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Intercultural relations among migrants from Caucasus and Russians in Moscow

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A R T I C L E   I N F O

A B S T R A C T

This study examines intercultural relations in post-Soviet Russia. Russia currently has the world's second highest number of immigrants with most migrants coming from the former Soviet Union, mainly the Central Asian and South Caucasian states. The research was carried out in Moscow, which is the most attractive destination for these immigrants. The paper presents the findings of an empirical study with migrants ($N = 378$) and residents of Moscow ($N = 651$) examining their intercultural relations, including their acceptance of multicultural ideology, intercultural contacts, intercultural strategies and mutual adaptation. The study was guided by three general hypotheses: the *integration*, the *multicultural* and the *contact* hypotheses. Data processing was carried out using path analysis, separately for migrants and Muscovites. For both samples, multicultural ideology predicts the strategy of integration positively, and of assimilation negatively. Intercultural contacts predict both acculturation strategies positively for migrants, but not for Muscovites. For migrants, both strategies positively predict life satisfaction, and integration predicts better sociocultural adaptation. For Muscovites, integration predicts life satisfaction. These specific findings fully support the two underlying hypotheses: integration and multicultural for both groups and contact hypothesis only for migrants. Multicultural ideology has positive relation to intercultural contacts of Muscovites and has indirect positive impact on intercultural strategies of migrants. Models demonstrated similar as well as different psychological processes underlying mutual acculturation and intercultural relations in the two groups. The similarities suggest that efforts should be directed at developing a multicultural ideology and facilitating intercultural contacts between migrants and members of the larger society.

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1. Introduction

All contemporary societies are now culturally plural, with many ethnic, cultural, and religious groups attempting to live together in one civic space. Scholars in many disciplines have examined how a reasonable degree of mutual acceptance can be achieved among these groups. Psychologists have also examined these issues for many years using concepts such as ethnic attitudes, multicultural ideology, contact and prejudice (e.g., Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Dixon & Levine, 2012;

Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). This study continues this psychological approach, while being rooted in the conceptualizations and findings available from these other disciplines.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia and other former Soviet republics faced new challenges of achieving mutual acceptance and adaptation among members of the larger society and members of other ethnic and migrant groups. The objective of this study was to examine these intercultural relationships in the Russian Federation. In this paper, we first portray the current context of intercultural relations, including ethnic diversity and immigration in contemporary Russia. We then present the theoretical background to the study, outlining three general hypotheses: *integration, multicultural,* and *contact* and specific predictions about intercultural relations between migrants and Muscovites. Then follows a description of the research methods and the results of path analyses. In the discussion, we consider the findings in relation to the specific predictions, and their relevance to the three general hypotheses from which they were derived. Finally, we consider the limitations of the study and implications of these findings for improving the mutual acculturation and intercultural relations in the Russian Federation.

1.1. Context of intercultural relations in Russia

Although ethnic Russians constitute the bulk (81%) of the population (All-Russian Population Census, 2010), the Russian Federation is one of the most multicultural societies in the world having more than 100 ethnic and cultural groups. The Russian Federation is the second largest destination country for international migrants in the world. It receives over 11 million migrants, which is nearly five percent of all international migrants in the world (International Organization for Migration, 2014).

The nation states that previously were republics of the former Soviet Union account for most of the inflow with the relative contribution of Central Asian countries continuously on the rise (Vishnevskiy, 2011). In addition, the population of central Russia perceives ethnically-different migrants from Russia's republics of North Caucasus as strangers (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013). In recent years, problems of mutual intercultural relations between migrants and the Russian population have resulted in growth of xenophobia, as well as ethnic and religious intolerance (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013). The government, as well as members of all ethnocultural groups, are faced with the need to develop policies on migration, intercultural relations and mutual adaptation.

1.2. Theoretical background and research hypotheses

1.2.1. The integration hypothesis

Berry (1980, 2003) has suggested that there are four ways to think about how to live together in culturally-diverse societies. These have been termed intercultural strategies and expectations. They are based on people's orientations to two intercultural issues: maintaining one's cultural heritage and having contact with others outside one's group. These preferences may be held by members of non-dominant groups (termed *intercultural strategies*) which indicate how they wish to live interculturally. They may also be held by members of the dominant society (termed *intercultural expectations*), which refers to how they would like all ethnocultural groups to live interculturally. These strategies have been termed assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Two of these (assimilation and integration) emphasize a preference for intercultural contact, but they differ on the promotion of heritage cultural maintenance: Integration seeks to maintain heritage cultures within a multicultural society, while assimilation does not value cultural maintenance. The other two (separation and marginalization) represent an avoidance of intercultural contact, and are not assessed in the present study. Research has assessed how these strategies are related to *adaptation,* or how well individuals succeed in their own group and in the larger society. Two kinds of adaptation have been identified (Ward, 1996). First is adaptation that is primarily internal or *psychological* and is sometimes referred to as 'feeling well'. Second is *sociocultural* adaptation, which refers to 'doing well' in the activities of daily intercultural living, including social relations, success at school and work, and in community life when dealing with two cultures.

1.2.1.1. Integration strategy and expectation. Much research has shown that when immigrants prefer to maintain their heritage culture, and at the same time have relationships with others in the larger society (that is, when they prefer the integration way of living together), they will experience more positive psychological and sociocultural outcomes. This pattern of relationships has been reviewed by Berry (1997). More recently, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) carried out a meta-analysis across 83 studies and over 20,000 participants, who were members of non-dominant groups. They found that the integration strategy ('biculturalism' in their terms) has a significant and positive relationship with both psychological adaptation (e.g., life satisfaction, positive affect, self-esteem) and sociocultural adaptation (e.g., academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioral problems).

The reason the integration strategy is particularly adaptive may be due to existence of two kinds of social capital (Putnam, 2001) that are linked to having supportive social networks: *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. Bonding social capital is a set of social links within one's own group, while bridging social capital is a set of social links with other groups in the larger society. Integration may be a way of accessing both of these forms of social capital, offering members of non-dominant groups a route to adaptive success in plural societies (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002).

The integration expectation is that all members of the society should maintain their heritage cultures and identities, while participating in the life of the larger society. That is, everyone should be prepared to change in order to achieve some mutual accommodation. Only a few studies have examined the relationship between the integration expectation of members of the larger society and their adaptation. One study (Lepshokova, 2012a, 2012b) examined the relationship between acculturation strategies/expectations and well-being of both members of the larger society and migrants in republics of the North Caucasus as well as in Moscow. The results of the multiple regression analysis showed that the integration expectation was related to higher well-being and life satisfaction of the members of larger society. A second study (Hui, Chen, Leung, and Berry, 2015) examined both established residents of Hong Kong and migrants from mainland China in Hong Kong. They found that Hong Kong residents who held the integration expectation with respect to migrants have higher scores on psychological adaptation than those who had lower integration expectations. In the present study, we examine whether preferring the integration strategy (for migrants) and expecting others to integrate (among Muscovites) have any benefit for life satisfaction and sociocultural adaptation of migrants, and life satisfaction of Muscovites.

1.2.1.2. Assimilation strategy and expectation. Existing studies have found different relationships between the assimilation strategy/expectation and adaptation of non-dominant groups and dominant groups. First, positive relationships were found in some studies. For non-dominant groups, Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) found that a preference for assimilation strategy predicted better sociocultural adaptation of international aid workers in Nepal. These sojourners originated predominantly from Western European and North American countries (e.g., Canada, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark). Kosic (2002) showed that the assimilation strategy was linked to high sociocultural and psychological adaptation among Croatian and Polish immigrants in Italy; however, assimilation was not significantly different from integration. A positive relationship between migrants' preference for the assimilation strategy and life satisfaction was also found among Hispanic and Asian immigrant adolescents in the U.S. (Greenman & Xie, 2008) and Turkish-Dutch in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2010).

However, some studies demonstrated the opposite relationship. For example, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) examined acculturation and adaptation of immigrant youth who had settled in various countries around the world. In a cluster analysis using a number of intercultural relations variables, they found four acculturation strategies. Those in the assimilation strategy cluster had lower than average psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Also, a study in Russia (Lepshokova, 2012a, 2012b) found that the assimilation strategy of migrants was negatively related to their life satisfaction, and assimilation expectation had negative associations with well-being and life satisfaction of larger society's members.

On the basis of these studies, we propose that support for the integration strategy will be positively related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation of migrants. For members of the larger society, we propose that support for the integration expectation will be positively related to their life satisfaction. We refer to these relationship as the *integration hypothesis.* For the assimilation strategy and expectation, given the variable findings for migrants, and the limited evidence for members of the larger society, we do not make any predictions.

1.2.2. The multicultural hypothesis

Multiculturalism has been studied in cross-cultural and intercultural psychology from different perspectives. Berry et al. (1977) distinguished between multiculturalism as a demographic feature of a society, as a public policy toward this feature, and as a set of public attitudes toward this feature and the policy. They further defined multiculturalism not only as the presence and acceptance of cultural diversity in a society, but also as the active participation of all groups in the daily life of that society (see also Berry and Ward (2016); Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, and Schalk-Soekar (2008)).

To assess attitudes in support of multiculturalism as both demography and policy, Berry et al. (1977) developed the concept of *multicultural ideology.* This concept incorporated attitudes toward the value of cultural diversity to a society. This ideology was assessed in many ethnocultural groups, including dominant (British and French) and many non-dominant groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1977). The concept of multicultural ideology, and scales to assess it, have been further developed in studies in the Netherlands and New Zealand. Attitudes toward multiculturalism were studied in dominant groups (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Ward & Masgoret, 2006), and in both dominant and non-dominant groups (Arends-Toíth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004).

Empirical studies have sought to establish relationships between multicultural ideology and other variables. In a factor analysis, Berry et al. (1977) found a number of variables loading on a single factor, with the multicultural ideology scale loading on the positive end, and other scales, including ethnocentrism and rejection of immigration, loading on the negative end. In the Netherlands, a Dutch scale to assess multicultural ideology (MAS; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004) was also related to the acceptance of immigrants by the dominant group (Dutch), and to lower levels of discrimination (Schalk-Soekar, 2007). This study identified a number of psychological variables that predict acceptance of multiculturalism: positive perceptions of immigrants' adjustment to society and approval of immigrants' way of life, and a perceived in-group norm that minorities present a threat to society (Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). Some studies have found relationships between multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts among members of the larger society. Ward and Masgoret (2006) in a sample of households in New Zealand found that the level of support for multiculturalism by the dominant group is significantly correlated with their intercultural contact with immigrants or non-dominant group members.

There are some studies of the relationship between acceptance of multicultural ideology among migrants and dominant groups and their intercultural strategies and contacts. For example, in studies in Hong Kong with migrants from China and Hong Kong residents, Hui et al. (2015) found that support for multicultural ideology of both Hong Kong residents and

migrants was positively related to their endorsement of the integration strategy, and to their intercultural contact with each other. The results of this study suggest that supporting a multicultural ideology may be important in facilitating social interactions between members of the society of settlement and immigrants in culturally plural milieus, both by promoting the integration strategy and intercultural contact. In previous research in Russia, multicultural ideology was found to be positively related to the expectation of integration and negatively related to the expectation of assimilation among majority group of Russians (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013).

In the present study, we refer to the proposed relationship between multicultural ideology and intercultural strategies/expectations as the *multicultural hypothesis.* We predict that multicultural ideology will be related positively to the integration strategy and expectation, but negatively related to the assimilation strategy and expectation in both dominant and non-dominant groups. We also predict that multicultural ideology will positively relate to the intensity of intercultural contacts in both groups, consistent with prior research in Hong Kong (Hui et al., 2015). Further, when considered along with the *integration hypothesis*, multicultural ideology may have an indirect influence on adaptation. Because the integration strategy has been shown to be associated with adaptation, and multicultural ideology is related to adopting integration strategies/expectations, we expect integration strategies/expectations to mediate the relationship between multicultural ideology and adaptation.

1.2.3. The contact hypothesis

As proposed by Allport (1954), intercultural contacts often lead to more positive intercultural relations. Much research has shown that this relationship can be found in many settings, usually under certain conditions (when the contact is voluntary, when it is of relatively equal status and power, and when there are societal norms that promote intercultural contact). Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of hundreds of studies of the contact hypothesis, which came from many countries and from many diverse settings (schools, work, lab experiments). Their findings provide general support for the contact hypothesis: intergroup contact does generally relate negatively to prejudice in both dominant and non-dominant samples. They also found that the contact hypothesis is supported in some cases where these conditions were not present. This effect was stronger where there were structured programs that incorporated the conditions outlined by Allport than when these conditions were not present.

Studies have shown repeatedly that contact can reduce feelings of threat and anxiety about future cross-group interactions (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). As noted above, research in Hong Kong found that in both migrants from the mainland and among residents of Hong Kong, a preference for the integration strategy and expectation were positively related to intercultural contact. Based on these results we can propose that frequent friendly intercultural contacts will be positively related to the integration intercultural strategy and expectation that are aimed at mutual adaptation.

In the present study, we refer to the proposed relationship between intercultural contact and intercultural strategies and expectations as the *contact hypothesis.* We predict that contact will be related positively to both the integration and assimilation strategies in both migrants and dominant groups, as prior research suggests that contact reduces prejudice and the perception of threat, thereby making it more likely that dominant groups would be open to migrants becoming integrated into the society. This prediction is based on the shared meaning of integration and assimilation: they both value intercultural contact and mutual participation.

Two of the three hypotheses (integration and contact) have been examined in previous research in Russia. For the integration hypothesis, as noted above, Lepshokova (2012a, 2012b) examined the relationship between acculturation strategies/expectations and adaptation of migrants and members of the larger society in Russia. She found that the integration strategy and expectation predicted higher levels of adaptation in both groups. The contact hypothesis was partially supported in previous research in Moscow (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013). For migrants, frequency of contacts with their friends from the majority group positively predicted preference for integration and assimilation strategies, and negatively predicted preference for the separation strategy and perceived discrimination. For Russian Muscovites, however, frequency of their contacts with migrants did not predict any of their acculturation expectations. Nevertheless, in the present study we want to explore this relationship with an updated sample of Muscovites. The multicultural hypothesis per se has not been tested previously in the Russian context. However, one of the previous studies in Russia showed a positive correlation of multicultural ideology with the acculturation expectation of integration and a negative correlation with the expectation of assimilation among majority group of Russians (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013).

In the present study, we build on this prior work and examine the relationships among measures of intercultural relations together in one overall model for each of the two samples of migrants and Muscovites. By employing path analyses using structural equation modeling, we test all three hypotheses simultaneously. We build separate models for migrants and for Muscovites with updated and larger samples. This allows us to consider the relationships of psychological variables in both groups that are in contact, which is rarely done in research in the field. This mutual approach is based on the recognition that intercultural relations and acculturation are both interactive processes. Because all groups living in plural societies engage each other in many different ways, their ideologies, their strategies and expectations, as well as their preferred intercultural contacts should be examined separately and then compared (Berry, 1980, 2015; Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault, & Sénécal, 1997) to determine what they have in common and to reveal their differences. Also in the present study, we used the bootstrap procedure to test the indirect effects from multicultural ideology and intercultural contact to adaptation. This approach gives

Table 1
Sample composition.

Groups	N	Age		Gender	
		M	SD	Male	Female
Russian Muscovites	651	25.9	13.3	202	449
Ethnic migrants	378	31.2	9.8	175	203
Total	1029	28.6	11.6	337	692

us the ability to trace the hidden influence of predictors of higher-level variables through the mediators on the indicators of mutual adaptation.

1.2.4. The research predictions

Our general research prediction is that support for multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts predict preference for two intercultural strategies of migrants and the intercultural expectations of Muscovites, which in turn predict life satisfaction of members of both groups, and sociocultural adaptation of migrants.

Specifically:

a Among migrants:

– The acceptance of multicultural ideology by migrants positively predicts their preference for the integration strategy, and negatively predicts their preference for the assimilation strategy.
– Their preference for the integration strategy positively predicts their psychological and sociocultural adaptation.
– The intensity of intercultural contacts of migrants positively predicts their preference for both the integration and the assimilation strategy.
– The acceptance of multicultural ideology by migrants positively relates to the intensity of their intercultural contacts.

b Among Muscovites:

– The acceptance of multicultural ideology by Muscovites positively predicts their integration expectation, and negatively their assimilation expectation.
– The intensity of intercultural contacts of Muscovites positively predicts their preference for both the integration and the assimilation expectation.
– Their preference for the integration expectation positively predicts their life satisfaction.
– The acceptance of multicultural ideology by Muscovites positively relates to the intensity of their intercultural contacts.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

We conducted our study in Moscow. The sample included 1029 adult respondents: 651 were Russian Muscovites and 378 were migrants: 'internal' migrants from the North Caucasus (Karachai $N = 100$), and 'external' migrants from South Caucasus states (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia $N = 278$). 'Internal' migrants from the North Caucasus of Russia are perceived as foreign migrants in Central Russia, because they have a Caucasian accent and their appearance differs from the Slavic one. There was only one difference among all variables between 'internal' and 'external' migrants. Life satisfaction, was higher among 'internal' migrants ($t = 4.7$, $p < 001$). Therefore, the two migrant groups were combined in further statistical analyses.

We considered Russian Muscovites to be those who are Russian by ethnicity and who have been living in Moscow for more than 20 years. Table 1 presents the numbers, mean age and gender of the participants.

2.2. Measures

The study used some scales and items from the project "Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies" (MIRIPS) http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips. The items were translated into Russian and adapted for use in Russia (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2009, 2013). For this research, we used the following responses on a 5-point scale: 1—*totally disagree;* 2—*disagree;* 3—*not sure/neutral;* 4—*somewhat agree;* 5—*totally agree.*

2.2.1. Multicultural ideology

This construct assessed support for multiculturalism as a public policy and practice. It was measured by three items, such as: "A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur". These items were used both for migrants and for Muscovites.

2.2.2. Intercultural contacts

Intercultural contacts were measured by parallel questions for migrants and Muscovites. We asked respondents about the number of close friends and frequency of contacts with them because such contacts implicitly involve equality, meeting one of the conditions stipulated in the contact hypothesis. Muscovites were asked about friends among migrants and migrants were asked about their friends among Muscovites. We call this combination of number and frequency of intercultural contacts 'intensity of contacts'.

2.2.3. Intercultural strategies of migrants

The *integration strategy* was measured using 3 items (e.g., "It is important to me to be fluent in both [national language] and in [ethnic language]"). The *assimilation strategy* was measured using 3 items (e.g., "I prefer social activities which involve Russians only"). These items were used with migrants only.

2.2.4. Intercultural expectations of Muscovites

The *integration* expectation was measured using 3 items (e.g., "I feel that immigrants should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adopt those of Russians"). The *assimilation* expectation was measured using 3 items, (e.g., "It is more important for immigrants to be fluent in Russian than in their own language"). These items were used with Muscovites only.

2.2.5. Sociocultural adaptation

This scale assesses competence in daily intercultural living among migrants (Ward, 1996). Migrants indicated how much difficulty they experienced while living in Moscow in each of 20 areas of daily life. Items were recoded positively.

2.2.6. Life satisfaction

This scale was used to assess psychological adaptation. It includes four items, such as: "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" and was used with both samples.

2.2.7. Demographic variables

In addition, we asked questions about respondents' background, such as gender, age, level of education. We used these questions with both samples.

2.3. Procedure

We used a 'snowball' sampling strategy, asking our friends, acquaintances and colleagues who are members of various migrant communities to interview their friends and relatives. Then, we asked them to distribute the questionnaire to other friends and acquaintances. The migrant sample contained people who came to study or work in Moscow, their friends and parents. The sample of Muscovites included ethnic Russians who are permanent Moscow residents. The same snowball strategy was used for this sample. Students made up about 66% of the whole sample. The questionnaire took approximately 40 min to complete. Since most of the respondents had relatively high education, had lived in Russia for years and had a good command of the Russian language, the survey was conducted in Russian.

In constructing the models, we took into account the influence of age and gender, although these influences were very weak and did not substantially change the percentage of the explained variance. Standardized regression weights characterizing the influence of gender and age on predictors ranged from −.02 to .12 and were not statistically significant. Education weakly and positively influenced scores on multicultural ideology (.21) in the Migrants sample. Age weakly and negatively influenced scores on life satisfaction (−.29) in the Migrants sample. Gender weakly and positively influenced scores on multicultural ideology (.14) in the Muscovites sample.

2.4. Data processing

For testing the specific predictions, we used path analysis with AMOS version 19 (Arbuckle, 2010). This allows the evaluation of a series of simultaneous hypotheses; taking measurement errors into account (see Bollen and Pearl (2013)). Separate models were constructed for the Russian Muscovite and migrant samples. We used the bootstrap procedure to compute the significance of mediation effects.

3. Results

Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, reliability coefficients, and correlation coefficients are presented in Table 2.
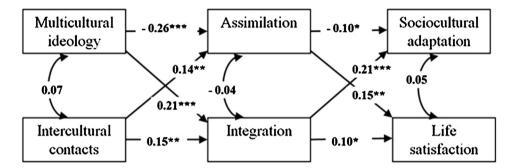
3.1. Migrants

Results for the migrant sample are shown in Fig. 1 and Table 3. Fig. 1 presents the direct effects only. The sizes and significance of indirect effects are presented in Table 3.

Table 2

Means, standard deviations, reliability coefficients, and intercorrelations for the samples of migrants (N = 378) and Russians (N = 651).

		M	SD	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	MI	4.02/3.72[a]	.78/.81	.70/.73[c]	1	.05/.10[*]	.18[**]/.24[**]	−.27[**]/−.19[**]	.09	.07/.01
2	IC	2.40/1.80	1.20/1.33	.87/.80		1	.19[**]/.10[*]	.06/-.10[*]	.00	.08/.02
3	INT	4.34/3.92	.76/1.02	.73/.81			1	-.06/-.19[**]	.22[**]	.09/.10[*]
4	ASS	1.61/1.93	.71/.76	.73/.75				1	-.15[**]	.12[*]/−.04
5	SCA[b]	4.44	.96	.84					1	−.02
6	LS	3.21/3.33	.93/.81	.85/.80						1

MI, Multicultural ideology; IC, Intercultural contacts; INT, Integration; ASS, Assimilation; SCA, Sociocultural adaptation; LS, Life satisfaction.

[a] Migrants/Russians.
[b] Sociocultural adaptation is not applicable for Russians.
[c] The reliability coefficients (alphas).
[*] $p < .05$.
[**] $p < .01$.

Fig. 1. Standardized coefficients for the mediation model (controlling for age, gender, and education level) depicting assimilation and integration as mediators of the multicultural ideology and intercultural contact, impacts on sociocultural adaptation and life satisfaction with migrants in Moscow ([*]$p < .05$. [**]$p < .01$. [***]$p < .001$).

Assessment of model fit indicates that all of the goodness-of-fit indices are exceptionally good. That is, this model has a chi square/df = 1.32, an incremental fit index (IFI) of .98, a comparative fit index (CFI) of .97, a root mean square residual (RMSEA) of .03 (confidence interval for RMSEA is LO90 = .00; HI90 = .06), and p of Close Fit (PCLOSE) of .84. The values for IFI, CFI, RMSEA, and PCLOSE provide a very strong representation of the relationships among the variables in the proposed model.

Consistent with our research predictions, preference for the integration strategy positively predicted both sociocultural adaptation (β = .21, $p < .01$) and life satisfaction (β = .10, $p < .05$) (Table 3 and Fig. 1). Preference for the assimilation strategy negatively predicted sociocultural adaptation (β = −.10, $p < .05$) and positively predicted life satisfaction (β = .15, $p < .001$) of migrants (Table 3 and Fig. 1).

Multicultural ideology was a significant negative predictor of assimilation (β = −.26, $p < .001$) and a significant positive predictor of integration (β = .21, $p < .01$) (Table 3 and Fig. 1). Intensity of intercultural contacts significantly and positively predicted both assimilation (β = .15, $p < .01$) and integration (β = .14, $p < .05$) strategies, as predicted. However, intercultural contacts and multicultural ideology were not significantly related.

In addition, we evaluated indirect effects of multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts on life satisfaction and sociocultural adaptation using the bootstrap procedure (Holmbeck, 1997; Hoyle & Kenny, 1999). The analysis shows that there are indirect relatively weak but significant positive effects of multicultural ideology (β = .07, $p < .05$) and intercultural contacts (β = .04, $p < .05$) (see Table 3) on the sociocultural adaptation of migrants through assimilation and integration
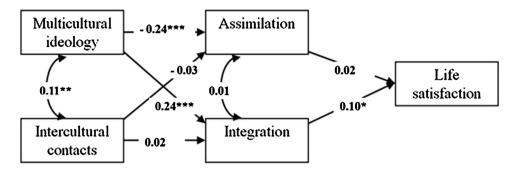
Table 3

Standardized direct and indirect effects and 90% confidence intervals (from the sample of migrants).

Outcome Predictor	Assimilation	Integration	Sociocultural adaptation			Life satisfaction		
			Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total
Multicultural ideology	−.26[***]	.21[**]	.00	.07[**]	.07[**]	.00	−.02	−.02
Intercultural contacts	.15[**]	.14[*]	.00	.04[*]	.02	.00	.02	.03
Assimilation	–	–	−.10[*]	.00	−.11	.15[**]	.00	.15[**]
Integration	–	–	.21[***]	.00	.20[*]	.10[*]	.00	.10[*]
R^2	.08	.08	.054	.01	.06	.034	.00	.034

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

Fig. 2. Standardized coefficients for mediation model (controlling for age, gender, and education level) depicting assimilation and integration as mediators of the multicultural ideology and intercultural contact, impacts on life satisfaction with Russians in Moscow (*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001).

strategies. Thus, we can conclude that the assimilation and integration strategies fully mediate the impacts of multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts on the sociocultural adaptation of migrants. However, no indirect effects were found for life satisfaction. In this case the assimilation and integration strategies do not mediate the impacts of multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts on life satisfaction of migrants (see Table 3).

3.2. Muscovites

Results for the Muscovite sample are shown in Table 4 and Fig. 2. Fig. 2 presents the direct effects only. Additionally, we tested the indirect effects from multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts to life satisfaction of Russians in Moscow. The sizes and significance of indirect effects are presented in Table 4.

All of the goodness-of-fit indices of the model, presented on Fig. 2, are good. That is, this model has a chi square/df = 2.4, an incremental fit index (IFI) of .95, a comparative fit index (CFI) of .95, a root mean square residual (RMSEA) of .05 (confidence interval for RMSEA is LO90 = .02; HI90 = .08), and p of Close Fit (PCLOSE) of .52. The values for IFI, CFI, RMSEA, and PCLOSE provide a good representation of the relationships among the variables in the proposed model (Fig. 2).

For Russian Muscovites, the integration expectation was positively related to their life satisfaction (β = .10, p < .05), as predicted. Assimilation expectation had no significant relationship with life satisfaction of the Muscovites.

Multicultural ideology was a significant positive predictor of Muscovites' expectation of integration for migrants (β = .24, p < .01), and a significant negative predictor of Muscovites' expectation of assimilation for them (β = −.24, p < .001) (Table 4 and Fig. 2). These results are similar to the results that were obtained in the migrant sample. In addition, intercultural contacts and multicultural ideology were positively and significantly related (R = .11, p < .01). However, intercultural contacts had no significant relationships with acculturation expectations of Muscovites.

We also evaluated direct and indirect effects from multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts on life satisfaction of Russian Muscovites using the bootstrap procedure and did not find any statistically significant direct and indirect effects in the Muscovite sample (Table 4).

4. Discussion

4.1. The overall models

In this study, we made some specific predictions that were based on three hypotheses (integration, multicultural, and contact). These predictions were tested separately with two models, using data from two samples: migrants to Moscow from the North and South Caucasus (migrants), and Russians in Moscow (Muscovites).

Table 4
Standardized direct and indirect effects and correlations from the sample of Muscovites.

Outcome predictor	Assimilation	Integration	Life satisfaction		
			Direct	Indirect	Total
Multicultural ideology	−.24***	.24***	.00	.02	.02
Intercultural contacts	−.03	.02	.00	.002	.002
Assimilation	–	–	.02	.00	.02
Integration	–	–	.10*	.00	.10*
R²	.06	.06	.01	.00	.011

* p < .05.
*** p < .001.

The main contribution of this study is that we found support for many of our predictions for both groups while testing these relationships in one overall model for each sample. The specific predictions for migrants were fully supported by our data: the acceptance of multicultural ideology and the intensity of migrants' intercultural contacts positively and significantly predicted their preference for integration, which in turn significantly and positively predicted their better sociocultural adaptation and life satisfaction. The specific prediction for Muscovites received partial support: the acceptance of multicultural ideology significantly and positively predicted their preference for integration, which in turn predicted their life satisfaction. However, the intensity of their intercultural contacts had no effects on integration and assimilation. This finding corresponds with a study in the Netherlands among native Dutch adolescents, showing that the quantity of intergroup contact in school class, and having out-group friends with immigrant Muslim peers were associated with less endorsement of assimilation (Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014). Thus, we found support for the integration and multicultural hypotheses for both groups in these overall models; however, the contact hypothesis was supported for the migrants, but not the Muscovite group. Further, multicultural ideology and intercultural contacts predicted sociocultural adaptation of migrants through their intercultural strategies.

The three hypotheses have different histories of use in intercultural psychology. They have usually been kept distinct conceptually, and been examined empirically separately. However, there are good reasons to expect that they may be interrelated in intercultural settings. Based on this expectation, the examination of them together in an overall model is a main contribution of the present research.

First, there is a plausible theoretical link between the multicultural hypothesis and the integration hypothesis. This is because support for multiculturalism implies acceptance of two (or even more) cultures in one's life, similar to the meaning of the integration strategy for all groups in the society; and both provide more opportunities for social support, which has been shown to foster well-being (Jang et al., 2015; Lancee, 2012; Takenoshita, 2015). In keeping with this line of thinking, we found that multicultural ideology indirectly (through the integration acculturation strategy) promotes better sociocultural adaptation of migrants. Such a relationship might also be expected because endorsing multicultural ideology and preferring integration (both combining the value of diversity and equitable participation) will facilitate the sociocultural adaptation of culturally diverse individuals and groups in the larger society. And based on the established link in the research literature between integration and wellbeing (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), this in turn will lead to higher levels of adaptation.

Second, it is plausible that accepting a multicultural ideology would also mean having more intercultural contacts among members of both samples. This possible link may exist because a multicultural vision facilitates a desire for friendly and equitable contacts with cultural 'others'. Indeed, we found such a positive relationship in the Muscovite sample; however, we did not find such a link in the migrant sample. This finding with dominant group members is similar to those found in other studies. For example, Ward and Masgoret (2006) found that New Zealanders' level of endorsement of multiculturalism is significantly correlated with their intercultural contact with immigrants and non-dominant group members. In studies in Hong Kong with dominant group members and migrants from Mainland China, Hui et al. (2015) found that multicultural ideology indirectly affected intercultural contact with immigrants from the Mainland China. This relationship has also been found in the Netherlands (e.g., Noll, Poppe, & Verkuyten, 2010). However, for migrants, the relationship between multicultural ideology and intercultural contact was not significant. This could mean that when migrants support multiculturalism, they may also be wary of engaging in too much intercultural contact in order to avoid possible assimilation. This is possible if the meaning of multiculturalism for migrants places more emphasis on the cultural maintenance than on the participation in the dominant culture. We also found that support for multicultural ideology has an indirect positive impact on the sociocultural adaptation of migrants. This suggests that the multicultural views of migrants facilitate their adaptation to everyday life in the new society.

We now examine in more detail the specific links among variables in the two models according to the three hypotheses: integration, multicultural and contact.

4.2. Integration hypothesis

Our study found full support for the prediction that the integration strategy will promote the adaptation of migrants: a preference for the integration strategy among migrants promotes their higher life satisfaction and sociocultural adaptation. We also found that in the Muscovite sample, the integration expectation promotes their better life satisfaction. The first result is consistent with the numerous findings of other researchers who have reported that the strategy of integration is most conducive to the psychological and sociocultural adaptation of non-dominant groups (Berry, 1997; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2016). However, this study extends this finding to the expectations held by members of the larger society. Perhaps when members of the larger society share a preference for this integrative way of engaging in intercultural relations with non-dominant members (the means in Table 2 show a high level of support for integration; 4.34 and 3.92) there is a basis for their mutual adaptation.

With respect to the assimilation strategy and expectation, we did not make any predictions. However, we found that assimilation among migrants negatively predicted their sociocultural adaptation (−.10) and positively predicted their psychological adaptation (+.15). It is not clear why there is a negative relationship with their sociocultural adaptation. We can suppose that migrants who are well adapted in the host society have high level of sociocultural adaptation and low preference for assimilation, because they are motivated to maintain their original culture. In this case, the preference for assimilation and sociocultural adaptation might have negative relationship. For psychological adaptation, it appears that preferring to

become fully involved with the larger society while maintaining one's heritage culture (by integrating) or without doing so (by assimilating) have similar outcomes for their adaptation.

Our findings provide further support for the *integration hypothesis*, as integration (as well as assimilation) serves as the mediator of both multicultural ideology and intercultural contact in predicting sociocultural adaptation.

4.3. Multicultural hypothesis

The examination of the multicultural hypothesis is one of the novel features of the present research. This hypothesis received support in both samples. The acceptance of multicultural ideology directly influences the two intercultural strategies and expectations of integration (positively), and assimilation (negatively). This pattern shows the different nature of these two ways of engaging each other interculturally. For both samples, the meaning of assimilation is the same in one sense: supporting assimilation into the dominant culture means rejecting the multicultural vision of Russian society. In another sense however, for migrants, assimilation means losing their culture, while for Muscovites assimilation may mean admitting new members whom they may not want in the larger society. For both samples the meaning of integration is the same: to integrate means accepting the multicultural vision of Russia. These specific findings support the multicultural hypothesis: accepting the multicultural ideology will promote positive mutual attitudes among members of different cultural groups.

4.4. Contact hypothesis

Our results with migrants provided support for the effect of intercultural contact on preferring the two intercultural strategies of assimilation and integration. Since these two acculturation strategies both involve the willingness of the migrants to participate in the larger society, this specific finding supports the contact hypothesis, which asserts that intercultural contacts will promote more positive intercultural relations.

In contrast, for Muscovites, we found that intercultural contacts did not promote their preference for either assimilation or integration. One possible reason for this lack of a relationship is that there is a lower level of such contacts among Muscovites in comparison with migrants (1.80 vs 2.40 in Table 2). We suggest that making intercultural contacts with migrants is less relevant for Moscow residents, and urban spaces for the two groups to interact are limited (Grigorieva, Kuznetsov, Mukomel, & Rocheva, 2010). Muscovites dislike the places where migrants like to gather (ethnic cafes, migrant centers and markets for migrants). In contrast, migrants fear those urban places in the center of Moscow that are preferred by Muscovites because they are associated with the presence of the police. We conclude that the contact hypothesis has received support only among migrants.

4.5. Similarities and differences in models

There are a number of similarities in the models of the two samples. First, we found that multicultural ideology is predictive of preferences for integration, and the rejection of assimilation in both samples. This may be interpreted as a form of convergent validation for views about the preferred way to live together in Russia; having an ideology that is accepting of cultural diversity corresponds to the integration strategy, but is contrary to the assimilation strategy, where migrants are expected to give up their cultures. Second, preferences for integration are positively related to adaptation in both samples. Together, the consistency between these two findings suggests that there is a shared vision about the best way to engage in intercultural relations. This generally shared pattern of relationships in the two samples supports the position that there needs to be a *mutual* approach to understanding acculturation and intercultural relations among all individuals and groups in the plural society.

However, there are some differences. Most importantly, while we found support for the contact hypothesis among migrants, there was a lack of support for the contact hypothesis among Muscovites. This may be because migrants and Muscovites belong to different socio-economic strata, and have only occasional intercultural contacts and rarely establish friendships. It is possible that because of these differing economic and demographic situations in the intercultural context of Moscow, different models may be required for the two groups.

The added value of this study is that the use of the structural modeling technique has enabled us to demonstrate the existence of many similar psychological processes underlying intercultural relations in both the groups. This mutual approach allows policy-makers to think about psychological programs that will address the needs and expectations of both or all groups in society together. In general, we consider that the key conditions for positive intercultural relations are the acceptance of a multicultural ideology in the larger society in both public attitudes and public policy, which together may promote establishing friendly intercultural contacts.

The study has some limitations. First, we used a snowball technique with both migrant and Muscovite samples; this limits the representativeness of both populations. Second, we sampled migrants from the North and South Caucasus who are relatively well-adapted because they have been living in Russia for many years. By studying other groups of migrants (for example, other newcomers with lower adaptation in Russia) would probably show other effects. Future research with more representative samples from all major groups living in Moscow would enhance these finding and conclusions. Secondly, Moscow is the richest city in Russia and the unemployment rate in it is lower than in other cities and regions. This reduces

competition and tensions in interethnic relations between migrants and host population. The results of this study may be different if it will be checked in other, poorer regions of Russia.

5. Conclusion

During the last two decades, following the disintegration of the USSR, Russia has become a country of continuous mass migration. This situation has created a new demand for positive mutual intercultural relationships, especially between these migrants and the larger society of central Russia. We have shown that acceptance of multicultural ideology is crucially important in pursuing the intercultural strategy of integration and achieving mutual adaptation among cultural groups in Russia's pluralistic society. We conclude that efforts to improve relations between the larger society and migrants should be directed at developing a multicultural ideology and facilitating intercultural contacts of migrants with members of the larger society. These findings are consistent with other studies that have shown that higher level of support for multicultural ideology among Muscovites provides tolerance toward migrants, and willingness to accept integration of immigrants into society (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2009, 2013).

Beyond these important relationships, we observe that the preference for integration is positively related to higher life satisfaction in both samples and better sociocultural adaptation of migrants, while support for assimilation does not relate to positive psychological outcomes in either sample. Thus, programs that advocate the acceptance of the integration strategy in both groups (while avoiding pursuing assimilation) should improve both the acceptance of the ideology of multiculturalism and the overall acceptance of all ethnocultural groups in Russia.

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