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Pre-acculturation among voluntary migrants

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This dissertation research focused on the pre-migration stage of the migration process and, specifically, the action period, which starts from making a decision to move abroad and lasts until the actual move. The research further developed the concept of pre-acculturation, that is, the active process that voluntary migrants in particular go through during the preparatory stage of migration process. As studies on pre-acculturation are still rather scarce, the theoretical background of the research was formulated by applying both previous (mostly post-migration) acculturation and expatriate literature, and completing them with social psychological theories of intergroup relations, and organizational psychology. The present research concentrated on the pre-acculturation of two groups of skilled voluntary migrants preparing to move to Finland: ethnic (re)migrants and their family members from Russia and self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs) recruited to the European Chemicals Agency.

The results of the research indicate that immigrant acculturation is a complex process that begins already at the pre-migration stage and involves at least four different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation among voluntary migrants. First, the research showed that integration was the most preferred pre-migration acculturation orientation among ethnic migrants. The following factors were associated with the formation of acculturation orientations: participants' general well-being, degree of Russian identification, support for multicultural ideology, and perceptions of the acculturation expectations of future hosts. Second, it was shown that ethnic migrants' pre-acculturative stress largely depended on their expectations of post-migration adaptation. These expectations were developed through direct and indirect pre-migration contact with, as well as knowledge about, the society of immigration. Third, it was shown that ethnic migrants' anticipated socio-cultural adaptation was related to their familiarity with the country of immigration, the openness to change value, and perceived value congruence between migrants' personal values and the perceived values of typical hosts. Finally, previous international work experience, perceived organizational prestige and support, as well as the quality of contact with Finns during recruitment simultaneously predicted various dimensions of SFEs' pre-migration adaptation (psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation). These connections were mediated by European identification, self-esteem and relocation stress. Altogether, the results point to the crucial role of early contact experiences of potential migrants with future home country nationals. According to the results, it is essential to identify the expectations and beliefs related to potential migrants' pre-acculturation orientations and pre-migration adaptation, including stress reactions prior to migration. Moreover, the results speak to the importance of psychological resources and preparedness for a successful pre-acculturation.

This dissertation research emphasizes that the pre-migration stage in general and pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants in particular should be given more attention in both acculturation and expatriate literature. A proper understanding of pre-acculturation is seen as a means of promoting the most adaptive acculturation profiles at the earliest stage of migration.

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin kahden vapaaehtoisen, koulutetun maahanmuuttajaryhmän, Euroopan kemikaalivirastoon rekrytoitujen kansainvälisten työntekijöiden sekä inkerin-suomalaisten paluumuuttajien ja heidän perheenjäsentensä maahanmuuttoa edeltävän vaiheen akkulturaatiota ja ennakoivaa sopeutumista. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu sosiaalipsykologiseen akkulturaatiotutkimukseen ja ekspatriaattitutkimukseen. Näitä tutkimusperinteitä täydennetään sosiaalipsykologisilla ryhäsuhdeteorioilla ja organisaatio-psykologialla.

Tutkimus on artikkeliväitöskirja, joka koostuu neljästä vertaisarvioidusta, kansainvälisestä julkaisusta sekä johdanto-osuudesta. Tutkimuksen päätavoite oli kuvata erityisen *pre-akkulturaatio* -käsitteen kautta tutkimuksen kohteena olevien ryhmien akkulturaatio-prosessille ominaisia tekijöitä jo maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa. Lisäksi oltiin kiinnostuneita näiden tekijöiden yhteyksistä tulevaan maahanmuuttoon liittyvän ennakoivan sopeutumisen eri ulottuvuuksiin (psykologinen, sosio-kulttuurinen, sosio-psykologinen ja työsopeutuminen). Tutkimus osoitti etnisten suomalaisten aineistossa ensinnäkin sen, että valtaosa heistä suosi akkulturaatio-orientaationaan integraatiota jo maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa. Orientaatioiden valintaan vaikuttivat osallistujien hyvinvoinnin, venäläiseksi samastumisen voimakkuuden, ja monikulttuurisuuden kannatusasteen lisäksi erityisesti suomalaisten koetut akkulturaatio-odotukset. Toiseksi tutkimus osoitti, että osallistujien maahanmuuttoa edeltävä stressi oli yhteydessä heidän tulevaa maahan sopeutumistaan koskeviin odotuksiin. Nämä odotukset olivat muodostuneet sekä maahanmuuttoa edeltävien kontaktien, että kohdemaata koskevien tiedollisten valmiuksien kautta. Kolmanneksi tutkimus osoitti, että osallistujien ennakoiva sosiokulttuurinen sopeutuminen oli yhteydessä kohdemaan tuttuuteen, avoimuus uudelle-arvoon, sekä havaittuun yhdenmukaisuuteen osallistujien omien arvojen ja sellaisten arvojen välillä, jotka osallistujat mielsivät tyypillisiksi tuleville maanmiehilleen. Kansainvälisten työntekijöiden aineistossa tutkimus puolestaan osoitti, että kansainvälinen työkokemus, koettu organisaation arvostus, tyytyväisyys muuttoa koskeviin järjestelyihin, sekä suomalaisiin kohdistuneiden kontaktien laatu rekrytointivaiheessa olivat yhteydessä useisiin maahanmuuttoa edeltävän vaiheen sopeutumisen ulottuvuuksiin. Näihin yhteyksiin vaikuttivat lisäksi työntekijöiden itsetunto, eurooppalaiseksi samastumisen voimakkuus, sekä tulevan muuton stressaavuus.

Yhteenvetona voidaan todeta, että maahanmuuttoa edeltävä vaihe on jo itsessään merkityksellinen vaihe, jossa yksilö läpikäy muuttoa edeltävää sopeutumista, pre-akkulturaatiota. Tutkimus osoitti, että sekä akkulturaatio-orientaatiot, että tutkimuksen kohteena olleet ennakoivan sopeutumisen ulottuvuudet alkavat muotoutua jo maahanmuuttoa edeltävässä vaiheessa useiden tälle vaiheelle ominaisten tekijöiden seurauksena. Tutkimuksen tulokset korostavat sitä, että maahanmuuttoa edeltävä vaihe tulisi paremmin huomioida maahanmuuttajien sopeutumista selittävässä teorioissa ja tutkimuksessa, sekä pyrittäessä edistämään heidän uuteen maahan sopeutumistaan erilaisin interventioin. Kaiken kaikkiaan tutkimus toi tärkeän lisän siihen, miten maahanmuuttoa edeltävää vaihetta on perinteisesti tarkasteltu.

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Anu Yijälä

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following publications:

- I Yijälä, A. & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2010). Pre-migration acculturation attitudes among potential ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34(4), 326–339.
- II Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. & Yijälä, A. (2011). The model of pre-aculturative stress – A pre-migration study of potential migrants from Russia to Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(4), 499–510.
- III Yijälä, A., Lönnqvist, J., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Verkasalo, M. (2012). Values as predictors of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation among potential migrants from Russia to Finland. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 22(2), 95–110.
- IV Yijälä, A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Likki, T., Stein, D. (2012). Pre-migration adaptation of highly skilled self-initiated foreign employees: The case of an EU agency. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(4), 759–778.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals (Study I–IV).

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1. Introduction

According to the International Organization for Migration's World Migration Report (2010), the number of international migrants in 2010 was estimated at 214 million, which is a 43 per cent increase from the year 2000. An international migrant is, according to the United Nations (UN, 2008), a person who changes his or her country of usual residence. According to Berry (1997), a distinction can be made between groups who have entered into the migration process voluntarily (e.g., immigrants and ethnic migrants) and those who experience acculturation without having sought it out (e.g., refugees and asylum seekers). According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the number of both permanent and temporary labour migrants and their share of total migration flows has increased substantially since 1999, whereas growth in protection-seeking migration has been far more moderate (OECD, 2004). At the end of 2010, there were estimated 15.4 million refugees and nearly 850,000 asylum seekers worldwide (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010). The number of voluntary migrants is, therefore, exponentially larger, with predominantly economically-motivated voluntary migrants being the main migrating group from the global perspective (Carr, Inkson, & Thorn, 2005). According to the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat), 3.8 million people immigrated to one of the EU-member states (EU-27) in 2008, of which about half (1.9 million people) were from outside the EU (Eurostat, 2010). Besides foreigners, this 3.8 million includes EU nationals—both those returning 'home' and citizens born abroad who move for the first time to a particular member state. In 2008, 16 per cent of all immigrants in the EU Member States were EU nationals (Eurostat, 2010).

Immigrants play a key role in driving the economic development of Europe. Thus, faced with skills shortages, population decline and aging, the countries of Europe, including Finland, have actively tried to facilitate labour market access and entry for skilled labour migrants. (European Commission Home Affairs, 2011.) According to Mahroum (2001), the EU member states—in addition to competing with non-EU countries—also compete among themselves in order to attract and maintain sufficient flows of highly skilled labour. Even though Finland has traditionally had one of the smallest proportions in the EU of inhabitants with a foreign background, immigration has been, overall, increasing.

The first immigrants to Finland were some two hundred Chilean refugees at the beginning of the 1970s. The second immigrant group to Finland consisted of Vietnamese refugees in 1979. Therefore, until the crises in the Middle East and Somalia at the end of the 1980s, the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Finland was virtually non-existent. Until the year 1990 the people moving to Finland from abroad were mostly Finns returning back to Finland from Sweden. However, as a result of ethnic migration from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and that of other groups of ethnic Finns, as well as increasing numbers of asylum seekers, Finland became a country of net migration at the beginning of the 1990s; that is, more people were entering Finland than leaving it. Since 1990, migration to Finland from other EU countries has also been growing. In 2010, 12,200 people moved to Finland from other EU countries, while 7,850 people left Finland for other EU countries (Statistics Finland, 2010a).

The time criterion used by Finnish authorities to distinguish migrants from other travellers is an expected stay of at least one year (UN, 2009). At present, people with a mother tongue other than Finnish, Swedish, or Sami make up 4.2 per cent of the broader Finnish population of approximately 5.4 million (Statistics Finland, 2010b). The biggest immigrant groups by nationality in contemporary Finland are Estonians (29,080) and Russians (28,426), with both groups including large numbers of Ingrian Finns who have immigrated to Finland under repatriate status. The next biggest group consists of immigrants from Sweden (8,510), followed by those from Somalia (6,593), China (5,559), Thailand (5,021), Iraq (5,024), Germany (3,715), Great Britain (3,454), Turkey (3,973), and India (3,468). (Statistics Finland, 2010b.) In 2010, Finland took 634 quota refugees and accepted 1784 asylum seekers (Finnish Immigration Service, 2011a). The number of voluntary migrants was significantly higher; altogether 16,322 of 20,320 residence permit applications were approved in 2010 (Finnish Immigration Service, 2010). Many of these immigrants have settled in the capital area, which is reflected in the relatively large percentage of people (10.8%) with a native tongue other than Finnish or Swedish in Helsinki (City of Helsinki, 2011).

An influx of voluntary migrants is important for Finland because of the country's great need for labour; as in most European countries, Finland faces an aging population. The difference between Finland and other Nordic countries is that in Finland, the policy has been to meet labour needs domestically or through the "return" migration of former nationals (Valtonen, 2001). Nowadays these returning migrants, except those from Sweden, are mostly returning ethnic Finns from Russia. Even though called return migrants, the majority of these ethnic Finns have never lived in Finland, and are instead mainly descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland between the 17th and the beginning of the 20th century to rural Ingria. Therefore, this group of immigrants can also be called as diaspora migrants. These diaspora migrants of Finnish descent (i.e., persons who have, at least, one (Ingrian) Finnish parent or two (Ingrian) Finnish grandparents and are now eligible to apply for the repatriate status)¹ often arrive to Finland with their spouses and children.

Besides remigrants, Finland has also succeeded in attracting other kind of voluntary migrants, that is, those moving abroad for professional or economic reasons without sharing the same ethnicity with the majority representatives of the receiving country. These groups of immigrants consist of both company-initiated, and, to a growing extent, self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs) coming to work in engineering, agriculture, food processing, construction, teaching, healthcare, and other public services, as well as in various business sectors and organizations. Moreover, like the European Union (which is also itself an important employer of international professionals in its various bodies), Finland also strives to attract international professionals to improve its competitiveness in technology, communication and other highly specialized areas.

According to Florida (2005), national competitiveness is becoming more dependent on the pull factors of immigration, such as job opportunities, security, better living conditions,

¹ Including also people who have temporary work permits in Finland, are married to a Finnish citizen, or have come to study, who thus did not arrive under remigrant status, and therefore do not perceive themselves as remigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

and even a comfortable climate. Therefore, it is not only a question of how to attract international workers, but also of how to retain them. To secure the smooth integration (“kotoutuminen” or “kotouttaminen” in Finnish) of immigrants in their societies of immigration, up-to-date scientific information is needed. This has led to an increasing number of empirical studies on the adaptation (i.e., the changes that takes place in individuals and groups in response to environmental demands; see Berry, 1997) of international migrants in EU countries (see Phalet & Kosic, 2006, for a review). However, while company-initiated expatriates have dominated the research on international workers to date (De Cieri, Fenwick, and Hutchings, 2005), there is a lack of studies on the adaptation of self-initiated foreign employees in general, as well as in the Finnish context.

Regardless that the importance of international workers for the economic development of Finland has been recognized in both national and regional strategies as well as in business organizations (Kepsu, Vaattovaara, Bernelius, & Eskelä, 2009, p. 1), there are few studies concentrated on dimensions other than economic adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996)² of the different groups of labour migrants in Finland. Studies on the adaptation of highly skilled migrants to Finland are even more rare. One exception is the ACRE project’s qualitative study on factors motivating the move to and stay in the Helsinki Metropolitan area among highly skilled international migrants (Kepsu et al., 2009; see also Raunio & Forsander, 2009). Another recently published report focused on the European Chemicals Agency’s international employees’ preparations for the move to Finland, and included a small-scale longitudinal investigation of their consequent adaptation in Finland (see Yijälä, Likki, Stein, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2009). On the other hand, studies on the adaptation of ethnic migrants to Finland have been slightly more common, focusing mainly on the use of services directed towards the ethnic migrants (e.g., Aarvevaara, 1993; Seppälä, 1996; Takalo, 1994). There have also been studies on the adaptation of Russian- and Estonian-speaking immigrants and their experiences of racism and discrimination in Finland (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Vesala, 2002; Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 1996) and social exclusion (e.g., Mannila & Reuter, 2009; see also Liebkind et al., 2004).

Both international and domestic research on immigrant adaptation has so far been biased towards the post-migration adaptation outcomes among voluntary migrants. As recently pointed out by some researchers (Chou, 2009; Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Tartakovsky, 2002), the experiences, and particularly the processes, migrants go through when preparing their move to another country have been largely ignored. Similarly, the Finnish longitudinal studies that have included the pre-migration stage have only concerned expatriates (e.g., Holopainen & Björkman, 2005), with a particular focus on repatriating expatriates while on assignment, that is, when preparing for their return to Finland (e.g., Suutari & Brewster, 2003). This has generally been the case in research on voluntary migrants conducted elsewhere in the world as well (e.g., Forster, 2000; Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006). As such, in addition to the overall scarcity of empirical work systematically exploring the factors of the pre-migration stage, there is no study

² The topic of economic adaptation of migrants to Finland has been addressed for the most part in government reports as well as in other publications on immigrants’ economic adaptation into the Finnish labour market (see e.g., Forsander, 2001; Forsander & Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2000).

internationally nor in Finland that has systematically taken into account the preparatory stage of the immigration process among voluntary adult migrants outside the expatriate category.

To sum up, in addition to the vague understanding of the pre-migration stage of the migration process, scholarly attention has only rarely been directed towards the pre-migratory experiences of self-initiated foreign employees or other groups of voluntary migrants, such as ethnic migrants, before they depart their country of origin (Tabor, 2010). To address this gap in the literature, this dissertation research focuses on the experiences voluntary migrants go through and expectations they have at the pre-migration stage of their migration process. In particular, it is proposed that immigrant adaptation actually starts already prior to migration, as individuals begin the acculturation process equipped with a number of characteristics that are demographic, psychological and social in nature. Therefore, this research investigates those pre-migration factors that relate to the formation of potential migrants' pre-migration acculturation orientations and the different dimensions of their pre-migration adaptation. Because not much pre-migration literature is yet available, the present research combines and further develops two approaches used in—predominantly post-migration—research on immigrant and sojourner adaptation: the acculturation framework (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2006a; Ward, 2001; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) and the framework of international (and repatriation) adjustment (e.g., Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Black, Gregersen, & Mendenhall, 1992a). Moreover, when needed, these frameworks are used together with socio-psychological theories on intergroup relations and organizational psychology. Furthermore, this research suggests that the concept of *pre-acculturation* is needed to better capture what happens to immigrants in the pre-migration stage of their migration process.

This dissertation research is grounded in two larger research projects, INPRES (Intervening at the pre-migration stage: Providing tools for promoting integration and adaptation) and InterProF (Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland) conducted in the University of Helsinki during 2008-2011. Each project studied skilled voluntary migrants and the present research uses the pre-migration data collected. The first group consists of potential ethnic migrants from Russia. In most cases, these migrants' pre-migration preparatory stage has lasted more than a decade. The second group is made up of highly skilled self-initiated foreign employees recruited for the newly established European Chemicals Agency in Finland. This group's pre-departure stage was substantially shorter, lasting on average less than a year.

The introductory section of this dissertation research addresses the main theories, concepts, results and contributions of Studies I-IV. As these publications contain more specific material, not all the details are discussed here. The structure of this introductory section is as follows. Chapter Two deals with the phenomenon of international migration and migrants, and addresses the importance of studying pre-migration factors when aiming to form a comprehensive understanding of immigrant acculturation. Chapter Three provides a brief overview of the groups under study, i.e., ethnic Finns and international employees of the European Chemicals Agency. In Chapter Four, the main frameworks of this study, the acculturation and adaptation frameworks, are presented in more detail. Chapter Five provides theoretical insight into how the pre-migration stage has been previously studied, elaborates the concept of pre-acculturation, presents the dimensions of pre-migration adaptation and their possible predictors, and finally, asserts the aims of this dissertation research. Chapter

Six deals with data and procedures, and Chapter Seven summarizes the main results of Studies I-IV. The final section, Chapter Eight, discusses the relevance of the results in more depth.

2. The process of voluntary migration

2.1 Main concepts

Due to globalization and, in many cases, the more open and active recruitment of people, the number of voluntary migrants has grown substantively during the last few decades (OECD, 2004). The category of voluntary migrants includes both internal (i.e., individuals moving inside the country's borders) and international migration (Söderling, 2002). The present research concentrates solely on international voluntary migration to Finland.

According to the literature, there are different (predominantly economically motivated) groups of voluntary migrants that can be classified under the broader concept of so-called sojourners. The term sojourner refers to individuals who “travel abroad to attain a particular goal within a specified period of time” and includes expatriate workers, international students and tourists (Bochner, 2006, p. 181-183). Work-related sojourns are made by individuals from practically all occupations, ranging from labourers and domestic staff to highly skilled professionals and managerial personnel (Bochner, 2006, p. 191). The expatriate research tradition focuses on the latter end of that spectrum, that is, business professionals sent by their employers to work and live temporarily in countries where the organization is conducting business through a branch, subsidiary, or joint venture structure (Ward et al., 2001). The first empirical research conducted among sojourners were those conducted by the Peace Corps between 1962 and 1970, with the goal of better selecting volunteers for assignment to developing countries (Hawes & Kealey, 1981). Since the 1970s, hundreds of variables have been used to study cross-cultural effectiveness among sojourners, particularly among expatriates.

While expatriate research has traditionally focused on business sojourners sent abroad by their employers for commercial or business reasons, individuals themselves have been increasingly seeking out employment possibilities abroad. In recent research, this group of employees has been referred to as self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs; Fu, Shaffer, & Harrison, 2005), as they—unlike employees working for multinational corporations—have made the decision themselves to move abroad and do not follow a career path within a particular organization (Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, & Barry, 1997). A special group of the SFEs is the group of the highly skilled,³ who have emerged as a new, rapidly growing group of

³ While numerous concepts—such as international professionals and international highly skilled workers—have been used to refer to this group of voluntary migrants who move abroad for professional or economic reason, according to the OECD (2002), the lack of an internationally agreed definition of a highly skilled worker limits analysis at international level. Generally, however, highly skilled workers are defined as having a university degree or extensive experience in a given field (Iredale, 2001), which is also the case for this study with regards to the SFEs studied.

migrants since the 1980s (Kepsu et al., 2009, p. 18). As information on the occupations and records of educational qualifications are seldom available, the exact number of highly skilled international employees remains unknown. However, according to Carr et al. (2005), the global impact of skilled SFEs has already exceeded that of the international flow of expatriate workers.

Traditionally, migration flows have been explained by economic factors, which are often incapable of explaining the migration between the high-income countries, indicating that the migration process is far more complex than only a simple reaction to economic disequilibrium (Kepsu et al., 2009, p. 5). In general, new and increasingly complex forms of labour migration pose a great challenge to receiving societies that aim to not only attract international employees, but also retain them (Bürgelt, Morgan, & Pernice, 2008). However, despite increased opportunities for individuals to seek out employment abroad, the SFEs remain largely overlooked in scholarly research.

There are also people who are willing to move abroad partly because of shared ethnicity with the majority representatives of the country of immigration. In general, the term remigrant (sometimes also called as repatriate, returning migrant or “paluumuuttaja” in Finnish) has been defined as a person who has left his/her homeland due to, for example, the poor standards of living and absence of democratic environment, but later returns to that country because of improved living conditions. While there may be several reasons for the decision to return to the country of origin, it is typical that the life—for example, the spouse and children or other relatives of the remigrant—follows to the new country. According to this definition, ethnic migrants, who have their roots in the country of immigration but who have not lived there during their lifetime, are not returning migrants. For example, when interpreting her research on Ingrian Finns “returning” to Finland from Russian diaspora, Gulijeva (2003, abstract; see also Yijälä, 2010) states that “Ingrian migrants cannot be classified under the “remigration”; rather, in its main features Ingrian migration shows extensive similarities with economic immigrants in Finland from different countries.”⁴ In practice, however, ethnic migrants are often equated with other remigrants without differentiating whether they have actually lived in the country of (re)migration or not. For example, Szkudlarek (2010) has stated that the return of the second and subsequent generation migrants to their ancestral homeland is a unique point of cultural re-entry. According to her, however, research addressing the re-entry transition of different groups of migrants other than corporate assignees is scarce and greatly fragmented (Szkudlarek, 2010).

As presented above, the category of voluntary migrants is, indeed, very heterogeneous, and consists of both migrants who intend to stay permanently, as well as temporarily (Berry, 1997). Before moving on to the next chapter on the process of voluntary migration, it is worth noting that while the move of ethnic and other remigrants is typically more permanent in nature when compared to that of sojourners, it is not uncommon that a temporary sojourn becomes a permanent one or a permanent move becomes a limited stay.

⁴ Here it must be noted, however, that despite their high levels of education, ethnic migrants of Ingrian Finnish background often face severe employment problems in Finland (see e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Malinen, 1999, p. 196).

2.2 Stages of the migration process

In the previous literature on voluntary migration, at least three different stages of the migration process have been identified, i.e., the pre-, post-, and re-migration stages. The pre-migration stage—known as the pre-departure stage in the expatriate literature—refers to when migrants are still in their home country, waiting and preparing for their move abroad. The post-migration stage, also called as in-country or on assignment by expatriate researchers, refers to when migrants already have entered in the country of immigration or assignment and begin adapting to the new society. Some researchers (see e.g., Szkudlarek, 2010) have also stressed the importance of the re-migration stage, which deals with re-entry back home or, among immigrants, to the country of emigration. Extensive research on acculturation has pointed to the culture shock (see Oberg, 1960) experienced by the migrants and sojourners in the post-migration stage. Further, some have argued (e.g., Chamove & Soeterik, 2006; Black, Gregersen, & Mendenhall, 1992b; Martin, 1984; Rogers & Ward, 1993) that repatriation may often cause serious discomfort, adjustment problems and a so-called “reverse culture shock.” Surprisingly, the pre-migration stage has been, up until now, seen as relatively static phase, unrelated to stress reactions or “shock.”

Among the first attempts to more thoroughly investigate the pre-migration stage has been the framework of voluntary migration by Tabor (2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; see also, DiClemente & Prochaska, 1982), presented in Figure 1. According to this empirically-tested, four-phase psychological framework, the pre-migration stage consists of three different periods, which are referred to as precontemplation, contemplation, and action. Characteristic to the first period, precontemplation, is that although the individual may have not given any serious consideration to moving abroad, intrapersonal factors (e.g., factors such as certain personality traits) and familial connections (e.g., social support) influence whether one moves on to the next stage or not. During the contemplation period, which is a time of actively considering an international move, migrants consider different kind of macro (e.g., crime, environment) and micro factors (e.g., employment opportunities and lifestyle) that shape the decision-making process. The action period begins with a potential migrant’s decision to move abroad, and continues until the migrant’s departure from the country. According to Tabor (2010), this period of logistical and emotional challenges is characterized by stress, frequently with some physical manifestations such as sleeplessness, which requires a coping response. After the migration, migrants go through the acculturation period, which deals with different dimensions of adaptation to the new surroundings in the country of immigration. Even though migration is often considered to be permanent, it is possible that migrants return to their country of origin or move on to another country. The acculturation cycle therefore may not end in the receiving countries, but may continue during and after (re)migration (Neto, 2010; Tabor, 2010). Similarly, Ley and Kobayashi (2005) suggest that international transitions, that is the migration and re-migration of today’s high mobility global citizens, cannot be understood as a linear or static process but as a transnational and dynamic one.

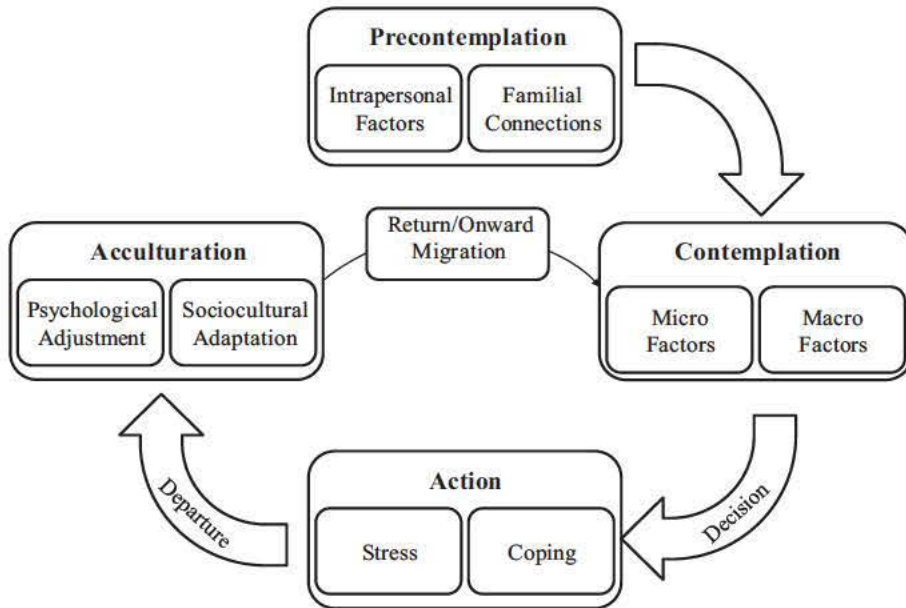


Figure 1. Migration change model (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) of voluntary migration.

The present dissertation research aims to provide a more socio-psychological perspective to the pre-migration stage, and particularly the action period as proposed in the Tabor’s framework. Studying the pre-migration stage of the migration process more profoundly is essential, since neither previous acculturation nor expatriate research have fully investigated voluntary migrants’ pre-migration experiences, psychological, socio-cultural and socio-psychological responses to preparations, or related pre-migration adaptation. Rather, as recently been pointed out by several researchers (Chou, 2009; Tabor, 2010; Tartakovsky, 2002) the phenomena and processes voluntary migrants go through when preparing their move to another country are still relatively unknown.

2.3 Why do pre-migration factors matter?

While the post-migration stage of the migration process has gained interest among migration researchers who are interested in several different immigrant groups, it is rather surprising that the pre-migration stage has typically been a considered only when studying refugees and sojourners (predominantly expatriates). In research on refugees and asylum seekers, the focus has been on the traumatic experiences that forced migrants have faced in their homeland, which still affect their psychological well-being in the post-migration stage (see e.g., Birman & Tran, 2008; Ingleby, 2005). Research on sojourners has mainly concentrated on the demographic, socio-economic and psychological predictors of the intention to emigrate (see e.g., Boneva & Frieze, 2001; see also De Cieri, Sheehan, Costa, Fenwick, & Cooper, 2009;

Uebelmesser, 2006), personality traits of a successful expatriate in the selection process (see Gertsen, 1990, for a review), as well as the role of expectations and pre-departure training in predicting the post-migration adaptation and success of expatriates (e.g., Forster, 2000; Holopainen & Björkman, 2005). Today, however, in addition to the pre-migration factors studied in sojourner and refugee studies, the pre-migration factors have also started to receive some attention among acculturation researchers interested in other migrant groups (e.g., Chou, 2009; Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Tartakovsky 2002, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2012; Tartakovsky and Schwartz, 2001).

Why should one be interested in an immigrant's life before the actual move to a new country? According to Berry's (e.g., 1992, 1997) acculturation framework, phenomena both prior to and during the acculturation process influence the long-term psychological outcomes of that process. Most acculturation studies, however, tend to employ one-time measures, which means baseline factors and their effects on a phenomenon are not accounted for (cf. Rudmin, 2009). This also means that it is very difficult to correctly predict post-migration outcomes without taking into account the pre-migration baseline indicators, such as health, demographic and personality factors (e.g., Lee & Croker, 2006; see also Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985, for a review). In addition, migrants often make adjustments to their lives in anticipation of a migration, for example, by imagining or simulating the new social environment before entering it and by forming expectations of how they will be expected to behave (Black et al., 1991, 1992a).

In empirical research on expatriates, both positive and accurate expectations have been connected to better post-migration adaptation outcomes (e.g., Black, 1992; Black & Gregersen, 1990; Martin, Bradford, & Rohlich, 1995; Stroh, Gregersen, & Black, 1998). Not surprisingly, therefore, the impact of pre-departure cross-cultural training—intended to provide useful information and reduce uncertainty about relocating internationally, as well as help expatriates form accurate expectations about living and working in the prospective country of relocation (Black et al., 1991)—on post-migration adaptation has received a great deal of attention in the literature on expatriates (for reviews, see Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Deshpande & Viwesvaran, 1992; for a critical literature review, see Kealey & Protheroe, 1996). Previous longitudinal expatriate research has also concerned the sufficiency of time to prepare for the relocation to better post-migration outcomes (Forster, 1996, 2000). In the few longitudinal acculturation studies that have included the pre-migration stage, sufficient pre-migration psychological well-being (measured as pre-migration emotional and behavioural problems, loneliness, general self-esteem, body image, school competence and social competence) and cultural identities (Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a, 2009b; see also Cemalcilar & Falbo, 2008) have been suggested to be pre-migration facilitators of post-migration adaptation. Retrospectively, psychological and social preparedness (e.g., sufficient language competence and pre-migration planning, cultural awareness, and knowledge of migration processes; Bürgelt et al., 2008; Chou, 2009), as well as prior contacts with prospective host nationals and experiences of working or studying abroad (Mavreas, Bebbington, & Der, 1989), have been related to better post-migration adaptation outcomes.

Despite the clear evidence from previous empirical studies showing that the processes involved in the pre-migration stage at least partly determine subsequent post-migration adaptation outcomes, the pre-migration stage itself has been seen as a relatively static phase

until recently (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). This has resulted in a scant understanding of factors influencing pre-migration behavioural and attitudinal outcomes among future migrants. With a few exceptions (e.g., Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001; Tartakovsky, 2002; presented in-depth in Chapter Five), there are no studies that concentrate solely on those phenomena and processes voluntary migrants encounter in the pre-migration stage. Rather, the factors related to the pre-migration stage have typically been addressed retrospectively and controlled for when studying the post-migration adaptation of immigrants. This is understandable since, in most cases, it is overly complicated or even impossible to collect information about voluntary migrants before they move to a new country (Ward et al., 2001). Furthermore, even though previous acculturation research has emphasized different kinds of post-migration adaptation outcomes, only rarely have researchers looked at areas outside those related to migrants' entry status or preparatory training while assessing pre-migration stage factors—an approach typical of expatriate research as well. Clearly more research is needed to better understand and predict the pre-migration conditions that lead to the most adaptive pre-migration profiles and provide a favourable basis for immigrants' post-migration adaptation in different migration contexts.

Further, the vague use of different concepts describing immigrant acculturation and adaptation has resulted in confusion. Some studies have used these concepts to refer to cross-cultural adaptation (or adjustment) in general and others have paid more attention to dividing the different dimensions of adaptation (as described in section 4.2) more carefully and, therefore, have studied the specific processes and their outcomes in more detail. This dissertation research clearly defines these concepts, places them in terms of the pre-migration context and proposes a new conceptual framework to explain voluntary migrants' pre-acculturation. In Chapter Four, the acculturation and adaptation frameworks, as well as their implications for the most important concepts of this research are presented more carefully. In Chapter Five, the concept of pre-acculturation will be introduced to better capture the phenomena and the processes migrants go through during the preparatory stage of the migration process. Before moving to the theoretical section, however, the next chapter sheds light on the groups of voluntary migrants under study.

3. The context of the study

The present research concerns the pre-migration experiences and adaptation of two different groups of skilled voluntary migrants: ethnic (re)migrants from Russia and self-initiated foreign employees (SFEs) recruited to the European Chemicals Agency from various EU member countries. Even though these groups may not share identical reasons for moving, both groups can be regarded as privileged, as they are both often entitled to some support arranged by the receiving society and/or recruiting organization. Ethnic migrants often go through integration programs organized by their destination countries; these programs provide privileged access to both social and economic resources, and are aimed at compensating social and other differences between the group and host country

representatives (Ohliger & Münz, 2003, p. 14). Labour migrants recruited to work in specific companies, on the other hand, usually go through preparatory training (at least informational training or pre-departure cultural briefings; see e.g., Forster, 2000), and are assisted by human resources personnel and other authorities in their move abroad. As immigration can be depicted as a critical change that touches every aspect of life (Berry, 1997; Rudmin, 2009), ethnic migrants and SFEs may share similar expectations and worries about life in their future surroundings. However, for example, the issues related to work are more relevant to SFEs as they already are in the process of entering a new work organization. Even though the comparison of the two groups was not the aim of the present research, it is rewarding to describe adaptation during the pre-migration stage among two different kinds of groups of voluntary migrants.

3.1 Ethnic migrants of Ingrian Finnish background

Since 1990, Russian nationals of Finnish descent and their relatives (i.e., spouses and dependants) have had the right to apply for Finnish repatriate status (“paluumuuttaja” in Finnish) in order to migrate to Finland under the Finnish Law of Return. These remigrants are mostly Ingrian Finns (“inkeriläinen” or “inkerinsuomalainen” in Finnish), descendants of Finns who emigrated between the 17th and the beginning of the 20th century to rural Ingria, located in present-day northwestern Russia and Estonia. A smaller group consists of the descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland to the territory of the FSU, mostly during the 1920s and 1930s, either directly from Finland or via Canada and the USA. In addition, one small group of remigrants consists of the descendants of Finns who immigrated to parts of Russia other than Ingria between the 17th and 18th centuries as well as those who emigrated to the FSU after World War II (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

During and after World War II, many of the Ingrian Finns were confronted by a great tragedy. Finnish authorities, following the terms of the Treaty of Paris between Finland and the Soviet Union, surrendered 55,000 of the approximately 75,000 Ingrian Finns who had been evacuated to Finland in 1943-44 back to the Soviet Union. Regardless of Stalin’s promises of resettlement in areas where the Ingrians had lived before, they were killed or deported to Siberia and other parts of the FSU, which led to ethnic dispersion, nationally-mixed marriages and monolingualism in Russian. It is not surprising that in contemporary Finland the concept of “moral duty” is often discussed in relation to Ingrian Finns; that is, the right to return is associated with the Finland’s responsibility to compensate for the discrimination and suffering of Ingrian Finns on the basis of their Finnish origin during those times. (De Tinguy, 2003, p. 115-117.) For decades, Finns who lived in the FSU were isolated from contemporary Finnish society and had almost no chance to maintain their own Finnish identity. The political opening of the FSU at the end of the 1980s and finally its collapse in the early 1990s allowed people with Finnish roots living in Russia to rediscover their Finnish identity (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Kyntäjä, 1997). With the introduction of legal repatriate status after former President Mauno Koivisto’s announcement of the right to return in 1990, a large wave of ethnic remigration began from Russia to Finland.

According to Kytäjä (1997), older Finnish-speaking people want to return to Finland because they feel it is their true homeland, while the middle-aged (re)migrate mostly because of the political and economic instability in Russia. In addition, there are (re)migrants whose children might be conscripted into the Russian army and, therefore, wish to leave the country. Generally, however, migration appears to be the one way of keeping up a satisfactory standard of living, and when children are involved, the criteria that determines a satisfactory level of living also includes a consideration of their needs and future prospects (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). As the clear majority of these (re)migrants to Finland have lived all their lives abroad, their immigration to Finland cannot be covered as “re-entry” or “repatriation” and it cannot be assumed to be an easy process or a familiar place. This has been reflected also in the research on the adaptation of ethnic Finns to Finland. For example, in their study on the social exclusion of immigrants of Russian, Estonian and ethnic Finnish background to Finland, Mannila and Reuter (2009; see also Liebkind et al. 2004) found that—regardless of shared ethnicity and better language skills held by ethnic Finns in comparison to Russians—social exclusion⁵ was nearly as common among ethnic Finns as it was among the Russians, while for the Estonians the situation was remarkably better. These findings suggest that even though ethnic migrants are often preferred by the majority group in Finland over other immigrants in attitude polls (Ervasti, 2004; Jaakkola, 2005, 2009), shared ethnicity cannot be regarded as a “free ticket” for more favourable social settings facilitating integration. Rather, their Finnishness is largely questioned by the national majority group in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Mähönen, 2011). As such, as Gulijeva (2003) suggests, Ingrian Finns should be considered to be economic immigrants.

According to the Finnish Immigration Service (2011b), approximately 30,000 Ingrian Finnish (re)migrants and their family members have moved to Finland since 1990. In Russia, regardless of the relatively large (re)migration flows to Finland, the number of people with Finnish roots (including Ingrian Finns) in 2002, as reported in the Russian Census, was 34,364 (Russian Census, 2002). As the number of Ingrian Finns and their descendants in Russia still remains rather high, this group can be regarded as the Finnish diaspora in Russia and their immigration is very similar to other types of diasporic migration, such as Jewish emigration from the FSU to Israel.

During the time of the present research, Finnish authorities required ethnic (re)migrants from Russia and Estonia to satisfy certain selection criteria to obtain a residence permit, including proof of their Finnish ethnic background (i.e., official documents registering their nationality as Finnish or proving that at least one parent or two grandparents are/were of Finnish ethnicity). In addition, an applicant either had to demonstrate sufficient Finnish language competence in an official language competence test developed by the Finnish authorities specifically for Ingrian Finnish returnees (IPAKI), or successfully complete an immigration training program in Russia which includes courses on Finnish language and culture. The participants of the present study were recruited from these immigration training courses.

⁵ In the study of Mannila and Reuter (2009), the risk for social exclusion was understood as an accumulation of various risks, studied on three levels: labour market status, subsistence and health. Immigrants with at least two of the three risks assessed (i.e., unemployment, subjective poverty, and poor self-rated health) were considered at risk of social exclusion.

It should be noted that the process of remigration has been criticized for its slow pace. Typically, the process has lasted nearly a decade, as it takes time for potential migrants to pass the required language courses and final exam, as well as for Finnish authorities to ensure housing is available for the migrants. It is however worth acknowledging that since data were collected for this research, there have been considerable changes in the remigration policy of Ingrian Finns to Finland. The remigration queue was closed on July 1, 2011, after which no more applications were accepted. Nevertheless, those who had registered beforehand have been given additional five years⁶ for the move without further queuing, that is, whatever date they select before July 1, 2016, presuming that they have sufficient language proficiency and have succeeded in organizing accommodation in Finland by the time of their departure. Further, the immigration training courses have become voluntary. Before the closing of the remigration queue, approximately 10,000 Ingrian Finns were registered as repatriate status applicants. It should also be noted that, even though the Ingrian Finns cannot be regarded as a privileged group eligible for repatriate status after 2016, the new legislation has no effect for interested parties applying for a residence permit through normal procedures (Finnish Immigration Service, 2011c).

3.2 International employees of the European Chemicals Agency

Several EU agencies are located in various European Union Member states in order to accomplish specific technical, scientific and managerial tasks. These agencies are composed of employees who have applied for a post abroad independently of any sending organization. In general, little is known about this specific intra-EU migration of skilled EU nationals to EU agencies (OECD, 2002).

The present research focuses on the pre-migration stage of a specific group of SFEs, namely international professionals recruited by the European Chemicals Agency (ECHA), the first specialized agency of the European Union located in Finland. The establishment of the ECHA in Helsinki was the result of a long process which began from Finland's interest in establishing the European Food Safety Authority in Finland. As this initiative did not move forward, Finland's attention shifted towards the ECHA and the decision to found one of the biggest agencies of the EU in Finland was made in 2003. Founding the ECHA differed from the normal procedure—unlike the other EU agencies that generally go through the initial 18-month period in Brussels, the ECHA directly began operations in Helsinki in June 2007, when the new EU chemicals legislation, the REACH Regulation, came into force. In accordance with the Regulation, the ECHA personnel manages the registration, evaluation, and subsequent authorization and restriction of chemical substances within the EU (ECHA, 2008). Since its establishment, new employees to the ECHA have been recruited gradually. At the moment, ECHA has 500 staff members from 27 EU member countries. Roughly 60 per cent of the employees come from non-Finnish backgrounds.

⁶ The transition period does not concern Ingrian evacuees (i.e., who were transferred/moved to Finland during the years 1943 and 1944 and were later, after the Second World War, returned to the FSU), nor those who served the Finnish army from 1939 to 1945 (Finnish Immigration Service, 2011c).

The founding of the ECHA in Helsinki was greatly welcomed by the authorities of Finland, as well as the City of Helsinki, which has, in particular, supported the adaptation of ECHA employees to Finland by assisting in the relocation and settlement process. As the founding of ECHA was seen as important for the capital city and the whole country as well, all the efforts were made to enhance the attractiveness of Helsinki and Finland as a working and living environment for those planning to apply for jobs in the ECHA, as well as to make the move for the Europe's best experts in the field as smooth as possible. In collaboration with the ECHA, the City of Helsinki organized new reception services, such as a personal service advisor for the ECHA employees who, among other things, provided personal assistance in housing and other issues, as well as gathered essential information for the Extranet web site tailored for the ECHA staff. (Laine & Linnanmäki, 2009.)

Being the first EU Agency in Finland, the founding of the ECHA presented an entirely new research subject in the Finnish context. When the data of the present research were collected, approximately 300 employees were preparing for their relocation to Finland to work for the ECHA or were already working in the ECHA. In addition to the unique starting point of these SFEs, the organization receiving them was quite different from those described in the mainstream literature on international professionals, which has mainly focused on expatriates. Instead of a well-established and often monolithic organizational culture in the new workplace, the employees were faced with a diverse and developing organization. Furthermore, the cultural heterogeneity of the new work group could pose a challenge for new employees (e.g., Ward et al., 2001), as the organization employs people from all over the Europe.

4. Acculturation and adaptation as conceptual and methodological background

4.1 Acculturation

Acculturation is generally understood as a process of psychological and cultural change that leads to different adaptation outcomes (Berry, 1997). The original definition, now widely used in the field of acculturation research, refers to "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). However, within the previous literature on culture contact and change, the concept of acculturation has often been used interchangeably with assimilation, adaptation, adjustment, and integration (Searle & Ward, 1990; Sam, 2006, p. 12), which has led to gradual erosion of the original meaning of the concept (Berry, 1997).

According to Sam (2006), the confusion related to the use of the concept of assimilation as a synonym for acculturation trace back to the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries, when they were used within anthropology and sociology as synonyms. The concept of acculturation was first introduced by an American anthropologist Powell already in 1880,

in order to describe the psychological changes caused by cross-cultural imitation. The first proper studies on acculturation were, however, carried out only in the 1930s among anthropologists, who at those times were mostly interested in the change of so-called primitive societies to more civilized ones as a consequence of cultural contact with “enlightened” group of people. While anthropologists preferred to use the term acculturation, sociologists—whose primary group of interest was immigrants who were seen as gradually conforming to the way of life of the host nationals—used assimilation. Confusion arose when anthropologists changed their original target group of interest to correspond to that of sociologists, while continuing to use the term acculturation. Moreover, since the term assimilation assumes that the “inferior” group would both want to, and inevitably also become like the “superior” group as time goes on, misunderstandings may result due this concept’s similarities to anthropologists’ original notion of acculturation (Sam, 2006, p. 12-13).

Although first introduced as a group-level phenomenon (cf. Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149), acculturation was already recognized as an individual-level phenomenon during 1930s to 1960s (Sam, 2006, p. 13; Rudmin, 2009). Later, strong interest in individual-level changes, that is, what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to re-establish their lives in another one (Berry, 1997), contributed to the construct of acculturation at the individual level to be called psychological acculturation. Psychological acculturation refers to changes an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures, and as a result of participating in the process of group-level acculturation that one’s cultural or ethnic group is undergoing (Graves, 1967).⁷ Psychological acculturation often involves affective, behavioural and cognitive changes (Ward, 2001) and culminates in a psychological adaptation towards these acculturative changes (Sam, 2006, p. 16-17).

A fundamental issue in all acculturation research and theory relates to dimensionality of cultural change. In particular, does the change occur along a single dimension or two independent dimensions? According to Berry (1997), unidimensional thinking assumes that individuals lose their original cultural identity as they acquire a new cultural identity. This happens because the two cultures in contact are seen as mutually exclusive, which means it is psychologically problematic to maintain both cultures (see e.g., Johnston, 1976; LaFromboise, Coleman, Gerton, 1993; Sung, 1985; see also Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000, for a review on unidimensional and bidimensional models).

From a bidimensional perspective, it is assumed that identifying with or acquiring the new culture independently can be done without necessarily losing the original culture (Berry, 1980, 1997). According to the most well-known bidimensional model of acculturation strategies developed by Berry and his associates (e.g., Berry, 1990a, 1997; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006), immigrants must confront two basic issues: the desire to maintain their original culture in the new country and the desire to be in contact with members of the host society. Based on these dimensions, four distinct acculturation orientations (also called as acculturation attitudes or strategies; see Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001, for a critical comment) can be formed: integration,

⁷ From now on, when talking about acculturation in the present research, it refers to the psychological acculturation as defined above.

assimilation, separation and marginalization (e.g., Berry et al., 1989, 2006). The integration orientation refers to when an individual is oriented both towards preserving his/her own heritage culture as well as towards being a part of the new culture. Assimilation can be defined as an immigrant's willingness to be in contact with the dominant culture while detaching from his or her original culture, whereas separation refers to a strong need to preserve one's own ethnic culture while avoiding contact with hosts. Marginalization, in turn, is defined as a detachment from both cultures.⁸

In comparison with unidimensional models, which are based on assimilation assumptions—that is, one either remains unchanged (i.e., maintains separation), or becomes assimilated—the bi-dimensional perspective provides more possibilities for the acculturating individual. Numerous empirical studies in several countries have clearly shown that integration is the most commonly preferred acculturation orientation, whereas marginalization is the least preferred option (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006). In addition, integration is often related to the best adaptation outcomes across different countries and cultures when assessed, for instance, by using long-term health and well-being indicators among immigrants (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Schmitz, 1992, p. 368; see also Berry & Sam, 1997, for a summary). Notably, however, individuals may adopt different acculturation orientations in different areas of life. For example, a person may actively seek assimilation in the work environment while favouring separation or integration (e.g., by choosing to use one's native language) at home (see e.g., Navas et al., 2005). In addition, previous research on post-migration acculturation has emphasized the impact of the receiving society's integration policies and the acculturation orientations preferred by members of the host society (i.e., host's acculturation expectations) on the acculturation orientations and adaptation of immigrants (e.g., Berry, 1990b; Bourhis, Moise, Penneault, & Senecal, 1997; Horenczyk & Sankevich, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

Berry's model of acculturation strategies is a part of his larger conceptual acculturation framework (1990a, 1992, 1997), which attempts to systematize the process of acculturation and illustrate the main factors that affect an individual's adaptation. The framework combines mainly cultural- (mostly situational variables) and psychological-level phenomena (mostly person variables), to structural (i.e., both phenomena that exist both prior to and during the process of acculturation) and process features of acculturation. In the framework, the process of acculturation proceeds from group acculturation through individual acculturation to adaptation. In the present study, Berry's framework was used mainly as a basis for formulating concepts and models, as well as organizing findings. In addition, the present study sought to produce new information about the factors that exist prior to migration and that arise during the preparatory stage of the migration process. These have received limited attention from acculturation researchers; however, they share similarities with the factors that Berry (1990a, 1992, 1997) attaches to the post-migration stage in his framework, such as acculturation attitudes and social support.

⁸ In the following part of the present research, the concepts of assimilation and integration are being used—not as synonyms to acculturation as has often been done—but as indicated in Berry's (e.g., Berry et al., 1989, 2006) model of acculturation strategies when referring to the separate acculturation orientations of the potential migrants under study.

4.2 Adaptation

Following the term's common use in the fields of acculturation and cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Berry, 1997), adaptation refers to changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands.⁹ Adaptation, in other words, includes both short- and long-term changes resulting from acculturation, which may take both positive and negative forms (Berry, 1997). Although adaptation is sometimes depicted as a unidimensional, single phenomenon, the experience of migrants is often more complex and involves different areas of life. It is, therefore, fruitful to distinguish between different types of adaptation and their indicators.

In acculturation literature, a common distinction is made between psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Berry, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a). In their influential ABC model of adaptation, Ward and her colleagues (Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2001) add a third dimension by distinguishing between affective, behavioural and cognitive components of adaptation. Drawing mainly on the stress and coping framework, the ABC model equates affective component (A) with psychological adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to psychological and emotional well-being and satisfaction, and is often measured by asking people to evaluate their general mood, life satisfaction and physical health. Successful emotional adaptation is seen as a result of successful coping with the acculturative stress that stems from the loss of one's habitual environment (including mother tongue and social networks) and the difficulties in adjusting to the receiving country (e.g., Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Behavioural adaptation (B) refers to socio-cultural adaptation (or acculturative learning; cf. Rudmin, 2009) and it is based on the culture learning approach. This approach emphasizes the processes involved in acquiring the specific social skills needed to "fit in" or accomplish effective interactions in the new cultural context (Ward, 2001; see also, Masgoret, 2006; Swagler & Jome, 2005; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Socio-cultural adaptation is assessed mostly through self-ratings of how well the individual manages his or her life in the new environment. Finally, the cognitive (C) component can have, according to Masgoret and Ward (2006), indicators such as identity, attitudes and values.

In addition to the components—which are also known as domains, types or dimensions—of the ABC model, a fourth dimension of adaptation, identified mainly in the literature on expatriation, is work adaptation (Aycan, 1997a; Black & Stephens, 1989), which is typically measured through organizational commitment, work performance, job satisfaction and turnover intentions (e.g., Aycan, 1997b). The ABC model presented above clearly resembles Black and Stephens' (1989) three-dimensional classification of expatriate adjustment, which is commonly used in the management literature (see Aycan, 1997a). According to them, international adjustment consists of work adjustment, interactional adjustment and general adjustment. Work adjustment is related to one's adjustment to the work role, interactional adjustment focuses on adjusting to interaction with host nationals, and general adjustment refers to general conditions within the non-work environment (Black & Stephens, 1989; see also Aycan, 1997a, for a conceptual model).

⁹ In this study, the concept of adjustment is seen as analogous to adaptation; however, the former is more commonly used in regard to expatriates.

It should be noted that, although psychological, socio-cultural and work adaptation have all been substantially addressed in research on immigrant and expatriate adaptation, little attention has been paid to the role of identities and intergroup attitudes in the adaptation of voluntary migrants. This is partly due to how the cognitive-component of adaptation has been conceptualized by Ward and colleagues (Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2001). The ABC model defines cultural values, social identity and intergroup attitudes as purely cognitive processes even though these have been acknowledged to have also emotional, evaluative and behavioural components (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Mähönen, in press). In addition, attitudes and social identities also depend on the policies, identities and attitudes of the mainstream society (see, for example, Bourhis et al., 1997). Thus, following Liebkind et al., (in press) the C-component of adaptation is referred to in this study as *socio-psychological* in that it incorporates values and identities with intergroup relations. Moreover, this study highlights that socio-psychological adaptation is central to understanding the migrant acculturative experience. To date, however, research has paid little attention to the role of identities, intergroup attitudes and values in the adaptation process.

Previous empirical research on acculturation has commonly proposed diverse factors to explain immigrants' adaptation and this has often been done without differentiating the precise psychological processes underlying the different dimensions of adaptation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind, 1992, 1996; Ward, 1996). It is, however, important to keep different adaptive outcomes theoretically and empirically distinct. This is because research has shown that these outcomes are at least partly predicted by different variables and display different patterns over time (Ward, 1996; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998). For example, factors found to predict psychological adaptation among immigrants include life-changing events, cognitive appraisals of change, stress-coping capabilities, personality, social support, cultural distance between the society of origin and the receiving society, cultural identity, and acculturation orientations (Berry, 2006b; Ward et al., 2001). Socio-cultural adaptation, on the other hand, has been predicted by cultural knowledge, the quantity and quality of contact with host nationals, intergroup attitudes, acculturation orientations, cultural distance, language fluency, length of residence in the new country, previous experience abroad and intercultural training (Berry, 2006b; Ward et al., 2001). Furthermore, with regard to temporal factors, psychological problems often increase soon after contact, followed by a general decrease over time, while socio-cultural adaptation has a linear improvement with time (Berry, 1997). Moreover, while psychological adaptation may be best analyzed within the context of stress and psychopathology approaches, socio-cultural adaptation is more closely linked to the social skills framework (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a&b). Therefore, each of these approaches, although interrelated, represents rather independent bodies of empirical research (Ward, 1997). The present research also supports the conceptual distinction between socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., the way people perceive and think about themselves and members of other groups), and psychological and socio-cultural adaptation in order to avoid the kind of problems described. In addition, the present research argues for the empirical exploration of specific factors predicting different indicators of the socio-psychological dimension of adaptation.

This is not to say that the different dimensions of adaptation are not interrelated. On the contrary, previous empirical research has found, for instance, positive relationships between

expatriates' psychological and work adaptation (measured as work performance) (Searle & Ward, 1990; Stening & Hammer, 1992), as well as between expatriates' general cultural adaptation and work adaptation (Gregersen & Black, 1992). Adversity experienced in employment life (e.g., the loss of status and underemployment) has, in turn, been shown to have a negative impact on both psychological well-being and adaptation to the new country in general (Aycan & Berry, 1996). On the other hand, in a longitudinal (eight-year follow up) study among immigrants from FSU in Finland, socio-cultural adaptation (measured as proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Finnish) was the most significant predictor of their socio-economic and psychological adaptation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008). In terms of socio-psychological adaptation, identification with one's home country has been found to predict better psychological adaptation, while a strong feeling of connection to the culture and nationals of the new country is associated with better socio-cultural adaptation (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Finally, positive outgroup attitudes have been shown to be related to better psychological adaptation among immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009).

To summarize, the phenomenon of immigration has been studied extensively in the social sciences, and immigrant acculturation has received scholarly attention for more than a century. Among cross-cultural psychologists, the field of acculturation became an area of inquiry in the 1960s. This has resulted in theoretically well-grounded conceptual frameworks on acculturation that have been supported by an impressive amount of empirical evidence (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006). Moreover, research on immigrant acculturation has developed a sophisticated understanding of the affective, behavioural, and cognitive demands migrants face once they arrive in their new cultural surroundings (Ward et al., 2001), that is, in the post-migration stage of the migration process.

5. Pre-acculturation

While there have been some studies of acculturation that include measurements during the pre-migration stage, there has been no systematic empirical research on pre-acculturation among voluntary adult migrants. To address this gap in the literature, this research develops the concept of pre-acculturation, as presented below. The present research proposes that different factors may promote migrants' adaptation already at the very beginning of the acculturation process. Because of the very limited amount of pre-migration research currently available, the present research combines acculturation and expatriate research, as well as social psychological theories on intergroup relations and organizational psychology in order to investigate potential migrants' expectations and experiences of the preparatory stage of the migration process. Moreover, when pre-migration research is not available, the present research utilizes previous post-migration theorizing and research to form hypotheses. In this chapter, the concept of pre-acculturation is defined and the theoretical rationales behind the hypotheses of Studies I-IV are presented.

5.1 Definition

In the work completed to date, researchers have typically implied that acculturation orientations and adaptation responses to acculturative changes are primarily formed in the process of immigrants' contacts with the hosts in the receiving society. This approach neglects the possibility that immigrants migrate with pre-existing patterns of psychological, attitudinal and behavioural adaptation as a result of their pre-acculturation experiences (Tartakovsky, 2002, 2007, 2009a, 2012; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001). For example, Tartakovsky (2002) found that potential adolescent migrants' acculturation orientations may be well articulated already before their actual move to a new country. Further, he found that these orientations were associated with adolescents' pre-migration well-being. Consequently, the present research suggests that processes undergone by an individual during his or her preparatory stage may be better understood through the concept of pre-acculturation.

In the previous theoretical literature (Sam & Berry, 2006), as well as in a few empirical studies (i.e., Mavreas & Bebbington, 1990; Mavreas et al., 1989) that mention pre-acculturation, the concept refers mainly to a number of personal characteristics (i.e., socio-demographic and personality factors) and so-called push/pull factors and their derivatives (e.g., motivations, goals, etc.). These factors exist prior to migration and are seen to potentially influence post-migration adaptation among immigrants. Berry et al. (2006) have also used the concept of pre-acculturation to refer to "a level of familiarizing with the language, history, values and norms of the new culture prior to migration" (p. 49). Such a conceptualization of pre-acculturation resembles the notion of departure status or migrant profile. Departure status factors typically include language and cultural knowledge (e.g., Fokkema & de Haas, in press; Mavreas et al., 1989), personality characteristics such as assertiveness, likeability, sociability, extraversion, ego control, self-monitoring, and a need for cognitive closure (Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, & Mannetti, 2004; Padilla & Perez, 2003), initial plans, motivation and aspirations (e.g., Bürgelt et al., 2008; Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, & Lynch, 2007; Mavreas et al., 1989), socio-economic status (i.e., educational and occupational levels) (Beiser, Johnson, & Turner, 1993), and age (Mavreas et al., 1989).

While all these factors are considered to be the result of individual psycho-social development and—as such, may be highly relevant determinants of post-migration adaptation among immigrants—they do not capture the full complexity of migrants' socio-psychological profiles prior to migration. For example, they neglect the role of pre-migration contact experiences, and other factors, such as attitudes and identifications (see Tartakovsky, 2002, 2009b). This dissertation research argues that previous conceptualizations of pre-acculturation do not address the interactive nature and psychological ramifications of migrants' preparations for an upcoming migration. Therefore, in order to develop the concept of pre-acculturation in this research, it is argued that the process of pre-acculturation during the pre-migration stage may be considered to be the beginning of the entire acculturation process. Pre-acculturation, then, consists of a variety of social, psychological and cultural characteristics, as well as changes that follow the migrant's pre-migration contact experiences and preparation for the migration process. Consequently, this research suggests that, "parallel

to the concept of psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967), *pre-acculturation refers to the changes experienced by a potential migrant after making the decision to emigrate, having contact (indirectly or directly) with the society of immigration, and starting preparations for the upcoming migration. This active process also includes the potential migrant's adaptation to such changes prior to migration.*" (Original publication II, p. 500.) Post-migration acculturation, in turn, is defined as a new period in the immigrants' lives during which they continue their lifespan development, as well as the acculturation process aided by a number of characteristics developed prior to migration (see also Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a&b).

5.2 Adaptation responses to pre-acculturation

The present study argues that not only post-migration acculturation but also pre-acculturation may demand adaptation responses from a potential migrant. As described below, this study utilizes the concepts formed in the socio-psychological acculturation and adaptation frameworks to address the phenomena related to pre-acculturation that potential migrants go through in the pre-migration stage. However, similarly to immigrant acculturation (Liebkind et al., 2004, p. 49), also pre-acculturation can be considered either as a state (i.e., the level or degree of pre-acculturation at the specific time) or a process (i.e., both individual- and group-level changes resulting from and related to their pre-migration contact with future hosts). While describing the process would have required longitudinal assessment, the present study is specifically about those outcomes (i.e., experiences, perceptions, behaviours, and attitudes) that have formed as a result of the pre-acculturation undergone by potential migrants until the point of the research.

In the present research, the consistent use of theoretical concepts well-defined in previous research is seen as particularly important to avoid the vague use of terminology that acculturation psychology has been accused of (Ward, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). To avoid conceptual misunderstandings, it should be noted here that in the present research the concepts of pre-migration adaptation and anticipatory adaptation—i.e., the outcomes of pre-acculturation—are summarized under the concept of pre-migration adaptation when discussing different adaptation outcomes in general. When talking about a specific outcome, it is, however, acknowledged that the concept of pre-migration adaptation refers to adaptation that happens already in the pre-migration stage (e.g., changes in potential migrants' well-being). Anticipatory adaptation, on the other hand, is more connected to potential migrants' expectations about their future situation in the new cultural context (e.g., anticipated difficulties in one's future socio-cultural adaptation). Moreover, it is assumed in this research that there are several factors related to pre-migration adaptation. By identifying these factors, it is possible to influence the course of immigrant adaptation already in the pre-migration stage as possible difficulties may be detected and addressed pre-emptively. Specifically, this research distinguishes between four dimensions of pre-migration adaptation: psychological,

socio-cultural, socio-psychological and work adaptation, which have been identified in the post-migration literature.¹⁰

However, the present research suggests that these adaptation dimensions are not only those pertinent in post-migration stage, but they also characterize pre-migration adaptation among potential migrants. In this research, these dimensions are being studied through the following indices: psychological well-being and pre-acculturative stress are used as indicators of pre-migration psychological adaptation (Studies II and IV), outgroup attitudes towards future host nationals as indicators of pre-migration socio-psychological adaptation (Study IV), organizational identification with the future employer organization as an indicator of pre-migration work adaptation (Study IV), and anticipated socio-cultural difficulties in the society of immigration as indicators of anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation (Study III). In the following section, the indicators of the four dimensions of pre-migration adaptation are presented in more detail. Then, the rationale behind proposing specific factors to predict pre-migration adaptation outcomes are discussed.

5.2.1 Psychological adaptation

Generally speaking, researchers have treated acculturative stress and adaptation as reactions that emerge after immigrants have arrived in the new society. However, as discussed above, immigrants often start preparing for the migration long before they actually migrate. For example, in his exceptional pre- and post-migration follow-up studies among (potential and, later, actual) Jewish adolescent migrants from Russia and Ukraine to Israel, Tartakovsky (2007, 2009a) found that adolescents differ in terms of how adaptive emotional and behavioural resources they had formed already in the pre-migration stage. More specifically, in his longitudinal study that included the pre-migration stage, Tartakovsky found that the pre-migration psychological well-being of potential adolescent migrants was the best predictor for their later post-migration psychological well-being (Tartakovsky, 2009a). On the contrary, the less adaptive the psychological resources acquired in the pre-migration stage, the higher was the adolescents' post-migration acculturative stress and psychological maladjustment (Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a).

Parallel to the stress models of post-migration acculturation (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2006b; Berry & Kim, 1988), the present research argues that pre-acculturation may be stressful, and can challenge the psychological well-being of potential migrants. For example, in a recent pre-migration study of British migrants to New Zealand by Tabor (2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011), the final (i.e., action) period of pre-migration stage, in particular, was strongly associated with increased psychological demands, which also led to higher stress levels and required a coping response. Similar findings have been reported by Harvey (1997) in the context of international relocation of dual-career couples, as well as by Rotter and Bojeva

¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the division between the different predicting factors and adaptive outcomes is not always so clear. As discussed in section 4.2, the different dimensions of adaptation are often interrelated in practice, as are their predictors. Further, the connections between adaptation dimensions and their predictors can be even more complicated in some cases, for example, when specific mediating or moderating factors are involved or in the case of reciprocal connections.

(1999) in the context of deployment of U.S. military personnel. In both these studies, the upcoming relocation was associated with increased stress levels due to a variety of concerns and expectations. Thus, despite the fact that some studies have shown that immigrants are euphoric prior to migration (i.e., they report high expectations and psychological well-being rather than distress; e.g., Bürgelt et al., 2008; McKelvey, Mao, & Webb, 1992; Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a&b), there is reason to seriously consider the preparation for an upcoming migration as a period that demands coping and psychological adaptation.

Following previous research (e.g., Aycan & Berry, 1996; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000), the pre-migration psychological adaptation of potential migrants was approached in the present research through general psychological health status indicators, such as general mood, life satisfaction and the absence of physiological symptoms. Moreover, pre-aculturative stress (also referred to as relocation stress in this research when talking about such stress experienced by the SFEs) was operationalized as primary stress reactions (i.e., experience of stress specifically related to an upcoming migration). It must be noted here that moderate levels of pre-aculturative stress are not harmful per se, since heightened levels of stress generally accompany any positive change, which in turn increase the individual's alertness and enable higher levels of performance (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986). The negative effects of this stress, however, may occur when the stress is prolonged and surpasses the individual's capacity and resources (such as social support) to deal with the stressful experiences (Berry, 1998, 2006b; Liebkind, 1996).

5.2.2 Socio-psychological adaptation

Pre-acculturation is not only about stress and psychological adaptation; it also includes pre-migration adaptation towards an upcoming intergroup contact (e.g., Tropp, 2008). To examine the pre-migration socio-psychological adaptation of potential migrants, the present research focused on potential migrants' outgroup attitudes (i.e., attitudes towards future hosts), following what Liebkind and colleagues (in press) have proposed. As discussed above in section 4.2, little is known about this particular dimension of adaptation in general or in the pre-migration context.

Based on research on attitudes and the link between attitudes and behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005), it is recognized in the present research that attitudes correlate strongly with actual behaviour and are relatively stable in nature; as such, more attention should be paid to pre-migration socio-psychological adaptation, particularly the outgroup attitudes formed by potential migrants already at the pre-migration stage of the relocation process. For example, in a recent longitudinal pre- and post-migration study by Tartakovsky (2012), potential migrant adolescents' pre-migration attitudes towards the host country (assessed half a year before emigration) were related to their post-migration attitudes towards that country. The post-migration attitudes, then, were positively related to the migrants' preference for the integration orientation and intention to remain in the host country (Tartakovsky, 2012). Clearly, more information is needed on how these attitudes begin to form already at the pre-migration stage.

5.2.3 Work adaptation

In the present study, potential migrants' work adaptation was approached through organizational identification, defined as the sense of oneness individuals have with an organization and the degree to which they define themselves as members of that organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983). Identification with work-related groups has been identified as an important motivational factor guiding all kinds of organizational behaviour, ranging from individual job performance to organizational citizenship behaviour (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). In the present study, organizational identification is, therefore, considered to be a key concept when studying how SFEs have started to adapt to their new work environments already prior to relocation.

Organizational identification is often confused with organizational commitment and other constructs that are conceptually close, such as organizational socialization, engagement, and affiliation (Gautam, Van Dick, & Wagner, 2004; van Knippenberg, 2006). Following several others (e.g., Gautam et al., 2004; Riketta, 2005), this study argues for the need to distinguish organizational identification from other related constructs, especially organizational commitment. Meyer and Allen (1991) conceptualize organizational commitment as a combination of three components: affective, continuance, and normative commitment. Affective commitment defines an employee's positive emotional attachment to the organization, while continuance commitment reflects the continued refusal to leave a company due to the perceived high economic and social costs of losing organizational membership. Normative commitment, in turn, refers to a feeling of obligation towards the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991). In the present study, work adaptation is approached through organizational identification (instead of organizational commitment) because it is unlikely that continuance and normative components of the latter are already present in the pre-migration stage. However, organizational identification, which is very similar to the affective component of organizational commitment, can already be present before an individual becomes a member of the organization, specifically in the form of expectations of, and attachment towards, the new work organization. As such, the concept of organizational identification is particularly suitable to study at the very first stages of work adaptation.

Despite increased interest in organizational identification in domestic adjustment literature (see e.g., Riketta, 2005, for a meta-analysis) and calls to use it as a framework for examining employees' affection towards an organization (Aycan, 1997a), work adaptation is still often analyzed among sojourner researchers through organizational commitment (see Hechanova, Beehr, & Christiansen, 2003, for a meta-analytic review). To my best knowledge, the present research is the first empirical study to explore the factors related to organizational identification already prior to starting to work in a new organization among potential migrants.

5.2.4 Anticipated socio-cultural adaptation

In the present research, potential migrants' expectations of post-migration socio-cultural difficulties (see also Searle & Ward, 1990) were used as an indicator of their anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation. Pre-migration expectations in general have been the focus of

research on immigrant cross-cultural transition. This line of research has stressed the role of expectations especially among sojourners' overseas (e.g., Black et al., 1991; Black & Gregersen, 1990; Martin et al., 1995) and in regards to re-entry adaptation (e.g., Black, 1992; Black et al., 1992a; Black & Gregersen, 1991a&b; Stroh, Gregersen, & Black, 1998). These studies suggest that sojourners often make adjustments to their lives in anticipation of a migration by imagining or simulating the new social environment before entering it (Black et al., 1992a). Such expectations of the success of future in-country adaptation (or adjustment; cf. Black et al., 1992a) are based on previous experiences and information acquired of the country of relocation prior to the move and they have been associated with various post-migration adaptation outcomes (e.g., Black, 1992; Caligiuri, Phillips, Lazarova, Tarique, & Bürgi, 2001). Accurate expectations may also boost confidence, which in turn strengthens stress-coping skills in dealing with potentially stressful life changes (Ward et al., 2001, p. 76).

When based on in-depth preparation and proper knowledge of the country of immigration, migrants' expectations are often quite accurate. As presented above, the ethnic migrants of the present research attended immigration training courses and prepared for their move for several years. As such, in the present research their expectations of their socio-cultural adaptation in Finland were chosen as indicators for their anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation.

5.3 Factors predicting pre-migration adaptation and acculturation orientations

In the following section, the pre-acculturation conditions (cf. Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2006, p. 143), that is, pre-migration contact and resources hypothesized to be related to potential migrants' pre-migration acculturation orientations¹¹ and different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation (i.e., pre-acculturation outcomes; cf. *ibid.*, p. 143) are described more carefully. When possible, the findings from previous pre-migration research are presented more in-depth. When there are no previous pre-migration studies that assess the relationships investigated in the present research, post-migration studies are employed. As the factors presented relate to, in some cases, multiple pre-migration adaptation outcomes, and, further, as they often concern the pre-migration adaptation of both groups studied, these factors are arranged thematically. In addition, with regard to each factor presented, they are related to the relevant group(s) among whom the particular relationships were studied.

¹¹ While integration, assimilation and separation acculturation orientations can be regarded as active choices of an individual or a group, marginalization—which has typically been the least preferred orientation and its validity has often been questioned (e.g., Piontkowski et al., 2000)—rarely represents a voluntary option. Taking into account that participants of this study were all voluntary migrants willing to move and adapt to a new country, hardly any of them were expected to express preference for the marginalization strategy in the pre-migration stage of their immigration process. As the research interest was in predicting their more pro-active and meaningful strategies in terms of successful acculturation, no hypotheses were tested concerning the marginalization orientation.

First, the possible role of pre-migration contact is being discussed, as the action period (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) starts from the decision to move abroad, which is often related to migrants' direct or indirect pre-migration contact with the society of immigration and its representatives. In the present research, pre-migration contact is expected to affect the expectations of the future immigration and adaptation. If the contact is pleasant, easier transition is expected, while unpleasant contact experiences may direct a potential migrant to invoke his/her own resources to address the stressfulness of the situation. Next, specific factors that, in addition to pre-migration contact, are assumed to serve as resources and facilitate pre-migration adaptation are presented, starting from demographic and cognitive resources and proceeding to psychological, socio-psychological, cultural, as well as social and institutional resources (see Figure 2).

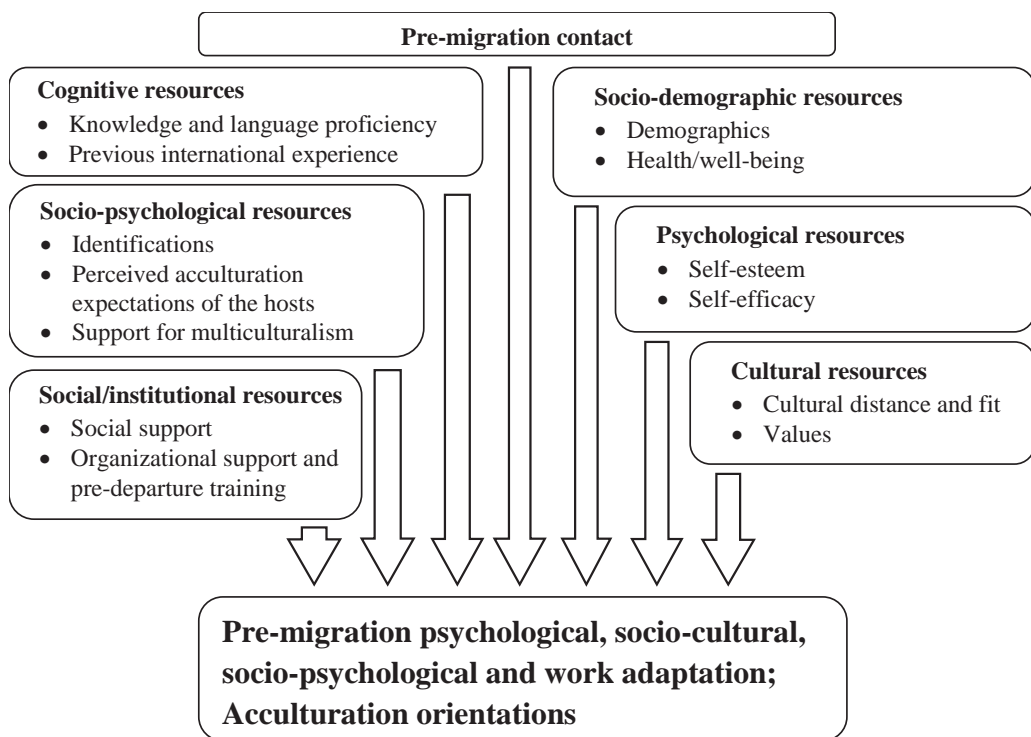


Figure 2. Conceptual model of the factors related to the pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants.

5.3.1 Pre-migration contact

A key issue considered in this research to be a prerequisite for pre-acculturation is pre-migration contact. Such contact is especially common in voluntary (particularly labour and ethnic) migration, as in these contexts, potential migrants are often engaged in pre-migratory preparations facilitated, supported, or even organized by the receiving societies. Further, they

may have transnational social networks connecting them to the receiving society.¹² Tourism can also be seen as a way to engage in pre-migration contact with the receiving society since visits, even short ones, can affect the perceptions and beliefs that potential migrants have of the future home country and its citizens.

Intergroup contact is usually operationalized through its quantity (i.e., frequency of exposure to outgroup) and quality (i.e., how pleasant or unpleasant this contact is perceived as). Even though the effects of contact quality have been traditionally regarded as more salient than the effects of contact quantity, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) recently pointed out that mere exposure to the outgroup can have a positive influence on an individual's outgroup attitudes. The importance of pre-migration contact quantity for pre-acculturation and post-migration adaptation has also been raised in one previous, although retrospective, study on pre-migration facilitators of successful post-migration adaptation among Greek Cypriot immigrants in London (Mavreas et al., 1989). Particularly, they found that those immigrants with more contacts with English people prior to migration were better adapted to their new environment in the post-migration stage.

In the present research it is argued that in addition to quantity, also the perceived quality of pre-migration contact may have an effect on how an individual sees and orientates towards representatives of the receiving country already in the pre-migration stage. For example, in his pioneering research on contact hypothesis, Allport (1954) suggested that collaboration is one of the four premises under which intergroup contact leads to a positive attitude towards the outgroup members. Moreover, according to the group engagement model (Tyler & Blader, 2003), people's willingness to cooperate with any group occurs as a result of the identity information they receive from the group. This information originates from evaluations of the group's procedural fairness (i.e., fair vs. unfair treatment by an authority figure), which affects individuals' motivation to engage with this group (i.e., to show psychological and behavioural connections to the group as expressed by supportive attitudes) (Tyler & Blader, 2003). Consequently, the information potential migrants receive when in contact with their future hosts may also affect their anticipations regarding future intergroup relations. For example, according to Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998), individuals "can use their knowledge and awareness of when, where, by whom, and in what manner prejudice is most likely to occur in order to assess the likelihood that they will encounter prejudice in particular situations" (p. 39). They also stress that discriminatory incidents can be expected either because they occurred previously, or because information was provided or sought from other people. In addition to positively affecting the expectations potential migrants form prior to their immigration, their well-being (see e.g., Feinstein & Ward, 1990; Searle & Ward, 1990) as well as improved outgroup attitudes (e.g., Allport, 1954), successful contact with the members of the new society has also been found to facilitate the learning of culturally appropriate norms and behaviours (Black et al., 1991), thereby enhancing socio-cultural adaptation.

¹² In the pre-migration context, SFEs' contact with representatives of the new society is often limited to human resources personnel and authorities of the receiving community, whereas in the case of ethnic migration, contact—in addition to these official contacts—also includes friends and family networks, as well as co-ethnics who have emigrated earlier.

These assumptions were tested among both the ethnic migrants and the SFEs of the present research. Both the quantity and quality of pre-migration contact, as well as anticipated discrimination in the future country of immigration were expected to be interrelated and predict ethnic migrants' pre-acculturative stress, while among the SFEs the role of contact quality in predicting their outgroup attitudes (i.e., attitudes towards the representatives of the country of relocation) was studied. With regard to ethnic migrants, it was hypothesized that the more Finnish friends/relatives they had in Finland, the less they would anticipate problems in their socio-cultural adaptation in Finland. Moreover, as there are no previous studies on how contact experiences influence the formation of acculturation orientations in the pre-migration stage, the role of contact networks (both in Finland and in Russia) in predicting ethnic migrants' choice of a specific acculturation orientation was explored.

5.3.2 Socio-demographic resources

5.3.2.1 Demographic factors

Demographic factors that, in previous post-migration studies, have been commonly studied in relation to different adaptation outcomes include gender, age, acculturation time, income and education. First, the impact of gender (female) on experiencing and/or reporting higher rates of stress symptoms and health problems, in general (e.g., Helgeson, 2003), and during migration, in particular, is well acknowledged (Chou, 2009; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Mirsky, 2009). One explanation for these gender differences in health outcomes is gender-role socialization. For example, two traits, unmitigated agency and unmitigated communion, are found to be gender related (i.e., differently socialized in men and women) and predispose women to greater health problems than men (Helgeson, 2003). Mirsky (1997, 2009) has also noted that females are inclined to express psychological distress more freely than males and, thus, have elevated scores of discomfort and are inclined to internalize their feelings. According to Ward et al., (2001, p. 93), the influence of gender on psychological adaptation is outcome sensitive and likely to be moderated by personal and situational factors. Second, the effects of age on adaptation are relatively ambiguous, even though adaptation in older age is usually seen as more challenging (Ward et al., 2001, p. 94). Education, however, is consistently found to be associated with better adaptation. The positive effects of education have been linked to greater culture-specific knowledge and skills, higher status occupations and higher income (Ward et al., 2001, p. 94). For example, in their retrospective study among African immigrants in Italy and Spain, Fokkema and de Haas (in press) found that higher levels of education prior to migration predicted migrants' post-migration adaptation to a new country. According to Rudmin (2009), in acculturation studies, especially in research on immigrant health and well-being, it is essential to control for socio-economic status (SES) as low SES is often even more predictive of health outcomes among minorities than other acculturation variables. This is because minorities often belong to socially disadvantaged populations and are, therefore, more often subjected to common mental disorders (e.g., Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Fryers, Melzer, & Jenkins, 2003). Moreover, the relationship between

acculturation time, i.e., the time immigrant has spent in the new country, and different dimensions of adaptation seem to vary (see section 4.2).

In the present research, gender was controlled for when studying factors related to pre-acculturative stress (Study II), as well as when using values as predictors of potential ethnic migrants' anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (Study III). Moreover, because of possible changes in values that accompany age (see e.g., Schwartz, 1992, for preliminary findings), the age of the participants was controlled for when studying the impact of personal values on anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation (Study III). Since the vast majority of participants were well-educated, education levels were not controlled for. However, participants' socio-economic status (SES) was used as a covariate when predicting ethnic migrants' pre-acculturative stress (Study II) in order to control for intra-group differences in pre-migration socio-economic status, as suggested by Rudmin (2009). Moreover, according to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), the intensity of stress reactions to a challenging situation depends on temporal factors, such as imminence (i.e., how much time there is before an event occurs), duration (i.e., how long a stressful event persists), and temporal uncertainty (i.e., when an event is going to happen). According to them, however, the passage of time can either heighten threat or lead to the reduction of stress reactions (p. 115). Thus, in this research, the length of pre-acculturation and the expected duration of adaptation were included in the hypothesized model predicting pre-acculturative stress among potential ethnic migrants (Study II).

5.3.2.2 Health

The relationship between migration and health is often thought to be causal, that is, immigration causes ill-health (e.g., Anderzén & Arnetz, 1999; Zheng & Berry, 1991; see also Koneru, Weisman de Mamani, Flynn, & Betancourt, 2007, for a review). However, also the opposite may be true; initial pre-migration health problems may predict later post-migration adaptation (see e.g., Rudmin, 2009; Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009b). According to Sam (2006), various hypotheses have been introduced to clarify this link. These include, for example “the selection hypothesis” (i.e., persons who are predisposed to have health problems tend to migrate; see e.g., Ødegaard, 1932) versus the “Immigrant Paradox”, also known as the healthy immigrant effect. This suggests that immigrants who migrate—despite their numerous risk factors—are actually healthier than those who stay (e.g., Hyman, 2001; Rumbaut, 1999). While the relationship between immigration and health is indeed a complex and reciprocal one (see also Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), it is very difficult, using post-migration measures only, to determine whether the ill-health of a migrant is due to genetic factors, certain life style choices from the native country, or the acculturation process itself and the acquisition of new habits in the destination country.

The present research does not assume that a potential migrant is more, or less, healthy than those who remain in the sending country. Rather, in this research, it was expected that those ethnic migrants with poorer psychological health status would be likely to have more severe experiences of pre-acculturative stress than those with better health. Therefore, when exploring factors predicting the level of pre-acculturative stress among ethnic migrants, their

health status was controlled for. In addition, initial health status may also have an impact of attitudinal patterns of potential migrants. For example, in the only study previously addressing the formation of acculturation orientations of the potential migrants in the pre-migration stage by Tartakovsky (2002), the pre-migration integration orientation was related to better psychological well-being (i.e., low degree of alienation) among adolescents, whereas pre-migration assimilation orientation was related to lower subjective well-being (i.e., alienation). Moreover, the pre-migration separation orientation was related to lower subjective well-being (i.e., more both alienation and mental health problems) than the integration and assimilation orientations. Thus, in the present research, when explaining the choice of a specific acculturation orientation among ethnic migrants in the pre-migration stage, their health status was taken into account.

5.3.3 Cognitive resources

5.3.3.1 Prior knowledge and language proficiency

Successful preparation—in terms of acquisition of the national language of the country of immigration, as well as knowledge of the new society—may lessen uncertainty and lead to expectations of easier adaptation, and, thus, alleviate pre-acculturative stress and psychological maladjustment prior to migration (e.g., Bürgelt et al., 2008; Caligiuri et al., 2001; Mavreas, 1989; Simeon & Fujii, 2000; Tabor, 2010). Knowledge of the new country and its culture may be obtained, for example, through media, books, and interacting with people from the host culture. This may be done, for instance, when visiting the prospective country of immigration during the contemplation or action period (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) of the migration process. For example, in their qualitative retrospective study among German immigrants in New Zealand, Bürgelt and her colleagues (2008) showed that the level of psychological and social preparedness for the migration process (e.g., sufficient language competence, realistic expectations, cultural awareness, and knowledge of migration processes) was an important pre-migration factor facilitating post-migration adaptation. Similarly, Chou's (2009) retrospective study found that poor migration planning of new immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong in the pre-migration stage (regarding e.g., whether they had considered their motivations for leaving or their length of stay, had a network of friends or family available upon arrival, or had pre-arranged accommodation and employment in Hong Kong) was related to heightened depressive symptoms in the post-migration stage. Moreover, the ability to speak the host country language has been related to the selection of a specific acculturation orientation among Chinese sojourners in Australia (Lu, Samarantunge, & Härtel, 2011).

In the present research ethnic migrants' cognitive preparedness was expected to play an important role in predicting their pre-migration psychological adaptation. In particular, Finnish language proficiency was assumed to predict more positive expectations of the immigration and alleviate pre-acculturation stress. Moreover, the role of ethnic migrants' previous knowledge of the society of immigration (i.e., Finland) and of the hassles related to the migration process in general was of interest in predicting these expectations. In addition,

although not previously studied in the pre-migration stage, both prior knowledge about the receiving society and competence in the national language of the receiving society were also assumed to have an impact on the choice of a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation among ethnic migrants.

5.3.3.2 Previous international experience

Previous experience of living abroad can be seen as an important facilitator of various pre- and post-migration adaptation outcomes. Previous international mobility, in particular, has been associated with more realistic expectations of what to look forward to (Louis, 1980). Prior international experience can lead to anticipatory adaptation (Black et al., 1992a), as the cultural skills acquired during that experience have the potential to reduce uncertainty related to relocation (Borstorff, Harris, Feild, & Giles, 1997) and aid socio-cultural adaptation to a new context (Ward et al., 2001, p. 89). In a longitudinal study including the pre-migration stage Kealey (1989) found that the severity of stress experienced was moderated by the amount of previous overseas experience among Canadian expatriates. Moreover, a study among Greek Cypriot immigrants in London (Mavreas et al., 1989) showed that immigrants' prior experiences of working or studying abroad were positively associated with better general post-migration adaptation. Similarly, in their study among German immigrants in New Zealand, Bürgelt and her colleagues (2008) reported that those immigrants who had more prior travel experiences showed greater readiness and ability to manage challenges when migrating. Prior international experience has also been shown to have a significant impact on work adaptation after relocation, particularly on work performance (e.g., Holopainen & Björkman, 2005).

In the present research, previous international mobility has been considered only when studying pre-migration adaptation among SFEs, as it was assumed that ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland did not have previous experience of living outside Russia. In regards to SFEs, previous international work experience was hypothesized to be related to higher levels of pre-migration work adaptation, measured as the degree of organizational identification in the pre-migration stage. More specifically, it was hypothesized that previous work experience in other European institutions would enhance organizational identification with ECHA in the pre-migration stage via increased European identity.

5.3.4 Psychological resources

5.3.4.1 Self-esteem

Self-esteem has generally been found to predict mental health and psychological resilience among immigrants and minority group members (e.g., Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996). Self-esteem is strongly influenced by how others in the society value one's skills. For example, in a qualitative study on Korean expatriate women in the United States (Suh & Lee, 2006), expatriates showed lower levels of self-esteem as a result of their assignment abroad, which was associated with stress experiences.

Moreover, initially better self-esteem (measured in the pre-migration stage) has also been related to general post-migration adaptation in a longitudinal, comparative study among expatriate employees (Anderzén & Arnetz, 1999).

Social identity theory's (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) self-esteem hypothesis states that in constructing their identities, individuals are motivated by a need for positive self-esteem and seek to positively distinguish their own groups from other groups. This process, in turn, leads to higher identification with the ingroup. Consequently, a factor often related to self-esteem and organizational identification in various organizational contexts is perceived organizational prestige (e.g., Lipponen, Helkama, Olkkonen, & Juslin, 2005; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Riketta, 2005, for a meta-analysis), which refers to the extent to which an employee believes other people perceive the organization as prestigious (e.g., Bhattacharya, Rao, & Glynn, 1995; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; for similar concepts, see e.g., Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994; Bartels, Pruyn, & de Jong, 2009). The importance of perceived organizational prestige for an individual's self-esteem is based on status perceptions. When members believe that outsiders see the organization in a positive light, they can "bask in the reflected glory" (Cialdini et al., 1976; see also Dutton et al., 1994), which, in turn, can lead to higher levels of organizational identification. According to Mael and Ashforth (1992), the more prestigious the organization, the better the opportunity to enhance self-esteem through organizational identification. Regardless of the strong theoretical background provided by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) for the self-esteem hypothesis, to the best of my knowledge, no studies to date have empirically supported the mediating role of self-esteem.

In the present research, self-esteem was studied as a predictor of SFEs' adaptation to an upcoming relocation. Specifically, following the self-esteem hypothesis, enhanced self-esteem was hypothesized to mediate the relationship between higher levels of perceived organizational prestige and stronger organizational identification. In addition, enhanced self-esteem was hypothesized to mediate the connection between higher levels of organizational prestige and better psychological well-being among SFES.

5.3.4.2 Self-efficacy

Epidemiological research has shown that not only self-esteem but also personal characteristics associated with one's beliefs in one's competence, such as sense of control, mastery and self-efficacy, affect stress reactions and health outcomes (Marmot, 1999; Scheier & Carver, 2003). These characteristics have also been found to be associated with fewer psychological stress reactions among voluntary migrants in the post-migration stage. Particularly, Chou (2009) reported higher levels of depression among those immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong who experienced a lower sense of control after migration. Moreover, in their qualitative study among German immigrants in New Zealand, Bürgelt et al. (2008) found that trusting in one's competence and ability to manage even when faced with challenges in the new country may protect immigrants from disappointments and reduce pressure related to migration. Self-efficacy may also be an important determinant of the acculturation orientations preferred by immigrants. For example, Allard and Landry (1992) have pointed out that individuals who have a strong sense of self-efficacy are more able and

willing to integrate, whereas lower self-efficacy is related to the avoidance of contact with other groups and a preference for separation or marginalization. Similarly, in their post-migration study of Yugoslavians in Germany, Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, and Obdržálek (2000) found that low self-efficacy predicted separation and marginalization attitudes.

In the present research, self-efficacy was taken into account when studying how ethnic migrants' pre-migration contacts and cognitive preparedness relate to pre-aculturative stress, mediated via expectations of life in the new environment. Moreover, based on the post-migration findings of Piontkowski et al., (2000; see also Allard & Landry, 1992), the role of self-efficacy in predicting ethnic migrants' choice of a specific acculturation orientation was explored in the pre-migration context.

5.3.5 Socio-psychological resources

5.3.5.1 Identification

Identification is a multifaceted phenomenon. In the context of immigration, the most commonly discussed dimensions of identities are ethnic (i.e., cultural) identity and national identity. According to Phinney's (1990) definition, ethnic identity involves "an individual's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group and the attitudes and behaviors associated with that sense" (p. 37). A strong ethnic identity has been positively associated with immigrant well-being and smooth adaptation to a new country (Alkan, 1998; Vedder, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Nickmans, 2006). National identity, on the other hand, refers to the degree to which a person "defines him or herself by the same attributes that he or she believes defines the nation" (De Cieri et al., 2009, p. 244; definition adapted from Dutton et al., 1994) where one lives.¹³

In their study on Hispanic students during their first year in English-speaking universities, Ethier and Deaux (1994) found that students showed two distinct paths when negotiating their ethnic identity in a new context. While those with initially strong ethnic identity became involved in cultural activities, which increased the strength of their ethnic identification, those with initially weaker identification perceived more threat in the environment and showed decreases of self-esteem associated with group membership, which lowered identification with their ethnic group. These results are in line with SIT (Tajfel & Turner (1979, 1986), which posits that being a member of a group involves the subjective perception of one's self as a member of a specific category, and it is exactly this perception that drives all other conformity processes (Mackie & Cooper, 1984). In accordance with the results of Ethier and Deaux (1994), it seems reasonable to assume that the first path, that is an initially strong ethnic identity would be connected to integration/separation acculturation orientations, whereas the second, initially weaker ethnic identity, might relate to assimilation orientation.

¹³ When speaking of ethnic minorities, ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to the ethnic group; national identification refers to one's sense of belonging to broader society, that is, the nation. However, in the case of immigrants, ethnic identity refers to one's association with the country of origin and national identity refers to one's association with the receiving society (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney et al., 2001; Tartakovsky, 2009b).

Empirical research in both pre- and post-migration contexts has, however, demonstrated conflicting findings. For example, in a post-migration study by Piontkowski et al. (2000), immigrants preferring assimilation were found to disengage from their original group. Similarly, in his study among immigrant adolescents in Portugal, Neto (2002) found a link between adolescents' low degree of ethnic identification and a preference for the assimilation orientations, but no significant relationship between Portuguese identity and the assimilation orientation. On the other hand, Tartakovsky (2002) found in his pre-migration study among potential Jewish adolescent migrants from Russia and Ukraine to Israel that a high degree of ethnic identification (i.e., identification with people of a Jewish background both in the society of emigration and immigration) predicted potential migrants' pre-migration integration and assimilation orientations. Separation was, on the other hand, related to higher Russian identification than the integration and assimilation orientations, whereas none of the participants reported marginalization as the predominant acculturation orientation. As such, in the present research, based on the above findings of the pre-migration study by Tartakovsky (2002), the degree of ethnic identification (Russian vs. Finnish) was expected to be related to the choice of a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation among ethnic migrants and their family members. In particular, it was hypothesized that the choice of an integration orientation would be related to relatively high degrees of both (Ingrian) Finnish and Russian identification, the choice of an assimilation orientation to a high degree of (Ingrian) Finnish identification, and, finally, the choice of a separation orientation to a high degree of Russian identification.

Regardless of the findings presented above, it should be noted that different identifications are not always exclusionary. On the contrary, research on multiple identifications has suggested mutually reinforcing effects between different co-existing identifications. For example, among immigrants, strong ethnic identification with one or more ethnic cultures combined with a positive attitude towards the national culture has been associated with more positive adaptation than a preference for one culture only (Berry et al., 2006). Moreover, according to Arnett (2002), sojourners can develop 'hybrid' identities influenced by their personal decisions to make multiple short-term migrations. For example, Mlicki and Ellemers (1996) observed both a high national ingroup identification and a high European identification among Polish citizens and showed that these different layers of group memberships can reinforce each other. Similarly, in his research, Opp (2005) showed that European identification had a positive effect on participants' sub-national identification with their home town, as well as on their national identification with Germany. These results imply that sub-group identification (e.g., national or regional) can be fostered through superordinate identification (e.g., European or national), which is important to take into account when studying, for example, European migrants moving within Europe. Accordingly, European identification may also foster related sub-group identities of another kind, such as identification with the EU Agency in the case of the SFEs of the present research. Therefore, based on previous findings on the mutually reinforcing effects of different identifications, this research investigated whether a strong European identification was related to SFEs' higher levels of organizational identification already at the pre-migration stage.

5.3.5.2 Perceived acculturation expectations of the future hosts

The choice of a particular acculturation orientation does not happen in vacuum; rather, it occurs in the context of interaction between the relevant groups. As discussed in section 4.1, the acculturation orientations of immigrants to a large extent depend on their perceptions of the acculturation expectations of the hosts (e.g., Horenczyk & Sankevich, 2006), as well as on the feelings of acceptance and inclusion to the larger society (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). For example, in their comparative study among ethnic migrants to three different countries (i.e., Finland, Germany, Israel), Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2003) found that those ethnic migrants whose personal acculturation orientations were in conflict with those of the hosts faced more discrimination and experienced more stress compared to their ethnic fellows whose acculturation orientations matched those of the hosts. These findings support the principles of the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) by Bourhis et al. (1997). According to this model, the match or mismatch between acculturation orientations of immigrants and of hosts can lead to consensual (i.e., both groups share virtually the same acculturation orientations), problematic (i.e., partial (dis-)agreement), or conflictual (i.e., the acculturation orientations of the groups differ remarkably) relational outcomes reflected in the various degrees of intergroup discrimination. Despite that previous post-migration studies have emphasized the role of acculturation expectations of the hosts in the formation of immigrants' acculturation orientations, there are no previous studies on how the acculturation orientations of the future hosts relate to the choice of a specific acculturation orientation among potential migrants prior to their migration. In the pre-migration stage, potential migrants can only anticipate the kind of acculturation orientation expected by their future hosts. Therefore, the present research explored whether the pre-migration acculturation orientations of ethnic migrants would be predicted by their perceptions of the acculturation expectations of future hosts.

5.3.5.3 Support for multiculturalism

In addition to identification and the perceived acculturation preferences of future host nationals, potential migrants' attitudes towards multiculturalism may affect to the choice of a particular acculturation orientation. According to Verkuyten (2007a), multiculturalism "emphasizes equality between and respect for the pluralism of cultures and group identities" (p. 280), and encompasses both general policies and practices, as well as related attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies. In acculturation research, the concept often refers to majority group members' acceptance of the integration attempts of the minority group members (see e.g., Berry, 2001). According to Verkuyten (2007a; see also 2005), however, multiculturalism is not only about the majority group accepting the minority groups, but also about the acceptance of multiculturalism on the part of minorities. Accordingly, support for multiculturalism has been associated with immigrants' acculturation orientations in previous post-migration studies. For example, Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2003) found in their study on Turkish–Dutch immigrants in the Netherlands that immigrants' support for multiculturalism was related to their integration orientation in the public domain. In the present research, support for multiculturalism was expected to be related to a preference for

the integration orientation and, to a lesser degree, to assimilation and separation orientations among the potential ethnic migrants.

5.3.6 Cultural resources

5.3.6.1 Cultural distance and fit

Cultural distance refers to how culturally similar or different a person thinks his or her home country is with the new country of residence (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980). Traditionally, several kinds of measures of perceived cultural distance, such as cultural similarity (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006) and culture novelty (e.g. Black & Stephens, 1989; Torbiörn, 1982) have been used to measure this concept. Research on cultural distance has shown that the smaller the perceived cultural distance, the easier it is for immigrants to psychologically and socio-culturally adapt to a new country (e.g., Church, 1982, for a review; Searle & Ward, 1990; Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009; for results in the Finnish context, see Gregersen & Stroh, 1997). Furthermore, previous post-migration studies (see e.g., Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000) have shown that perceived cultural similarity is related to attraction, meaning increased liking and positive evaluations both on an interpersonal and an intergroup level.

Not all studies, however, have confirmed the connection between cultural distance and adaptation (see, e.g., Holopainen & Björkman, 2005; Tung, 1998), and some researchers have criticized previous studies for exaggerating this connection (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). For example, Jun and Gentry (2005) have concluded that it was not the cultural similarity between home and host countries, but rather the ability to fit into the host culture that resulted in successful adaptation among expatriates. This observation is in accordance with the cultural fit hypothesis, which asserts that it is not the personality per se which predicts adaptation, but rather the fit between the acculturating individual and the new culture (Ward & Chang, 1997). When assessed through personality traits (e.g., Ward & Chang, 1997) and cultural orientations (e.g., Jun & Gentry, 2005), empirical examinations of the congruence or discrepancy between the individual's characteristics and the mean tendency of the host society have generally supported the cultural fit hypothesis (for contradicting results, see, e.g., Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004; Ward & Searle, 1991).

With regard to potential migrants, there are no studies that have investigated the role of cultural distance in predicting pre-migration adaptation outcomes or the formation of pre-migration acculturation orientations. However, there is some preliminary support from the post-migration studies that, at least among some immigrant groups (in this case, Yugoslavians in Germany), perceived similarity is a significant predictor of the integration orientation (Piontkowski et al., 2000). The present research investigated whether perceptions of cultural distance between ethnic migrants' home country and the country of future immigration would have an effect on their expectations of post-migration socio-cultural difficulties, indicating anticipated socio-cultural adaptation. In addition, in the present research, the role of cultural distance in predicting pre-migration acculturation orientations among ethnic migrants was explored.

5.3.6.2 Values

In some previous studies, the cultural fit hypothesis has also been tested through cultural values and studying whether higher perceived cultural value discrepancies are related to more adaptation problems among immigrants. The results have been inconsistent. For example, not sharing the common frame of values of the host society has been linked to poor adaptation among immigrants (i.e., Jews from Russia) to Germany and Israel (Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001). In contrast, Ward and Searle (1991) found no effect of value discrepancies on psychological or socio-cultural adaptation among international students from 42 countries in New Zealand. However, it should be noticed that previous research on value discrepancies among immigrants has often assumed that immigrants hold values identical to those of their home cultures and thus, value differences have been approached in terms of cultural fit as determined by group-level differences in country-level dimensions, such as individualism and collectivism (see Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009).

Schwartz (2011a), however, suggests that future research should pay more attention to cultural variation between groups within countries. Further, according to Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) people may be motivated to emigrate in order to pursue their whole set of life goals, that is, their values, and therefore potential migrants may differ from their conationals. As previous empirical research has shown, immigrants often affiliate with a destination society that holds values similar to their own. Donà and Berry (1994) found that those immigrants who had more individualistic values preferred more individualistic cultures, whereas those immigrants who displayed more collectivistic values tended to stay away from cultures with more individualistic values. Furthermore, in their study on potential adolescent migrants prior to their move from Russia to Israel, the USA, and Germany, Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) clearly showed that personal values predicted migrants' preferred destination country. Those potential migrants who preferred Israel ranked higher in the preservation motivation and weaker in self-development and materialism motivations than those who planned to go to Germany or the USA. These findings clearly indicate that personal values and discrepancies between them and those ascribed to the country of immigration may affect migrants' cultural affiliations.

According to Schwartz's value theory (1992, 1994; see also Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987) that was utilized in the present research, values can be defined as trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or group. Based on Schwartz's model, at the level of the individual, people in most cultures distinguish between at least ten basic values according to the type of motivational goal the values express. These are: benevolence, tradition, conformity, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, and universalism (Schwartz, 1992). These values are thought to represent the universal value types that form a continuum of related motivations (see Figure 1 in original publication III) (Schwartz, 1992; see also Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). These ten basic values can be further categorized into four higher-order value priorities that form a two-dimensional taxonomy of personal values. On the first axis, self-transcendence values, universalism and benevolence (i.e., values emphasizing acceptance of others as equals and concern for their well-being), are opposed to self-enhancement values, achievement and power (i.e., values emphasizing own relative success and control over others). The second axis opposes conservation values,

conformity, tradition and security (i.e., values emphasizing self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and protection of stability), to openness to change values, self-direction and stimulation (i.e., values emphasizing own independent thought and action that favour change). The value of hedonism—located between the openness to change and the self-enhancement poles—does not clearly fit any of these four value priorities (Schwartz, 1992).

Using Schwartz's value approach, Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) found that business and psychology students experienced greater well-being when their personal values were congruent with the values promoted by their respective departments. Similarly, Lönnqvist et al. (2009) showed that pre-professional students had higher self-esteem when their values were more similar to the values of their peers. If, as these studies suggest, sharing the values of one's environment increases positive adaptation outcomes, then immigrants who expect people in the future host country to be similar to themselves in terms of values may expect fewer difficulties in adaptation. The present study investigated this assumption, paying particular attention to the role of ethnic migrants' personal values, their perceived values of a typical Finn, and the congruence between the two in predicting potential migrants' expectations of socio-cultural difficulties at the post-migration stage.

Moreover, the role of ethnic migrants' personal values in predicting their choice or a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation was tested to compare the results with those obtained by Tartakovsky (2002). Using Schwartz's value approach, he found that personal values were related to different acculturation orientations of potential migrants; the pre-migration integration orientation was predicted by high self-transcendence values and low self-enhancement values. The pre-migration assimilation orientation, on the other hand, was predicted by high conservation values and low openness to change values. None of the values were related to a pre-migration separation orientation in Tartakovsky's (2002) study.

5.3.7 Social and institutional resources

5.3.7.1 Social support

Research has consistently demonstrated that social support effectively reduces distress during times of stress (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985; Komproe, Rijken, Ros, Winnubst, & 'tHart, 1997), particularly during acculturation and international adaptation (e.g., Anderzen & Arnetz, 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Ryan, Leavey, Golden, Blizard, & King, 2006; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001; Vega, Kolody, Valle, Weir, & Bohdan, 1991). Social support networks can be based either in the home country or the new society; in the latter, they may consist of host country nationals or co-ethnics who have immigrated to the same country.

With regard to voluntary migration, a family often moves together and, not surprisingly, a spouse and family often represent a very important source of social support. The support of one's family and spouse has been found to effectively reduce stress of expatriates abroad by providing a referent group through which the new environment can be interpreted, by assisting expatriate to mobilise his/her psychological resources to deal with emotional problems, and by raising his/her confidence, leading to better cross-cultural adaptation overall (e.g., Black & Stephens, 1989; Caligiuri, Hyland, Joshi, & Bross, 1998; van der Bank

& Rothmann, 2006). According to Boneva and Frieze (2001), another major factor discussed in international migration research is the network of relatives and friends who have previously migrated to the receiving country. According to Martin (1993, p. 4, see also Massey, 1999), networks of friends and relatives serve as “anchor communities for newcomers,” connecting potential migrants to those who have already migrated, and in this way, facilitating adaptation in the new society. For example, according to Marchant and Medway (1987), the larger the expatriate community, the greater the support and the more likely the cross-cultural adaptation is facilitated. These networks provide expatriates with a sense of affiliation and serve as a valuable source of information regarding the host society as seen through the lens of comparable others (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002).

In her cross-sectional study including the pre-migration stage from online forums for British migrants to New Zealand, Tabor (2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) found that migrants participated actively in online discussions to provide and receive co-nationals’ informational support both before and after the actual move. This finding highlights the interactional nature of today’s social support—it may be received as well as shared through a variety of channels. Moreover, Tabor’s (2010) study also indicated that support from one’s immediate family was related to better well-being and lower stress. Similarly, Chou’s (2009) study demonstrated that social support may buffer harmful effects of poor migration planning. Although women seek and give more social support under stress than men, both genders equally benefit psychologically from higher levels of social support when under stress (Taylor, Klein, Gruenewald, Gurung, & Fernandes-Taylor, 2003).

Considering the interactional nature of today’s social support (e.g., 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011), the present research concentrated on potential migrants’ personal experiences of the adequacy of social support overall. In particular, the role of social support was controlled for when studying factors predicting pre-aculturative stress among ethnic migrants.

5.3.7.2 Organizational support and pre-departure training

In the case of labour migrants, the organization where one is planning to work can serve as an important source of social support (Forster, 2000; van der Bank & Rothmann, 2006). According to the organizational support theory (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), the extent to which employees feel the organization values their contributions and cares about their well-being affects the degree of loyalty to the organization, leading to enhanced work adaptation among expatriates (e.g., Kraimer, Wayne, & Jaworski, 2001). For example, in their empirical study, De Cieri, Dowling and Taylor (1991) found that company assistance was among the most powerful predictors of expatriates’ adaptation to relocation. Further, according to their results, support from the work organization may contribute to lower stress levels in the post-migration stage.

In order to improve the accuracy of potential migrants’ expectations and promote pre-migration adaptation, organizations recruiting international employees and authorities responsible for immigrant reception may provide pre-departure training. The impact of pre-departure cross-cultural training—intended to provide useful information to migrants and

reduce uncertainty about relocating internationally, as well as to help form accurate expectations about living and working in the prospective country of relocation (Black et al., 1991)—has received a great deal of attention in expatriate literature (for reviews, see Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Deshpande & Viwesvaren, 1992; for a critical literature review, see Kealey & Protheroe, 1996).

In general, different types of cross-cultural training techniques (see Tung, 1982, p. 65), including information-giving (e.g., geography, climate and housing) and cultural sensitization (i.e., information about cultural institutions and value systems of the new country), can be employed already at the pre-migration stage of the migration process. Moreover, providing favourable as well as unfavourable job-related information to candidates prior to moving increases the possibility of adequate pre-migration adaptation, and helps prevent negative consequences of unexpected surprises.

In addition to enhancing realistic expectations and development of behaviours expected in the new surroundings (i.e., anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation), cross-cultural training has also been shown to have a positive impact on self-development (i.e., better psychological well-being and increased self-confidence), cognitive skills (i.e., better understanding of host social systems and values) as well as interpersonal skills (i.e., interaction with host nationals) (Borstorff et al., 1997, Deshpande & Viswesvaran, 1992; Gregersen & Black, 1992) among expatriates. For example, when presenting the findings of his longitudinal study including pre-migration stage assessment among UK expatriate employees, Forster (2000; see also Forster 1990) emphasizes the role of pre-move cultural briefings for the move, as well as a sufficient length of lead-in time given to the employees prior to the move for their later on-assignment adaptation. It has been also suggested that the less abstract and the more practical the cross-cultural training, the more successful it appears to be (Ward et al., 2001, p. 269). Moreover, the more distant the new culture from the home culture, the more training is needed.

It is rather surprising that—even though the role of cross-cultural training and organizational support for post-migration adaptation has been acknowledged and widely stressed—to the best of my knowledge, there are no pre-migration studies that have investigated how they affect pre-migration adaptation of potential migrants. In the present research, the role of organizational support in terms of the sufficiency of information, assistance, and lead-in time given for preparing the move was taken into account as a possible predictor for SFEs' pre-migration adaptation. In particular, it was hypothesized that organizational support would enhance both organizational identification with ECHA and psychological well-being in the pre-migration stage via increased self-esteem. Moreover, it was expected that organizational support would also positively affect psychological well-being and outgroup attitudes via decreased relocation stress among SFEs.

5.4 Summary of the aims of the present research

The aim of the present research was to shed light on the pre-acculturation of two kinds of voluntary migrant groups. Due to the scarcity of existing research on the pre-migration stage in general and pre-acculturation factors in particular, the hypotheses concerning specific predictors of various pre-migration adaptation outcomes were drawn mainly from existing theoretical models, as well as post-migration studies which have—mostly retrospectively—addressed the adaptation process of immigrants and international employees alike.

The main structural approach of this doctoral dissertation was derived from Tabor's (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) theorization of the phases of the migration process and, specifically, the action period, which starts from making a decision to move abroad (and is often related to migrants' direct or indirect pre-migration contact with the society of immigration and its representatives) and lasts until the actual immigration. According to Tabor's migration change model, the participants of the present research were in the action period of their migration process characterized by active preparations toward the forthcoming migration. The present study specifically focused on the pre-migration experiences, expectations and anticipations of potential migrants as well as on their pre-migration actual and anticipatory psychological, socio-cultural, socio-psychological and work adaptation during the action period of the migration process.

To better understand and predict these pre-migration adaptation outcomes this study mainly relied on the following conceptual approaches: the acculturation framework (e.g., Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001) and the framework of international (and repatriation) adjustment (e.g., Black, 1992; Black & Gregersen, 1991a&b; Black et al., 1991, 1992a). The use of these frameworks also allowed to further develop the concept of pre-acculturation as well as to show both commonalities and specificities of pre-acculturation as compared to post-migration acculturation and adaptation among voluntary migrants. In addition, several other theories, such as socio-psychological theories of intergroup relations and organizational psychological models on organizational identification were employed in order to shed more light and provide a more socio-psychological perspective to this relatively underexplored period of the acculturation process. As this dissertation is a social psychological research, heavy importance has been placed on the role of contact, attitudes, and identifications in the actual and anticipatory adaptation of potential migrants.

The four separate studies, which make up this dissertation research, focus on identifying factors involved in the choice of pre-migration acculturation orientations and predicting different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation. Specifically, Studies I, II, and III focus on pre-acculturation among ethnic migrants, and Study IV is about pre-acculturation among SFEs. Study I investigates the formation of pre-migration acculturation orientations. Studying the factors related to a choice of a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation is important because in previous empirical research, acculturation orientations have been related to both better psychological and socio-cultural adaptation outcomes after migration (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Studies II-IV continue by studying factors related to different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation of potential migrants. With regards to the dimensions studied, Studies II and III consider one dimension of pre-migration adaptation at a time (i.e., psychological and socio-cultural), whereas Study IV simultaneously deals with three different

dimensions of pre-migration adaptation (i.e., pre-migration psychological, work and socio-psychological adaptation).

The following research questions were formulated (the specific hypotheses are found in the original publications).

First, it was asked **which factors are associated with the formation of acculturation orientations of potential ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland at the pre-migration stage.**

More specifically,

1. What kind of acculturation orientations (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) do potential migrants prefer? (Study I)
2. Is the choice of a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation related to their degree of ethnic identification, values, well-being and self-efficacy, cultural knowledge of and social networks in Finland, proficiency in the Finnish language, support for multicultural ideology, and/or perceived ethnic discrimination in Russia? Moreover, what is the role of ethnic migrants' perceptions of cultural similarity between Russia and Finland as well as of the acculturation expectations of Finns? (Study I)

Second, it was asked **which factors predict the outcomes of potential migrants' pre-migration adaptation.**

In particular,

3. How do different factors (i.e., prior contact with future hosts, and knowledge about the country of immigration as well as of the demands of immigration) relate to ethnic migrants' expectations of an upcoming migration, and, further, how do these factors concern their psychological adaptation (i.e., experiences of pre-acculturative stress) in the pre-migration stage? (Study II)
4. How do ethnic migrants' values (i.e., personal values, perceived values of a typical Finn, and the congruence between these two), prior contact with future hosts and familiarity with the country of immigration, as well as the degree of perceived cultural distance relate to their anticipated socio-cultural adaptation? (Study III).
5. How do different factors (i.e., previous international work experience, perceived organizational prestige, satisfaction with preparations, and quality of contact with Finns during recruitment) relate to pre-migration psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation among SFEs? Furthermore, are these relationships mediated by the degree of their European identification, the level of self-esteem, and relocation stress experienced prior to the relocation? (Study IV)

In each of the Studies I-V the relevant demographic controls/covariates were taken into account, as presented in more depth in the original publications.

6. Data and methods

6.1 Participants and data collection

In the following section, the participants of the four studies of this dissertation research are described more carefully. The research includes participants from two different, larger research projects: INPRES and InterProF. Both projects have been carried out at the University of Helsinki, in the Department of Social Research, and led by Professor Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti. INPRES received funding from the Academy of Finland, and InterProF was funded by the City of Helsinki and the Ministry of Education. The author of this dissertation has been involved in both as a project researcher.

6.1.1 Sample 1: Ethnic migrants from Russia

The first sample of this dissertation research is a part of a larger research project called INPRES (Intervening at the pre-migration stage: Providing tools for promoting integration and adaptation throughout the migration process) conducted at the University of Helsinki from 2008 to 2011. The aim of the project was to provide a means of promoting social integration and psychological adaptation of Ingrian Finns and their families to Finland, as well as to foster the positive development of inter-group relations in the host society. The present research focuses solely on the project's base-line data.

The baseline data ($N = 325$) of the INPRES project were collected during April and May 2008 in Russia by using questionnaires in Russian. A large part of the data ($n = 192$, 59.1% of the participants) were collected at Finnish language courses organized by Finnish authorities (i.e., the Ministry of Interior) for ethnic migrants as a part of their immigration training program. The teachers of the language courses were approached with the kind help of the immigration training and language coordinators both in Finland and Russia. The data from these courses were collected in the St. Petersburg and Leningrad area ($n = 63$ out of the 85 persons originally registered for the language courses), and Petrozavodsk and Karelia area ($n = 129$ out of the 147 persons registered). All participants attending the courses at the time of data collection were surveyed (with the response rate of 100%) and the teachers of the courses were asked in advance for permission for a team of researchers (including the author of this dissertation) to collect data during classes. In addition to the people taking part in the language training, the questionnaire was sent to those potential migrants ($n = 206$) who had already passed the language test and were in the last phase of the pre-migration process, that is, waiting to be officially granted a place of residence in Finland. This group of potential migrants was identified using the register of the Consulate General of Finland in St. Petersburg and reached through a postal survey. The participants were advised to return the questionnaires in pre-paid envelopes to a Russian post office box opened by the researchers for this purpose. In total, 49 participants (15.1% of the total sample) answered the postal survey questionnaires, which resulted in a response rate of 25 per cent. In both cases (i.e., language courses and the postal survey), participants were also asked to give additional

questionnaires for their spouses or other relatives who were planning to join them to Finland (as a result of mixed marriages, sample one includes participants that are not ethnic migrants).¹⁴ For those attending language courses, these additional questionnaires were to be returned to a member of the research group during the following Finnish language lesson or, at the latest, when registering for the language test. For those participating in the postal survey, the additional questionnaires were supposed to be sent back in the same envelopes as the participants' own materials. In total, 84 potential migrants (25.8% of the total sample) answered these additional questionnaires. The response rate for this subsample is difficult to evaluate as there is no information on the number of relatives planning to (re)migrate to Finland but living in separate households.

If not already available in Russian, the measures were translated into Russian from the original English versions by two official translators, and then back translated by the Russian post-doctoral research fellow employed to the project to assist in the data collection in Russia. The questionnaire was also pilot tested among a sample of potential migrants in St. Petersburg. Participation in the project was voluntary and the anonymity of all participants was secured.

In total, the first sample of this research consisted of 325 ethnic migrants and their family members intending to move to Finland within one to two years. The majority of participants, (60.5%) were female (the demographic characteristics of the samples 1 and 2 have been summarized in Table 1 below). The mean age of participants was 43.1 years and ranged between 19 and 85 years. The majority of the participants were married or cohabiting (69.5%) and had children (76.6%). The participants were well-educated; only 15.1 per cent of participants had no education beyond secondary school, while 45 per cent of the participants had attended university and 39.1 per cent had attended or completed professional college. On average, the participants had studied for 13.6 ($SD = 3.4$) years. The majority (61.2%) had full-time employment, and only 3.4 per cent were unemployed/temporarily dismissed. Most of the participants (65.5%) lived in Petrozavodsk (the capital of the Republic of Karelia) or in other cities and villages in the Republic of Karelia, and about one third (34.5%) lived in St. Petersburg and other cities and villages close to it in the Leningrad area. Most of the participants (70.9%) were ethnic Finns (with at least one parent of a Finnish ethnic background). One third (29.1%) of the sample were not of Finnish descent (i.e., spouses of or kin to ethnic respondents ($n = 78$) or other relatives of the ethnic Finns planning to join them in Finland ($n = 15$)). These people were mostly of Russian (24.1%) but also of Ukrainian (0.3%), Belorussian (0.6%), and other (4%) ethnic backgrounds. However, Russian language was the mother tongue for the vast majority (73.8%) of the participants. The majority (86.2%) had previously studied the Finnish language; most of them in the context of the immigration training program, and only 10.2 per cent reported having no Finnish language skills at all. The participants had applied for the repatriate status approximately 11.7 years ago (time to prepare for remigration ranging between 1 and 18 years). Only 13.9 per cent

¹⁴ Note that remigrants as an overall group often include the spouses and other relatives of the main repatriate status applicants. However, for the sake of simplicity, in the present research this whole group is referred to as ethnic migrants. With regard to the analysis conducted, the ethnic composition of the group was taken into account as explained below.

were planning to migrate alone; 28.4 per cent were planning to migrate with their spouses, 29.9 per cent with their spouses and at least one minor child (i.e., less than 18 years old child); 3.4 per cent were planning to migrate with at least one minor dependant and the rest (24.4%) of the participants with their spouses, adult children, and/or other relatives. The clear majority had visited Finland before and almost all of them (91.4%) had friends and/or relatives already living in Finland.

For the purposes of the present research, three different compositions of the main sample 1 were used in the Studies I-III. As Study I was rather descriptive, the whole sample ($N = 325$) as presented above was used. In Studies II and III, however, smaller subsamples were used. In order to avoid interdependencies within a sample—which might have accounted for the relationships studied—the main sample 1 without the spouses ($n = 244$) was used in Study II. When dealing with value discrepancies between the values of ethnic migrants and those they regarded as values of a typical Finn (Study III), the sample was further restricted to ethnic Finns only (i.e., participants of non-Ingrian Finnish background were excluded) ($n = 229$). Specific demographic descriptions for both subsamples can be found from original publications II and III.

6.1.2 Sample 2: Self-initiated foreign employees from EU member states

The second sample of this dissertation research (used in Study IV) is also a part of a larger, longitudinal research project, InterProF (Factors Ensuring Integration among International Highly Skilled Professionals in Finland) conducted in the University of Helsinki from 2007 to 2009. The project investigated the integration and adaptation processes of the international professionals starting from before they started their new job at the European Chemicals Agency, that is, before arriving to Finland, and followed them later when working in Helsinki. The aim of the project was to highlight the key challenges in the relocation process both before and after moving to Finland. In the present research, solely the baseline data, which concerns the pre-migration stage data, of the project were used.

Regarding the sample used in Study IV, altogether 95 non-Finnish¹⁵ SFEs recruited by the ECHA participated to the study at the pre-migration stage of their migration process. At the time of the study, participants were preparing for relocation in their countries of departure. A link to the electronic survey questionnaire was sent to recruited SFEs with an information package from the ECHA recruitment services through the ECHA's Human Resources department between November 2007 and August 2009. The gradual recruitment process meant that invitations to participate in the study were sent to between 10 and 20 individuals monthly. The participants were requested to answer to the 10-page questionnaire prior to their departure to Finland, without further time specifications. Both the questionnaire and the accompanying invitation letter were in English. The invitation included a brief description of the study's objectives and the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation. Moreover, the invitation letter encouraged the participants to take part in the study and also included the

¹⁵ Since the hypothesized model presented below included measurements (e.g., attitudes towards Finns; quality of contact with Finns during the recruitment) that were likely to give different results based on the participants' cultural origin, participants with the Finnish background ($n = 25$) were excluded from sample 2.

research team's contact information should the participants have any questions. The research team did not have access to the participants' contact or other personal information.

Rather surprisingly (see e.g., Adler, 2000, p. 350-351; Caligiuri, Joshi, & Lazarova, 1999; Tung, 2004), more than half (52.6%) of the participants studied were females (Table 1). The mean age of the participants was 36.9 years, and age ranged between 25 and 63 years.

Table 1. Summary of the demographics of the samples 1 and 2.

	Sample 1. Ethnic Finns (N = 325)	Sample 2. Self-initiated foreign employees (N = 95)
Characteristics	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Age (years)	43.10 (14.4)	36.9 (7.4)
Duration of pre-acculturation process (years)	11.7 (2.8)	0.9 (0.4)
	<i>N (%)</i>	<i>N (%)</i>
Gender		
Female	196 (60.3)	50 (52.6)
Male	128 (39.4)	45 (47.4)
Missing	1 (0.3)	
Marital status		
Single	52 (16.0)	40 (42.1)
Married/Cohabiting	226 (69.5)	47 (49.5)
Divorced/Widowed	47 (14.4)	8 (8.4)
Mother tongue		
Finnish	2 (0.6)	-
Russian	240 (73.8)	-
Bilingual (Finnish and Russian)	77 (23.7)	-
Other	4 (1.2)	95 (100.0)
Missing	2 (0.6)	-
Prior visits to Finland		
Yes	279 (85.8)	76 (80.0)
No	45 (13.8)	19 (20.0)
Missing	1 (0.3)	-
Education		
University	146 (45.0)	69 (72.6)
Other	185 (54.2)	26 (27.4)
Missing	3 (0.9)	-
Employment status		
Full-time job	199 (61.2)	
Part-time job	11 (3.4)	
Unemployment	11 (3.4)	
Retired	45 (13.8)	
Other	43 (16.4)	
Missing	6 (1.8)	
SES (family income per month)		
Less than 349 €	149 (45.8)	
350 € - 582 €	101 (31.1)	
More than 583 €	71 (21.8)	
Missing	4 (1.2)	

Twenty-three nationalities from the European Union were represented along with three participants holding a dual nationality. Half of participants were married or living as a couple, and the majority (57.9%) were planning to move to Finland together with family members. Forty per cent had children moving with them; of these children, 65.8 per cent were school-age. All participants were highly educated, with almost three quarters (72.6%) having a Master's or Doctoral degree. Many participants had previous international experience, with 77.9 per cent having worked abroad before. Thirty-four per cent had spent over five years working abroad prior to their assignment at ECHA and 53.7 per cent had worked for the EU previously. Only 9 per cent of the participants estimated that they spoke Finnish at least moderately, whereas 82 per cent spoke no Finnish at all. Ninety-one per cent had a contract of at least four years.

6.2 Measures

All the measures used in the original publications of this dissertation research are reported below. The measures used in this research were either developed for the INPRES and/or InterProF projects or taken directly (or with modifications) from existing scales, as described below. For the sake of brevity and considering the divergent samples used in the present research, the descriptives such as Cronbach alphas of all scales used are presented in the original publications I-V in which they have been used. With few exceptions, the reliability of the measures used was high, ranging from .52 to .96.

Contact with Finns (quality) (Study II). To measure the quality of contact in the pre-migration stage, a single item (i.e., "How pleasant or unpleasant would you evaluate the contacts with the Finnish nationals you have had" 1. "in Finland or in Russia?" (Study II) or 2. "during the recruitment process" (Study IV)) was used based on Islam and Hewstone's (1993) and Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, and Christ's (2007) measures of the quality of contact with outgroup members. Participants were asked to evaluate whether their prior contact with Finnish nationals was generally pleasant or unpleasant on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = very unpleasant to 5 = very pleasant, with the sixth option being "I've never been in contact with Finnish nationals." The sixth option was omitted from the scale.

Social networks in Finland (quantity) (Studies I, II and III). Single-item questions were used to assess the size of social networks of potential migrants in Finland. The participants were asked to rate on a five-point scale (0 = none to 5 = ten or more) the size of their Finnish national networks in Finland, i.e., close Finnish friends and relatives living in Finland (Studies I, II and III). In addition, in Study I, the same scale was used to assess the number of participants' close Russian friends and relatives already living in Finland.

Expected discrimination (Study II). Two pre-existing measures of perceived discrimination (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim 2009) were adapted to measure anticipated discrimination in the pre-migration context of Finnish (re)migration. All four items (e.g., "I feel Finns will accept my foreign background") were

rated on a five-point scale (1= strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), with higher scores indicating more expected discrimination.

Perceived discrimination (Study I). To measure whether participants had faced discrimination in Russia, a single-item question was used: “Have you (ever) been insulted, faced name-calling or been in other ways discriminated against because of your ethnic background in Russia?” The respondents answered this questions using a five-point scale (1 = never to 5 = very often).

SES (Study II). As income or material standard of living have been shown to be better markers of increased rates of mental disorders than occupational social class (Fryers et al., 2003) socioeconomic status was assessed by asking participants to indicate their monthly family income (after taxation, with response options ranging from 1 = less than 3,000 rubles (i.e., approximately 70 euros) to 8 = more than 30,000 rubles (i.e., approximately 700 euros)).

Duration of pre-acculturation process (Study II). Participants were asked when they submitted the application for repatriate status. Pre-acculturation time was then counted by subtracting the time since submitting application for immigration from the time of the study.

Prior knowledge of Finland/Cognitive preparedness (Studies I and II). The participants were asked, on a five-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = very much), how much they knew about life in Finland (eight items assessing e.g., financial issues, legislation, culture, and working). In addition, in Study II, participants were also asked how much they knew about immigration-related challenges (with two items assessing psychological demands posed by immigration and adaptation). The higher scores indicated better cognitive preparedness.

Finnish language proficiency (Studies I and II). Four items were used to evaluate participants’ level of proficiency in the Finnish language, specifically their ability to understand, read, speak and write in Finnish. Participants answered on a five-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = very well), with higher scores indicating better proficiency in Finnish.

Previous visits to Finland (Study III). Familiarity with Finland prior to migration was assessed by asking participants if they had ever visited Finland, and, if so, the number of visits. The variable Previous visits to Finland was coded into two categories (0 = no previous visits, 1 = previously visited).

Previous international work experience (Study IV). A single question was used to assess the number of times participants had worked abroad prior to the current assignment. The response options ranged from 0 = never, 1 = once, 2 = 2 to 3 times, 3 = 4 to 5 times, 4 = 6 to 10 times, 5 = 11 or more times to 6 = always.

Expected duration of adaptation (Study II). Expectations concerning the anticipated time of adaptation in Finland after migration were assessed by a single-item measure: “How long time do you think your adaptation in Finland will take?” with response options ranging from 1 = less than a month to 7 = longer than 5 years, and 8 = I do not think I will ever adapt in Finland.

Psychological well-being (Studies I, II, and IV). To measure participants' subjective physical, mental and emotional health statuses prior to migration, the General well-being index (GWBI) by Hunt and McKenna (1992) was used. The 22-item measure contained three dimensions (see Gaston & Vogl, 2005): general mood/affect (13 items; e.g., "Have you felt in firm control of your actions, thoughts or feelings?"), life satisfaction (6 items; e.g., "Has your daily life been filled with things that interest you?"), and physical health (3 items; e.g., "Have you felt tired, worn out or exhausted?"). Participants responded on a five-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = very much), with higher scores indicating better well-being. In Study I, three different dimensions of general well-being were used, whereas in Studies II and IV, the responses to these subscales were combined into a single score.

Pre-acculturative stress/Relocation stress (Studies II and IV). Pre-acculturative stress was measured by assessing the stressfulness of the upcoming migration. Participants were asked to rate the severity of this event compared to other stressful events and situations in their lives. The introductory question by Aldwin and Revenson (1987) ("How stressful would you rate...") was followed by three (sample 1) to five (sample 2) items (e.g., Leaving your home country/present country of residence/Russia; entering Finland; upcoming adaptation in Finland) developed to suit the context of this study. A seven-point scale (1 = not severe at all to 7 = most severe event I have faced) developed by Terry (1994) was employed, with higher scores indicating more stress.

Self-efficacy (Studies I and II). Self-efficacy was assessed using the Russian version (Schwarzer, Jerusalem, & Romek, 1996) of the 10-item Generalized Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE) by Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1995). The scale assesses optimistic self-beliefs used for coping with a variety of difficult demands in life and explicitly refers to personal agency (i.e., a belief that successful outcomes are due to one's own actions) (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). Participants answered the questions using a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), with higher scores indicating higher self-efficacy.

Self-esteem (Study IV). To measure global self-esteem, we used a measure by Rosenberg (1965). Participants rated 10 statements (e.g., "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on equal plane with others.") on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with higher scores indicating better self-esteem.

Cultural identifications (Study I). To measure participants' cultural identifications, two existing measures were combined and modified: Mlicki and Ellemers's (1996) national identity measure, as well as Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) American identity measure. The two six-item subscales measured the degree of respondents' (Ingrian) Finnish identification and Russian identification, containing both cognitive (e.g. "I consider myself as an (Ingrian) Finn/a Russian") and affective (e.g. "I am proud of being an (Ingrian) Finn/a Russian") components. The response options ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with higher scores indicating stronger identification.

European identification (Study IV). To measure participants' European identification, we applied Mlicki and Ellemers's (1996) identity measure. A five-item scale measured the

degree of European identification with both cognitive (e.g., “I see myself as a representative of...”) and affective (e.g., “I am glad that I belong to...”) components. The response options ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with higher scores indicating stronger identification.

Organizational identification (Study IV). To measure organizational identification, a five-item measure by Mael and Ashforth (1992) was modified to fit the context (e.g., “If a story in the media criticized the Chemical Agency, I would feel embarrassed”). The response options ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, with higher scores indicating stronger identification.

Multicultural ideology (Study I). Participants’ support for a multicultural ideology was assessed using a modified version of Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver’s (2003) adaptation of the multicultural ideology scale originally developed by Berry and Kalin (1995). The scale included items such as “Immigrant parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.” Items 6 and 10 of the original scale were omitted from the scale as they had been shown to have poor loadings in previous studies (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Participants used a five-point scale to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), with higher scores indicating strong support for multicultural ideology.

Pre-migration acculturation orientations (Study I). To measure participants’ acculturation orientations, a measure previously used by Rohmann et al. (2006; see also Zagefka & Brown, 2002) was modified. Participants’ attitudes towards cultural maintenance were measured by a three-item subscale (i.e., “I think it is important that immigrants from Russia to Finland maintain their culture in Finland”; “I think immigrants from Russia to Finland should maintain their own religion, language and traditions in Finland”; “I think it is important that immigrants from Russia to Finland maintain their own way of living in Finland”), with response options ranging from 1 = low desire for culture maintenance to 5 = high desire for cultural maintenance. The participants’ attitudes towards contact with hosts after immigration were also measured on a three-item scale (e.g., “I think it is important that immigrants from Russia to Finland have Finnish friends”; “I think it is important that immigrants from Russia to Finland also spend time with Finns during their free time.”), with response options ranging from 1 = low desire for contact to 5 = high desire for contact. The third, reversed item (“I think that immigrants from Russia to Finland should stick to their own kind”), however, was excluded from the subscale because of its negative correlations with the other two items ($r = -.19, p < .001$; $r = -.18, p < .01$) and, consequently, a substantially decreased Cronbach’s alpha (for a similar solution, see Zagefka & Brown 2002).

Perceived acculturation expectations (Study I). Participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the acculturation expectations of the members of the receiving society (i.e., their subjective perceptions of the kind of behaviour that Finns expect from immigrants from Russia to Finland). The scale was identical to that measuring the migrants’ own pre-migration acculturation attitudes, but this time the participants reported what they believed a typical Finn would answer.

Outgroup attitudes (Study IV). To measure outgroup attitudes, Verkuyten's (2007b) feeling thermometer was applied. Participants rated their feelings towards Finns on a scale ranging from 0 = very cold to 100 = very warm.

Anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (ASCA) (Studies II and III). Participants' expectations of the socio-cultural difficulties they would face after migration were measured by modifying the socio-cultural adaptation scale (SCAS; Ward & Kennedy, 1999) to fit the pre-migration context. Of the 29 original scale items, 26 were presented (e.g., ease of making friends, finding food to enjoy; see Table 1 in the original publication III for the whole list of the items presented). Participants rated the anticipated difficulty of different aspects of life in Finland on five-point scale with higher scores reflecting greater social difficulty (i.e., poorer anticipated socio-cultural adaptation). A composed score of ASCA items was used.

The SCAS has previously been used unidimensionally (e.g., Ward et al., 1998) or bidimensionally (i.e., cognitive and behavioural aspects of socio-cultural adaptation; e.g., Swagler & Jome, 2005) in the post-migration context only (for use among short-term sojourners before assignments, see Ward & Kennedy, 1996). Therefore it was necessary to reinvestigate its structure in the context of this study. Factor analysis (maximum likelihood, varimax rotation) revealed four meaningful factors with eigenvalues greater than one: interpersonal relations (e.g., communicating with Finns, making friends), cognitive understanding (e.g., understanding Finnish value system, understanding the Finnish world view), impersonal perils (e.g., finding food that you enjoy, going shopping), and dealing with bureaucracy (e.g., dealing with the authorities, following rules and regulations). These factors explained 59.3 per cent of the total variance. For the purpose of the following analyses, factor scores for each factor were computed.

Cultural novelty (Study III). Using a modified version of the culture novelty measure introduced by Torbiörn (1982; see also Black & Stephens, 1989), participants were asked to rate how similar (1 = very similar to 5 = very different) Russia and Finland were in four cultural aspects. Work culture was added to the original items (everyday customs, and general living conditions and costs). Due to weak correlations with other items, an original item regarding climate was left out.

Perceived (cultural) similarity (Studies I and III). Using a modified perceived cultural similarity scale (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rohmann et al., 2006), participants were asked to rate on five-point scale (1 = very similar to 5 = very dissimilar) how different or similar they perceived Russia and Finland to be in five different domains (general similarity, culture, mentality, family life and gender roles).

Personal values (Studies I and III). Values were measured with the 21-item European Social Survey (ESS; Jowell et al., 2003) version of the Portrait values questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001) based on descriptions of different people, whose goals, aspirations and wishes are characterized in two sentences. For example, "It is important to him/her to show his/her abilities. S/he wants people to admire what s/he does," measures the achievement value. The PVQ was administered in self-rating format (1 = not like me at all to 5 = like me). In order to control for individual variation in

scale use, in Study III each item was divided by the mean of all items before the ten basic values were computed as averages of the relevant items (Schwartz, 1992), and further categorized into four higher-order value priorities. As the hedonism value (2 items)—located between the openness to change and the self-enhancement poles—does not clearly fit to any of the four higher order value types (see the chapter 5.3.6.2), it was left out of further analysis. In regards to the results of Study I, values were used without centering. However, the analysis was also conducted using centered values, to make sure that it did not have any effect on the results obtained.

Perceived values of a typical Finn (Study III). Participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the values of a typical Finn with the same PVQ that was used to measure the migrants' own values, but this time the participants reported what they believed a typical Finn would answer.

Perceived value congruence (Study III). The value profiles, based on the ten basic values, were used to compute an index of perceived value similarity between participants' personal values and their perceptions of values held by a typical Finn. As the elevation of the values profile is thought to reflect response bias (Schwartz, 1992), only the shape of the profile matters in the assessment of the similarity between two values profiles, making the Pearson's correlation coefficient between two profiles an appropriate statistic. Before correlating the profiles within participants, they were standardized between participants, thus controlling for those elements common to all ratings (Cronbach, 1955). Fisher's r to Z transformation was used before the correlation coefficients were entered into any analyses. High scores on the resulting index of value congruence reflect high-perceived similarity.

Social support (Study II). To measure perceived available support in general, two subscales of the English version of the Berlin social support scale (BSSS) by Schwarzer and Schulz (2000) were used. These (four-item) subscales measured emotional (e.g., "Whenever I am not feeling well, other people show me that they are fond of me") and instrumental support (e.g., "When everything becomes too much for me to handle, others are there to help me"). Participants responded on a five-point scale (1= strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived social support.

Satisfaction with relocation preparations (Study IV). To measure satisfaction with relocation preparations, a measure by Forster (2000) was modified. Participants were asked to evaluate the sufficiency of time, information and assistance received to prepare for their relocation on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = not at all enough to 5 = more than enough.

Perceived organizational prestige (Study IV). To assess perceived organizational prestige, six items of the perceived organizational prestige measure developed by Mael and Ashforth (1992) were modified for this study. Participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of feelings and attitudes that *other* people or organizations might have about ECHA (e.g., "The Chemicals Agency is considered one of the best agencies of the EU"). The participants rated statements on a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived prestige.

6.3 Data analysis

The statistical analyses of Studies I and III were conducted with SPSS/PASW software. Discriminant analysis was used in Study I in order to weight and linearly combine the discriminating variables in a way that the groups were enforced to be maximally distinct from each other. In addition, the analysis calculated how well the variables selected in the analysis discriminate between the groups when combined into discriminant functions. In such analysis, the adequacy of the discriminant functions is assessed by classifying the original cases selected to see how many of them are correctly classified (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In study III, by conducting hierarchical regression analyses, it was possible to test which factors contributed to the prediction of the dependent variable, as well as observe changes in the amount of explained variance brought by each block of predictors.

In studies II and IV, the structural equation modeling (SEM) approach and Amos software (Arbuckle, 2006) was used. SEM is a statistical technique for testing and estimating associations with one or more independent variables, and either one or more dependent variables. The first step in a SEM analysis is the design of a model, which makes this technique a confirmatory rather than an exploratory approach. The model is subsequently estimated, evaluated and modified if needed, which allows the testing of multiple hypotheses. Using SEM has numerous advantages; the links among factors are free of measurement error because this method estimates and excludes measurement error. This increases the reliability of the measurement and gives room for the analysis of complex and multi-layered relationships (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Furthermore, by using SEM, it is possible to simultaneously predict multiple dependent variables (Study IV). As suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999), several goodness-of-fit indexes were used to assess the models, including the comparative Fit index (CFI), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). The CFI values $\geq .95$ and RMSEA values ≤ 0.06 were considered to indicate a good fit for the data (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Moreover, AIC was used for comparing two single sample models (with lower values indicating better fit).

In addition to the major analyses presented above, several preliminary analyses were conducted. First, before conducting any of the analyses, the relationships between the dependent, independent, and possible mediator variables used in the analyses were investigated using Pearson correlation coefficients in each of the Studies I-IV. Moreover, independent samples t-tests were used to explore whether there were differences between participants (i.e., ethnic migrants) who had already passed the language test and those still participating in the pre-migration training, specifically, in terms of socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., age and gender), familiarity with Finland (i.e., previous visits to Finland and Finnish friends and/or relatives in Finland), and anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (Study III). As regards the missing data, there were not many missing values in the SFE data as they could not proceed in the electronic questionnaire if not answering to most of the questions. With regard to ethnic Finns, any missing data were treated in the analyses using listwise deletion; that is, participants with any missing values were eliminated from the analyses.

7. Main results

7.1 Study I. Pre-migration acculturation orientations and their predictors

The main focus of Study I was the formation of different pre-migration acculturation orientations (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry, et al., 1989, 2006) among ethnic migrants ($N = 325$). Specifically, it was examined whether participants' values, ethnic identifications (both (Ingrian) Finnish and Russian), general well-being and self-efficacy, support for multicultural ideology, as well as perceived cultural similarity and discrimination in the country of origin were related to the choice of a specific acculturation orientation in the pre-migration stage (see Table 2 for the Pearson correlations between the variables studied).¹⁶ In addition, also the associations of cultural knowledge, Finnish language proficiency, composition of social networks in Finland, as well as perceived acculturation expectations of the members of the receiving society with the choice of an acculturation orientation were explored.

First, a fourfold typology was formed (see e.g., Berry, 1997) by grouping participants according to their scores in each of the two dimensions (i.e., cultural maintenance and contact orientation). Following other studies on acculturation orientations (e.g., Donà & Berry, 1994; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), a midpoint scale split was performed on both dimensions. Participants scoring the exact midpoint or below it were conservatively categorized in the group not wanting to maintain their cultures/contacts with future hosts (for similar solution, see e.g., Berry, 2002; Nigbur et al., 2008), and participants scoring above the midpoint were categorized in the group wanting to maintain their cultures/contacts with future hosts. Next, the two dimensions were combined in order to derive an overall orientation preference. In line with Tartakovsky's (2002) pre-migration study on acculturation orientations, the results showed integration to be the predominant acculturation orientation for the clear majority (66.9%) of the potential migrants surveyed ($n = 314$). One fifth (20.1%) of participants preferred assimilation, while separation (8.3%) and marginalization (4.7%) orientations were the least commonly preferred.

Next, a discriminant analysis was computed to distinguish between integrationists, assimilationists and separationists; this resulted in two functions (i.e., pro-separation and pro-assimilation functions) that discriminated between the groups ($n = 243$). In line with the hypotheses, the most important factors for the formation of the assimilation acculturation orientation were the perception of Finns as discouraging immigrants to maintain their own cultures, weak support for multicultural ideology, and different dimensions of general well-being (i.e., good general mood, life satisfaction and physical health) (see Table 3). Of particular note, the choice of the assimilation orientation was related to a low degree of Russian identification and not, as hypothesized, a high degree of Finnish identification.

¹⁶ Please note that the descriptive statistics of Studies I-IV are presented in the corresponding publications.

Table 2. Pearson correlations between the variables used in Study I.

Index	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1. Assimilationists (dummy)	1																					
2. Separationists (dummy)	-.15	1																				
3. Integrationists (dummy)	-.66	-.40	1																			
4. Perceived accult. expectations/culture	-.33	-.01	.41	1																		
5. Perceived acc. expectations/contact	.06	-.20	.16	.34	1																	
6. Openness to change	-.05	-.05	.06	.08	.06	1																
7. Conservation	.06	-.09	.05	.03	.11	.10	1															
8. Self-enhancement	.02	-.08	-.02	-.03	.02	.54	.09	1														
9. Self-transcendence	.06	-.08	.06	.06	.14	.32	.60	.11	1													
10. (Ingrian) Finnish Identity	.08	.00	-.08	.02	.01	-.21	.10	-.17	.04	1												
11. Russian Identity	-.27	.12	.17	.15	.09	.10	-.01	.03	-.11	-.46	1											
12. General mood/affect	.15	.06	-.15	-.05	.17	.15	.14	.02	.22	-.10	-.05	1										
13. Life satisfaction	.12	.05	-.11	.02	.24	.24	.10	.12	.22	-.10	.01	.71	1									
14. Physical health	.19	-.03	-.19	-.05	.15	.13	.09	.07	.18	-.01	-.18	.67	.48	1								
15. Self-efficacy	.04	-.03	-.06	.01	.17	.44	.10	.33	.20	-.03	.08	.34	.44	.26	1							
16. Knowledge of Finland	.09	-.01	-.05	-.11	.06	.15	.06	.10	.21	.20	-.13	.09	.18	.09	.21	1						
17. Russian networks in Finland	-.05	-.13	.10	.10	.13	-.06	-.01	.01	-.05	.18	-.06	-.10	-.05	-.17	.00	.05	1					
18. Finnish networks in Finland	.01	-.11	.05	.11	.11	.06	.05	.04	.06	.20	-.10	-.05	-.05	-.11	.11	.15	.59	1				
19. Language competence	.04	.05	-.11	-.04	-.02	-.05	.00	-.09	.02	.55	-.39	.01	.02	.01	.01	.36	.15	.19	1			
20. Perceived cultural similarity	.08	.03	-.10	-.02	-.01	-.07	-.03	-.07	.02	.10	-.21	-.02	-.02	.06	-.02	.05	-.01	.00	.06	1		
21. Multicultural ideology	-.10	.03	.12	.22	.09	-.11	.12	-.13	.16	.08	.00	.11	.05	.05	-.06	-.01	-.10	-.11	-.08	.03	1	
22. Perceived Discrimination	.16	-.05	-.08	.01	-.09	-.13	.03	-.13	-.06	.25	-.26	-.19	-.17	-.19	-.12	-.03	.11	.15	.13	.02	.01	1

Note: Correlations in bold are significant at $p < .05$ level (two-tailed).

Table 3. Discriminant analysis for ethnic migrants' pre-migration acculturation orientations in Study I.

Standardized canonical discriminant function coefficients:	Function 1: Pro-assimilation	Function 2: Pro-separation
Perceived acculturation expectations (culture)	-0.63***	-0.07
Perceived acculturation expectations (contact)	-0.10	-0.57**
Openness to change	-0.14	-0.10
Conservation	-0.04	-0.18
Self-enhancement	-0.00	-0.09
Self-transcendence	0.00	-0.29
(Ingrian) Finnish identity	0.11	-0.02
Russian identity	-0.45***	0.34
General mood/affect	0.28**	0.10
Life satisfaction	0.22*	0.20
Physical health	0.34**	-0.09
Self-efficacy	0.03	-0.00
Knowledge of Finland	0.12	-0.12
Russian networks in Finland	-0.08	-0.22
Finnish networks in Finland	0.03	-0.17
Language proficiency	0.13	0.18
Perceived cultural similarity	0.13	0.11
Multicultural ideology	-0.22*	-0.09
Perceived discrimination in Russia	0.18	0.08
Eigenvalue	0.52	0.17
Per cent of variance	75.40	24.60
Canonical R	0.59	0.38
Wilk's lambda	0.56	0.85
χ^2 (df)	124.86*** (38)	34.09* (18)
Group centroids:		
Separation	0.10	1.40
Integration	-0.42	-0.11
Assimilation	1.36	-0.15

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

Partly contrary to the hypotheses regarding the choice of the separation orientation in the pre-migration stage, only one significant predictor was related to the preference for this particular orientation. The preference of the separation orientation was based solely on the perception that Finns do not encourage immigrants to have contacts with members of the majority.

The choice of the integration orientation was characterized by a pattern of predictors contrary to the predictors of the assimilation and separation orientations. As hypothesized, integrationists strongly perceived that Finns encourage immigrants to Finland to maintain their cultures but also to have contacts with the hosts. In addition, integrationists had a stronger Russian identification and they were more supportive of multiculturalism than assimilationists; however, their mental, emotional and physical health statuses were not as good as among assimilationists. Overall, the two functions correctly classified 78.4 per cent of the participants studied.

7.2 Study II. Pre-migration contact and knowledge, expectations of post-migration adaptation and pre-acculturative stress

The second study focused on factors predicting pre-acculturative stress among ethnic migrants ($n = 244$). It was argued that, first, potential migrants' pre-acculturative stress level is related to their expectations about future (post-migration) adaptation. Second, it was asserted that these expectations reflect their direct and indirect pre-migration contact with, as well as knowledge about, the society of immigration. Three types of expectations during the pre-migration stage were studied: expected difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation, expected duration of adaptation, and expected discrimination (see Table 4 for the Pearson correlations between these variables).

An SEM approach was used to examine the hypothesized causal model of relationships between four input exogenous variables (measured either directly (i.e., quantity and quality of contact) or as composed scores (i.e., cognitive preparedness and language proficiency)), with three mediator exogenous variables (i.e., composed scores for the three types of expectations) and one dependent variable (i.e., pre-acculturative stress). In addition, gender, socioeconomic status, general well-being, perceived social support, self-efficacy, and length of pre-acculturation were included in the model as covariates. Finally, all input predictor variables and covariates and measurement errors of the mediator variables were included in the estimation as correlated (for the theoretical model, see Figure 1 in the original publication II).

In previous literature, it has been proposed that the relationship between acculturative stressors and psychological adaptation is not deterministic, but rather is predicated on several possible mediating and moderating factors (e.g., Berry, 1997; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991). According to the results of the structural equation ($\chi^2(11, n = 244) = 14.30, p = .217$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .04 (CI 90%: .00–.08); and AIC = 230.30), this also seems to apply in the pre-migration context. In line with the hypotheses, potential migrants' experiences of pre-acculturative stress were clearly related to those expectations they had about their upcoming post-migration adaptation (see Figure 3 for the results of the revised model). More specifically, the results showed that while expected difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation

and expected duration of adaptation were directly related to increased pre-acculturative stress, potential migrants' expectations of poor intergroup relations (i.e., expected discrimination) after migration were related to higher levels of pre-acculturative stress only indirectly by making their expectations of post-migration socio-cultural adaptation more pessimistic.

Further, supporting the hypotheses, direct and indirect pre-migration contact with, and knowledge about, the society of immigration were significant predictors of pre-migration expectations. The three types of expectations studied were partly predicted by the same factors in the following manner. First, potential migrants with more positive contact experiences with Finnish nationals prior to migration expected to confront less discrimination after immigration and expected to be able to adapt to a new country in a shorter amount of time. Second, migrants' expectations of increased difficulty in post-migration socio-cultural adaptation were, in turn, predicted by their low/insufficient levels cognitive preparedness (i.e., little knowledge about Finland and immigration-related difficulties) and limited social networks in Finland. Third, the less the potential migrants mastered the Finnish language, the more negative pre-migration contact experiences with Finns they had, and the more limited their social networks were in Finland, the longer they expected their post-migration adaptation to last. In addition, regarding the connections between different kinds of expectations, the more potential migrants anticipated difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation, the longer they expected their post-migration adaptation to last.

The only covariate directly related to pre-acculturative stress was perceived social support (.13, $p = .048$), with other significant covariates (i.e., gender, general well-being, and self-efficacy) relating to this output variable indirectly via migrants' expectations. More specifically, ethnic migrants with higher self-efficacy expected fewer difficulties in post-migration socio-cultural adaptation, fewer experiences of discrimination and a shorter adaptation period after migration compared to those with lower self-efficacy. In addition, females and those potential migrants with lower general well-being expected more difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation and a longer adaptation process than males and those with better well-being. In contrast, neither SES nor the duration of the pre-acculturation process was related to any of the three types of expectations studied. The model developed in this study explained 36 per cent of pre-acculturative stress variance.

Table 4. Pearson correlations between the variables used in Study II.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. General well-being	1.00													
2. Pre-acculturative stress	-.26	1.00												
3. Expected socio-cultural difficulties	-.33	.49	1.00											
4. Expected discrimination	-.22	.24	.42	1.00										
5. Expected duration of adaptation	-.26	.42	.41	.22	1.00									
6. Self-efficacy	.38	-.26	-.45	-.28	-.31	1.00								
7. Proficiency in Finnish	.14	-.11	-.20	-.15	-.24	.13	1.00							
8. Social support	.25	.03	-.15	-.20	-.04	.25	.06	1.00						
9. Contact with Finns (quantity)	-.04	-.11	-.16	.05	-.26	.16	.09	-.08	1.00					
10. Contact with Finns (quality)	.05	-.09	-.13	-.17	-.22	.02	.17	.15	.13	1.00				
11. Cognitive preparedness	.21	-.20	-.28	.16	-.16	.27	.35	.20	.07	.09	1.00			
12. SES (family income)	.27	-.02	-.07	.01	.02	.25	.01	.17	-.22	-.07	.24	1.00		
13. Gender (1 = female; 2 = male)	.12	-.22	-.19	-.05	-.13	.21	-.23	-.13	-.01	-.25	.05	.19	1.00	
14. Length of pre-acculturation	.01	.03	.06	.15	.01	-.02	-.02	.00	-.02	-.07	.06	.07	.01	1.00

Note. Correlations in bold are significant at least at * $p < .05$ (two-tailed).

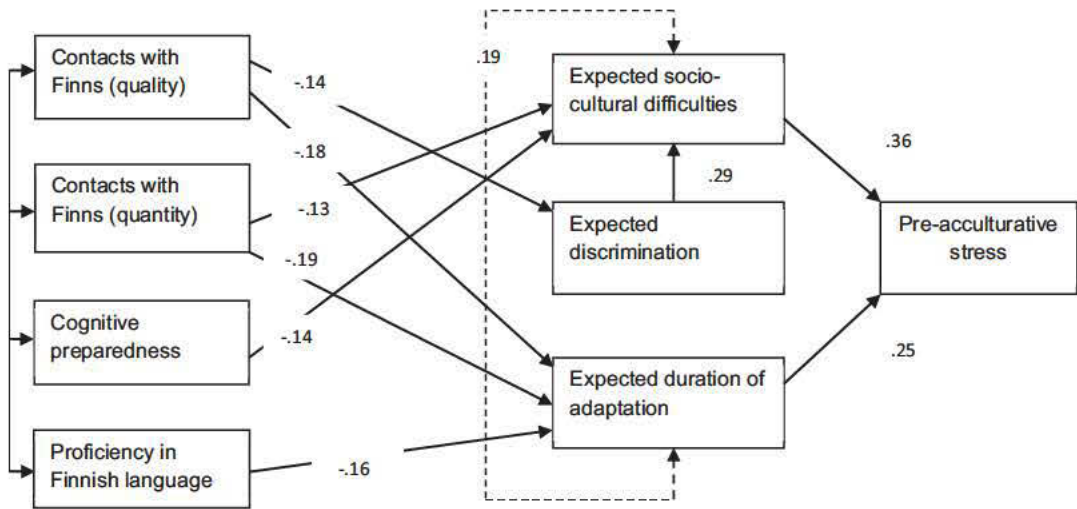


Figure 3. Estimated structural equation model of the relationships between factors predicting the pre-acculturative stress among ethnic migrants in Study II. The results are estimated taking into account the relationships between the covariates and three types of expectations on the one hand, and pre-acculturative stress on the other. The parameter values shown are standardized regression weights. All values are significant at least at * $p < .05$ level. The significant correlational path between the measurement error of expected socio-cultural difficulties and duration of adaptation is displayed as a dashed line, whereas the correlation path between the measurement error of expected duration of adaptation and that of expected discrimination was included in the modified model, but not displayed here as it did not reach statistical significance ($r = -.10, p = .12$). The correlations between the input variables are estimated but not displayed in this Figure.

7.3 Study III. Values as predictors of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation

The third study investigated the role of value patterns of potential ethnic migrants ($n = 229$) from Russia to Finland in predicting expectations of post-migration socio-cultural adaptation difficulties. Specifically, participants' personal values (Schwartz, 1992), perceived values of a typical host national representative, and the fit between migrants' personal values and the values of those they expect to encounter in the new home country (i.e., perceived value congruence) were hypothesized to predict anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (ASCA). Also familiarity with the new home country (i.e., the number Finnish friends/relatives in and visits to Finland), perceived cultural distance variables (i.e., perceived cultural similarity and cultural novelty), as well as socio-demographic controls traditionally related to adaptation outcomes among migrants were studied using hierarchical regression analyses (see the Pearson correlations between these variables in Table 5).

According to the results of the hierarchical regression analyses and in line with the hypotheses, the participants' personal openness to change values ($\beta = -.25, p = .016$), and perceived value congruence between migrants' personal values and value patterns ascribed to a typical Finn ($\beta = -.16, p = .037$) best predicted migrants' general ASCA in their own steps (see Table 6 for the results of the fifth steps of the hierarchical regression analyses): Those participants adhering to the openness to change value as well as those whose personal values did not differ from those attributed to a typical Finn expected less difficulty in their socio-cultural adaptation. The cultural distance variables were not related to ASCA. However, providing partial support for the hypotheses of the study, the more Finnish friends and/or relatives the ethnic migrants had in Finland, the less difficulty they anticipated in their socio-cultural adaptation after migration ($\beta = -.18, p = .016$). As can be seen from Table 7, the addition of personal values in the third step (R^2 Change = .06, $p = .03$) and of the value congruence in the fifth step (R^2 Change = .02, $p = .037$) of the analysis significantly increased the explained variance of the model.

Next, the connections between predictor variables and different sub-scales of the ASCA scale (i.e., interpersonal relations, cognitive understanding, impersonal perils and bureaucracy; see Table 1 of original publication III for the items and factor loadings for exploratory factor analysis (varimax rotation) of the anticipated socio-cultural adaptation scale) were explored. When using these four sub-scales of the ASCA-scale, a more complex picture emerged (see Table 6).

According to the results obtained for the four separate aspects of the ASCA, factors significantly related to the interpersonal relations subscale (in their own steps) were the number of Finnish friends and/or relatives in Finland ($\beta = -.21, p = .007$) and openness to change value ($\beta = -.22, p = .043$). This means that those participants who had readily established family/friends networks in Finland, as well as those scoring high in the openness to change value expected their future socio-cultural adaptation to be easier, at least in terms of interpersonal relations. Against the cultural fit hypothesis, cultural distance variables were not associated with interpersonal relations.

Perceiving the typical Finn as adhering to the self-transcendence value was significantly associated with the second aspect of ASCA, cognitive understanding ($\beta = -.27, p = .007$). The other variable significantly ($\beta = -.22, p = .006$) related to cognitive understanding was perceived value congruence: The more congruent the values, the more positive expectations the participants had with regard to future cognitive understanding. Interestingly enough, neither cultural distance nor the familiarity variables were related to this aspect of ASCA.

The third aspect of ASCA, impersonal perils had the highest number of significant predictors. Particularly, in their own steps, previous visits to Finland ($\beta = -.19, p = .018$), adherence to self-transcendence value ($\beta = -.21, p = .022$), and perceived value congruence ($\beta = -.17, p = .034$) all predicted potential migrants' expectations of successful socio-cultural adaptation in terms of impersonal perils, whereas high degrees of perceived cultural novelty ($\beta = .17, p = .048$) was related to their anticipated difficulties. The final, fourth aspect of ASCA, bureaucracy, was not related to any of the variables studied (except for age: the older the participant, the more difficulties were expected).

Table 5. Pearson correlations between independent variables and anticipated socio-cultural adaptation in Study III.

	General ASCA	Inter- personal Relations	Cognitive Under- standing	Impersonal Perils	Bureaucracy
Age	.15*	.22**	-.11	.19**	.20*
Sex	-.20**	-.28**	-.09	.01	-.12
Previous visits to Finland	-.07	.01	-.01	-.13	.01
Number of Finnish friends/ relatives in Finland	-.15*	-.21**	-.17*	.08	.03
Cultural novelty	.02	-.07	-.02	.10	-.02
Perceived similarity	-.08	.03	-.07	-.07	.02
Personal values					
Openness to change	-.23**	-.34**	-.13	-.10	-.04
Conservation	.20**	.33**	-.06	.10	.07
Self-enhancement	-.10	-.22**	.15*	-.03	-.06
Self-transcendence	.00	.23**	-.07	-.13	-.06
Perceived values of a typical Finn					
Openness to change	-.01	-.11	-.02	.07	.02
Conservation	.11	.21**	.05	-.10	.12
Self-enhancement	.08	-.02	.12	.05	.06
Self-transcendence	-.18*	-.05	-.23**	-.05	-.19*
Perceived value congruence	-.18**	-.20**	-.14*	-.08	.00

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 6. Hierarchical regression analyses (5th step) of factors predicting anticipated socio-cultural adaptation, and four of its subscales among ethnic migrants in Study III.

	General ASCA (β)	Interpersonal Relations (β)	Cognitive Understanding (β)	Impersonal Perils (β)	Bureaucracy (β)
Age	.07	.04	-.16	.21*	.23*
Sex	-.10	-.13	-.17	.14	-.07
Previous visits to Finland	-.12	.01	-.07	-.18*	-.02
Finnish friends/relatives in Finland	-.14	-.16*	-.15	.07	-.04
Cultural novelty	.05	-.01	.02	.14	.01
Perceived similarity	-.11	-.01	-.09	-.16	.11
Personal: Openness to change	-.26**	-.24*	-.18	-.15	-.12
Personal: Conservation	-.02	-.01	-.07	.05	-.15
Personal: Self-enhancement	-.09	-.10	.11	-.02	-.13
Personal: Self-transcendence	-.10	.04	.09	-.23*	-.24
Perceived: Openness to change	.15	.10	.13	.08	.01
Perceived: Conservation	.15	.13	.08	-.04	.18
Perceived: Self-enhancement	.10	.06	.04	-.05	.08
Perceived: Self-transcendence	-.14	-.07	-.30**	-.01	-.13
Perceived value congruence	-.16*	-.11	-.22**	-.17*	.10
	R ² .22*	R ² .21	R ² .22**	R ² .20*	R ² .15
	Δ R ² .02*	Δ R ² .01	Δ R ² .04**	Δ R ² .03*	Δ R ² .01

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; Δ R² = Change in the variances (R²) of the fifth step ($n = 172$ for the general ASCA, $n = 156$ for ASCA subscales) of the analyses.

Table 7. Blockwise increases in variance explained in regression models predicting anticipated socio-cultural adaptation with all the variables used in study III.

	General ASCA	Inter-personal Relations	Cognitive Understanding	Impersonal Perils	Bureaucracy
Block 1. Age and gender	.06**	.08**	.03	.05*	.06**
Block 2. Familiarity with Finland and cultural Distance	.05	.05	.03	.07*	.02
Block 3. Personal values	.06*	.05	.04	.05	.01
Block 4. Perceived values of a typical Finn	.04	.02	.08*	.01	.04
Block 5. Perceived value congruence	.02*	.01	.04**	.03*	.01

Note. F change from previous block significant at * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

7.4 Study IV. Predicting pre-migration psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation

The aim of the fourth study was to simultaneously predict different dimensions of self-initiated foreign employees' ($N = 95$) pre-migration adaptation, that is, psychological well-being (indicating psychological adaptation), outgroup attitudes (indicating socio-psychological adaptation) and organizational identification (indicating work adaptation). An SEM approach was used to examine the causal model of relationships between the hypothesized predictors (i.e., previous international work experience, perceived organizational prestige, satisfaction with preparations, and quality of contact with Finns during recruitment), mediators (i.e., European identification, self-esteem and relocation stress) and the dimensions of pre-migration adaptation (see Table 8, for the Pearson correlations between the variables used).

According to the results (Figure 4), the hypothesized model can be successfully used to present the relationships between the variables investigated regardless of the small size of the data. The χ^2 of the model was insignificant [$\chi^2(22, N = 95) = 22.75, p = 0.42$], RMSEA was 0.02 (lower bond 0.00, upper bond 0.09) and CFI was 0.99, with both indicating an excellent fit of the model. All the results obtained confirmed the hypotheses tested (see Figure 2 in original publication IV, for the theoretical model), with an exception of the hypothesized connection between perceived organizational prestige and organizational identification, which did not reach statistical significance. As shown in Figure 4, perceived organizational

prestige was, nevertheless, indirectly related to organizational identification. When participants perceived that the organization was seen positively by others, self-esteem was enhanced and, in turn, organizational identification was strengthened. Furthermore, in line with the hypotheses, the more international work experience participants had, the more strongly they identified as Europeans, which, in turn, was related to their higher levels of organizational identification. Self-esteem also played a mediating role between perceived organizational prestige and enhanced psychological well-being. Specifically, the higher levels of perceived organizational prestige, the better self-esteem the participants had, and the stronger they identified with their future work organization.

Also in line with the hypotheses, the more satisfied the SFEs were with relocation preparations (i.e., adequacy of time, information and assistance received to prepare for relocation), the higher was their reported self-esteem. Enhanced self-esteem, as noted above, was further related to higher levels of organizational identification, as well as to better psychological well-being. Moreover, satisfaction with preparations was negatively related to relocation stress, which, in turn, was related to both decreased well-being and to less positive attitudes towards Finns.

Importantly, in line with the hypotheses, the perceived quality of contact with Finns during the recruitment process predicted participants' attitudes towards Finns and when participants perceived contact to be positive, their attitudes towards Finns were clearly more positive. Altogether, the model developed in this study explained 24 per cent of the variance in work adaptation, 38 per cent of variance in psychological adaptation, and 22 per cent of variance in socio-psychological adaptation.

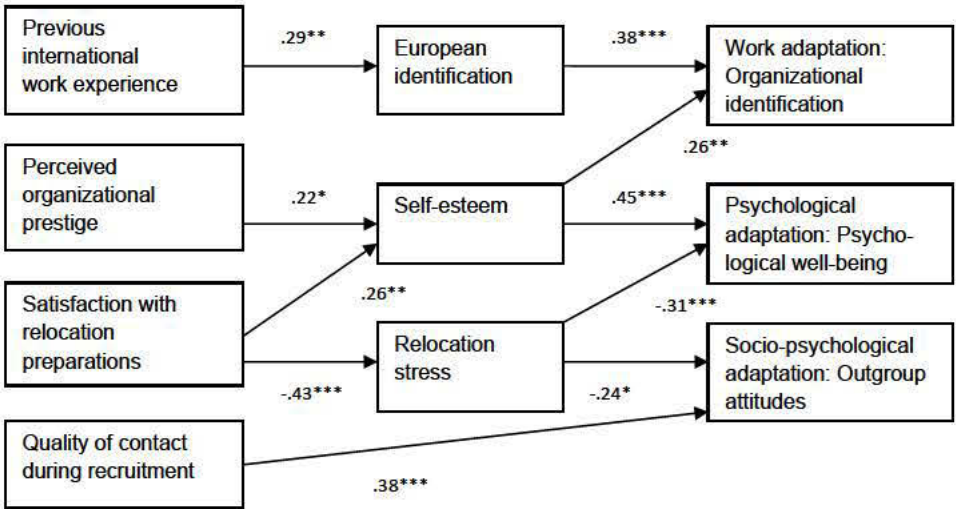


Figure 4. Multidimensional model of pre-migration adaptation of self-initiated foreign employees in Study IV. The parameter values shown are standardized regression weights. Values are significant at * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$ levels. The correlations between the input variables are estimated but not displayed in this Figure.

Table 8. Pearson correlations between the variables used in Study IV.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Previous international work experience	1.00									
2. Perceived organizational prestige	-.08	1.00								
3. Satisfaction with relocation preparations	-.10	.14	1.00							
4. Quality of contact during recruitment	.06	.12	.15	1.00						
5. European identification	.27**	.11	.12	-.11	1.00					
6. Self-esteem	-.00	.27**	.29**	.05	.08	1.00				
7. Relocation stress	-.04	-.11	-.41***	-.24*	.09	-.28**	1.00			
8. Organizational identification	.15	.25*	.09	-.05	.41***	.32**	.05	1.00		
9. Psychological well-being	.03	.32**	.33**	.17	.08	.53***	-.43***	.22*	1.00	
10. Outgroup attitudes	-.11	.18	.28**	.40***	-.02	.14	-.32**	.06	.20	1.00

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

8. Discussion

In the following chapter the conclusions derived from Studies I-IV are presented, followed by a theoretical synthesis. The limitations of this dissertation research with regard to the samples and scales used, as well as regarding the cross-sectional nature of the Studies I-IV are also discussed. The chapter ends with concluding remarks presented after practical implications and suggestions made for the future studies.

8.1 Discussion of the main results

In this section, the results of the Studies I-IV are first discussed separately with regard to both groups of voluntary migrants of this study. After that, in section 8.1.3, the scientific relevance of the present research is discussed in more general terms.

8.1.1 Pre-acculturation among ethnic migrants

8.1.1.1 Pre-migration acculturation orientations (Study I)

Even though acculturation orientations have been studied within acculturation and cross-cultural psychology since the late 1980s, little is known about the factors that influence the choice of a specific orientation in general (Neto, 2002), and during the pre-migration stage in particular (Tartakovsky, 2002). Thus, the first aim of the present research was to investigate the pre-migration acculturation orientations of ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland and develop our understanding of factors associated with the formation of these orientations already at the pre-migration stage.

In line with the findings of Tartakovsky's (2002) pre-migration study, the results of Study I indicate that migrants' acculturation orientations begin to form already before migrating to a new country. Similar to Tartakovsky's (2002) findings, integration was found to be the predominant acculturation orientation for the clear majority (66.9%) of the potential migrants surveyed. One fifth of participants preferred assimilation, while separation and marginalization orientations were the least commonly preferred orientations. As regards the factors related to these orientations, the results of this study clearly showed that the pre-migration acculturation orientations of potential migrants are related to their perceptions of the acculturation expectations prevailing in the receiving society. These findings are in line with those previously obtained in post-migration studies (e.g., Horenczyk & Sankevich, 2006), but show that the impact of host acculturation expectations on the formation of potential migrants' acculturation orientations is already present in the pre-migration stage.

Interestingly, participants' good general well-being was positively related to their choice of the assimilation orientation in the pre-migration stage. This result is in contrast to Tartakovsky's (2002) pre-migration study where no significant correlation was found between the assimilation orientation and subjective mental health. However, in line with his

findings, the present study showed that those potential migrants preferring the separation orientation reported decreased well-being clearly more often than those preferring assimilation. Previous research has shown that depressed people typically judge problematic situations in a more realistic and truthful way (Schwartz & Bless, 1991). People with elevated levels of psychological stress also show greater pessimism than psychologically healthy individuals when explaining events that happened to them and when evaluating future events (Cropley & MacLeod, 2003; Schlenker & Britt, 1996). Consequently, in the pre-migration context, it seems reasonable to assume that potential migrants with decreased general well-being may evaluate their future acculturation and adaptation more realistically or pessimistically than the non-distressed, and as a result, orient towards separation.

In regards to the relationship between acculturation orientations and support for multiculturalism, the results of this study were similar to those obtained in post-migration studies. Support for a multicultural ideology was negatively related to the preference for the assimilation orientation but positively related to the preference for the integration orientation. These findings are consistent with those of Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2003), who showed that in public domains, immigrants' support for multiculturalism is related to their orientation towards both cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation (i.e., contact with hosts). In this study, it was a low degree of Russian identification and not a high degree of Finnish identification that was associated with the choice of the assimilation orientation. Similar results have been obtained by Piontkowski et al. (2000), as well as Neto (2002) in the post-migration context. In Piontkowski et al.'s study (2000), immigrants preferring assimilation were found to disengage from their original group. Similarly, in his study among immigrant adolescents in Portugal, Neto (2002) found a link between adolescents' low degree of original ethnic identity and their preference for the assimilation orientation, but no significant relationship between Portuguese (i.e., host country) identity and assimilation. These results go contrary to those of the pre-migration study by Tartakovsky (2002), where the assimilation orientation was mainly preferred by those Jewish adolescents in Russia who identified strongly with Russian Jews in both Russia and Israel. Based on the results of this study and previous findings, it seems that there may be two identity pathways towards the assimilation orientation among potential ethnic migrants: either via a decrease in their identification with the majority group of the society of emigration, and/or via an increase in their identification with one's ethnic/cultural minority ingroup and/or future hosts.

To summarize the findings of Study I, the perceived demands of the receiving society (i.e., perceived acculturation expectations of the future hosts), as well as the health-related issues of potential ethnic migrants seem to be more important in determining the choice of a particular acculturation orientation than either traditional push (i.e., perceived discrimination in Russia)/pull factors (i.e., networks in the future society of immigration) or cognitive resources (i.e., knowledge of Finland and Finnish language proficiency). These findings emphasize the importance of expanding the acculturation research towards studying the perceptions migrants have of their potential country of immigration and its representatives beginning from the pre-migration stage. Moreover, the findings obtained also point to the importance of considering the health-related issues of the migrants already before their actual move to a country to promote the formation of the most adaptive acculturation orientations from the very beginning of the acculturation process.

8.1.1.2 Pre-acculturative stress (Study II)

Pre-migration health status has been acknowledged as one of the major factors influencing post-migration immigrant adaptation (e.g., Ryan et al., 2006; Tartakovsky, 2007; Mirsky, 2009; Bhugra, 2004). As Study I showed, ethnic migrants' general well-being was related to their choice of an acculturation orientation already in the pre-migration stage. However, little is known about specific socio-psychological processes activating in the pre-migration stage and resulting in pre-acculturative stress. The aim of Study II was to develop a model explaining the relationships between pre-acculturation factors and pre-acculturative stress among potential ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland.

The results of Study II indicate that every fourth potential migrant studied had experienced the upcoming migration and adaptation to a new country as a severely stressful event in his/her life. Regarding the origins of pre-acculturative stress, it was found that it largely depended on the expectations held by potential migrants about the demands of post-migration adaptation. These expectations developed through their direct and indirect pre-migration contacts with, and knowledge about the society of immigration (i.e., regarding the culture and language, as well as about the immigration-related hassles in general). In particular, both the perceived quality of contact and the size of networks established with host nationals were the most important pre-acculturation factors predicting all three types of expectations migrants had about post-migration adaptation and, thus, indirectly influenced pre-acculturative stress. These findings are in line with those previously obtained in studies on ethnic minority members in the post-migration context, further stressing the importance of positive intergroup contact for psychological adaptation (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). However, it is important to recognize that the quality of intergroup contact is associated with adaptation already in the pre-migration stage. Although such contact is especially relevant in ethnic migration, this factor may function as a facilitator of immigrant adaptation in general, starting from the pre-migration stage in other immigration contexts (e.g., labour and chain migration) as well.

In addition, in the light of the findings of the present study, the positive role of social support in the pre-migration psychological well-being of migrants should not be overlooked. The results of this study showed that social support was the only covariate directly associated with migrants' pre-acculturative stress. Social support during pre-acculturation is crucial considering the results of studies showing that migrants often report a significant drop in perceived social support from relatives just before emigration (Hiller & McCaig, 2007; Tabor, 2010). Thus, it is tremendously important that migrants are assisted during the pre-migration stage in finding new supportive social networks to compensate for a possible loss of familial support. The results also showed the importance of including self-efficacy to the analysis as a covariate as participants with higher self-efficacy had more positive anticipations regarding all three types of expectations studied. Moreover, also gender (male) and better well-being were related to smoother and faster adaptation expectations.

To summarize, based on the results of Study II, pre-acculturative stress is dependent on the expectations migrants have in the pre-migration stage of the migration process. These expectations are formed through the pre-migration contact with and the knowledge about the society of immigration. As such, this study showed that even though neither the knowledge of

the future host country (i.e., cognitive preparedness and Finnish language proficiency) nor native contact networks in the future host country were important for the choice of a specific acculturation orientation among ethnic migrants in Study I, these factors were the most important predictors for pre-departure expectations and, furthermore, the related experiences of pre-acculturative stress of these migrants. These findings highlight the importance of studying pre-acculturation from several different perspectives (i.e., by using various outcomes) to be able to piece together the complex phenomenon of pre-acculturation.

8.1.1.3 Anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (Study III)

While the findings of Study II showed the importance of contact quantity and cognitive preparedness for ethnic migrants' expectations of post-migration socio-cultural adaptation, Study III focused on the role of the value patterns of potential ethnic migrants in predicting these expectations. Values represent responses to person's needs as biological organism, as well as requisites of coordinated social interaction, and the smooth functioning and survival of groups (Schwartz, 1994). As such, it is rather surprising that—although a major goal of research on values has been to explore the ways in which individuals' value priorities relate to their attitudes, behaviour, and social experiences (Ros & Schwartz, 1999), and cross-cultural differences in values have been studied extensively across different nationalities (Schwartz, 1992, 1999)—not many acculturation or expatriate studies have applied the framework in studying immigrant acculturation or adaptation (for an exception, see Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996; see also Lönnqvist, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Verkasalo, 2011). The present study combined Schwartz's (1992) value framework with the more traditional cultural distance approach to test the cultural fit hypothesis (Ward & Chang, 1997) in the pre-migration context. In line with the hypotheses, along with cultural familiarity through having friends and/or relatives living in a country of future immigration, the values of the potential migrants—particularly the openness to change value, and the value congruency between these and perceived values of a typical Finn—predicted the general index of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation. On the contrary, participants' perceived values of a typical Finn were not directly associated with these expectations.

The results obtained for different aspects of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation (i.e., interpersonal relations, cognitive understanding, impersonal perils, and bureaucracy) supported this general pattern but also revealed some meaningful differences. Having established networks of family and friends in Finland prior to migration and, subsequently, having more experiences of interacting with Finns, was related to fewer anticipated socio-cultural adaptation difficulties, specifically in terms of the quality of interpersonal relations (i.e., competence when communicating with Finns). In addition, those scoring high in the openness to change value perceived engaging in new communicative situations with Finns after migration to be easier. One possible explanation for this may stem from the pre-migration stage itself. When the actual migration is still ahead, it seems reasonable to assume that those migrants who adhere to the openness to change value expect fewer difficulties related to future life changes or do not perceive these changes to be as demanding as compared to those migrants who adhere to, for example, the conservation value.

With regards to cognitive understanding and impersonal perils aspects of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation, the more participants perceived Finns as adhering to the self-transcendence value—which assumes mutual caring as well as basic similarities among people and cultures (Schwartz, 1992)—the less they expected difficulties in understanding the Finnish world view and value system (i.e., cognitive understanding). Interestingly, those potential migrants adhering to the self-transcendence value themselves expected less difficulty in managing everyday practicalities (i.e., impersonal perils) after migration. In contrast, those potential migrants whose personal values differed largely from those attributed to a typical Finn expected more difficulties, particularly in the cognitive understanding of various aspects deeply rooted into the cultural inheritance of a new country of residence (e.g., understanding the Finnish world view and value system), but also in managing everyday impersonal tasks. Thus, it seems that in addition to psychological well-being (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000), congruence between potential migrants’ personal values and their perceptions of values prevailing in the future home society may also affect a more behavioural side of adaptation, namely socio-cultural adaptation. These results supported the assumption that, in addition to perceptions of country-level differences, deeper psychological processes take place when forming expectations of social life in a new country. The results also supported the assertion of van Vianen, De Pater, Kristof-Brown, and Johnson (2004; see also Matsumoto et al., 1999) about the importance of perceived value congruence for predicting different dimensions of expatriate adaptation.

The results of this study did not only show how values relate to different aspects of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation, but the findings shed new light on the cultural fit hypothesis. Perceived cultural novelty predicted only a single subscale of the anticipated socio-cultural adaptation, impersonal perils, measured through expected difficulties in the most basic everyday activities in a new society. One possible reason for this somewhat unexpected result may be related to measurement issues. Typically, the cultural fit hypothesis has been studied using different proxies of cultural distance and has focused on easily visible dissimilarities between home and host countries, such as general living conditions, everyday customs, and climate. According to van Vianen and colleagues (2004; see also Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998), these dissimilarities refer to surface-level cultural differences, as opposed to deeper cultural differences, such as dissimilarities in basic values and attitudes. Based on the results of this study, value congruence was clearly more important in predicting anticipated socio-cultural adaptation than the more traditional cultural distance variables used.

In summary, Study III points to the importance of migrants’ values, in addition to more traditional cultural distance variables, in the formation of expectations about life in the future country of immigration. In particular, focusing on the pre-migration stage offered the chance to shed light on how migrants’ expectations are formed in the first place—a matter that, up until now, has been relatively underexplored in acculturation studies. Studying perceived value congruence provides a new and fruitful approach for analyzing adaptation expectations of new cultural surroundings. Moreover, the use of Schwartz’s values theory provided a meaningful framework for studying the formation of these expectations already in the pre-migration context.

8.1.2 Pre-acculturation among self-initiated foreign employees

Study IV focused simultaneously on several different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation among highly skilled SFEs. Specifically, the aim was, by integrating different theoretical perspectives (i.e., international and domestic work adaptation, and the acculturation framework), to develop a model combining factors that predict the indicators of psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation among SFEs. Particular emphasis was placed on identifying factors that predict SFEs' socio-psychological and work adaptation prior to relocation, as the former dimension has hardly been tackled in previous sojourner literature and the latter has been studied only in the post-migration stage. In the present study, socio-psychological adaptation was assessed through attitudes towards new country and future host nationals, whereas work adaptation was approached via organizational identification with the employer organization already in the pre-migration stage. In addition, the role of organizational support in the pre-migration adaptation among SFEs was studied, as in contrast to ethnic migrants, the relocation and reception process of this group is characterized by a more fundamental role of the receiving organization than of private social networks.

The results of this study show that organizational support (i.e., informational training and assistance, and the time provided for the recruited SFEs to prepare for their move) is connected to more positive starting points—specifically, higher levels of pre-migration adaptation in all three dimensions of adaptation studied. Satisfaction with relocation preparations lowered relocation stress, which, in turn, was related to better psychological well-being among SFEs in the pre-migration stage. Furthermore, in this study, SFEs' experiences of insufficient support provided by the organization to prepare for the relocation were related to a decrease in self-esteem, as well as to lower levels in organizational identification. Therefore, a lack of support may have been perceived as a lack of appreciation, further leading to decreased organizational identification. Applying social exchange theory (Homans, 1958; see also Aycan, 1997b) to the context of this study, offering support during the relocation process is a mutual exchange that benefits both sides; SFEs receive the help necessary for preparing for relocation, and the organization benefits from the recruits' developing organizational identification, which may be associated with several positive post-migration work outcomes, including job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behaviours (e.g., Feather & Rauter, 2004; van Dick, Grojean, Christ, & Wieseke, 2006).

Recruitment procedures and the support of an employer organization and receiving community may also affect the pre-migration socio-psychological adaptation of international recruits. For example, in this study, SFEs' pre-departure contact with representatives of the new society mostly consisted of contact with human resources personnel and authorities of the City of Helsinki. The results show that the nature of this SFEs' pre-migration contact was strongly related to their attitude towards their future hosts in general: the more positive the pre-migration contact, the more positive were their outgroup attitudes. Consequently, this can be seen as an opportunity for both the management of an international organization and reception services of the local community to positively influence SFEs' attitudes towards the relocation and the new country in general.

In many cases, international professionals may not stay over the long-term and, as such,

may use superordinate identities to transcend national and cultural boundaries. To my best knowledge, this study was the first to show that SFEs identify strongly with the employing organization already prior to relocation. In addition to being citizens of EU, more than half of the SFEs studied had previous international work experience, particularly in, and for, the European Union and thus showed also high levels of European identification. European identification, in turn, was positively related to identification with ECHA. Thus, in order to foster pre-migration work adaptation among intra-EU migrating professionals, it may be useful to strengthen their European identification. Moreover, in contrast to previous empirical studies (e.g., Lipponen et al., 2005; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Riketta, 2005), this study found no support for the direct link between perceived organizational prestige and organizational identification. It is, however, notable that this study, to the best of my knowledge, was the first to empirically verify the mediating role of self-esteem in the relationship between perceived organizational prestige and organizational identification, as proposed in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). This suggests a full mediation effect of self-esteem.

To summarize, Study IV may be taken as a preliminary attempt to describe the specific context of intra-EU migration among highly skilled SFEs, explore the specificity of the pre-migration stage of their relocation process, and address the pre-migration factors that simultaneously predict the indicators of different dimensions (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation) of their pre-migration adaptation. Importantly, the study showed that providing adequate opportunities for preparation fosters a more relaxed entry to the country and workplace, more positive attitudes towards the representatives of the new society, and identification with the organization already at the pre-migration stage. Moreover, the study also produced new information with regard to the role of early contact experiences, previous international experience and multiple identifications, as well as perceived organizational prestige and related self-esteem in the prediction of pre-migration adaptation of SFEs. As such, taking the group of SFEs into the scope of this research clearly advanced our understanding of the pre-acculturation with regard to work and socio-psychological dimensions of voluntary migrants' pre-migration adaptation.

8.1.3 General discussion of the main results

The present dissertation research combined and further developed two approaches used in the research of cross-cultural adaptation: the acculturation framework (Berry, 1997, 2006a; Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2001) and literature on expatriate (re)adjustment (e.g., Black et al, 1991, 1992a). These approaches were supplemented with socio-psychological theories of intergroup relations (e.g., social identity theory; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and organizational psychology to describe the pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants in a more comprehensive manner. Emphasis was placed on studying the pre-migration stage, which to date, has been underexplored in the theoretical and empirical literature concerning adaptation among immigrants and expatriates alike. In particular, this research argued for expanding the acculturation approach through a better conceptualization of pre-acculturation, which encompasses a variety of social, psychological, as well as cultural experiences and changes

among potential migrants prior to their move abroad. Furthermore, emphasizing migrant pre-acculturation in the pre-migration stage offers a more socio-psychological perspective to the way the pre-departure period has been conceived in the literature on immigrant and expatriate adaptation.

According to Rudmin (2009), nearly one century of acculturation research has produced little reliable information. In addition to theoretical concerns, there are still major problems with the systematic operationalization and measurement of acculturation, definitions of the related constructs, and heterogeneity of the findings (Rudmin, 2009). One reason for this, according to Rudmin (2009), may be due to ignoring baseline (e.g., pre-migration) factors and their ramifications in studying different outcomes of immigrant adaptation in the post-migration stage. The present research took one step towards a more comprehensive approach by concentrating on the pre-migration stage of the migration process, where the different phenomena previously related to immigrant post-migration adaptation start to evolve. In particular, this study described the pre-migration conditions (i.e., pre-migration contact as well as socio-demographic, cognitive, psychological, cultural, and social/institutional resources) of potential migrants, and how these relate to their pre-migration acculturation orientations and pre-migration adaptation.

To better capture the phenomena and processes involved at this specific stage, the concept of pre-acculturation was defined in this research as *“the changes experienced by a potential migrant after making the decision to emigrate, having contact (indirectly or directly) with the society of immigration, and starting preparations for the upcoming migration. This active process also includes the potential migrant’s adaptation to such changes prior to migration.”* (Original publication II, p. 500). Thus, pre-acculturation is seen here as an interactive process, following from pre-migration contact with the society of prospective immigration and its representatives, and resulting in pre-migration adaptation of various dimensions (i.e., psychological, socio-cultural, socio-psychological and work adaptation). Moreover, the present research emphasizes that pre-acculturation is an essential process involved in the action period of Tabor’s (2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) migration change model, which starts from making a decision to move abroad and lasts until the actual immigration.

To avoid criticism related to vague use of terminology among acculturation researchers (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Ward, 1996), in the present research, two well-known conceptual frameworks—that is, Berry’s acculturation framework (1990a, 1992, 1997) and Ward’s adaptation framework (2001; Ward et al. 2001)—were used as a basis for formulating concepts and models, as well as for organizing findings. These frameworks were employed to avoid the problems commonly faced in other empirical studies, where diverse factors have been proposed to explain immigrants’ adaptation without differentiating the precise psychological processes underlying its different dimensions (see Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind, 1992, 1996; Ward, 1996). Despite that the concepts and ideas provided by these frameworks have been highly functional in the present research, there was a clear need to develop them further to respond to criticism by Tartakovsky (2010) that both the theories (i.e., Berry, 1997, and Ward et al., 2001) “consider acculturation only after the immigrants’ arrival in the receiving country, while the immigrants’ interaction with the receiving country, and certainly with the homeland, actually begins long before crossing the physical borders” (p. 359-360).

In socio-psychological intergroup research (e.g., Swim et al., 1998; Vorauer, 1998, 2000), as well as in different kind of psychological theories of motivation, change and choice-making (e.g., the theory of planned behavior; Ajzen 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005; expectation confirmation model; Oliver, 1980) and theories of organizational behavior (e.g., the expectancy theory; Vroom, 1964; Porter & Lawler, 1968; the theory of met expectations; Porter & Steers, 1973) expectations and beliefs about future possibilities play an important role in determining attitudes and actions taken by an individual. Rather surprisingly, acculturation research has not paid attention to these anticipatory factors when predicting immigrant adaptation to a new country.

As the present research showed, migrants form attitudes, perceptions and expectations that relate to their upcoming adaptation to a new country already in the pre-migration stage of the migration process. Therefore, the present research states that the multidimensional nature of pre-migration adaptation should be better acknowledged and integrated into the existing frameworks of immigrant acculturation and adaptation. For example, Berry's acculturation framework should pay clearly more attention to different psycho-social factors "existing prior to acculturation" (cf. Berry, 1997, p. 21) instead of listing mere demographic and personal characteristics as well as other departure status factors. Moreover, both the Berry's framework and Ward's (2001; Ward et al., 2001) ABC model, traditionally used to distinguish between the psychological and socio-cultural dimensions of adaptation, need to better utilize the premises of the psychological theories behind these frameworks, namely the psychological model of stress (e.g. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and social learning approach (e.g., Bandura, 1977). These theories approach stress and learning as dynamic and sequential processes and leave room for a more elaboration for the anticipatory factors in these processes. Moreover, socio-psychological factors should be better incorporated in the theoretical models of immigrant adaptation including the pre-migration stage. For example, the results of the present research corroborate Liebkind et al.'s (in press) suggestion for a better conceptualization of the cognitive dimension of the ABC model as socio-psychological, as this dimension concerns factors that are not only cognitive in nature, such as outgroup attitudes. In addition, work adaptation (cf. Aycan, 1997a) should be included in the ABC model in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of the adaptation of labour migrants, particularly skilled voluntary migrants.

The present research also acknowledges the criticism targeted towards these theories for example by Rudmin (2009; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001) and, as such, one aim of this research was to provide methodological solutions to this issue. In addition to re-defining the concept of pre-acculturation as described above, the present research also introduced the concept of pre-acculturative stress. According to Rudmin (2009), the concept of acculturative stress is often confused with the concepts of relocation stress and culture shock (see e.g., Berry, 2006b), leading to serious misunderstandings and confusing results. In the present study, the acculturation framework was found to be particularly useful when studying the pre-acculturative stress (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2006b; Berry & Kim, 1988) and pre-migration acculturation orientations (e.g., Berry, 1990a, 1997; Berry et al., 1989, 2006) of voluntary migrants. However, two separate concepts of stress experienced in the pre-migration stage (i.e., pre-acculturative stress and relocation stress) have been used to refer to potential ethnic migrants' and SFEs' migration experiences. This has been done in order to conform to the

conventional usage of these concepts among acculturation and expatriate researchers, respectively. Importantly, however, both concepts were used to refer more clearly to the stress experienced before the actual move, and towards the exact situation (i.e., forthcoming immigration/relocation), instead of only capturing the general well-being or depression among potential migrants (see e.g., Rudmin, 2009).

In addition to the acculturation framework, Black et al.'s (e.g., Black, 1992; Black & Gregersen, 1991a&b; Black et al., 1991; Black et al., 1992a) research on expatriates' international (re)adjustment was used to avoid the acculturation framework's shortcomings described above. In their striving toward a theoretical framework on international adjustment, Black and colleagues acknowledge and further emphasize the role of accurate expectations for expatriate repatriation adjustment, as well as for adjustment which begins already in the expatriate's home country prior to relocation. According to them, individuals often attempt to re-establish a sense of control by reducing uncertainty in the new situation through predictive control, which refers to the ability to make sense of, or predict, one's environment in terms of how one is expected to behave, as well as the ability to understand and predict rewards and punishments associated with specific behaviours (e.g., Black et al., 1991, 1992a; see also Bell & Straw, 1989). Expectations, however, not only have an effect on how a stressful situation is evaluated, but also on whether or not future adaptation difficulties will come as a surprise. Accurate expectations may boost confidence, which, in turn, strengthens stress-coping skills in dealing with potentially stressful life changes (Ward et al., 2001). This makes the formation of expectations particularly important to study from the very beginning of the acculturation process.

In addition to applying these two main theoretical frameworks to the pre-migration stage, the present study utilized several other influential research traditions, such as Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (1979, 1986), and Schwartz's values theory (1992, 1994; see also Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). According to SIT, in their striving for positive self-esteem, individuals tend to identify more strongly with their ingroup. Further, people's willingness to cooperate with any group to which they belong flows from this identity formation they receive from their ingroup (Tyler & Blader, 2003). Similarly to the previous findings (e.g., Phinney et al., 2001), in this study, ethnic migrants identified more strongly with Finns than with Russians. However, it was rather surprising that it was not those migrants who had a strong Finnish identity (as would have been expected on the basis of the SIT), but those who had low Russian identity who held more pro-assimilation attitudes towards their future adaptation in Finland. As such, this result may reflect the special nature of ethnic return migration and especially, the minority status and discrimination faced by ethnic Finns in Russia. Applying the SIT to the SFE context, on the other hand, was highly functional and the full mediation effect between perceived organizational prestige, self-esteem and organizational identification could have been observed. This finding has important implications for theory, since organizational identification can be seen as a phenomenon that starts already long before entering the physical organization. Moreover, the results obtained supported also the SIT-based group engagement model (Tyler & Blader, 2003) by showing that the information SFEs received when in contact with their future hosts was related to their anticipations regarding the future intergroup relations.

By definition, values are an important dimension of acculturation and related change. However, the role of personal values and value congruence in testing the cultural fit hypothesis (Ward & Chang, 1997) and in predicting pre- and post-migration adaptation in general has so far been neglected in previous research. In the present research, Schwartz's theory of personal values (1992, 1994; see also Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987)¹⁷ was used to study whether potential migrants' personal values, perceived values of the hosts, and also the congruence between the two, would account for their anticipated socio-cultural adaptation. As found in the present research, in addition to contact with Finns and cognitive preparedness, values and especially value congruence revealed important factors associated with expected difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation and should hereby be considered when predicting indicators of socio-cultural adaptation dimension (or cognitive component as suggested by Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2001) of the ABC model.

Two rather different kinds of voluntary migrants were studied in this research: ethnic migrants from Russia and self-initiated foreign employees from EU countries. Even though both of these groups had gone through preparatory training of some kind, there were great differences between the groups and their preparations for moving to Finland. In the case of ethnic migrants, a relatively extensive cultural and language training was taken during preparatory immigration courses in Russia, whereas the SFEs received pre-departure cultural briefing and information of the new work assignment, as well as personal assistance when needed. While ethnic migration is usually intended to be permanent in nature (Ohliger & Münz, 2011, p. 14), labour migrants and international experts often return to their home countries or migrate to a third country at some point in their migration cycle. Therefore, the decision to move for ethnic migrants is based on more long-term plans of living in Finland, whereas SFEs will likely stay temporarily, which may also affect both their desire for and degree of (pre-)acculturation. It is also worth noting that the duration of pre-acculturation may differ across contexts—as was the case for the participants of this study. In most cases, the action period of ethnic migrants lasted more than a decade, whereas the mean lead-in time given to SFEs was less than a year. Moreover, the groups differed with regard to their pre-migration contact with the receiving society. While the representatives of the first group have mostly been in contact with Finnish immigration and local authorities (to obtain permits, housing, etc.), as well as with their social networks of friends and relatives in Finland, the pre-migration contact of the latter group was more about information exchange with Human Resources personnel of the ECHA and City of Helsinki authorities. In addition, another factor which may have affected the quality of pre-migration contact as perceived by these groups is the status differences of the two groups in Finland. Although most Finns welcome both international professionals and ethnic migrants to Finland (Ervasti, 2004; Jaakkola, 2005, 2009), their attitudes towards immigrants from Russia, including Ingrian Finns, are clearly less positive (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998). Here it must be

¹⁷ Here, it must be noted that in Schwartz has recently further elaborated his framework, adding two new values (face and humility), and dividing self-direction, power, security, conformity, benevolence and universalism values into more complex dimensions (Schwartz, 2011b). These very recent developments have not been taken into account in the present research. Instead, the Portrait values questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz et al. 2001) was used as it has been highly reliable and easily applicable to study value stereotypes (i.e., the perceived values of the hosts).

noted, however, that in the pre-migration context, it is rather difficult to assess the degree to which potential migrants perceive and/or are aware of the attitudes of the majority population of the receiving society outside the reception programme. At the surface the ethnic migrants may be considered as part of a common ingroup and more commonalities than differences may be stressed by the officials during the reception programme. However, potential migrants may be aware of cultural differences and experiences of discrimination via friends and relatives who migrated earlier. Such experiences may also be encountered only once they arrive to Finland and start interacting with Finns. (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Jurva, 2011.)

Ethnic migrants and highly skilled international employees are the main groups of skilled, voluntary migrants arriving to Finland. As presented above, pre-acculturation is typical especially for the voluntary migrants who have the time, opportunity, skills and motivation to prepare themselves for the move abroad. Even though it has been suggested that the “return” of Ingrian Finns resembles more economic migration than remigration in the traditional sense (Gulijeva, 2003), they usually do not arrive to Finland to fill any specific pocket of the labour market (rather, they often face unemployment in Finland; see Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Malinen, 1999, p. 196) and have no ready established connections with any employer organizations. Therefore, even though better socioeconomic status often serves as the most important motivator for their move (cf. Yijälä, 2010)—studying their pre-migration work adaptation is impossible in the pre-migration stage. Including the SFEs in this dissertation research made it possible to study also the work dimension of pre-migration adaptation, as this group of migrants had already strong connections established to the organizational context they were about to enter. Of particular interest was the crucial role of organizational support, which the ethnic migrants lacked, in relation to all dimensions of adaptation (i.e., psychological, socio-psychological and work adaptation) studied among the SFEs. Hence, while the pre-acculturation of these groups naturally involved different dimensions, it can be argued on the basis of the results of this research that both groups underwent a pre-acculturation that also demanded adaptation responses.

Contrary to previous research (e.g., Bürgelt et al., 2008; McKelvey, Mao, & Webb, 1992; Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a, 2009b), which has found that potential migrants are euphoric in the pre-migration stage of their migration process, it can be stated on a basis of the results of the present research that also pre-acculturation challenges one’s psychological resources and demands adaptation responses. As previous longitudinal studies have shown, pre-migration psychological well-being is related to post-migration psychological well-being among immigrants (Tartakovsky, 2007, 2009a). This is in accordance with the principle of psychological continuity, which states that psychological characteristics are at least partly preserved even in the situations where the social environment significantly changes (Shoemaker, 2003; as referred to in Tartakovsky, 2009b). As such, also other dimensions of pre-migration adaptation are likely reflected in later adaptation to a new country (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Mähönen, 2011; see also Tartakovsky, 2012; Searle & Ward, 1990). The importance of the pre-migration stage of the migration process, therefore, cannot be overemphasized (see also Black et al., 1992a). However, besides the studies of Tartakovsky (e.g., 2007, 2009a&b, 2012) among adolescents, up until now, there has been no previous, systematic research on pre-acculturation conducted among adult migrants in the preparatory stage of their migration process.

In this research, the pre-acculturation of migrants was found to be a complex and multidimensional phenomenon like post-migration acculturation (see also Black et al., 1992a) and partly explained by the same factors (e.g., stress and social support) described in previous post-migration acculturation literature (e.g., Berry, 1997). Thus, it is argued that research on the pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants needs to include a separate assessment of psychological, socio-cultural, socio-psychological and work dimensions of adaptation. Furthermore, the present research added to the list of factors proposed by Tabor (i.e., stress and coping; Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011) in relation to the action period of voluntary migration process. This research also showed a more complex interrelatedness between pre-acculturation factors in explaining pre-migration adaptation outcomes among voluntary migrants.

To summarize the contribution of this research, first, it showed the interactive nature of pre-acculturation. In particular, the amount and quality of pre-migration contact with Finns was shown to predict the level of pre-migration socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., attitudes towards future hosts) among SFEs and the level of pre-acculturative stress experienced by ethnic migrants. The latter effects were mediated via potential migrants' expectations about their future post-migration life (i.e., length of acculturation in the new country, nature of intergroup relations and socio-cultural difficulties faced). Moreover, ethnic migrants' perceptions of acculturation expectations of future hosts, both in regard to contact and culture maintenance, were related to their choice of pre-migration acculturation orientations. In addition, it was the value congruence between personal values and perceived values of the hosts that best predicted anticipated socio-cultural adaptation among ethnic migrants.

Second, this study showed the role of psychological resources and cognitive preparedness, in boosting pre-migration adaptation among both of the migrant groups studied. In particular, self-esteem was found to mediate the relationship between perceived organizational prestige and organizational identification among SFEs, supporting the self-esteem hypothesis of social identity theory (Tajfer & Turner, 1979, 1986). Further, perceived organizational prestige was related to SFEs' psychological well-being via self-esteem. In addition, in line with the empirical findings from the post-migration stage by De Cieri et al. (1991), relocation stress mediated the effect of organizational support (i.e., information, assistance and time given for preparations) on SFEs' psychological well-being, as well as on their socio-psychological adaptation (i.e., outgroup attitudes). The findings of SFEs also supplemented organizational support theory (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) by showing that organizational support is related to organizational identification via enhanced self-esteem.

The findings of the present research highlight the importance of pre-migration training also among ethnic migrants. Even though they did not have any organization providing them information and assistance, their cognitive preparedness, as well as the proficiency in Finnish language—both obtained from the remigration training and related language courses organized by Finnish authorities—were related to lower levels of pre-acculturative stress via anticipations of fewer socio-cultural difficulties and shorter duration of adaptation. Also self-efficacy was related to these expectations. These results clearly speak for the important role of support given for these two groups of privileged migrants to Finland.

Moreover, with regard to pre-migration acculturation orientations, general well-being accounted for the choice of a specific pre-migration acculturation orientation among potential

ethnic migrants. While those migrants with better general well-being adhered more to the assimilation orientation (i.e., displaying more interest towards the culture of Finland and contact with Finns), those with lower well-being adhered more to the separation—and rather interestingly also integration—orientations (i.e., displaying interest towards preserving Russian culture). As suggested by Tartakovsky (2009b), the cultural identities of people belonging to returning diasporas may differ from those of other groups of voluntary migrants. Therefore, these kinds of results may be typical for ethnic migrants who constitute an ethnic minority in their homeland and do not anticipate adapting to a new, unfamiliar culture but to a desired and familiar one of their “historical homeland.”

Third, this research showed that positive socio-cultural expectations of adaptation in the future host country (i.e., anticipatory socio-cultural adaptation) are associated with lower stress levels prior to ethnic migrants’ relocation. Factors that contribute to the formation of these positive expectations among potential ethnic migrants in the pre-migration stage were also identified. This kind of information is important since initial expectations are the basis on which subsequent judgments are formed (e.g., Brown, Venkatesh, Kuruzovich, & Massey, 2008; Irving & Montes, 2009), and having positive expectations prior to migration may indicate a good prognosis for post-migration psychological adaptation.

Fourth, the present research succeeded in producing new information about the cultural fit hypothesis by using perceived value congruence (see also Matsumoto et al., 1999; Van Vianen et al., 2004) instead of using more surface-level variables (e.g., more traditional cultural distance variables; see van Vianen et al., 2004) or mere group-level differences in country-level dimensions (as it has often been previously done in studies which did not find any connection between values and adaptation; cf. Ward & Searle, 1991) as predictors of anticipated socio-cultural adaptation. Based on the findings of this research, it seems that using perceived value congruence may clarify the role of values in relation to the cultural fit hypothesis.

To conclude, this research highlights that acculturation is a complex process that begins already at the pre-migration stage. As a whole, this dissertation research makes a valuable contribution to the existing acculturation and expatriation research by: 1) addressing the acculturation as experienced by potential migrants *prior to* their relocation to a new country, 2) showing the complexity of adaptation responses to an upcoming immigration, 3) identifying factors involved in the pre-acculturation and that are associated with pre-migration adaptation among two different groups of voluntary migrants, 4) providing a more dynamic socio-psychological perspective to the research on the pre-migration stage in general and pre-acculturation in particular, and 5) further developing the concepts of pre-acculturation and the related pre-migration adaptation.

8.2 Methodological concerns

While this research contributes to the existing literature on sojourner and immigrant acculturation, some limitations of the findings must be discussed. In the following section, the methodological concerns are discussed in terms of the samples, the validity of the scales and cross-cultural design of the study.

8.2.1 Samples

The special nature of migrants under study—that is ethnic migrants and highly skilled SFEs—leads to certain limitations when generalizing the results to other voluntary migrant groups. For example, the ethnic background of ethnic migrants may be related to a higher number of pre-acculturation contacts, more similar values profiles and stronger identification with the future home country and its citizens, as well as better proficiency in the future national language and knowledge about the country of immigration when compared to other, non-ethnic immigrant groups. As such, ethnic background may have an effect on a migrant's choice of a specific acculturation orientation, patterns of behaviour, and the relatively positive expectations held about post-migration adaptation (see e.g., Tartakovsky, 2007, 2008, 2009a&b). The second sample of interest in this research consisted of Europeans preparing for an international assignment in an EU agency. Therefore, the generalizability of the results to other sojourner samples (e.g., non-European samples) in a different company/institution, and samples consisting of employees outside of highly skilled professionals may be questioned. Nevertheless, the results of this study clearly showed the importance of pre-migration expectations, held perceptions, and other pre-acculturation factors in predicting migrants' pre-migration acculturation orientations and different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation among both of the migrant groups studied. Considering the strong theoretical rationale behind the hypotheses of this study, there is no reason to assume that the relationships now obtained using two kinds of samples would be less relevant to the pre-acculturation of other voluntary migrant groups. It is clear, however, that further studies conducted among ethnic migrants, SFEs, as well as other kinds of voluntary migrant groups are needed to verify the existence of pre-acculturative processes and deepen our understanding of this stage.

There was also quite a large difference in the sizes and gender distribution of the two samples of the present research. With regard to SFEs, relatively small sample size ($N = 95$) prevented us from comparing different nationalities. For the same reason, in Study IV, only a limited number of predictors were included in the model of highly skilled SFEs' pre-migration adaptation. Despite the relatively small SFE sample size, however, the study succeeded in observing strong and theoretically meaningful correlations. Furthermore, the even distribution of men and women in the SFE data used was a positive exception when compared with most expatriate studies, in which men are the majority (see e.g., Adler, 2000, p. 350-351; Caligiuri, Joshi, & Lazarova, 1999; Tung, 2004). With regard to ethnic migrants and their family members ($N = 325$), on the other hand, women constituted a clear majority, reflecting the natural gender distribution of this particular group of immigrants. Here, it must be noted that even though all the individuals who took part in the language courses at the time of the data collection were surveyed, it was not possible to control for any differences between those who answered the postal survey and those who did not. Further, it is likely that those potential migrants who already were familiar with the Finnish language, for example, by learning to speak Finnish at their homes, did not take part in the language courses but rather proved their language proficiency in the IPAKI test. Therefore, a potential nonresponse bias needs to be considered when generalizing the results to the larger population on Ingrian Finns and their family members planning their move to Finland.

8.2.2 Scales

There are no widely accepted measures of acculturation (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006, p. 142; Koneru et al., 2007; see also Rudmin, 2009; Nguyen, Messé, & Stollak, 1999, for a critical summary) and there are no established measures for assessing pre-migration stage variables, particularly pre-acculturation among voluntary migrants. Even though many of the measurements used in the present research had been previously used in the post-migration context only, the Cronbach alphas of the most measures used in the present research were high or moderately high ($\alpha > .70$). However, one possible limitation of the study is that a few of the measures used had values below this level ($\alpha = .52 - .69$). The measures with the lowest internal consistencies were the ones measuring perceived cultural similarity in Studies I ($\alpha = .52$) and III ($\alpha = .54$), and perceived values of a typical Finn in Study III ($\alpha = .53$). One reason for the low alpha of the perceived cultural similarity measure (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rohmann et al., 2006) may be due to asking participants to rate how different or similar they perceived Russia and Finland in a relatively large spectrum of the different areas of life (i.e., general similarity, culture, mentality, family life, and gender roles). With regard to the rather low reliability of the measurement of perceived openness to change value of a typical Finn, it must be noted that McCrae, Kurtz, Yamagata, and Terracciano (2011) have reviewed the psychometric shortcomings of Cronbach alpha and have shown that it is unrelated to the validity of NEO PI-R scales.

Another general limitation of this research relates to some of the variables used in this study that were assessed using single-item measures (e.g., expected duration of adaptation, quality of contact with Finns, and socio-economic status in Study II, as well as previous international work experience and outgroup attitudes in Study IV), which makes an evaluation of their reliability difficult. The rationale behind using these single-items was to keep the questionnaires brief enough to minimize the load and maximize the response rate. According to Wanous, Reichers, and Hudy (1997), the use of single-item measures is acceptable in cases the constructs measured are sufficiently narrow and unambiguous. Nevertheless, future research could explore the relationships found in this research more in-depth by using both multifaceted measurements and also qualitative research (which is currently being done with the INPRES data) to better understand pre-acculturation and related pre-migration adaptation among voluntary migrants.

Further, as often is the case in psychological studies, the data were collected using self-reported measures. As this research concentrated on psychological aspects of the immigrant pre-acculturation, such as experiences, expectations and perceptions of the potential migrants, which are rather difficult to study without asking the participants themselves, the use of self-reports is appropriate. Other sources such as spouses/other family members, peers and trainers could have been also consulted to achieve a less subjective account for the phenomena studied. However, as the participants of the present research were, in most of the cases, in the middle of their migration process and training (ethnic Finns) or recruitment processes (SFEs), efforts were made to protect the privacy of their immigration plans. Indeed, the context of this research may have influenced the responses of participants, even though they were informed about the confidential nature of the research. There are, however, some advantages of the chosen approach. For example, with regard to the results obtained for

cultural fit, a possible reason for the absence of effects of cultural fit in some previous studies on values (e.g., Ward & Searle, 1991) and the presence of effects in the present research may be the different technique used to assess personal values and compute value congruence. In this research, value congruence was based on the difference between ethnic migrants' personal values and the perceived values of a typical Finn. In comparison, previous studies have often used statistical formulas to compute differences in the profiles of the participants and their host countries, which implies that attributes discovered on a cultural level are directly—and often mistakenly (see Bond, 2002)—related to an individual level (see also Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009). In addition, according to the person-environment fit theory (Edwards, Caplan, & van Harrison, 1998), perceived environment is a more proximal predictor of attitudes than the actual environment. Therefore, this research assumed that even though the perceptions of potential migrants may not accurately reflect values commonly represented in Finnish society, they are, nevertheless, more proximal predictors of perceived differences in values than if the congruence was extracted from the country-level estimates.

8.2.3 The cross-cultural design

Causal inferences concerning the relationships between the predicting variables and different pre-migration adaptation dimensions must be made with caution, because the data used in this research are cross-sectional. However, it must be stated that the hypotheses tested in the pre-migration context were based on well-grounded theoretical frameworks (e.g. Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001; Schwartz, 1992, and Black et al., 1991, 1992a) and have received previous empirical support by a great amount of (mainly) post-migration studies conducted among sojourners and immigrants in various contexts. For example, in Study I, most of the factors studied were related to acculturation orientations already used in previous studies. In addition, with regard to structural equation modelling (Studies II and IV), the fit of the theoretical model provided support for the assumed causal relationships. Furthermore, in Study III, there was a strong reason to believe, based on the extensive amount of research on the cultural fit hypothesis, that it is the perceived fit between the immigrant and new surroundings that precedes adaptation and not vice versa. It is worth noting, however, that relationships between different kinds of predicting variables, covariates, mediators, and outcomes are not always that straightforward (see sections 4.2 and 5.2). Rather, many of the relationships analyzed in this study are interrelated and reciprocal. For example, in the present research, well-being acted as a covariate for pre-acculturative stress in the model of pre-acculturative stress (Study II), whereas relocation stress was seen to precede psychological well-being in the model of pre-migration adaptation of SFEs (Study IV).

Regardless of these limitations, which are common in cross-sectional studies, the present research highlights the importance of studying pre-acculturation. It also suggests that to fully understand the relationships between, for example, well-being and immigration, comprehensive studies at the pre-migration stage may help researchers understand the complexity of the findings. Obviously longitudinal studies, which include multiple assessments already at the pre-migration stage, are needed to better understand and predict these relationships in different pre-migration contexts.

8.3 Future perspectives and practical implications

The results of this dissertation research point to the importance of studying the conditions that are associated with the formation of acculturation orientations and different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation among voluntary migrants at the pre-migration stage of the migration process. In particular, this research shows that it is essential to identify the expectations and beliefs related to pre-migration acculturation orientations and adaptation, including stress reactions prior to migration. On the basis of this study, it is argued that intervention at the pre-migration stage is likely to give the best outcomes by promoting the most adaptive acculturation profiles. Such intervention should be aimed at increasing awareness about the acculturation context of the receiving society (i.e., about the immigration related challenges in general, as well as the culture of the country and the hosts' values and acculturation expectations, etc.), promoting positive pre-migration contact with the host society and encouraging migrants to develop socio-cultural skills to more accurately assess expected behaviours and develop pro-active attitudes towards one's own future adaptation. In the present research, these factors were found to reduce pre-acculturative stress and promote well-being among ethnic migrants, as well as develop organizational identification and positive intergroup attitudes towards the new country and its nationals among SFEs. With regards to later post-migration adaptation, the effects of the initial expectations may be twofold. They may have a mainly short-term effect on the early stages of post-migration adaptation or they may also predict long-term adaptation in the new country. Longitudinal studies, which include both pre-migration and several post-migration assessments are, thus, called for to verify the role of anticipatory adaptation for the later stages of the acculturation process.

Researchers have generally agreed that preparatory training leads to successful adaptation to a new country. This is understandable, as it may be easier for a potential migrant to start processing new information—not after immigration when he or she is possibly affected by several kinds of new stressors, or even worse, is experiencing a severe culture shock—but in a familiar context, prior to the actual move. Even though extensive pre-migration training programs are often costly and difficult to organize, based on the results of the present research, it is recommended that both the receiving society and organizations involved should foster favourable pre-migration adaptation. They may do so by ensuring that immigrants are not only attracted to migrate but also have enough time and support to prepare for their relocation, are equipped with the basic information about the new environment and its demands, and have appropriate language skills as well as the possibility for pre-migration contact with friendly and helpful representatives of the new society. The more complete and accurate the pre-migration adaptation, the greater the ease and speed of adaptation to the new country and organization will be (cf. Fisher, 1986). As such, fostering adaptation already in the pre-migration stage may actually be a cost-saving exercise over the long-term. With regard to future studies, however, it would be essential to examine more closely the role of training in pre-acculturation and pre- and post-migration immigrant adaptation by means of an intervention study. Further, longitudinal designs are obviously needed to fully observe the impact of pre-migration training on different dimensions of adaptation among different kinds of groups of voluntary migrants.

This research also highlights the importance of taking into account the personal characteristics of potential migrants, such as personal values, identities and self-concepts (e.g., self-esteem and self-efficacy), in studying pre-migration adaptation. Moreover, not only the characteristics of potential migrants, but also how these characteristics match those ascribed by potential migrants to the nationals of the society of immigration matter. More research is needed on the fit between an immigrant and the new society to clarify the role of congruence in values and attitudes in predicting immigrant adaptation. Future studies need to also include the measurement of deep cultural differences (i.e., values) when assessing cultural fit or congruence to better tackle the intragroup variability in the relationship between cultural characteristics and adaptation.

The present research opens several other paths for future research. For example, more attention must be paid to the formation of acculturation orientations and outgroup attitudes in the pre-migration stage, as well as how they develop after immigration. Other interesting topics for future studies include the role of multiple identities in predicting pre-migration adaptation among different kinds of groups of voluntary migrants. Based on the findings of this study, it seems that—in addition to the expatriate context as suggested by Sheroy (2007)—both ethnic migration and skilled labour migration may provide fruitful contexts for studying multiple identities. It may also be of use to study the formation of organizational identification already at the pre-migration stage, and to follow possible changes in organizational identification, along with other work-related identifications, in the post-migration stage. Moreover, in the light of the findings of the study, ethnic migrants greatly benefit from social support networks in Finland and elsewhere. Future studies could further investigate the sources of support and structure of support networks both in the country of emigration and immigration, starting from the pre-migration stage of the migration process.

Generally speaking, more research is needed to better understand and predict the pre-migration conditions that lead to the most adaptive pre-acculturation profiles and provide a favourable basis for post-migration adaptation in various migration contexts. Indeed, there is a need for more complex and in-depth analyses of the pre-migration stage—preferably longitudinal studies that include multiple assessments at different time points during the pre-migration stage of the immigration. Longitudinal research that combines the pre- and post-migration stages of the migration process would allow researchers to observe how the phenomena reported in this research continue to evolve. Also, qualitative research is needed in order to study voluntary migrants' accounts for, and interpretations of, pre-acculturative changes more in-depth.¹⁸ Future studies should also test these hypotheses among different kinds of samples of voluntary migrants, including labour migrants, international experts and season workers. Moreover, since there is a clear need for studies on self-initiated foreign employees in general, and on highly skilled SFEs in particular, future studies should examine SFEs' plans and preparations to work in different kinds of organizations in order to expand the generalizability of the findings. Furthermore, the results of this research suggest that to gain a better understanding of overall adaptation processes, an approach that simultaneously takes into account the different domains of adaptation both in the pre- and post-migration stages of the relocation process is required.

¹⁸ These objectives form the core of the longitudinal part of INPRES project.

Finally, this dissertation research focused on a variety of outcomes and their predictors. Here it must be, however, acknowledged that as the hypotheses of this research were drawn mainly from existing theoretical models and post-migration studies, many factors that may play an important role in pre-acculturation among these voluntary migrants still remain unexplored. For example, outcomes such as marital and economic adaptation and their possible predictors (e.g., family-related variables) were not integrated in the proposed model of pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants. As such, further studies are needed to identify these factors and to advance our understanding of the preparatory stage of the migration.

8.4 Concluding remarks

The European Union is facing a significant demographic shift as a result of a sharp decrease in fertility rates and longer life expectancies. The rapid aging of the population will have significant implications and consequences for the political, social and economic composition of the member countries, including Finland. The current situation has led to discussions about the sustainability of pension and health care systems, other financial pressures and labour market shortages leading inevitably to lower economic growth. In response to aging Europe and its labour shortages, skilled migration has emerged as a possible means of alleviating the economic consequences of demographic changes. (Gümüş, 2010.) In many countries (e.g., Israel, Finland, Germany, and Greece), economic gains have been achieved by ethnic migration activated after the collapse of the Soviet Union to the ancestral home countries of some specific ethnic groups (Jews, Germans, Ingrian Finns, and Pontiac Greeks).

The actual need for this replacement migration in Europe—defined as the international migration that a country would need to prevent declines in the size of both population in general and population of working age, as well as to level off overall aging of a population (UN, 2000)—is now greater than ever. According to UN projections, the countries of European Union (EU15) need 1.6 million foreign workers and professionals annually between 2010 and 2050 to simply keep up the current working-age population (UN, 2000). Consequently, according to the former Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, one of the biggest challenges for the European Union will be how it manages to cope with large volumes of immigrants in the decades to come. This requires each country to do more to integrate newcomers. Immigrants must adapt to their new societies and societies need to adapt too. If EU member countries are willing to invest energy for this challenge, immigration will enrich and strengthen them. However, if they fail to do so, it may result in a downward shift in living standards and social division (Annan, 2004.)

Globalization and increased mobility has led to a great diversification of migrant groups and profiles, introducing both new concepts and phenomena related to immigration. Labour migration no longer concerns only international workers with either very little education, such as manual workers, or highly qualified executive managers. Rather, new migrant profiles have evolved outside the traditionally defined categories of voluntary migrants, such as self-initiated foreign employees and other predominantly economically motivated groups of voluntary migrants, and these have challenged the traditional theoretical models of immigrant acculturation and adaptation. In particular, the concept of acculturation has been

questioned whether it best describes the intentions of, and changes experienced by, temporary migrants (e.g., Rudmin, 2009). In addition, the focus of researchers has only recently included the pre-migration or remigration stage. Significantly for the present research, the pre-migration stage factors in previous studies have been often taken for granted without questioning where and how exactly the specific phenomena studied in the post-migration stage started to form in the first place. Obviously, more integrative and innovative research is needed to respond to the challenging task of attracting and integrating immigrants from various backgrounds.

To respond to these needs, the present research focused on producing new information about voluntary migrants' pre-acculturation and the related pre-migration adaptation among two different kinds of groups of voluntary migrants preparing for their move to Finland: ethnic migrants of Ingrian Finnish background and self-initiated foreign employees recruited to the European Chemicals Agency from EU member states. The main purpose of this dissertation research was to advance existing knowledge on pre-acculturation of these two understudied groups of skilled voluntary migrants to better understand acculturation starting from the preparatory stage. This was done by proposing a conceptual model of factors involved in voluntary migrants' pre-acculturation and testing the hypotheses of the proposed conceptual model. To do so, this research focused on several factors, most of which were previously associated with immigrants' post-migration adaptation outcomes only. This research showed that the factors identified actually start to form and affect the adaptation of migrants already in the pre-migration stage of the migration process. Importantly, the findings of the present research emphasize the multidimensionality (see e.g., Ward, 2001; Ward et al., 2001) of adaptation responses by showing that immigrant acculturation is a complex process that begins already at the pre-migration stage and involves at least four different dimensions of pre-migration adaptation. Moreover, the results of the present research highlight that, when studying the associations between the pre-acculturation conditions such as potential migrants' contact experiences or (socio-)psychological resources and their pre-migration adaptation, attention must be paid to the pre-acculturation during the pre-migration stage itself, and not retrospectively, as it has typically been done in the past. This is an essential step in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the factors predicting these phenomena and their formation in the pre-migration stage.

In conclusion, the pre-migration stage in general and the pre-acculturation of voluntary migrants in particular should be given more attention in both acculturation and expatriate literature. On the basis of this dissertation research, potential migrants are involved in the complex process of acculturation that begins already at the pre-migration stage, and this pre-acculturation is related to their adaptation towards an upcoming migration. A comprehensive understanding of the pre-acculturation among voluntary migrants is seen as a means of promoting the most adaptive acculturation profiles at the earliest stage of the migration process.

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