

Adaptation or acculturation: that is the question

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Abstract—The article is devoted to the description of the acculturation and adaptation. The research in the field of psychology of migration processes invariably has an impact on the cross-cultural, interethnic interaction on modern society. A new model of "migration circle" is considered in accordance with modern theories of migration, acculturation, and adaptation. This model is represented in the following basic stages: starting-up (the potential emigrants), the main (directly emigrants), and final (re-emigrants). Accumulated during the investigation scientific theoretical material allows finding the solution of many practical problems arising at the threshold of emigration (potential emigrants) either in situations of the return to Motherland (re-emigrants).

Keywords— migration, acculturation, social-psychological adaptation, a model of the "migration circle", social-cultural distance.

I. INTRODUCTION

American anthropologists first time introduced the term "acculturation" in 1880 to describe the process of cultural changes in two different cultural groups that are involved in contact [27]. The initial anthropological basic researches of acculturation were performed in 1930-ies. And the first classical definition of acculturation was introduced in 1936 by R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. According to this definition acculturation shall differ from cultural change... and from assimilation that sometimes makes a stage of acculturation" [21]. Therefore, acculturation was initially treated as bidirectional process accompanied by changes within both contact groups. The term "acculturation", which had initially appeared in frames of anthropology and sociology, has become the sphere of interest for cross-cultural psychology in 1960-ies. A. Der-Karabetian initially introduced two levels of identities of different groups [9].

After the early definitions of acculturation with respect to the individuals, undergoing this process, later acculturation was comprehended within psychological disciplines as a process of resocialization including psychological peculiarities of type of changes in relations, values and identification; acquisition of new social skills and norms; changes of preferences of reference groups and membership

groups; and accommodation or adaptation to the changing environment [1, 24].

The later works, devoted to the problems of acculturation, emphasized two types of adaptive results: psychological, and social and cultural [35, 36]. The first type describes a set of internal psychological results, such as good mental health, psychological well-being and achievement of personal satisfaction in a new cultural context. The second refers to the set of external psychological results that connect individuals with their new environment and means acquisition of corresponding social skills and behavior, required for successful fulfillment of everyday actions. Accumulation of literature on acculturation has taken place since early last century. Nevertheless here is a gap between accumulation of empiric material on acculturation and development of theories that systematize and define basic notions of process of change that happens due to cultural contact [37]. When considering changes, which immigrants have to undergo, terms "accommodation", "adaptation" and "assimilation" were used alternatively with the term "acculturation" [29]. Clinical and cross-cultural psychologists especially tend to equal acculturation to individual adaptation and accommodation to the new culture. Although acculturation models, especially later ones, use term acculturation to define two-side mutual relations, opposing them to assimilation that is treated as an unidirectional process, they often suffer from methodological nonconformities [15].

Sociologist M. Gordon has introduced the unidimensional model of assimilation to describe cultural changes that affect members of minority group [10]. His model describes acculturation as sub-process of assimilation, presenting biculturalism as just a transitional process stage from complete segregation to complete assimilation. The basic provision of this model is as follows: a member of one culture loses his initial cultural identity as he acquires a new identity in the new culture [16]. Besides, this model only blames members of the minority group for their failed assimilation in hosting society [7]. Such unidirectional models of acculturation have been developed within the frames of social psychology [17] to describe acculturation of the individuals at continuum from complete acceptance and preservation of the heritage culture to complete assimilation. Unidimensional theories influenced several investigations of acculturation. Social and cross-cultural psychologists have even used them in their recent studies [18].

II. MATERIALS AND MODELS

Criticism of unidimensional models has led to development of bidimensional models of acculturation, where identification of the immigrants with two cultures is valued in two independent dimensions [7, 14]. In cross-cultural psychology I. Zak and A. Der-Karabetian were pioneers to introduce and appropate hypothesis that identities of heritage culture and host culture are not to be considered as two margins of the unified bipolar dimension, but shall be considered as orthogonal and independent. Based on the research results I. Zak has supposed that a person may have positive or negative self-identification at both dimensions of identity, or have positive self-identification at one dimension and negative one at the other, and vice versa [35, 36]. The research of A. Der-Karabetian further confirmed these results: it showed that relations between these two identities depend on the situation where minority members find themselves [9].

Several years later N. Hutnik has suggested new social and psychological approach to ethnic identity of the minority, where, following I. Zak and A. Der-Karabetian, she supposed that “two dimensions – identification with minority group and identification with majority group - shall be used in combination for precise understanding of different styles of cultural adaptation of the ethnic individuals of the minority” [14]. This idea is clearly visible in the minority identity model suggested by N. Hutnik. According to her, the ethnic identity of minority comprises of 2 main elements: strategy of self-categorization and cultural adaptation style – beliefs, relations, values and ways of behavior. Both components are relevant to an ethnic minority group as well as to the ethnic majority group. There are four styles of cultural adaptation and four corresponding strategies of self-categorization (see Figure 1). In the four-polar model, created and appropated with sample Indian girls, living in England, N. Hutnik has suggested four strategies for ethnic self-identification of the individuals: the assimilative strategy (an individual sees himself as belonging exclusively to the majority group – “British, not Indian”); the acculturative strategy (an individual identifies himself with both ethnic minority group and majority group – “both British and Indian”) (Fig 1).

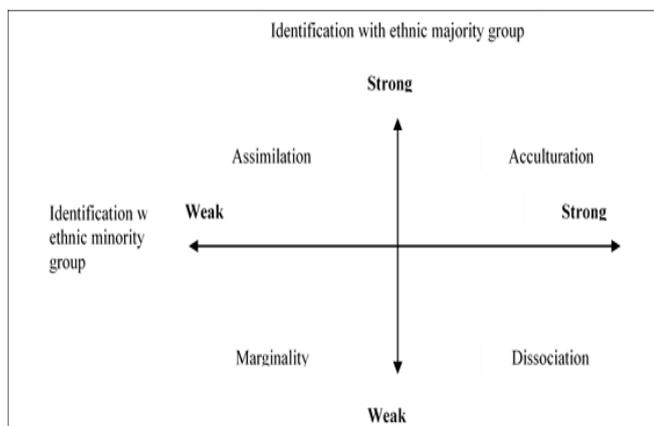


Fig. 1. Model of identity of ethnic minority by N. Hutnik [14].

She has also indicated that these four styles would be considered dynamic, not static ones [15]. This model acknowledges that disagreement between the style of

cultural adaptation and self-categorization is possible, reflects non-correspondence between verbal cognitive appraisals or reactions and non-verbal demonstrations that are often insufficiently deliberate. Nevertheless, the results of the research, performed by N. Hutnik in 2003, were completely different. She aimed to check the possibility to use in our days four strategies of self-categorization, obtained 20 years ago with sample British Asian teenagers, as well as to study correlation between strategies of self-categorization and styles of cultural adaptation in 2003 and compare them with the results of 1983. The results of the latter research showed that it is possible to use a four-polar model to study the ethnic identity of the minority. However, the research of 2003 showed strong correlation between self-categorization and style of cultural adaptation that was not observed in the research of 1983. The researchers justified these differences by changes in a cultural context that took place in the last 20 years [13].

The unique bidimensional model of acculturation in social psychology that is based on the social theory of biculturalism [32], [33] is a mobility model of cultural integration or model of integration strategies developed by F. Moghaddam [20]. This model studies strategies used by immigrants to improve their economic and social status in Canada by studying their position in two dimensions: assimilation against preservation of cultural heritage and normative behavior against non-normative. The mode provides four strategies of mobility:

1. Normative / Assimilation;
2. Normative / Preservation of cultural heritage;
3. Non-normative / Assimilation;
4. Non-normative / Preservation of cultural heritage, with normative assimilation that is mostly inherent to immigrants.

Bidimensional model, developed by J. Szapocznik and his colleagues within the frames of clinic psychology for Spanish-speaking young people living in the USA, in process of evaluation of acculturation focused at behavior and values of an individual. The first dimension in this model reflects biculturalism in bipolar scale: from adoption of only heritage culture or only culture of new society to adoption of both cultures at a time. The second dimension shows intensity of cultural participation from cultural marginality to cultural participation. Combination of these two dimensions forms four possible styles of acculturation: bicultural individual with high degree of participation in both cultures; monocultural individual with high degree of participation in either heritage culture or new culture; marginal monocultural individual with low degree of participation in either heritage culture or new culture; marginal bicultural individual with low degree of participation in both cultures [31].

Although I. Zak, A. Der-Karabetian and N. Hutnik have studied differences in the process of identification with heritage culture and new culture (contact culture). The most well-known model of acculturation – that shows correlation between host party and native culture – is the model by J. Berry and his colleagues, provided in frames of cross-cultural psychology. According to J. Berry, immigrants who live in host society have two answers on two main questions: what is the importance of maintaining their own cultural

identity and what is the importance of maintaining relations with new culture. Crossing of these two cultural dimensions results in 4 acculturation settings, also known as acculturation strategies that may be accepted by immigrants: assimilation, integration, marginality and separation (see Figure 3). Integration strategy reflects a desire to preserve initial culture in the process of everyday interaction with other groups. Assimilation strategy is characterized by immigrants' desire for everyday interaction with other cultures and reluctance to maintain their cultural identity. Immigrants who accept separation strategy highly value preservation of their own culture and at the same time want to skip interaction with other cultures. Finally, marginality is typical for immigrants who have scarce opportunities or interest in preservation of their own culture (often due to forced loss of it) and negligible interest in cooperation with other groups (often due to expulsion or discrimination) [6]. J. Berry believes that integration is the most preferable acculturation setting: immigrants, who have chosen this setting, show the highest level of adaptation. On the contrary, marginality is the least preferable: respondents, who have chosen this setting, show a low level of adaptation. Assimilation and adaptation traditionally take an intermediate position and are associated with a medium degree of adaptation [25] (Fig. 2).

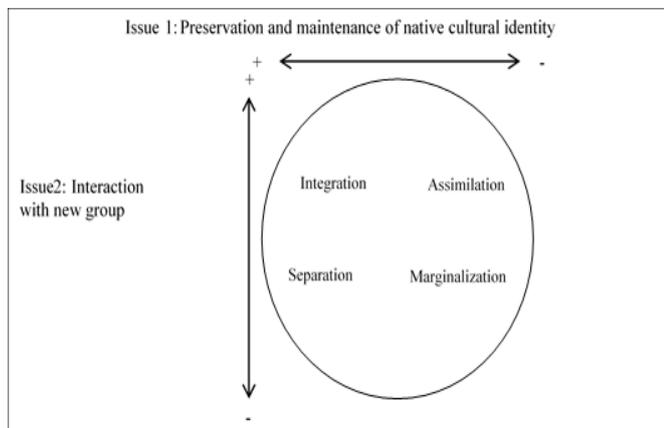


Fig. 2. Model of integration with new group (J. Berry).

Accumulation of this regularity confirming researches' results had taken place in recent decades. For example, according to these results, immigrants who have chosen separation and marginalization as acculturation strategy demonstrate a low level of adaptation [30]. Besides, it was revealed that immigrants, living in Canada, who have chosen integration setting, least of all suffered from acculturation stress. At the same time those, who have chosen marginalization, most of all suffer from acculturation stress; those, who have chosen separation, suffer from acculturation stress less than those, who have chosen marginalization, but more than those, who have chosen integration [4], and as the result successful integration [12]. The results of ICSEY cross-cultural survey, participants of which were teenage immigrants from 13 countries and four continents [5], confirmed these data. The survey showed that teenagers with integration setting demonstrated the best psychological and socio-cultural adaptation results, and teenagers with marginalization setting - the worst ones; immigrants with separation setting demonstrated high psychological adaptation results, but low socio-cultural adaptation results,

and ones with assimilation setting - medium indices of psychological adaptation and low indices of socio-cultural adaptation results [5]. Although, in some surveys such correlation between acculturation settings and successful adaptation is not so evident. For example, C. Ward and A. Rana-Deuba [34] revealed that integration only influences psychological adaptation, while assimilation has unique influence on socio-cultural adaptation. In a survey of Irish immigrants, living in Great Britain, P. Curran [8] also found that integration is the most preferable setting for achievement of psychological well-being. Rejection-Identification Model (RIM) [28], based on social identity theory [33], explains the last type of results (such as the positive influence of separation role). According to this model, members of "outcast" group in a greater degree identify themselves with the in-group and look for support in the in-group in reply to prejudices and discrimination, which mitigates some unpleasant aftermaths of perceived discrimination [2]. In addition to the bidimensional model of acculturation, J. Berry introduced the structure of acculturation [6] that at present is recognized as one of the most comprehensive [15]. This structure unites phenomena of cultural level (mainly situational variables) and psychological level (mainly personal variables), as well as peculiarities of structure and acculturation process (see Figure 4). J. Berry believes that the given scheme demonstrates main phenomena in acculturation process [6]. The author describes this scheme as "complicated structure that unites concepts and results of numerous researches" [3] or a kind of "skeleton" with attached 'flesh particles' to obtain sheer comprehension of acculturation and adaptation" [2]. This structure had not been integrated theoretically and have not been tested empirically. When studying phenomena of psychological acculturation, given in the scheme, one shall pay special attention to prediction of acculturation stress [15] that is a "feedback of individuals to life events (caused by intercultural contact), which they are not able to manage" [6].

In 1993 review L. Sayegh and J.-C. Lasry gave comprehensive and agreed evaluation of different bidimensional models of acculturation. The main conclusion of the authors is as follows: the majority of present models is not able to provide actually orthogonal dimensions of acculturation. For example, in a model by F. Moghaddam the provision that normative behavior, which is evaluated in the second scale, shall be confirmed by host society before it can be adopted by an immigrant, signifies interaction between this dimension and the first one (i.e. ethnic identity). Moreover, the fact that the first dimension in J. Berry's model measures identification with cultural heritage, while the second dimension evaluates desire for contacts with host society, also opposes adopted orthogonality of these two dimensions [27]. Considering these problems, related to conceptuality and metric orthogonality, the integrated provisions that increased participation in host society automatically leads to decrease of connection with traditional native culture shall evidently characterize bipolar scales, used in most prevailing bidimensional models of acculturation and described above [15].

Therefore, in order to create actually orthogonal model of acculturation, two bipolar dimensions were rearranged so that their content reflected identification with host culture

and heritage culture independently, with further formulation of bidimensional models like those provided in studies of L. Sayegh and J.-C. Lasry [28], J. Sanchez and D. Fernandez [27], W. Searle, and C. Ward [30], and R. Bourhis et al [7]. Moreover, the researchers supposed that model of acculturation, initially based on two orthogonal dimensions of identification only, maybe further used for measuring identification in spheres of relations, values and behavior. In general, it evidently confirms ideas of I. Zak, A. Der-Karabetian and N. Hutnik, who supposed that “ethnic identity of minority shall be estimated in at least two main dimensions: the first one relates to degree of identification with ethnic minority group; the second one relates to identification with majority group” [13]. Besides, ethnic identity has finally returned to empirical researches of acculturation as one of the most fundamental aspects of acculturation that defines other phenomena of acculturation process [15].

Empirical researches of L. Lasry and J.-C. Sayegh [27], J. Sanchez and D. Fernandez [26], S. Gurieva [10, 11], showed that identification of immigrants with heritage culture does not relate to their identification with host culture. Besides, Sanchez and Fernandez found that these identifications differently related to accommodation indices. Later A. G. Ryder, L. E. Alden and D. L. Paulhus, having specified criteria for study and analysis of two models and performed survey of different groups, proved that bidimensional model described acculturation more precisely and thoroughly than unidimensional one [23].

Despite the fact that acculturation model by J. Berry remains at present the most commonly used in researches of cross-cultural psychology and psychology of migration processes, two new models of acculturation have appeared in recent years, actually following up and developing Berry’s model.

The first one – the interaction acculturation model by R. Bourhis – takes into account not only strategies of an immigrant group, but also strategies of host majority in relation to new groups, as, according to the author, choose of immigrants and choose of host society are significantly interdependent. Native population chooses different ways of acculturation depending on the origin of the specific immigrant group, as well as depending on political, demographical, and social and economic peculiarities of host country. Immigrant groups also choose different strategies depending on several factors (origin, social status, age, sex or degree of identification with in-group). In this model, marginalization strategy by J. Berry was specified in two strategies: anomia (immigrants have problems of self-identification with native society and host society) and individualism (immigrants who do not perceive themselves as members of specific group and consider themselves as individual personalities) [7].

Strategies, chosen by host majority and immigrants, may agree or be in conflict. R. Bourhis has suggested several types of correlation of chosen strategies: harmony, problem and conflict (Table 1).

TABLE I. TYPES OF CORRELATION OF ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES, CHOSEN BY HOST AND IMMIGRANT SOCIETY (MODEL BY R. Y. BOURHIS) [7].

Strategies of host society	Strategies of immigrant society	
	Integration	Assimilation
Integration	Harmony	Problem
Assimilation	Problem	Harmony
Segregation	Conflict	Conflict
Expulsion	Conflict	Conflict
Individualism	Problem	Problem

Strategies of host society	Strategies of immigrant society		
	Separation	Anomia	Individualism
Integration	Conflict	Problem	Problem
Assimilation	Conflict	Problem	Problem
Segregation	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict
Expulsion	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict
Individualism	Problem	Problem	Harmony

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Within the framework of this research the migration was considered as united process including several stages:

Preparation for emigration → Expectation of emigration → Emigration → Re-emigration (Figure 5).

Graphically we can it presented as a model of "migration circle", from which position the study of social-psychological problems of voluntary or compelled migration is possible.

"Migration circle" – it is a model of migration as united continuous process including several stages: making the decision about emigration, preparation and expecting of emigration, emigration, and re-emigration.

Group 1 – potential emigrants with an open date of departure deciding of emigration. The term of departure varies between one-two years or/and is not determined precisely (documents are not sent in Consulate yet) in this group.

Group 2 – potential emigrants with the fixed date of departure taking place on a stage "Expectation of emigration", attendees of the Consular courses of language, which are organized for the people ready to depart within some months.

Group 3 – real emigrants, that have experience of emigration varies between 1–10 years.

Group 4 – re-emigrants: people who returned from abroad to Russia. Therefore, strategies, chosen by host society and immigrants, may only agree in the following three cases:

When both immigrants and host society choose integration strategy.

When both immigrants and host society choose assimilation strategy, (i.e. immigrants adopt culture of host country society, completely rejecting culture of their native country society, and host society absorb new ethno-cultural groups).

When both host society and immigrants choose individualism strategy [7].

In 2005 M. Navas has suggested new acculturation model: Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM). The core of M. Navas's model is as follows. In the process of acculturation, an immigrant adopts culture of host society or preserves culture of native society with a varying degree in different spheres of his life. The author has distinguished seven such spheres (domains): religion; ways of thinking; social relations; family relations; economic; work; policy and government. According to the author, an immigrant negligibly adopts culture of host society in religious domain: within this sphere he almost completely preserves culture of his native society. On the contrary, in "policy and government" domain an immigrant negligibly preserves culture of native society and predominantly adopts culture of host society [20]. The rest of domains take an intermediate position.

IV. CONCLUSION

The model of the "migration circle" that is developed and submitted in this investigation allows observing the transformation (revealing itself in the static aspect as the differences) of the emigrants' own values (rejected or preferred) and ideations of emigration country including the image of its "typical inhabitants" occurring in various groups of the emigrants (on various migratory stages). The main factors of successful adaptation to the new social-cultural environment are the own values of self-exaltation and the knowledge of Finnish values denoting group interests.

Therefore, for the moment several models of acculturation have been developed: unidimensional (M. Gordon) and bidimensional (I. Zak, A. Der-Karabetian, N. Hutnik, F. Moghaddam, J. Szapocznik, J. Berry, R. Bourhis). Disagreement between cultural adaptation style and self-categorization of an individual (N. Hutnik) and use of various strategies of acculturation in various spheres of life (F. Moghaddam, M. Navas) were proved possible. Ways of cooperation of acculturation strategies, chosen by immigrants and host society, were reviewed later (R. Bourhis). Despite the criticism of acculturation model by J. Berry, it remains the most popular and recognized.

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By the results of this research, it is possible to expect that 50% of interrogated potential emigrants can successfully adapt to the new social-cultural environment and 26% of the potential emigrants will fall into a "zone of risk": it is possible that they will have troubles during the adaptation.

On a threshold of emigration, there is an opportunity to predict with high accuracy (72%) the success of adaptation to the new conditions of the social-cultural environment.

It begins possible to answer the main question on expediency and necessity of emigration for the concrete person.

The research has shown that the migrants taking place on different stages of the "migration circle" are considerably differing depending on the group. For example, the potential emigrants have approximation of an image of Finn to the self-image and the "embellishment" of Finland. The revealed social-psychological phenomenon of "image transformation" is significantly influencing (the negative influence) on the adaptation process.

Thereby, actual but not solved at this moment problems are setting before social psychologists: a development of the adequate methodical toolbox for diagnose the level of readiness to emigration and a forecast of successful adaptation's probability; a development of the adequate methods of social-psychological correction for preparing the potential emigrant to move to the foreign country; a development of the methods of social-psychological support for people having unsuccessful experience of emigration; a professional support for answer the questions like "For the sake of what does it need to change the established system of native values to foreign one, and does it need in general?"

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