevel modeling, an ICC of zero indicates that observations are independent of cluster membership; the larger the ICC, the more conflation there is between individual and cluster differences (Geiser, 2013). If ICC values are large, a multilevel analysis that takes the individual and regional level into account is recommended. Using Mplus 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012), we conducted a two-level basic analysis to provide an overview of the cluster structure in the data and the degree of dependence of observations.

In the next step, we used Robinson's A coefficient of agreement for the assessment of any mismatch of acculturation attitudes (Real vs. Ideal) on all domains together (except political system and government) for each individual and we multiplied Robinson's A coefficient by -1 to convert the measure of agreement into a measure of disagreement. In addition, we computed Kendall's W coefficient of concordance as an index of interrater agreement among the host population for each acculturation attitude domain and their means. These coefficients were computed using R (Gamer et al., 2012).

Finally, we used the lavaan R package (Rosseel, 2012) to test the conceptual model (structural model) applying structural equation modeling. Factor scores of willingness to engage in intergroup contact (this loading was fixed to 1) and endorsement of discrimination of immigrants in the socioeconomic domain as manifest variables had loadings by an outcome latent variable.

## Results

### Preliminary Analysis

The data contained 40 observations with missing values (partially completed questionnaires) that could not be imputed using any statistical procedures; therefore, we kept default settings for missing values (i.e., skip all subjects with missing values) in the subsequent analysis.

### Measurement Model

**Confirmatory factor analysis.** The estimated model had factor loadings ranging from .576 to .875, the average values was .731; the initial model showed an acceptable global fit which did not require any modification:  $\chi^2(221, N = 538) = 704.37, p < .001$ ; CFI = .921; RMSEA [90% CI] = .064 [.059, .069]; SRMR = .053. When checking the local fit, we found some misspecification of four correlations between items from 434 estimated parameters in the model, but we believe that this misspecification is not a serious threat to the quality or interpretations of the measurement. Descriptive statistics including correlations, means, and standard deviations can be found in Table 2.

[Insert Table 2 here]

**Reliability and validity.** Reliability and validity statistics can be seen in Table 2. All scales had good reliability values. In terms of AVE, some problems with the convergent validity were found for endorsement of discrimination, which was slightly below the criterion value of .50; however, AVE is a strict measure of convergent validity and according to Malhotra and Dash (2011, p. 702), “AVE is a more conservative measure than CR [composite reliability, added by authors]. On the basis of CR alone, the researcher may conclude that the convergent validity of the construct is adequate, even though more than 50% of the variance is due to error”. Also, some indicators could indicate a weak discriminant validity for these scales, which had a strong, negative correlation ( $r = -.88, p < .001$ ). Nevertheless, the items meaningfully refer to different constructs, which suggests that items were sufficiently non-overlapping and reflect different aspects of dealing

with immigrants. In addition, we compared one- and two-factor models for willingness to engage in intergroup contact and endorsement of discrimination scales. The two-factorial model yielded a better fit ( $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 541) = 27.69, p < .001$ ; AIC = 22022 vs. 22123).

**Common method bias.** The model with freely estimated factor loadings did not converge properly, while all of the other models could be estimated. The model with fixed equal factor loadings showed the same fit to the data as the model with factor loadings fixed to 1 and a worse fit than the model with factor loadings fixed to 0 ( $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 538) = 561.85, p < .001$ ; AIC = 48681 vs. 48119). The model that includes the ULMC had a poor fit, which suggests that ULMC variance is not a serious validity threat.

**Sample bias.** The proportions of variance at the region level, as indicated by the ICCs of the items, ranged from .02 to .11, with an average of .05. We concluded that the data were largely independent of cluster membership and that we could continue by testing the subsequent model test (SEM) only on the individual level.

### **Means and Interrater Agreement**

Means and interrater agreement are shown in Table 3. Kendall's W coefficients of concordance ranged from .601 to .975, with an average of .906. The greatest disagreement involved the use of language (.601); there are substantial individual differences in opinion about the desirability of using the Russian language immigrants in Russia. Relatively low values were also obtained for the actual maintenance in the social relationships and friendships (.645) and religious beliefs and customs (.769). These domains showed the largest individual differences in desired and perceived levels of adjustment. The graphical classification of the four acculturation strategies provided by the two-dimensional model is shown in Figure 2. The perception of the acculturation strategies practiced by immigrants involved a separation strategy for most acculturation domains whereas their acculturation expectations were closer to its opposite, assimilation. So, the host population expected less maintenance and more adoption of the Russian culture than they perceived

in the practices of immigrants; also, there was some pattern of low adoption and high maintenance that is stronger in the public domain than in the private domain.

[Insert Table 3 here]

[Figure 2. The graphical representation of the distribution of public and private acculturation domains within the framework of a two-dimensional model]

### Structural Model

The structural model initially had an acceptable global fit which did not require any modification:  $\chi^2(85, N = 538) = 362.80, p < .001$ ; CFI = .921; RMSEA [90% CI] = .078 [.070, .086]; SRMR = .051. The resulting SEM model is shown in Figure 3. All expected relationships were confirmed. The explained variation ranged from 24% to 85%. Dealing with immigrants was negatively associated with the index of the mismatch ( $B = -2.199, p < .001, \beta = -.251$ ) and RWA (direct:  $B = -0.257, p < .001, \beta = -.255$ ; indirect:  $B = -0.050, p < .001, \beta = -.050$ , percent mediation ( $pm$ ) = .16), and positively associated with multicultural ideology (direct:  $B = 0.777, p < .001, \beta = .540$ ; indirect:  $B = 0.164, p < .001, \beta = .114, pm = .17$ ). The index of the mismatch was negatively associated with multicultural ideology ( $B = -0.074, p < .001, \beta = -.453$ ) and positively associated with RWA ( $B = 0.023, p < .001, \beta = .198$ ). The relationship between multicultural ideology and RWA was non-significant ( $B = 0.014, p = .925, \beta = .005$ ). A model test including sociodemographic covariates yielded the same results.

[Figure 3. The resulting SEM model.]

*Note.* Direct effects are indicated by solid lines; indirect effects are provided in brackets.

\*  $p < .001$

### Discussion

In this study, we tested a conceptual model of relationships of the discordance between acculturation attitudes of the host population (i.e., discrepancies between perceived and desired acculturation attitudes), RWA, multicultural ideology, and dealing with immigrants that cover both

positive and negative intergroup attitudes: willingness to engage in intergroup contact and endorsement of discrimination of immigrants in the socioeconomic domain. The results showed that the host population in Russia have mostly a preference for an assimilative acculturation strategy by immigrants, which has also been found in Germany (Kauff et al., 2015), but they believe that immigrants prefer separation, which has also been found in the Netherlands (van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998); these assessments have rather high levels of interindividual agreement. In addition, there are also domain differences in these preferences. The Russian host population have somewhat different perceptions of strategies of acculturation of immigrants in the contact and friendship and religious beliefs domains (see also Grigoryev & van de Vijver, 2018, for more information about domain-specific in acculturation expectation of the Russian host population). These perceived differences may be based on different characteristics of immigrants, including religion, language, or physical appearance (Ryabichenko & Lebedeva, 2016). For example, immigrants from Armenia, Ukraine, and Belarus are mostly Christians, and immigrants from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan are predominantly Muslims. In addition to immigrants from the former Soviet republics in Russia, there are immigrants from China. Since the host population in Russia are mainly Eastern Orthodox Christians and this denomination had a strong influence on Russian culture, they can have different expectations towards the adaptation of Christian groups and the representatives of other religions. Moreover, all these countries have a different cultural distance from Russia, as well as a different tendency to communicate with the host population. A large cultural distance is associated with a greater salience of features in intergroup perception process that increases attitudes towards immigrants as alien or threatening members of society (Shenkar, 2012). Also, the largest discrepancies in the expectations of the host population could be found in the language domain. As for the Russian language, the right-wing political discourse in Russia emphasizes the poor knowledge of the Russian language among immigrants; there had even been initiatives from right-wing politicians in the parliament to prohibit the use of any foreign languages

during working hours at the workplace so that immigrants cannot use their native language at work. These discussions have led to legal changes for immigrants. Like in many other countries, immigrants wishing to obtain a work permit in Russia need a certificate showing that they passed a comprehensive Russian language test, as well as a test involving the basics of Russian law and history.

Our conceptual model was confirmed in that RWA and multicultural ideology had the expected negative and positive effects on intergroup relations, respectively (e.g., Duckitt, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). In addition, the discordance of acculturation attitudes explained unique variation in the outcome and also partially mediated the relationship between RWA/multicultural ideology and the outcome. Previous studies also found that multiculturalism can be an insufficient condition for positive attitudes toward immigrants; tolerance and perceived consequences of immigration mediated the relationship between multicultural ideology and attitudes towards immigrants (Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, Albiero, & Berry, 2017). Also, RWA may be mediated by perceived threat from the outgroup (see, e.g., Duckitt, 2006). As was shown, such perceived deviant behaviors are related to intergroup threat even among low-RWA individuals (Kauff et al., 2015); so, we can say that the discordance may be an additional source of intergroup anxiety, especially for individuals with high uncertainty avoidance in a culture (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009) as in Russia. Also, researchers studying the applicability of multiculturalism to Russia report that the main conditions for positive intercultural relations in Russia are related to the support of tolerance and perceived security and agreement with the multicultural ideology, both at the level of individual attitudes and at the level of state policy (Lebedeva & Galyapina, 2016; Lebedeva, Tatarko, & Berry, 2016). Our findings echo the recommendations by Lebedeva et al. (2016), who pointed to the need for (1) the promotion of a policy of multiculturalism and integration; (2) increasing the level of cultural, economic and personal security; and (3) providing opportunities for intercultural contact.

According to the Cultural Fusion Theory, the process of including an immigrant in a new

society is not one-sided, and it also influences the host society (Croucher & Kramer, 2017). This mutual influence of immigrants and members of the host population is possible only through communication (Croucher & Kramer, 2017). This process helps immigrants to go through a cultural transformation and to adapt to a new society (Kramer, 2013). If this communication is driven by threats, it takes destructive forms (Croucher & Kramer, 2017; González et al., 2008). For instance, it has been shown that the desire of immigrants to adapt to a new society is reduced if the host society's pressure to assimilate increases (Croucher & Cronn-Mills, 2011). Such pressure stimulates intergroup communication among immigrants and reduces the number of contacts with outgroups (Croucher & Cronn-Mills, 2011). Thus, high demands of the host population towards the assimilation of immigrants can lead to their separation. Accordingly, understanding predictors negatively and positively associated with picture of acculturation of immigrants and with intergroup contact is useful for a deep comprehension of the communication processes between immigrants and the host population.

### **Limitations and Further Research**

Our tested conceptual model did not include any proximal antecedents of the discordance between acculturation attitudes (RWA and multicultural ideology may share the variation with more proximal variables); a better identification of these antecedents, especially in experimental research, might deepen our understanding of the nature of the discordance. This study showed that multicultural ideology makes a positive contribution to intergroup relations, but it should be noted that in some circumstances multiculturalism also has negative consequences for intergroup behavior (Kauff, Asbrock, Thorner, & Wagner, 2013; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). Also, in the recent political discourse multiculturalism has become associated with globalization, which is strongly criticized in populist movements across the globe (e.g., Bertlet, 2011). So, even if multiculturalism may be able to enhance harmonious intergroup relations in modern societies, further study is needed of conditions in which this enhancement could take place.

Discrepancies between observed and desired acculturation strategies may provide a good starting point. It has been found before that behavioral adjustment of immigrants can be viewed quite differently by the immigrant and host population (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003). This discrepancy can be the point of departure for interventions. A final limitation involves our use of convenience sampling; our sample is not representative, although all Russian sociodemographic groups are well represented. Moreover, in future studies it would be useful to consider the attitude of the host population to specific groups of immigrants and compare them, since the situational and sociocultural context is very different for different ethnic groups coming to Russia. In addition, the next step may be to study of the discordance of acculturation attitudes among immigrants. Finally, in the context of communication research, it could be promising to explore consequences of the discordance of acculturation attitudes for the intensity of intergroup contacts, apprehension of intercultural communication, and cultural competence of the host population.

### **Implications and Conclusions**

Our patterns of results suggest that the discordance between acculturation attitudes may matter for intergroup relations and mutual acculturation, and need further study. Coefficients of intrarater agreement can be used for an evaluation of discordance between acculturation attitudes for both the host population and immigrants.

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Table 1  
*Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Sample*

	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Women	212	39.6
Men	324	60.4
Work status		
Unemployed	159	29.7
Women	88	55.3
Men	71	44.7
Employed	377	70.3
Underemployed	40	10.6
Overemployed	94	24.9
Income <sup>a</sup>		
< 15 000 rub.	219	40.9
15 000-40 000 rub.	207	38.6
40 000-60 000 rub.	57	10.6
> 60 000 rub.	53	9.9
Marital status		
Single	188	35.1
Married	300	56.0
Divorced	35	6.5
Widowed	13	2.4
Education		
Incomplete secondary education	17	3.2
Secondary education	53	9.9
Vocational education	106	19.8
Higher education	339	63.2
Incomplete (no degree awarded)	86	16.0
Bachelor	37	6.9
Specialist	140	26.1
Master	76	14.2
PhD	21	3.9
Religion		
None	182	34.0
Orthodox Christian	302	56.3
Islam	16	3.0
Other	36	6.7
Ethnicity		
Ethnic Russian	480	89.6
Other (non-immigrant ethnic minority)	56	10.4
Missing	40	6.9

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Conversion of currency: 10,000 rub  $\approx$  170 USD.

Table 2  
*Correlation Matrix, Descriptive Statistics, and Reliability and Validity Indicators*

	1	2	3	4	<i>M (SD)</i>	SE	$\alpha$	$\omega$	H	AVE	MSV	ASV
1. RWA	<u>.735</u>				5.41 (2.18)	.09	.875	.877	.865	.541	.081	.048
2. Multicultural ideology	.005	<u>.709</u>			4.95 (1.47)	.06	.852	.854	.880	.503	.445	.237
3. Willingness to engage in intergroup contact	-.271	.544	<u>.831</u>		5.19 (2.55)	.11	.899	.898	.904	.691	.773	.346
4. Endorsement of discrimination	.284	-.667	-.879	<u>.688</u>	3.46 (1.59)	.07	.843	.843	.850	.473	.773	.399
5. Index of the mismatch	.196	-.453	-.491	.547	-0.42 (0.24)	.01						

*Notes.* All correlations are significant ( $p < .001$ ), except the correlation between RWA and multicultural ideology. AVE = average variance extracted; MSV = maximum shared variance; ASV = average shared variance; square root of AVE (on diagonal and underlined).

Table 3  
*Means and Interrater Agreement*

	Perceived						Expected						
	Maintenance			Adoption			Maintenance			Adoption			
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	SE	W	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	SE	W	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	SE	W	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	SE	W	
Public domains													
Work	4.55 (1.91)	.08	.965	3.75 (1.90)	.08	.970	2.81 (1.91)	.08	.919	5.79 (1.56)	.07	.866	
Social relationships	6.31 (1.37)	.06	.645	3.39 (1.85)	.08	.969	4.78 (1.92)	.08	.958	5.52 (1.71)	.07	.920	
Language	6.06 (1.41)	.06	.833	3.89 (1.98)	.09	.975	3.23 (2.09)	.09	.946	6.50 (1.10)	.05	.601	
Political system	4.21 (1.80)	.08	.912	4.13 (1.76)	.08	.928							
Private domains													
Economy	5.68 (1.50)	.06	.915	3.29 (1.79)	.08	.966	3.82 (1.97)	.08	.967	5.17 (1.67)	.07	.943	
Family relations	5.97 (1.50)	.06	.830	2.68 (1.66)	.07	.937	4.18 (1.99)	.09	.970	4.87 (1.80)	.08	.952	
Religious beliefs	6.12 (1.46)	.06	.769	2.27 (1.58)	.07	.864	3.96 (2.06)	.09	.969	4.67 (1.90)	.08	.952	
Values	5.76 (1.59)	.07	.884	2.79 (1.77)	.08	.938	3.47 (2.00)	.09	.969	5.60 (1.58)	.07	.952	

*Notes.* W = Kendall's W coefficient of concordance.

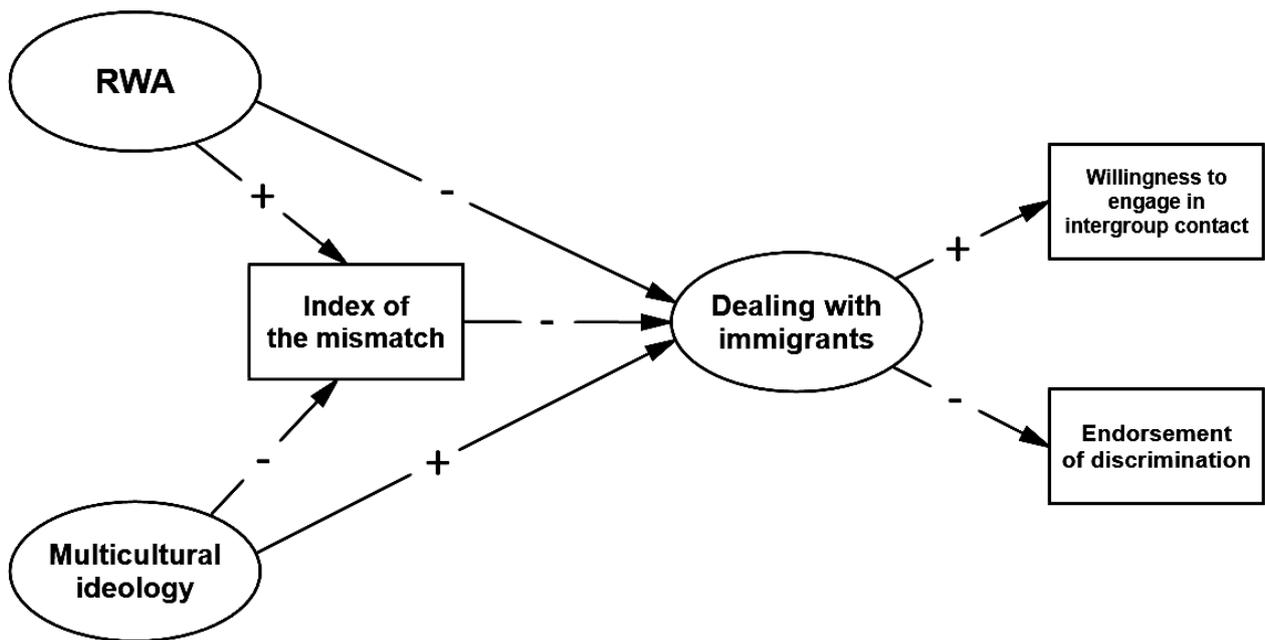


Figure 1. The tested conceptual model.

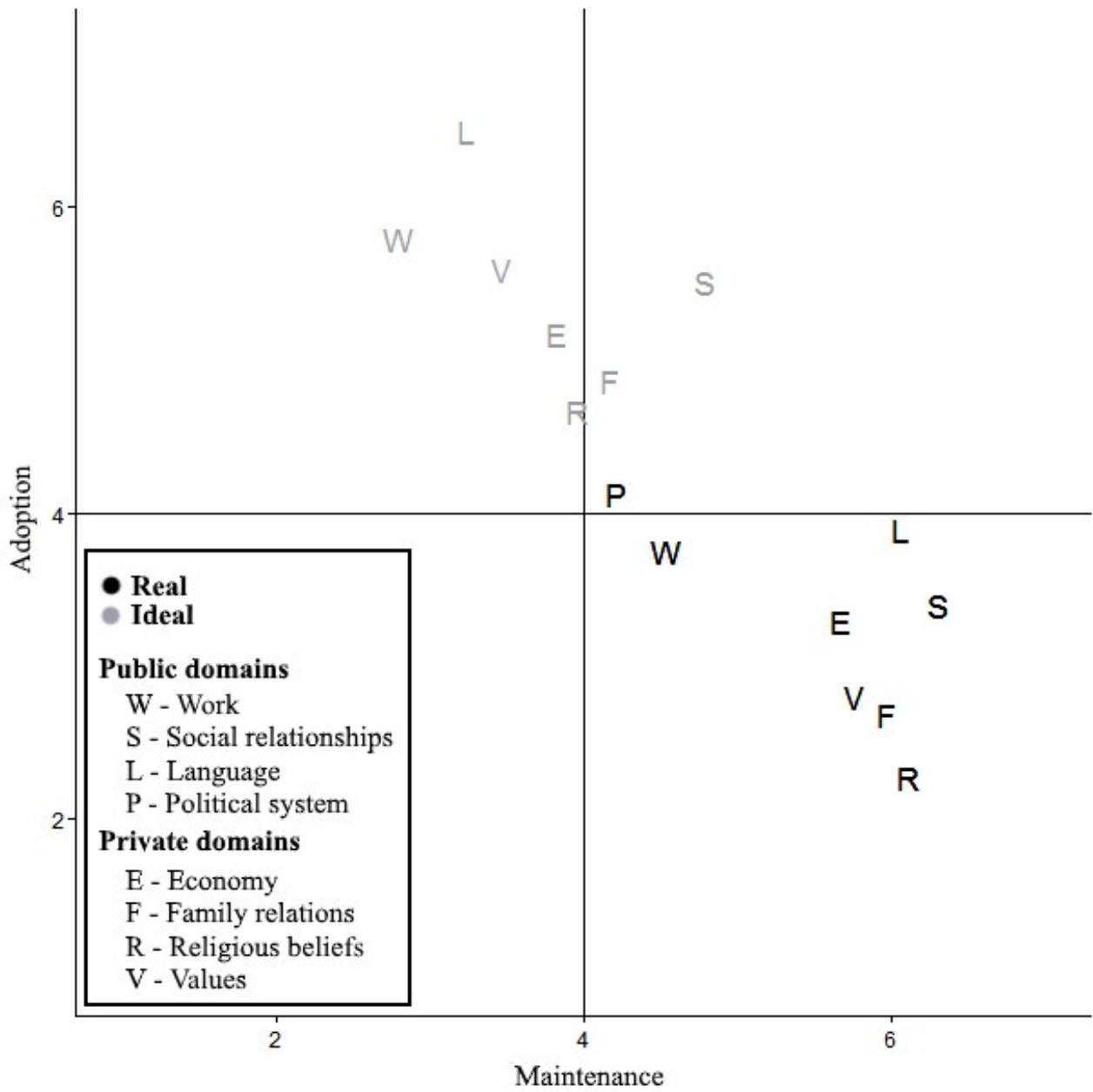


Figure 2. The graphical representation of the distribution of public and private acculturation domains within the framework of a two-dimensional model.

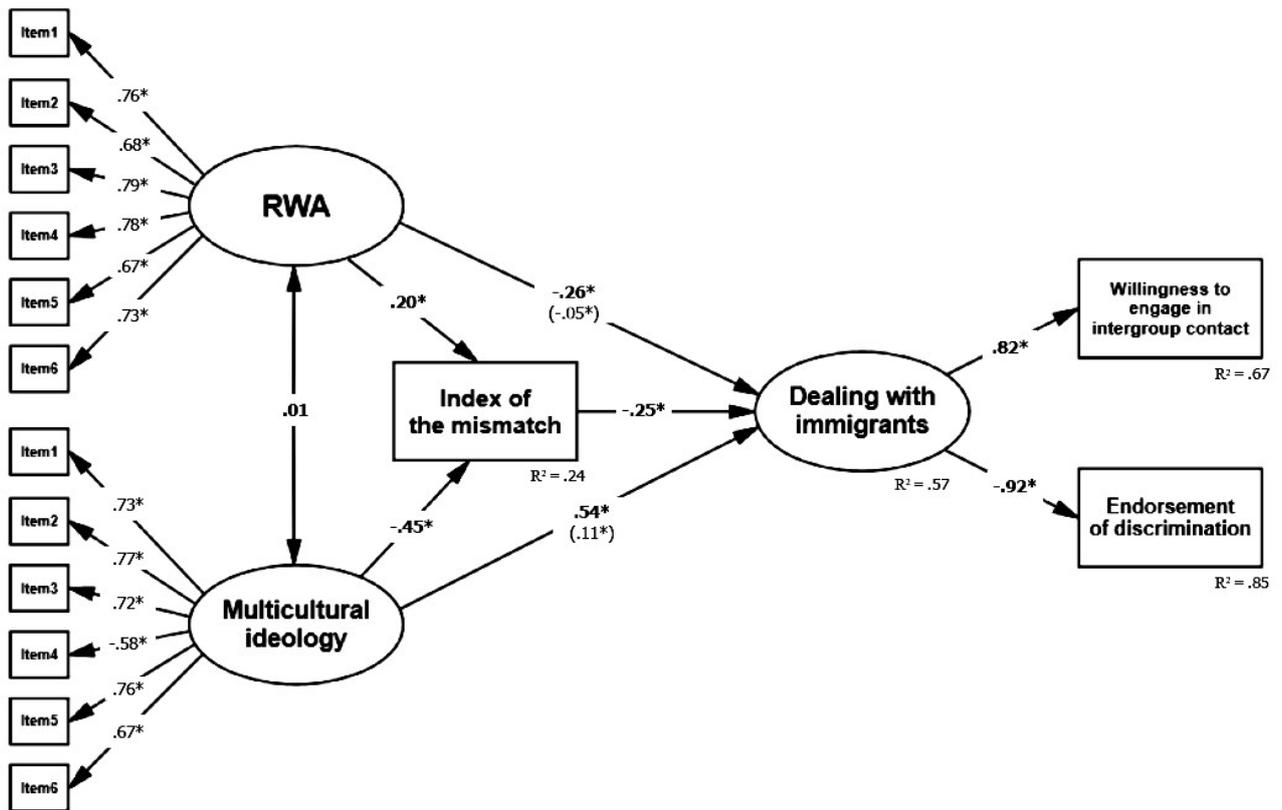


Figure 3. The resulting SEM model.

Note. Direct effects are indicated by solid lines; indirect effects are provided in brackets. \*  $p < .001$