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Acculturation Profiles of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Belgium and Their Socioeconomic Adaptation

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Acculturation Profiles of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Belgium and Their Socioeconomic Adaptation

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, and their socioeconomic adaptation. The data came from a socio-psychological survey of 132 Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium (first generation) and was processed using latent profile analysis. We found three latent groups with differing acculturation profiles, largely resembling integration, assimilation, and separation. We found that a more positive orientation toward the host society (assimilation and integration) was associated with more socioeconomic adaptation; moreover, the group with an assimilation profile was more adapted than the group with an integration profile. Also, the level of socioeconomic adaptation was higher for immigrants who have stayed in the host country for more than five years.

Keywords: socioeconomic adaptation; acculturation profiles; acculturation of immigrants; ethnic identity; language skills; labour market.

Introduction

The current study investigates how various modes of acculturation of first-generation Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium, an infrequently studied group, are associated with their socioeconomic adaptation; more specifically, we address their orientation toward the host society (integration and assimilation), orientation toward their own ethnic group (separation) in the basic life domains, the duration of their stay in the host country, and interaction between these factors. In this study, we use a person-oriented approach by applying latent profile analysis, an advanced exploratory statistical analysis

that allows the identification of groups of immigrants with similar acculturative characteristics (Bergman and Magnusson 1997; Bergman and Trost 2006). Also, whereas many acculturation studies focus on sociocultural adjustment, we focus more on the economic aspects of the adjustment process; more specifically, we use the index of socioeconomic adaptation that was compiled by the World Bank (Besevegis and Pavlopoulos 2008) and provides rich information about the socioeconomic adjustment of immigrants.

The context of study

Acculturation and socioeconomic adaptation of immigrants

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; achieving economic success is more complicated for them 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 if there is a large cultural distance between the country of origin and the host country. Even when immigrants manage to find a job, they are usually still at a disadvantage compared with natives (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Drydakis 2013; de Vroome, Verkuyten and Martinovic 2014).

According to the OECD (2008, 2015), Belgium has one of the larger immigrant communities in Europe, with more than 12% foreign-born in the population. Belgium has a high living standard and a stable economy that attracts large numbers of

immigrants each year, and few immigrants return to Russia from Belgium (Corluy, Pina and Verbist 2015; OECD 2008, 2015). Still, labour market outcomes for immigrants in Belgium tend to be poor. Employment rates are low in international comparison, particularly for immigrants from non-EU countries. Unemployment is also high, and immigrants' unemployment is almost two and a half times higher than that of the native population. Still, Belgium remains one of the most popular destination countries for Russian-speaking immigrants despite considerable difficulties to obtain visas and work permits and high levels of unemployment among immigrants relative to other EU countries (Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou 2011; Corluy, Pina and Verbist 2015; OECD 2008, 2015).

The individual characteristics of immigrants largely explain their result of advances in acculturation toward socioeconomic positions that allow immigrants to completely participate in the social and economic life of the host society (Grigoryev 2015; Michalikova and Yang 2016). Regrettably, as Hayfron (2006) noted, economic studies on labour market outcomes for immigrants have not examined how the psychological problems immigrants face can impact their acculturation process. This absence is probably because most economists and sociologists consider this problem the domain of psychology; however, socioeconomic adaptation has hardly been studied by psychologists (see also Jasinskaja-Lahti 2008) and most extant literature has focused only on assimilation as mode of acculturation (Hayfron 2006).

In cross-cultural psychology, in contrast to sociology, economics, and political science, attention has been given to several different modes of acculturation, which differ in the attitudes toward an ethnic group of immigrants and 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

toward their own group, aimed at preserving their cultural heritage and ethnic identity; and (2) orientation toward the outgroup, with a focus on adopting the culture and identity of the host country. The combination of positive and/or negative responses to these options yields four acculturation orientations. Integration occurs when the immigrant identifies with both his or her ethnic culture and the host culture. Separation is characterized by denial of the host culture and maintenance of the identity associated with the culture of the country of origin. In this case, immigrants prefer to 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, combined with a lack of identification with the culture of the host country (see Berry 1997).

Integration hypothesis versus ecological acculturation framework

According to Berry (1997), the integration strategy (biculturalism) 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 (see also Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2013). Schwartz and Unger (2010) argued that biculturalism is most adaptive in a bicultural environment and in a political climate encouraging cultural diversity (see also Berry 2005; Ward and Geeraert 2016). However, there are studies on “melting pot” societies, with a stronger pressure to assimilate, the integration strategy also remained the most adaptive strategy (Berry 1997).

Although Birman and Simon (2014) recognize that the current consensus in the literature suggests that integration strategy may be best because acculturation to both host and heritage cultures has benefits for adaptation but they offer a contextual perspective on acculturation and suggest that immigrants may benefit from different

ways of acculturating, depending on the surrounding context. From an ecological perspective, individual behaviour is transactional, and adjustment depends on person–environment fit (see also Ward and Geeraert 2016). According to Trickett (2009), there is not one kind of adaptive behaviour that fits all and “from an ecological perspective, the research task is to ascertain the range of applicability of any specific set of findings and to frame the issue of generalization through the question, ‘in what contexts would one not expect this finding to be replicated?’” (Trickett 2009, p. 398). However, Berry (2016) notes, that more recent research supported his contention with respect not only to psychological and sociocultural adaptation but also in domain-specific areas of adaptation. It can be concluded that the issue of the universal value of integration is not yet settled.

Previous work on Russian-speaking immigrants

Acculturation strategies and socioeconomic adaptation

The work status of Russian-speaking refugees living in the United States was related to level of host and ethnic acculturation. Employed differed from unemployed and underemployed groups in reporting greater comfort speaking English and higher overall levels of host acculturation. Also, fully employed individuals reported less ethnic acculturation than unemployed. The mean on ethnic acculturation for the underemployed fell in between the other two groups. In general, a linear trend was found among the three groups. Thus, refugees employed in the same field as in the former Soviet Union had been in the United States the longest and reported the highest income, host acculturation, most comfort speaking English, and life satisfaction. Those unemployed were lowest on each of these variables (Vinokurov, Birman and Trickett 2000). Also, Birman, Simon, Chan and Tran (2014) reported that adjustment to the

American culture of Russian-speaking refugees from the former Soviet Union was positively associated with their occupational adjustment.

In a study by Besevegis and Pavlopoulos (2008) on a sample of immigrants in Greece (including Russian-speaking), socioeconomic 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. Integration and assimilation had the most favourable results for socioeconomic adaptation, while separation was associated with low levels of adaptation, regardless of the country of origin and the length of stay in the host country. Furthermore, assimilation and integration, though differing in the frequency of contacts within the ethnic group, had equally positive results. Drydakís (2013) also found that assimilation and integration are positively associated with employment and wages of Russian-speaking immigrants in Greece, whereas separation was negatively associated.

Research conducted by the G-SOEP (German Socioeconomic Panel) in Germany on the influence of acculturation strategies on economic behaviour (including employment status, income, and house ownership) noted that the choice of acculturation has statistically significant and economically important effects. Assimilation and integration had a positive effect on economic performance, which was not the case for separation and marginalization (Constant and Zimmermann 2008).

Another study of first-generation, highly educated, Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium found that (1) acculturation attitudes of immigrants are associated with their level of socioeconomic adaptation, even after correction for length of stay in the host country and language skills; (2) socioeconomic adaptation is positively associated with orientation toward the host society (integration and assimilation), and negatively associated with orientation toward their own ethnic group (separation); (3) strong ethnic

and religious identification may facilitate the orientation of immigrants to their ethnic group, and strong ethnic identification prevents assimilation (Grigoryev 2015).

These results suggest that integrating immigrants can access the resources of both their own ethnic group and the host society, which is helpful for their adaptation (Besevegis and Pavlopoulos 2008). Assimilation is often conducive for socioeconomic outcomes because it facilitates contact with the dominant culture (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). Separation can have a detrimental effect on socioeconomic 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 and Mak 2003).

Cultural network and ethnic social capital: context and time

Could separation still be adaptive?

There is some evidence that the detrimental effects of separation on socioeconomic adaptation may not always be found. The relationship between maintenance of the heritage culture and socioeconomic adaptation can be moderated by the cultural network and ethnic social capital of immigrants (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Toma 2016). Newly arrived immigrants are often guided by the resources of their family or the resources of their co-nationals in the new country (Massey and Espinosa 1997; Drydakis 2013; Toma 2016). Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk and Kinunen (2011) have shown that the effect of the separation on socioeconomic adaptation may be context-specific. These authors found that separation may be adaptive for Russian-speaking immigrants in countries with a high degree of cultural diversity like Israel, and detrimental in more assimilative contexts like Finland.

In a study of the labour market position of Soviet-era Russian-speaking immigrants in Estonia, Leppik and Vihalemm (2015) found that the language policy intervention undertaken in the context of a fundamental transformation of the market structure in the 1990s in Estonia paradoxically yielded results contrary to the objectives pursued by the language policy. In terms of market position maintenance or improvement, separation (i.e., speaking Russian) was successful, whereas adopting (learning Estonian) worsened job opportunities increasing the chance of downward mobility.

The contradictory findings in the literature can be reconciled if we assume that membership in cultural networks has uneven effects across contexts with a bearing on the ethnic social capital (the political context of reception, the labour market opportunities and the features of the immigrant community) (see Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2011; Toma 2016). For example, acculturation to the host culture may be less important for immigrants working in an immigrant-owned business supported by a surrounding ethnic enclave. Acculturation to the heritage culture may be less of a resource for those immigrating in the early stages of an immigration wave when a cultural network has not yet been established (Birman, Simon, Chan and Tran 2014). Separation may be adaptive in the early stages of immigration where ethnic resources can be important (Jasinskaja-Lahti 2008; Lancee 2010). Immigrants with much ethnic social capital can obtain necessary information about work vacancies and some of the support needed for such work, which can facilitate their socioeconomic adaptation (Portes 1995; Allen 2009; Levanon 2011). At the same time, according to the immigrant assimilation hypothesis and human capital theory, ethnic social capital can also be a limitation for immigrants on the broader labour market, due to the mutual obligations and requirements to comply with social norms that accompany the use of any social

capital (Bach and Carroll-Seguin 1986; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Drydakis 2013). Furthermore, people in the ethnic support network may have limited information about available jobs in the mainstream culture. The latter is in agreement with the theory of ethnic enclaves (see Wilson and 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.

Time-specific role of acculturation to the heritage culture

Thus immigrants relying on their ethnic social capital can get only limited assistance, which may be useful only in the first years after immigration (Jasinskaja-Lahti 2008; Lancee 2010). 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 also generate 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 (Granovetter 1973; Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Ryan et al. 2008; Besevegis and Pavlopoulos 2008; see also Toma 2016).

Design and hypotheses of the present study

Acculturation profiles: a person-oriented approach to acculturation

According to Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2006) for a comprehensive study of acculturation the consideration of various aspects of acculturation orientation in a range of life domains relevant in acculturation is required, such as language ability, social contacts, relations, friendships, identity, and world-view. Such comprehensiveness enables an approach in the study of immigrants that is not very common: rather than

clustering item scores into scales and acculturation orientations, the domain variety can also be used to cluster persons (rather than items). Some researchers have indeed divided immigrants into populations according to certain acculturation profiles. For example, 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, and family values (Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder 2006; Berry et al. 2011). Often, however, acculturation profiles have been given names similar to acculturation attitudes (integrated, assimilated, separated, marginalised)(see, e.g., Ward and Kus 2012; Fox, Merz, Solórzano and Roesch 2013), and the choice of these names is not always uniform (e.g., heritage/ethnic, bicultural/integrated-national) (see, e.g., Fox, Merz, Solórzano and Roesch 2013; Brown et al. 2013; Inguglia and Musso 2015), although usually there are no major 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 and Vedder 2006; ; Rudmin 2009; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik 2010 Brown and Zagefka 2011; Brown, Gibbons, and Hughes 2013), is that it allows researchers to adopt a person-oriented approach rather than a variable-oriented approach in order to understand patterns of acculturation better (see Bergman and Magnusson 1997; Bergman and 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 an appropriate approach to acculturation if the group of immigrants would comprise subgroups who deal with acculturation issues in a different manner; grouping procedures allow the identification of such subgroups (see, e.g., Schwartz and Zamboanga 2008; Brown et al. 2013; Inguglia and Musso 2015).

As Ward and Geeraert (2016) reported, more recently, latent class analysis has been used to uncover how heritage and settlement culture orientations are combined and change over time. This line of research has largely failed to replicate the strict four-category model proposed by Berry. Integration/biculturalism and separation regularly emerge, and assimilation is frequently observed among the two (e.g., stable and increasing cultural identities) to five (e.g., separated, assimilated, and low, high and separated biculturals) classes reported. In contrast, marginalization occurs so infrequently that its viability as an acculturation strategy has been questioned (Ward and Geeraert 2016; see also Birman and Simon 2014).

Index of socioeconomic adaptation

Previous studies often focused on employment as the only socioeconomic adjustment outcome, which is a poor rendering of all possibly relevant socioeconomic indicators and limits our understanding of the process. Socioeconomic adaptation enables immigrants to completely participate in the social and economic life of the host society, involving multiple indicators (see Grigoryev 2015).

Hypotheses

Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium in contrast to immigrants from other regions do not have the penalties associated with having a dark complexion and non-European phenotype and also do not have a developed ethnic enclave economy. Most of the studies of acculturation of Russian-speaking immigrants in EU-countries and USA have shown that the orientations toward the host society (integration and assimilation), better host language proficiency, and longer length of stay in the host country are associated with more socioeconomic adaptation (see, e.g., Vinokurov, Birman and Trickett 2000; Besevegis and Pavlopoulos 2008; Constant and Zimmermann 2008; Jasinskaja-Lahti,

Horenczyk and Kinunen 2011; Drydakis 2013; Grigoryev 2015). This evidence is consistent with the immigrant assimilation hypothesis, human capital theory (Drydakis 2013; Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2011) and the theory of ethnic enclaves (Portes and Bach 1985).

What still remains to be studied are specific aspects of this process; for example, does socioeconomic adaptation vary with orientations toward the host society (integration or assimilation)? Is socioeconomic adaptation dependent on the length of stay in the host country? 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 socioeconomic adaptation.

We hypothesize that the group of immigrants with a stronger orientation toward the host society (assimilation and the integration) have a higher level of socioeconomic adaptation than the group of immigrants with the orientation toward the ethnic group (Integration, Assimilation > Separation). Length of stay also matters; the group of immigrants with a longer stay have a higher level of socioeconomic adaptation (Long stay > Medium length of stay > Short stay). Taking into account possible time-specific of acculturation (the interaction between acculturation and length of stay), the group of immigrants with both the orientation toward the host and ethnic group (integration) with a low length of stay have the highest level of socioeconomic adaptation among other groups with a shorter length of stay because they can use both the resources of their own ethnic group and the resources of the host society (Integration + Short stay > Assimilation + Short stay, Separation + Short stay). Finally, immigrants with a stronger orientation toward the ethnic group (separation) are expected to gain least from staying longer in the host country (Integration + Medium or long stay, Assimilation + Medium or long stay > Separation + Long stay).

Data and Methods

Sample

During the study in 2014, 132 Russian-speaking immigrants to Belgium were surveyed (all of them arrived from Russia to Belgium). 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 ($M = 7.1$, $SD = 5.0$).

Procedure

The data were collected at a cultural event organized by the Russian Center of Science and Culture in Brussels. 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 supervising the project. The questionnaires were administered individually in the presence of one of the researchers and collected by the researchers upon completion.

Measures

Independent Variables

Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium were invited to complete a questionnaire in Russian. First, respondents answered questions to determine their position along 4 items scale of ethnic identification (Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007), with sample items such as: "I consider myself a Russian," and "I feel like a part of Russian culture," (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*; Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$).

Secondly, respondents answered 12 items to determine their position on acculturation attitudes from the MIRIPS questionnaire (see Berry 2011) in Russian

(Tatarko and Lebedeva 2011), with sample items such as: "It is important to me to be fluent in both Russian and the 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" (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*; α for integration subscale = .70, for assimilation subscale = .83, and for separation subscale = .74).

The questionnaire 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.

Dependent Variable

Finally, respondents answered questions to determine their position along the scale of the World Bank survey in Russian for the index of socioeconomic adaptation (indicators: professional status, full-time work at present, monthly savings, professional development, prospects for improving financial position, prospects for improving professional status) (Besevegis and Pavlopoulos 2008), with sample items such as: "Do you work at this time?" and "Do you have a permanent job?". Questions were coded into dichotomous variables: 0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*; 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. As the items make up a formative scale, answers were summed to form the adaptation index.

Results

Preliminary analysis

We conducted data screening including checking for outliers, missing data and ensuring assumptions concerning distribution. The sociodemographic characteristics of sample are shown in Table 1. Pearson's correlations between variables are shown in Table 2.

Latent profile analysis

Mplus 7.1 was used to conduct a Latent Profile Analysis (LPA) to group participants by acculturation profiles, using responses for questions of the 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 a 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 and Muthén 2007).

Latent profile models containing 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 classes were fitted to the data. The model fit indices for each LPA are presented in Table 3. 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 (Likelihood Ratio Test) and VLMR (Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test) indices were significant for the two-class model but not the three-class model. However, the majority of the other indices showed that the addition of each subsequent class produced a better fit. This may be a

consequence of the large number of diverse items used and the many possible 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 of the accuracy of classifying participants into their respective profiles or classes, with higher values (i.e., closer to 1.0) pointing to a better fitting solution (Williams and 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 and Bauer 2006). A three-class solution appeared to be best, primarily based on theoretical considerations (a three-class solution corresponded to the items used for three of the acculturation attitudes), but also on high entropy values (.992) as well as pragmatic reasons (a class solution with fewer than 32 participants provided unsatisfactory information in a subsequent analysis). The three classes corresponded 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. 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.

Dunn test

We compared the item means of the three profiles, using the Dunn test with a Bonferroni correction (Dunn 1961) to all items on the ethnic identification and acculturation attitudes scales and to items assessing language skill and length of stay. The significant differences ($p < .05$), that we found revealed that: (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, the weakest ethnic identification, and the lowest degree of shared ideas and beliefs 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 relations with their own ethnic group; (3) members of the group of immigrants with a separation profile are characterized by the shortest 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.

ANOVA

A factorial ANOVA was conducted to compare the main effects of acculturation profiles (each participant was allocated to its nearest profile; this number is an output option of the Mplus analysis), length of stay in the host country and their interaction on socioeconomic adaptation of immigrants. All effects were statistically significant at the .05 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 4).

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 procedure was used to 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 4 and Table 5. The estimated marginal means for acculturation profiles and length of stay in the host country are shown in Figure 3.

Hierarchical regression analysis

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to determine whether the relationship between acculturation profiles and socioeconomic adaptation would be retained after controlling for presumably relevant background variables (gender, ethnicity, age, religion, education, citizenship and region of Belgium). The final step (Model 3) comprising all covariates and acculturation profiles explained 47% of the variance in socioeconomic adaptation, $F(11, 120) = 9.73$, $p < .001$. In addition to the acculturation profiles, length of stay ($b = .153$, $SE = .051$, $t = 2.998$, $p = .003$) and gender ($b = 1.266$, $SE = .374$, $t = 3.388$, $p < .001$) were significant predictors of

socioeconomic adaptation. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis are presented in Table 6.

Discussion

In this study, a sample of first-generation of Russian-speaking immigrants with various lengths of stay in Belgium was considered. We examined their orientation toward the host society (integration and assimilation), orientation toward their own ethnic group (separation) in basic life domains, the duration of their stay in the host country, and interaction between these factors, by using a person-oriented approach and an extended measure of socioeconomic adaptation.

We found that the orientation toward the host society has a positive association with socioeconomic adaptation among immigrants. Our hypothesis about a time-specific effect of acculturation on socioeconomic adaptation of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium was not supported. We found only main effects were significant, the interaction effect was not significant. As was expected, levels of orientation toward the host society (i.e., immigrants fitting the assimilation profile and the integration profile) were positively associated with socioeconomic adaptation, but the group of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium with an assimilation profile displays a level of socioeconomic adaptation that is significantly higher than that of the immigrants with an integration profile. Also, the level of socioeconomic adaptation was higher among immigrants whose length of stay in the host country was longer than five 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.

The latent acculturation profiles quite well reflect the various modes of acculturation that have been defined in the bidimensional model of acculturation. With

the exception of marginalization, all orientations (integration, assimilation, and separation) were found. The assimilation profile contains immigrants having the highest level of language skills and the weakest ethnic identification and weakest desire to have co-ethnic social activities. All this may provide employment in the primary labour market and the best socioeconomic adjustment. In contrast, the separation profile contains immigrants having the weakest Belgian language skills and the strongest preference for having only Russian friends increasing the likelihood of using the ethnic cultural network and social capital. In line with the literature, the integration profile is presented as some kind of compromise between public and private domains.

Thus the results are more supportive of the ecological acculturation framework (Birman and Simon 2014) than the integration hypothesis (Berry 2016); in the context of socioeconomic adjustment for first-generation of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium, assimilation is more adaptive than integration, which is not in line with the integration hypothesis according to which integration (biculturalism) is the most adaptive strategy regardless of context. Moreover, a typical linear relationship was found between adaptation and length of stay, which supports the classical assimilation hypothesis (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk and Kinunen 2011).

Discrimination of immigrants on the labour market is worst in Belgium among EU countries, the Belgian figure of the people born abroad have a job is the lowest in the entire EU when it comes to looking at the share of people with foreign roots who have a job (van Laer and Janssens 2011; ENAR 2013). Considering the context is likely the best strategy of socioeconomic adjustment for the Russian-speaking immigrants is assimilation, especially given the substantial cultural distance between Russia and Belgium (see Hofstede 2001). According to Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou

(2011), the relationship between strategies of acculturation and employment prospects in the EU may depend on the type of acculturation and labour market policies implemented in the country where the immigrant lives. More flexible labour markets help immigrants more to access the labour market.

In addition, gender is a significant predictor of socioeconomic adaptation because many women among are unemployed. According to OECD report (2008), only one third of immigrant women from non-EU countries are in employment, and this appears to be linked with, among other things, the disincentives of the Belgian tax and benefit system which result in high net replacement rates for second earners in couples with a low income. This disproportionately affects immigrant women from non-EU countries as these tend to have lower qualifications than the native-born, and the foreign qualifications of those with higher levels of educational attainment seem to be largely discounted on the labour market.

Limitation and further research

Since the sample was drawn from a Russian cultural event, we used a convenience sample. Most participants of the event were there with family members and we cannot assert to what extent they participate because they have a strong orientation toward the ethnic group.

We confirmed that economic adaptation is likely to vary depending on a variety of cultural, social, political and historical factors (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou 2011; Michalikova and Yang 2016). However, our sample design did not allow for conducting multilevel analyses. It is important for future research to consider multilevel models in order to fully understand the mechanism of contextual factors, more precisely, 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). Using a longitudinal design would also be useful.

Along the same line, we examined an individual-level model in a single country, but differences in cultural diversity and immigration policies of the countries of settlement (measured as a combined index of percentage of immigrants, cultural homogeneity and ethnic diversity indices) may moderate the relationship between ethnic and host orientation on the one hand and adaptation on the other. Stronger ethnic orientation and weaker host orientation were more conducive to better adaptation in countries with more cultural diversity. Thus, the role of acculturation strategies in immigrant adaptation may be not only time-specific but also context-specific (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk and Kinunen 2011; see also Berry 2006; Trickett 2009; Bhatia and Ram 2009; Birman et al. 2014; Salo and Birman 2015; Titzmann and Fuligni 2015; Ward and Geeraert 2016).

In this study, we considered the first-generation of immigrants but the ethnic identity and adaptation may depend on generational status (see Clément, Singh and Gaudet 2006; Noels and Clément 2015). For example, Nekby and Rödin (2010) found that there was no significant difference in employment probabilities between immigrants with an assimilation and integration orientation; they also found that a strong orientation toward the ethnic group is not per se detrimental for employment outcomes of second and middle generation immigrants in Sweden. In further research, it would be useful to compare the acculturation strategy and socioeconomic adjustment in different generations of immigrants.

Conclusion

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 an orientation toward the host society.

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Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics

	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Women	62	47.0
Men	70	53.0
Length of stay		
0-5 years	51	38.6
6-10 years	43	32.6
11+ years	38	28.8
Region of Belgium		
Brussels-Capital Region	85	64.4
Walloon Region	15	11.4
Flemish Region	32	24.2
Citizenship		
Russia	71	53.8
Belgium	12	9.1
Dual	49	37.1
Work status		
Unemployed	35	26.5
Women	26	74.3
Men	9	25.7
Employed	97	73.5
Underemployed	40	41.2
Overemployed	22	22.7
Education		
Higher education	113	85.6
Vocational education	16	12.1
Secondary education	3	2.3
Religion		
None	30	22.7
Christian	95	72.0
Other (Islam, Judaism, Catholicism)	7	5.3
Ethnicity		
Russian	122	92.4
Other (Ingushs, Chechens, Jews ect.)	10	7.6

Table 2. Pearson's correlations between variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Socio-economic adaptation	-						
2. Integration attitude	.42 ***	-					
3. Assimilation attitude	.36 ***	-.04	-				
4. Separation attitude	-.50 ***	-.32 ***	-.48 ***	-			
5. Ethnic identification	-.34 ***	-.02	-.68 ***	.39 ***	-		
6. Language skills	.49 ***	.35 ***	.29 ***	-.44 ***	-.07	-	
7. Length of stay	.39 ***	.23 **	.07	-.34 ***	-.16 .	.26 **	-
8. Ethnicity: Russian (1) / other (0)	.08	-.13	.06	.07	-.13	-.08	-.17 .
9. Gender: male (1) / female (0)	.35 ***	.04	.13	.04	-.13	.13	.03
10. Age	.12	.12	-.01	-.02	-.04	-.11	.59 ***
11. Religion: religious (1) / none (0)	.01	-.01	-.18 *	.13	.31 ***	-.08	-.06
12. Education	.19 *	.23 ***	.18 *	-.19 *	-.02	.23 **	-.09
13. Region of Belgium: Brussels-Capital Region (1) / other (0)	.02	-.09	.04	.18 *	.14	.07	-.23 **
14. Citizenship: Belgium or dual (1) / Russia (0)	.33 ***	.27 ***	.08	-.23 **	-.10	.25 **	.59 ***

Note. *** — $p < .001$; ** — $p < .01$; * — $p < .05$; . — $p < .10$.

Table 3. 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.

*** — $p < .001$

Table 4. Results of factorial ANOVA test

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	αadj. seqB	H_0 seqB	η^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 \times Length Stay in the Host Country	25.44	4	6.361	1.574	.185	.050	retained	.035
Residual	497.05	123	4.041					

Note. Type-III Sum of Squares.

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

α 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 5. Results of post hoc pairwise comparisons test with the Bonferroni correction

		Mean Difference	Bootstrap ^a			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> -values ^b
			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. ^a Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 1000 bootstrap samples.

^b *p*-values with Bonferroni correction.

Table 6. Results of hierarchical regression predicting socio-economic adaptation of Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	-2.978 (2.199)	-3.414 (2.072)	-1.996 (1.872)
Gender: male (1) / female (0)	1.634*** (0.436)	1.514*** (0.411)	1.266*** (0.374)
Ethnicity: Russian (1) / other (0)	0.663 (0.760)	1.255 . (0.729)	0.918 (0.657)
Age	0.005 (0.025)	-0.044 . (0.026)	-0.024 (0.024)
Religion: religious (1) / none (0)	0.021 (0.500)	0.140 (0.471)	-0.005 (0.431)
Education	0.777 (0.480)	0.849 . (0.452)	0.638 (0.409)
Citizenship: Belgium (2) / Russia (1)	1.631* (0.768)	0.744 (0.754)	-0.075 (0.691)
Citizenship: dual (3) / Russia (1)	1.386** (0.477)	0.524 (0.496)	0.082 (0.451)
Region of Belgium: Brussels-Capital Region (1) / other (0)	-0.276 (0.476)	-0.045 (0.452)	0.288 (0.418)
Length of stay		0.224*** (0.054)	0.153** (0.051)
Acculturation profiles: assimilation (2) / integration (1)			1.280** (0.468)
Acculturation profiles: separation (3) / integration (1)			-1.547*** (0.442)
R-squared	0.24	0.33	0.47
Δ R-squared		0.09	0.14
adj. R-squared	0.19	0.28	0.42
<i>F</i>	4.76***	6.66***	9.73***
Log-likelihood	-292.1	-283.5	-267.8
Deviance	645.7	567.3	447.1
AIC	604.2	589.1	561.6
<i>N</i>	132	132	132

Note. *** — $p < .001$; ** — $p < .01$; * — $p < .05$; . — $p < .10$.

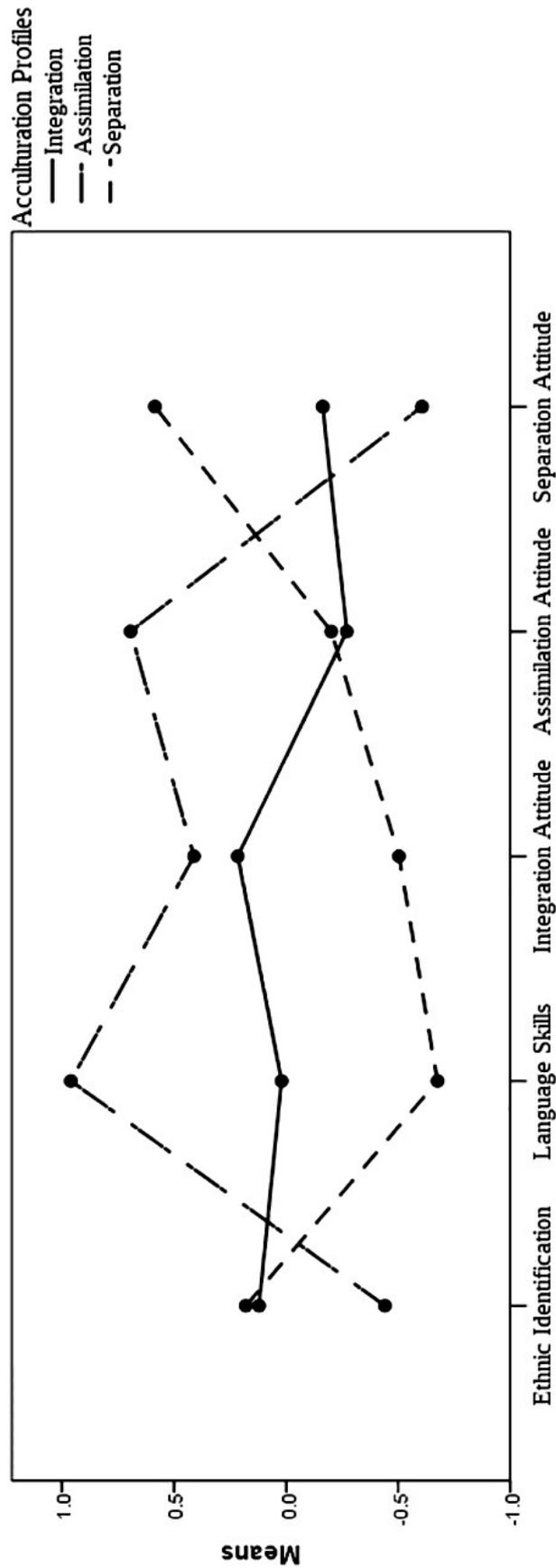


Figure 1. Means of used variables for acculturation profiles.

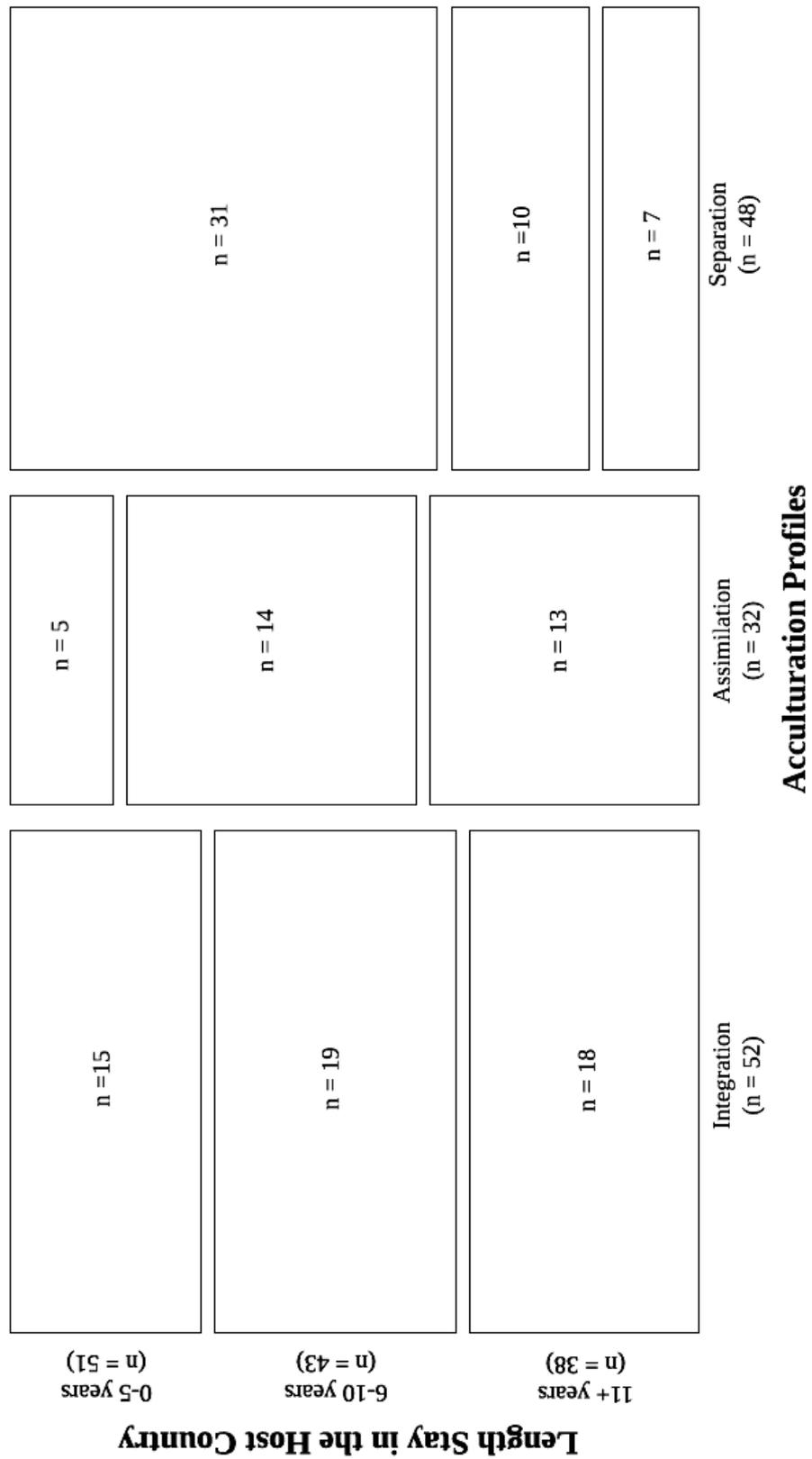


Figure 2. Mosaic plot for sample composition.

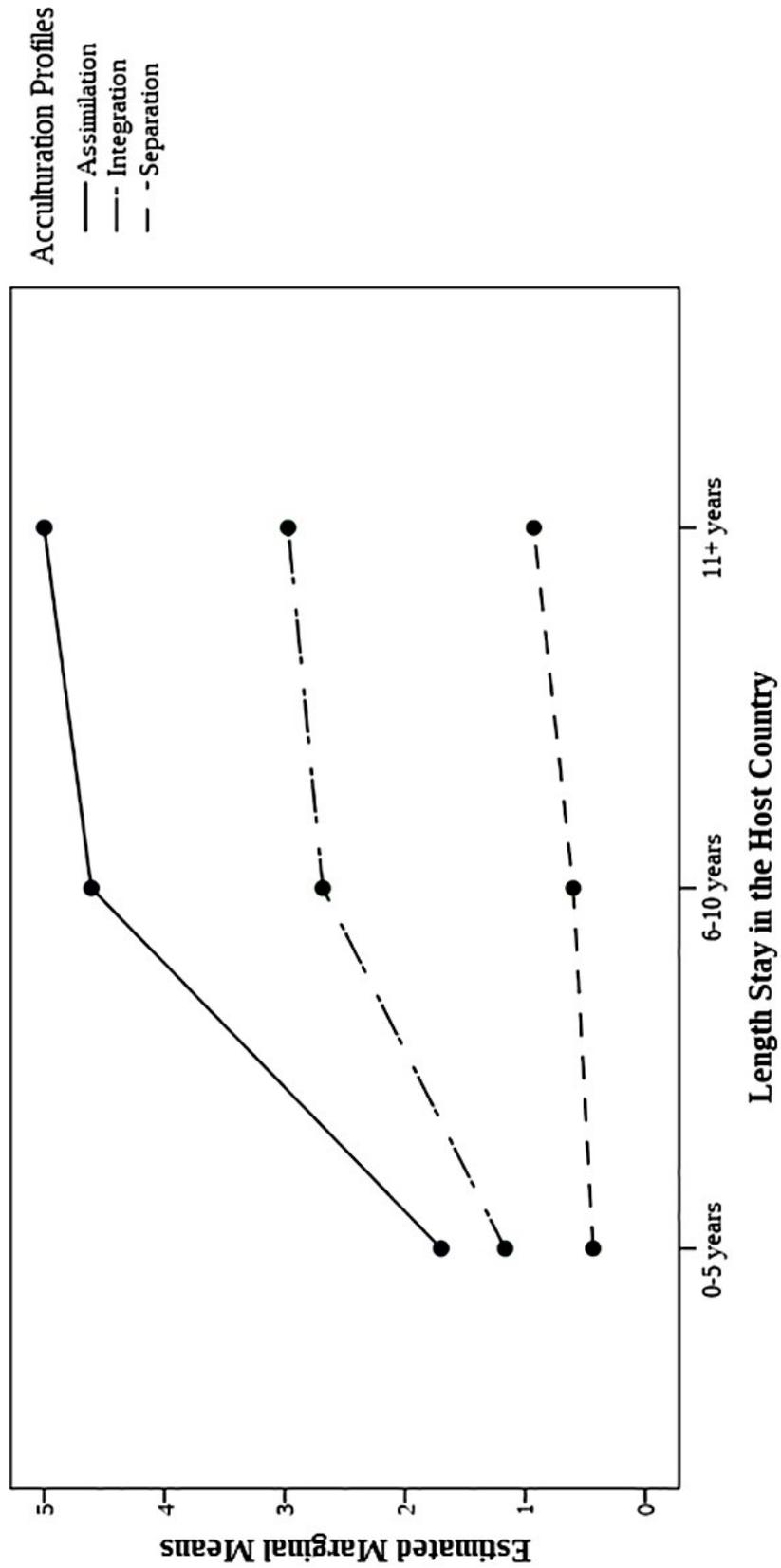


Figure 3. The estimated marginal means for acculturation profiles and the length of stay in the host country.