

THE LINGUISTIC JOURNEY OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

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By

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ABSTRACT

Immigration to a new country begins with a process of adapting into a new society which is also known as acculturation (Berry, 1997). The study focuses on one type of integration strategy described by Berry (1997) strategies as the bidimensional model of acculturation, which refers to an orientation to support both home and host cultures.

The number of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada is growing (Statistics Canada, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2016). However, relatively few studies have explored the experiences of this particular immigrant population. The present research aims to describe the linguistic journey of Russian-speaking immigrants, particularly the connections between the language use by Russian-speaking immigrants and an acculturation process experienced by them after moving to Canada. Specifically, it examines the ways that Russian-speaking immigrants adapt to Canadian society, learn English and French, and at the same time maintain the culture of their home country and preserve the Russian language.

My findings are based on the responses of 100 Russian-speaking immigrants from seven provinces in Canada who took part in an online questionnaire which contained questions about linguistic use and preferences, adaptation process, and immigration experience. The data were analyzed using Chi-square test and Pearson correlation. The study shows that the surveyed Russian-speaking immigrants can successfully balance between supporting both cultures and languages. The results also demonstrate that the importance of English / French learning and maintenance of Russian among participants changes over time, with priority shifting from learning English to maintaining Russian.

Actions that can help to ease adaptation include the active use of the official languages, learning the history and cultural aspects of Canada, and the use of local media. The home culture can be maintained by using the Russian language more, having Russian-speaking friends, reading books and watching movies in Russian. The present study expands the acculturation theory of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada and can be used in creating a better environment for newcomers.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Canada is a home for many people from different countries. According to the World International Report 2018, in 2015, Canada had the seventh largest number of residents born outside the country. The number of immigrants is increasing every year. In 2000, 18% of the population was foreign-born, while by 2010 the proportion of foreign-born was 20.5%. In 2015, this number has increased to 22% (World International Report 2018).

Immigrants play an important role in a host country. In a report on immigrants in the developing countries, the OECD/ILO (2018, p. 3) stated that immigrants contribute to three spheres of the economy – “the labour market, economic growth and public finance.” Immigrants help to fill low-quality jobs and also increase employment by starting a business (OECD/ILO, 2018). According to the US Commissioner Luis A. Aguilar (2013), immigrants significantly contribute to the economy. He points out that immigrants are engaged in various spheres of the industry in both low-skilled and high-skilled sectors, which helps to create jobs. In addition, many immigrants have advanced degrees and are therefore indispensable for the growth of the country’s competitiveness (Aguilar, 2013).

In Canada, immigrants work, pay taxes, buy goods and houses, use transportation, and thus, they are helping the Canadian economy (Immigration, 2020). The number of entrepreneurs is higher among immigrants than Canadian-born (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2017). The increase in businesses helps Canada to innovate within the country and find new trade ties with other countries (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2017).

In 1971, Canada introduced the policy of multiculturalism and was the first country to do so (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). Later, in 1988, another law, called the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, was created (Berry, 2013). Multiculturalism means that all people are equal and valued in Canadian society (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). As the Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, said on the Canadian Multiculturalism Day in 2020, “All Canadians – regardless of ethnicity, religion, culture, or language – have the right [not justly entitled right] to be true to who they are, and to live peacefully as friends, neighbours, and colleagues” (Trudeau, 2020). Moreover, with multiculturalism, people can and are encouraged to keep their ethnic identities and cultural heritage, which makes the society more diverse (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Multiculturalism can contribute to positive attitudes towards immigrants by the native population as well (Berry, 2013). Canada tries to attract new immigrants by having various immigration programs that can give people a permanent status such as Federal Skilled Worker, Canadian Experience Class, Quebec Immigration, Provincial Nominee Program (She & Wotherspoon, 2013). These programs are mainly aimed at settling sparsely populated areas and provinces and attracting young, educated, and skilled immigrants (Mann, 2017).

Among the increased newcomers to Canada, Russians are a non-visible minority immigrant group underrepresented in research (Safdar et al., 2011). This thesis addresses this issue through a research design that focuses on Russian-speaking immigrants and describes their language and cultural integration process.

1.1. Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada

The number of people with Russian descent in Canada is growing every year. In the last decade, this group increased from 550,520 people in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011) to 622,445 in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016), i.e., 13% gain over a five years' span. The number of speakers of Russian as an immigrant or heritage language is on the rise as well, supported not only by immigrants from the Russian Federation but from other countries where Russian is spoken as a mother tongue. In 2011, the number of Canadian residents/citizens who spoke Russian as a mother tongue was 169,950 individuals (Statistics Canada, 2011), and 5 years later (2016) this number increased by 15.3% reaching 195,915 people.

The immigration of Russian speaking populations to Canada can be explained by many factors, such as high quality of life in this country, acceptance of other races and ethnic groups, high level of education, and a better ecological environment. HDI (Human Development Index) comparing life quality, education, and life expectancy in different countries, placed Canada as number 12, and Russia as number 49 out of 189 countries in 2017 (Human Development Reports, 2018). Racial and ethnic tolerance level in Canada is also higher than in Russia: less than 5% of Canadians as opposed to 15-20% of Russians prefer to live near people of the same race (Fisher, 2013). According to the EPI (Environment Performance Index) survey of 180 countries of the

world, environmental health and ecosystem vitality in Canada were ranked as number 25, and in Russia – as 52 (Environment Performance Index Results, 2018).

The following chapters will present the literature review, rationale of the study, detailed methodology explanation, report, and discussion of results, more precisely the analysis of experience of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada, their linguistic choice, and cultural adaptation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of previous research and social experiences related to Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada and other countries, framed in relation to the analysis of acculturation. Since immigration is closely related to acculturation, I begin with a description of acculturation processes in general and features of linguistic acculturation. Further on, I will provide an overview of previous research on Russian-speaking immigrants and discuss how the Russian language and culture are preserved in Canada.

2.1. Acculturation

Immigration to a new country by an individual starts a process of adaptation which refers to various changes caused by a new environment (Berry, 1997). This process is also known as acculturation which is a cultural change that a person goes through due to contact with a different culture (Birman et al., 2014; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). A large population of immigrants experiences acculturation to some extent (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), because they have to adapt to a different society and life in their new home country (Birman et al., 2014). Acculturation also influences person's functions in society and one's psychological well-being (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

2.1.1. Different models of acculturation

Various models have been created to describe the process of acculturation. Many researchers differentiate between "unidimensional" and "bidimensional" acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000; Goforth et al., 2014; Moni et al., 2018). Unidimensional acculturation means that the person accepts the culture of the host country slowly growing distant from the home culture (Yoon et al., 2013). However, the unidimensional model of acculturation is unable to explain all the changes that occur during acculturation; this approach is also insufficient in describing the connection between acculturation and adaptation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). One of the main disadvantages of this model is that it does not allow for possibilities and practices that support both cultures – home and host ones – at the same time (Kang, 2006). However, when self-identifying, many immigrants describe themselves as belonging to both cultures, for example, Chinese

Americans or Mexican Americans (Kang, 2006; Nguyen & von Eye, 2002). Since the bidimensional model does not have such a limitation, it has become more widely used in various studies on acculturation (Kang, 2006).

According to the bidimensional approach, an immigrant does not necessarily have to reject his/her own culture (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). It is possible to maintain the culture of the home country and at the same time to adapt to the culture of the host country (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2004, p. 21). In contrast to the unidimensional model, the bidimensional approach considers cultural involvements separate from each other and not opposed to one another (Nguyen & von Eye, 2002). Within this approach, people can be described as having bicultural identities, or no clear cultural identities, if they do not feel they belong to any specific culture or are not interested in cultural identities (Kang, 2006). In recent years, many researchers followed a bidimensional approach over a unidimensional one (Antonova-Unlu et al., 2015; Birman et al., 2014; Gonzalez & Mendez-Pounds, 2018; Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Shishkin, 2010; Kasatkina, 2010).

Most of the research on acculturation is based on Berry's theory (Yoon et al., 2013). Berry's bidimensional model of acculturation (1997) describes four acculturation strategies:

1. *integration* – equally preserving the native culture and adopting another one;
2. *assimilation* – the process when people do not support their home culture and try to interact more with other cultures;
3. *separation* – that is the wish to preserve a home culture and unwillingness to communicate with other cultures;
4. *marginalization* – the lack of interest in any of the cultures.

Immigrants who choose integration strategy (bicultural) do not follow the same path even if they come to one country and have similar background. They adopt and maintain different features from both cultures (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Despite the individual differences in the selection of the cultural elements from the home and the host countries, overall, being bicultural helps to adapt better than associating with only one culture (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Adaptation and acculturation are related to each other – individuals following the integrated model adapt better than those who choose the assimilation, separation, or marginalization ways

(Sam & Berry, 2010). Furthermore, low or zero interest (marginalization) in both cultures can lead to a lower adaptation (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

Another influential model in acculturation theory is domain-specificity (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006). Domain-specificity accounts for varying degrees of acculturation in different areas of life, such as public and private life domains (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011; Kennedy & MacNeela, 2013; Hui & Lent, 2017; Stephens, 2020). A person may sometimes adapt only to certain life domains, for example, to adapt to the work domain and not to the family relationships domain (Birman et al., 2014). Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver (2006, p. 145) divide domain-specificity into three levels:

1. the first level refers to a cluster of domains – “the public (functional, utilitarian) and the private (social-emotional, value-related) domain”;
2. the second level refers to specific life domains (language for public domain and marriage for private domain);
3. the last level refers to a specific situation (people can maintain their culture or support the culture of a new country differently depending on various situations).

Bornstein in his work (2017) expands on the theory of domain-specificity theory providing five terms that make the acculturation process more specific:

1. *setting conditions* (reason to migrate, place of migration, experience, status);
2. *people* (gender, personality, individual-difference characteristics);
3. *times* (age, penetration and adjustment, history);
4. *processes* (socialization, learning, instruction, opportunity, transaction);
5. *domains of acculturation* (multidimensionality, dynamic adaptability).

The specificity principle describes immigrants' acculturation experience in more detail than the bidimensional approach (Bornstein, 2017). It highlights individual aspects of acculturation associated with a specific person's life experiences (Bornstein, 2017) which allows us to look at each immigrant's experience and understand one's acculturation process better.

Another approach to acculturation is described in a study by Schwartz et al. (2010). The authors suggest that acculturation should be seen as a multidimensional process that consists of “the confluence among heritage-cultural and receiving-cultural practices, values, and identifications” (Schwartz et al., 2010, p. 237). It means that in order to describe the acculturation process in more detail, we should look at practices (such as usage of languages and media, customs and traditions), values (such as familism, individualism and collectivism), and identifications (ethnic identity and attachment to the ethnic group) in both home and host cultures (Schwartz et al., 2010).

2.1.2. Aspects of acculturation

Acculturation can be a long and complex process that will differ from person to person (Halgunseth et al., 2006; Gonzalez & Mendez-Pounds, 2018) as it takes time for people in a new country to get used to the new culture and its aspects.

When an immigrant first arrives in a new country, he/she may have a culture shock (Balidemaj, 2016) which can be seen as the first phase of acculturation (Landry, 2018) and can cause confusion and anger (Balidemaj, 2016). Not all immigrants can cope with the stress of living in a new country (Falavarjani & Yeh, 2018). Some people experience distress and frustration and try to avoid intercultural contacts (Zee et al., 2016). Culture shock may be less stressful if the immigrant moves to a place where he/she already knows someone, or if a large number of people from his/her country are living there (Al Wekhian, 2016). One of the frequent reasons for distress is the local food: the taste, appearance, and smell that differs from the ones in their home country may cause people to feel fear of trying new things (Rudmin, 2010). However, if both cultures or their aspects are similar to each other, the whole process of acculturation will be faster and less stressful (Kashima & Abu-Rayya, 2014). Adaptation involves only those aspects of the host culture that are different from the home culture (Demets & Geeraert, 2014).

The country of destination also plays an important role in the acculturation process. People with a similar background may not adapt to a new society the same way if they move to different places. A study by Yagmur & Van de Vijver (2012) focuses on Turkish immigrants in four countries – Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. In Australia, Turkish participants

identify with the dominant culture at a high level, and give low priority to the identity, language, and culture of the home country. In the Netherlands, participants display integration features – they support and identify with both cultures. In France, Turkish immigrants do not support their home culture or language, however, they do identify with the Turkish group. Those participants who live in Germany tend not to identify with the mainstream culture and try to maintain the home culture (Yagmur & Van de Vijver, 2012).

Another factor that should be taken into account in acculturation is whether an immigrant feels that he or she is discriminated against in a host society. Some immigrants face discrimination, hostility (Wotherspoon, 2018), and disrespect because they do not speak the language or have an accent (Yoo et al., 2009). Discrimination is one of the reasons why immigrants can feel unequal in society (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). However, it is important to keep in mind that discrimination is not always related to the immigration status but rather to other factors or combination of different factors, such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, position, and others.

2.1.3. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a policy is expected to support immigrants in learning the new culture as well as help them to maintain the culture of their home country (Lutz, 2017; Pelletier-Dumas et al., 2017). A multicultural society helps people feel more supported and helps to minimize conflict (Sam & Berry, 2006).

Multiculturalism has two core elements – cultural diversity and equitable participation in society (Berry, 2016, p. 5). The absence of the first element in society would lead to separation and the second to assimilation. When both elements are missing, then marginalization occurs. Therefore, the diversity and equal participation of cultural groups in society is very important for multiculturalism and hence for integration (Berry, 2016).

The study by Berry & Sabatier (2010) focuses on a comparison of second-generation immigrant youth in Canada, which has the policy of multiculturalism, and in France, which has an assimilationist policy. The study shows that people feel less discrimination in Canada than in France. Unlike France, Canada appears to be more tolerant and officially supports the right to maintain some elements of the home cultures (Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

However, there is another side of encouraging newcomers to support their home culture. Immigrants' home cultures may differ from the host one in multiple aspects, such as family foundations, social behaviour, ways of doing business, and others. People in a given society become culturally embedded (Teo, 2003) and build their lives through the prism of their culture no matter where they live. In Canada, immigrants are encouraged to support their culture and identity (Lutz, 2017). On the other hand, multiculturalism policy cannot point out what aspects of immigrant cultures should be supported. Some customs and traditions of their home countries pursued by immigrants can go against the Canadian laws and universal humanistic values (Helmich et al., 2017). This hidden side of multiculturalism may make it harder for immigrants to adapt to a new culture (Mason, 2017). One of the solution is transculturalism that focuses on the similarities and common ideologies between different cultures (Kreuzer et al., 2017). So, there should a balance between supporting home cultural aspects and adapting to the Canadian culture and values in order to minimize disagreement and have a united society.

2.1.4. Self-identity

Immigration often changes people, their worldviews, how they see themselves, and their identity (Schwartz et al., 2006). Many immigrants struggle with self-identification (Thet, 2016) and cultural identity, that is with their sense of belonging to one or more cultures (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012, p. 84). As people try to fit better into a new environment and society, their identities may change in the process. Awareness of one's identity and its change could help with a better adaptation to a new society and building a stronger connection with it (Thet, 2016).

2.1.5. The influence of the media in the integration process

The Internet, social media, press, and other mass media are important for immigrants because they help people to adapt to the new culture as well as to stay connected with their homeland (Woldeab, 2013; Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Kizgin et al., 2017). Through mass media, one can easily and quickly get the news, watch movies and read books in different languages. In a new country, immigrants are more likely to use the mass media of the host country and the usage of the media from their home country decreases over time (Dalisay, 2012). This process results with a

higher proficiency in the language of the host country (Dalisay, 2012). For example, a study by Li & Tsai (2015) shows that if Hispanics use English-language websites, it helps them to assimilate to the US culture. By contrast, if they choose Spanish social media, they feel more connections with the Hispanics' ethnic cultural identity (Li & Tsai, 2015).

The relationship between social media and acculturation is also demonstrated in a study by Yu et al. (2019) according to which Chinese students in the UK who are using social media are more confident with their English usage. Social media also assist immigrants to ease the culture shock, as through the social media immigrants can ask for any advice and find friends in a new country (Yu et al., 2019). Interestingly, as compared to immigrants relying only on the social media from their home country, users of Facebook show less acculturative stress, a higher level of psychological well-being, and are more likely to stay in the host country (Park et al., 2014).

2.1.6. Linguistic acculturation

Language plays a significant role in acculturation (Marsiglia et al., 2011; Pot et al., 2018). Several previous studies have focused on linguistic problems and the importance of the language of the host country for immigrants (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Isurin, 2011; Reeves, 2015).

It is easier to integrate into the host society by acquiring the majority language skills (Zorlu & Hartog, 2018). Good knowledge of a language of a country where a person lives gives more chances to find a better job and vice versa – poor or lack of knowledge of the language can cause problems in finding a job in a host country (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003). Language can also help immigrants with the improvement of their social welfare (Ellyson et al., 2016, p. 137) and the advancement of their socio-economic mobility in a host county (Zorlu & Hartog, 2018). Moreover, the use of the host language can positively influence immigrants' physical health in the long term (Tegegne, 2018).

Without language skills, immigrants have difficulties with access to services and social support (Stewart et al., 2011). Immigrants need to know the language of the host country in order to use it for wider communication, for example, to buy groceries, go to the doctor, pay bills, or talk to neighbours (Reeves, 2015). Poor knowledge of the dominant language of the host country can affect immigrants when they need health care because the interaction between them and a doctor

can be more difficult and hence patients are less satisfied with medical treatment (Becerra et al., 2015). Language barriers may also cause problems in the perception of what is happening around them, as the information in newspapers and booklets and other media outlets is written in the language of the host country (Stewart et al., 2011).

On the other hand, increased proficiency in the dominant language can also be seen as a threat to the maintenance of the home culture (Zachrisson, 2014). For many bilingual immigrants, the language of the home country is more important than the dominant language because of its connection with identity, culture, and religion (Sevinc, 2016). If an immigrant's identity is centered around the home culture, he/she is more likely to use and value the language of the home country more (Yagmur & Van de Vijver, 2012). Immigrants who do not use the host language at home, with friends or colleagues tend to have more contacts within their ethnic group (Tegegne, 2018) and usually do not have the sense of belonging to the host country only (Hou et al., 2018) which can slow down the acculturation process.

Many factors impact an immigrant's ability to speak another language. Van Tubergen & Wierenga's (2011) study of Turkish and Moroccan male immigrants in Belgium and of their L2 Dutch and/or French proficiency shows that L2 skills are higher among those immigrants who are more educated (particularly the ones who get the education in Belgium), moved to Belgium at a younger age, have lived in the host country for a longer period of time, or live with fewer people from their home country (Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011).

Settlement intentions are important in proficiency in the host country's dominant language as well (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). People who plan to return to their country of origin are less encouraged to learn the dominant language and feel more connected with their home cultural identity than those who decide to stay permanently (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009).

Another factor in immigrants' dominant language proficiency is the nationality of a partner and especially the language that people use with their partners. If a person is married to someone who was born in the country where they moved, the whole acculturation process will be faster and less stressful (Furtado & Theodoropoulos, 2010; Lichter et al., 2015). Moreover, if partners communicate in the language of the host country, it is easier for an immigrant to become proficient in that language. Although many immigrants prefer to marry a person from the same ethnic group because of the same language, similar background, religion, and cultural aspects, intermarriage has

many benefits in the acculturation process. Intermarriage also positively influences economic assimilation (Chi, 2015). Therefore, people whose partner is not in their ethnic group and does not speak the language of the immigrants' country of origin tend to integrate easier and speak the dominant language better (Meng & Gregory, 2005; Nottmeyer, 2015).

When partners move to another country together, they have to choose what language they wish to use at home; however, it is a difficult decision for immigrants (Kasatkina, 2011). If both partners have one mother tongue and immigrate together, they are more likely to use this language at home in the new country (Chiswick & Miller, 2014). This decision gets more complicated when there are children in the family because children's language preference and parents' perception of linguistics ideals, benefits, their language skills and experience should be taken into account (Lutz, 2008).

Along with acquiring the dominant language, many immigrants usually try to maintain the language of the country of origin (Ng, 2007). However, this may not be an easy task, since proficiency in the majority language may negatively affect the maintenance of the language of the home country (Atari, 2013). As mentioned earlier, with modern technologies, such as the Internet, telephone, emails, and SMS, people can easily maintain the culture, language, and contacts with the family and friends who stayed in the home country, so geographical distance is no longer an obstacle (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007). Also, the home country's language is maintained better when there is a big ethnic group in the society and when speakers are using it (Yagmur & Van de Vijver, 2012; Vervoort et al., 2012). The more opportunities a person has to use the language at home, with friends, and outside the family – on the street, at work, or in a store, the easier it is for a person to maintain the language (Bortolato, 2012).

However, a study by Fauser et al. (2015) demonstrates that maintenance of the language of the country of origin does not always make immigrants' lives better as it can lead to low economic, cultural, or social capital. It can also prevent people from learning and using the majority language (Vervoort et al., 2012).

The attrition of the first language may happen already among first-generation immigrants, however, this process is neither inevitable, nor uniform (Cherciov, 2011). In most cases, attrition manifests as a decrease of the lexicon (Cherciov, 2011; Ghafarpour & Dabaghi, 2017). More frequent use of the dominant language and lack of input of the language of home culture will cause

the L1 language attrition and vice versa (Kargar & Rezai, 2014). So in order to maintain their mother tongue, immigrants need to actively use it during their everyday life – at home, in the work, with friends, online, etc.

A correlation between language attrition and duration of stay in the host country has been observed in earlier research (Mehdiabadi et al., 2020). Long-term immigrants are more likely to have attrition than short-term ones, particularly with respect to difficulties with idiomatic expressions. The study also demonstrates that all immigrants undergo some attrition in their first language (Mehdiabadi et al., 2020).

However, another research study (Cherciov, 2011) shows that the attrition of the mother tongue may not happen in immigration necessarily. Cherciov's (2011) study focuses on Romanian immigrants in Canada, and L1 attrition and L2 acquisition in their written texts and speech. Personal background factors such as the age of emigration, language choice, and the combination of other factors can be the reason for L1 attrition or L2 acquisition. Moreover, even after many years, Romanian immigrants have more or less the native level of proficiency in the Romanian language as it was before the immigration (Cherciov, 2011).

2.2. Previous research on Russian-speaking immigrants

Russian speaking immigrants, like all immigrants, often experience the acculturation process as stressful, occurring over a lengthy period of time. Similar to other immigrants, Russian-speaking immigrants in the US go through some phases in the adjustment process (Khromina, 2014). First, they are excited and optimistic about life in the US, however, with time they start to feel isolated and miss home, friends, and family who stayed in a home country. The emotional support from their loved ones and the feeling that they belong to a family unit help them to survive this phase; Khromina (2014) observes that after five years of living in the US participants get used to the new lifestyle, they have a sense of stability and life becomes easier

Another challenge that immigrants might encounter is discrimination (Wilkes & Wu, 2019), and Russian immigrants are no exception. Some of them feel unwelcome in the host countries. Discrimination can happen at schools – some children are mocked, insulted, and excluded from the communication circles because they are children of immigrants. (Shovkovyy, 2020). This can lead

to the separation that will lead to low self-esteem, feelings of isolated and helplessness (Maydell-Stevens et al., 2007).

Other important aspects of integration are employment and education. As immigrants leave behind almost everything when they move to a new country, they have to start from the beginning there. A study of Russian-speaking immigrants in Australia (Shovkovyy, 2020) demonstrates that due to their limited finances upon arrival in the country, finding employment is highly important for them. It is not easy for participants to find work because employers want to hire people who already know the Australian working system. It means that it is difficult to find the first job because you need to have local work experience and local recommendations. Also, high proficiency in English is needed to apply for a job that not all new immigrants have (Shovkovyy, 2020).

The level of education is important when Russian-speaking immigrants are moving to another country (Maydell-Stevens et al., 2007; Shovkovyy, 2020). Sociocultural adaptation is positively associated with the level of education of immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008). However, a high level of education does not always lead to a high level of employment among immigrants (Mikko, 2011). Russian immigrants in Finland in general are more educated than Finns, although, they still struggle with the employment problem the same as Finns do (Mikko, 2011). Also, some countries do not recognize international diplomas (Grigoryev, 2015). Russian-speaking immigrants in Australia cannot have their education accepted there (Shovkovyy, 2020). Such a problem usually causes “loss of self-confidence and disappointment by the country that upholds such a system of hidden discrimination” among immigrants (Shovkovyy, 2020, p. 156).

In New Zealand, for example, many immigrants, including Russian-speaking ones, have to either work in low-skilled jobs or re-qualify because their qualification is worthless in some cases (Maydell-Stevens et al., 2007). However, working in low-skilled jobs can be stressful for many people who are well-educated and occupied a high level position in their home country (Maydell-Stevens et al., 2007). Re-qualifying in its turn requires time and money that many newcomers do not have (Shovkovyy, 2020).

Other studies also emphasize the role of employment in the integration process of Russian-speaking immigrants (Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret, & Ward, 2007; Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017; Marjutenkova, 2019). Many immigrants can be denied a job because of their foreign names (Marjutenkova, 2019). This can be caused by various stereotypes and prejudices about Russian

speakers as some people may believe that they have bad education, worse experience, and different mentality (Marjutenkova, 2019) that can be an obstacle in the working process.

Gender plays a role in the acculturation process among Russian-speaking immigrants. Earlier research shows that Russian female immigrants tend to adapt more readily than male immigrants (Mendez, 2019). This can be explained by women being more open to a new country and willing to learn about foreign culture (Mendez, 2019). However, the discrepancy in assimilation levels between wives and husbands among Russian families in the US has led to less satisfaction in a marriage (Kisselev et al., 2010). If men have low knowledge of the host country's language, women are the ones who have to find jobs and acquire economic power, which goes against the traditional gender roles in Russian families (Kisselev et al., 2010).

Some other factors also may influence the acculturation process for Russian-speaking immigrants. Marjutenkova (2019) emphasizes the personal qualities in the acculturation process: immigrants who are more flexible, open, active, and self-motived adapt to a new society faster and easier. The ability to accept new customs, new ways of thinking, and new rules positively relates to the integration (Marjutenkova, 2019).

The length of stay in the host country also positively relates to the socio-economic adaptation. Russian-speaking immigrants in Belgium who have lived in the country for more than five years are more socio-economically adapted and, thus, feel more integrated and earn more (Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017). This may happen because immigrants need time to find a local job and improve language skills (Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017).

In a new country, it often happens that Russian-speaking immigrants facing any difficulties seek help in the Russian diasporas (Shovkovyy, 2020). Communication with Russian speakers can make the first few months easier because of the same language and background. Within a Russian diaspora, they can ask for advice about doctors, find a nanny for their children or even first employment (Shovkovyy, 2020). However, some people get used to such communities and do not try to assimilate and find help among natives or immigrants from other countries (Shovkovyy, 2020). It is easier for them to talk to people they already know and who also speak Russian. Thus, this can lead to separation from other Canadian groups, and the integration or assimilation will not occur (Shovkovyy, 2020). A study by Vinokurov et al. (2019) shows that those Russian-speaking

immigrants who are living in the dense ethnic community in the US acculturate less than those living in the dispersed community which also results in alienation and acculturative stress.

Some Russian-speakers may have friendship with immigrants from other countries because they had the same experience of coming to a new society, they face the same problems and have the same status in a country (Marjutenkova, 2019). Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada try to maintain their identity among friends and family but not in the public sphere (Rogova, 2020, p. 174). Also, Russian-speaking immigrants often choose partners from their ethnic group, thus intermarriage is less common than homogamy (Hannemann et al., 2018).

As was described above, Russian-speaking immigrants can ease their adaptation process by using the language of a host country every day, choosing non-Russian speaking friends, being open to everything new. However, by adjusting to a new culture, one can find it difficult to maintain their own culture.

Some of other aspects that help Russian-speaking immigrants to maintain their language and culture are Russian-speaking media, various Russian organizations that help and support immigrants, and government policy such as multiculturalism that encourages immigrants to maintain their culture and language (Usuyama, 2015). Also, increased immigration from Russian-speaking countries makes it easier to socialize in Russian in a growing circle of acquaintances (Usuyama, 2015). In addition, socializing within families with parents and grandparents help children to form the Russian worldview and feeling of belonging to Russian culture. Local activities, parties, picnics, and other Russian-speaking events are also factors in preserving the culture and especially the language.

Despite the various problems in a new country, Russian-speaking immigrants manage to integrate into the new society, adapt to the culture, keep their home culture, and preserve the Russian language. Antonova-Unlu et al. (2015) examines Russian immigrants in Turkey. The research shows that Russian immigrants are integrated into the Turkish society and are bi-cultural. They maintain the Russian language and culture as a part of their identity and want their children to speak the language as well. At the same time, they accept the Turkish society, can speak the language and support the culture (Antonova-Unlu et al., 2015).

The study on language and culture maintenance (Shishkin, 2010) shows that Russian-speaking immigrants can adapt to the host culture and maintain their home culture at the same time. In both studies, younger and older groups became bicultural: they were able to maintain the Russian culture, traditions, and customs, are positive towards the American culture, and do not regret immigration. However, Russian culture is the dominant one for older immigrants. The study also shows that age influences how Russian speakers adjust to the culture and language. Those who moved at the age of 21 or younger have a higher proficiency in English while older immigrants are more comfortable with Russian (Shishkin, 2010).

As was described earlier, knowledge of the language of a host country plays a significant role in the adaptation which can help or slow down the acculturation process. Many Russian-speaking immigrants also face this problem. Knowledge of the language of the host country helps Russian-speaking immigrants better understand people around them, increases the chance of finding a good job, and makes them more independent (Isurin, 2011).

The study by Marjutenkova (2019) suggests that knowledge of the language helps Russian-speaking immigrants in Norway to build social connections and to learn more about Norwegian rules, traditions, and values that can help in the acculturation. High skills in the language of a host country are positively associated with integration and assimilation (Grigoryev, 2015). Immigrants with poor knowledge of a language may feel excluded from social and work-life (Marjutenkova, 2019). If Russian immigrants do not speak the language of the host country, their comfort level may be reduced (Mendez, 2019). Low language skills also affect the health of immigrants because of the difficulty in explaining health needs (Kostareva et al., 2020).

However, immigrants have a chance to learn and improve their proficiency in the language of the host country. The government often offers free language classes (Shovkovyy, 2020). Canada, for example, has free English and French classes for adults who are permanent residents and protected people (Immigration and citizenship, 2020): Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), English classes, and Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada (CLIC), French classes (Immigration, 2018).

After immigration, many people want to preserve their mother tongue. Many Russian-speaking immigrant families try to maintain the Russian language among their children employing various methods, such as speaking only Russian at home or making children read and write in

Russian (Elias & Lemish, 2011, Makarova et al., 2017). During the first one or two years in a new country, parents try to maintain the language; however, with time when children start to prefer the use of the dominant language, it gets harder for the parents to support their children's Russian skills development (Elias & Lemish, 2011).

For many Russian-speaking immigrants, moving to another country causes the feeling of nostalgia, which means they start missing their home, culture, family members, and friends. Even after many years of residence in the host country, some immigrants still cook traditional Russian food, *bliny* with caviar, *kasha* (buckwheat groats), *tvorog* (farmer's cheese) because for them such food symbolizes home and brings back the memories of when they lived in the home country (Starkova, 2017, p. 19-20). Nostalgia is also the reason why Russian-speaking immigrants try to maintain their culture (Starkova, 2017); for example, they use media in the Russian language (Jukova, 2013).

This section focused on previous research on Russian-speaking immigrants in different countries. Earlier research has addressed the adaptation process, problems Russian-speaking immigrants face, and the maintenance of their first language and home culture. In the next section, I will describe the availability of Russian-speaking media in Canada as well as Russian language schools and stores which are located in different Canadian cities.

2.3. Maintenance of the Russian language and culture in Canada

Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada have the opportunity to maintain their mother tongue and connection with each other. Canada has media in the Russian language, such as radio, newspapers, journals, magazines, and other outlets. Also, people have a chance to learn or keep maintaining Russian in language classes offered by some Canadian universities (Makarova, 2020). An immigrant can easily find information about various Russian stores, clubs, classes, and others by browsing the web. Below I present information about media available for Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada. The information was found by browsing the Internet.

- Radio stations

In Montreal, there is a radio channel *RadioRecall* (<https://radiorecall.ca>) that focuses on Russian speakers. This is a non-stop everyday radio channel that is broadcasting via the Internet or Bluetooth. The radio channel covers news in Quebec and Canada and provides some entertaining programs. Also, people can listen to popular songs in different languages, including Russian, Ukrainian, and English. Another radio channel, *Radio Nova* (<https://radionovatoronto.ca>), is a Russian-speaking radio online non-stop channel based in Toronto. It broadcasts music; gives information about Canadian life, education, people, and more. *Radio VERA* (<http://www.veracanada.fm>) broadcasts in Vancouver also for Russian-speaking listeners two hours a day from Monday to Friday. It covers political and everyday news and also invites famous people for the interview.

- Newspapers

The newspaper *Koleso* (<https://webkoleso.com>), which is free and is published biweekly in Calgary in Russian, can be read online. Various news is discussed in it about Canada, Russia, and the whole world. Also, one can find useful articles, jokes, and other entertainment, as well as lawyers, real estate agents, dentists who speak Russian and who can help immigrants who just came to the country and those who have lived in Canada for some time.

Russian Express (<https://russianexpress.net>) exists for more than twenty years. Every week this newspaper is published for people living in Ontario in the Russian language. It also gives its readers important information about life and world news online.

There are other newspapers, journals, and magazines in Russian in Canada. Selected examples include *DorogaRoad* (<http://www.dorogaroad.com>); a monthly magazine for drivers and people who are interested in cars and trucks and live in Toronto), *Virastaika* (<https://www.virastaika.ca>; a family monthly magazine for parents and their children in Toronto), *Nasha Gazeta* (<https://nashmontreal.com>; a biweekly newspaper in Montreal), and *Vancouver Express* (<https://www.vancouverexpress.info>; a biweekly newspaper in Vancouver).

Thanks to the Internet, life for immigrants is easier these days because they can maintain their mother tongue despite the distances (Woldeab, 2013). Russian-speaking immigrants can watch Russian TV channels and listen to the Russian radio that is uploaded online. Moreover, immigrants can support their culture without any difficulties because they can call their family and friends who are at their home culture, write emails or texts on social media and not wait for a reply for few weeks (Woldeab, 2013).

- Online groups

The existence of online social media, websites, various forums for Russian-speaking immigrants helps them to find new friends, ask for advice, find events, and more. On Facebook, there are such Russian groups that have at least a few thousand members as

- *Russian Speaking Ottawa* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/RussOttawa/>)
- *Russian Toronto Life!* (<https://www.facebook.com/RUSSIANTORONTOLIFE>)
- *Russian Montreal* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/russianmontreal>)
- *Russians in Winnipeg* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/russian.winnipeg.life>)
- *Russian Calgary* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/149524448441965>)
- *Vancouver Russian Club* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/11655189266>)

There are many other such groups that are actively used by many Russian-speaking immigrants.

Many Russian-speaking immigrants use Russian-speaking groups on Facebook and on other social media to find a job (Rogova, 2020). Facebook also helps immigrants to organize events, choose a location, discuss its problems, for example, Russian-speaking immigrants use Facebook for the organization of the Immortal Regiment that happens every year on May, 9 and which many Russian speakers want to attend, or another Russian-speaking event “Matryoshka” which was a Russian culture festival (Rogova, 2020). When Russian-speaking immigrants want to read news about their home country, for example, about Russia, some of them use online sources such as www.lenta.ru or Russian media (Syskova, 2013).

- Cultural organizations

Canada also has centres for Russian-speakers who are willing to find new friends, spend Russian holidays together, eat traditional food, and simply enjoy the time spending with Russian-speaking people. *The Canadian Foundation of Russian Culture* (<https://culturerusse.ca/en/>) in Montreal supports and helps to spread Russian culture in Quebec. Also, this foundation organizes events, concerts, lectures, celebrations, and others. *Russian-Canadian Association of Alberta* (<https://www.rusedmonton.ca/>) in Edmonton is a centre for those who are interested in the Russian culture and who want to communicate with people in Russian. It also helps Russian-speaking immigrants who have just arrived in Edmonton can find help with adaptation.

The goal of *the Russian-Canadian Cultural Aid Society* (<https://www.rcchf.ca>) is to maintain the Russian language and culture in Canada and also help new immigrants in the acculturation process. *Russian House Toronto* (<https://russianhousetoronto.com>) is a place that brings Russian-speaking immigrants together because many Russian events, celebrations, concerts, and religious holidays are held there. Also, in the Russian House Toronto people can attend clubs, classes, lectures, they can discuss poetry, literature, learn how to sing, embroider, and many more. Furthermore, there are Russian language classes.

- Schools

Other places offer language classes and also Russian history and culture. For example, *the Russian Community Centre Pushkin School* (<http://www.rccpushkinschool.org>) in Vancouver, which has Russian language and literature, folk dance, history, balalaika and domra classes for children, operates a few days a week. *Russian School Gramota* (<https://gramota.com>) in Montreal is a Saturday school for children and teenagers. The mission of the school is to teach Russian-speaking children Russian culture and history and to teach them how to write and speak in Russian. The school also offers art, theatre, choir, and dance classes. Such heritage schools immerse children into the Russian language environment where it is easier to learn culture, traditions, history, and language.

There are other heritage schools in Canada that aim at teaching and maintaining the Russian language and culture, such as *École Évrika* in Westmount (<https://www.goevrika.com>), *Children's*

Centre Mechta in Montreal (<https://mechtacenter.com/ru/>), *Domik School Of Russian Language and Arts* in North York (<https://www.domikru.ca>), *Russian School Svetlyachok* in Winnipeg (<http://svetlyachok.ca>), *Rucheek* in Edmonton (<https://www.rucheek.ca>), *ShkolaRus Russian School* in Calgary (<http://www.shkolarus.com>), *Drevo Russian School* in Coquitlam (<https://drevoschool.com>).

- Grocery stores

Moreover, there are various stores where Russian-speaking immigrants can buy food, books, and other goods from their home countries. Many places offer Eastern European food, traditional clothes, souvenirs, pieces of art. Some examples of such stores are

- *Taste of Homeland* in Woodstock (<https://www.tasteofhomeland.store/eurorussianfood>)
- *Epicure Market* in Montreal (<https://epicuremarket.ca>)
- *Lakomka International Deli* in Ottawa (<https://lakomka-deli.business.site>)
- *Odessa Deli & Desserts* in Toronto (<https://www.facebook.com/odessadelidesserts>)
- *Dobromarket Eurofood store* in Winnipeg (<https://www.eurofood-dobromarket.com>)
- *Smak Ukrainian Store* in Saskatoon (<https://www.facebook.com/Saskatoon2015/>)
- *Ukrainian Co-op* in Regina (<https://ukrainiancoop.ca>)
- *Calgary Russian Store* in Calgary (<https://calgaryrussianstore.com>)
- *Russian World* in Vancouver (<https://www.russianworld.ca>)

Also, some of these stores have Russian-speaking pharmacies where people can buy medicines that are popular in Russia (Rogova, 2020).

Big Canadian cities have more possibilities for immigrants to preserve their home language and culture (Makarova, 2020). The existence of Russian media does help. However, even in big cities the amount of Russian media is limited, while in smaller towns, it does not even exist. Thanks to the fact that many newspapers, magazines, and radio have an online version or online broadcasting, people residing in different locations can read or listen to them, although, the news coverage typically addresses only one province or city. Also, Russian-speaking immigrants who live in Canadian cities that do not have Russian media cannot get access to Russian-speaking

lawyers, dentists, nannies, and other services, since information about services in Russian is only provided for the region where the local Russian-media papers are published. The same is true of Russian centres, schools, stores, and other places where Russian-speaking immigrants can attend. Bigger cities give more chances to maintain the Russian language and culture while in smaller cities and towns it is more difficult to do so (Makarova, 2020).

2.4. Rationale for the study

Although there are numerous studies on Russian-speaking immigrants world-wide (Khromina, 2014; Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017; Shovkovyy, 2020), the literature review has shown that research addressing Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada and their linguistic problems remains limited (Makarova, 2020, Rogova, 2020) despite the recent increase in the number of immigrants. Therefore, this study adds to the description of the Russian immigrants in Canada and their linguistic and cultural accommodation problems.

The following questions will be addressed in this study:

1. How do Russian-speaking immigrants acquire English language and Canadian culture and maintain the Russian language and the culture of the home country?
2. How do the presence of Russian-speaking friends, attending Russian-speaking events, use of Russian Internet and media help the adaptation of immigrants in Canada?

According to the research questions, the goal of this research is to describe the linguistic experiences of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada.

The objectives of the study are to:

- examine and describe the English language acquisition of Russian-speaking immigrants;
- examine and describe the maintenance of the Russian language by Russian-speaking immigrants;
- describe the balance between English language acquisition and maintenance of the Russian language; and
- study the specific paths of the acculturation process of the Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada.

This study will be useful to Russian-speaking immigrants or to prospective immigrants who think about moving to Canada and want to integrate into the new society faster and easier.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will describe how the data were collected, how participants were selected, their demographic information, and how the data were later analyzed.

3.1. Data collection

In order to collect the data for this study, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used. A questionnaire survey was designed to collect the data. Questionnaire surveys have been frequently employed as an instrument for investigating immigrants' behaviour and practices (Dali, 2004; Lee, 2005; Glozman, 2015; Grigoryev & Vijver, 2017). The purpose of the questionnaire was

- a. to identify relevant demographic information about the participants;
- b. to obtain the information related to research objectives and research questions.

The questionnaire was developed based on previous research (Isurin, 2011; Makarova et al., 2017). The questionnaire was anonymous. The survey was written in Russian and was posted online with SurveyMonkey (www.surveymonkey.com), an online survey platform. The questionnaire consisted of several parts that are discussed below.

All participants were required to sign a consent form prior to completing the survey. The consent form included the description of the participation criteria, the questionnaire structure, research details, and its aims. I also informed participants about the anonymity of the data they provided, about their rights as participants, and about the Research Ethics Board approval that this study has received. Here, participants were asked to give their consent to participate in the questionnaire and, also, to create the participant ID code (they were asked to randomly write 3 letters and 2 digits to differentiate them later if needed).

The survey questions covered the following areas:

- Demographic information

Participants were asked about their background, such as age, gender, home country, mother tongues, and employment status. In total, there were nine open-ended and one multiple-choice questions in this part.

- Adaptation

I was interested in asking participants about their adaptation process, for example, whether they believed the immigration was successful or they regretted it. Also, participants were asked to share their thoughts on their identity. The part consisted of five multiple-choice questions.

- Language

This section addressed the participants' language preferences, language use, as well as their skills in Russian, English, and French before and after immigration. They were also asked whether the language skills have changed over the time since immigration. Other questions in this section addressed the maintenance of the Russian language and culture, the participants' use of Russia, and Russian attrition. In total, this part consisted of nine five-point Likert scale questions, five multiple-choice and two open-ended questions.

- Open-ended questions

Participants were asked to write about 3-4 lines of text to provide their extended opinions and descriptions of their immigration experiences. These answers also provided samples for basic text analysis. I asked them about their linguistic experience, communicative difficulties they faced in Canada, and recommendations for new immigrants. Respondents were asked to write the answers on two of the questions in Russian, however, if they wanted, they could write it in English or a mixture of both languages. The list of the questions that were analyzed in this research can be found in Appendix A.

The responses to long questions were manually coded by the researcher following broad thematic coding techniques suggested in Saldana (2016). Also, they were checked for errors manually. The results can be found in Chapter 4 (section 4.5).

3.2. Recruitment and eligibility criteria

Participants' eligibility criteria for participation in the study were as follows:

- a. a person's mother tongue (or one of the mother tongues) was Russian;
- b. a person has immigrated to Canada;
- c. a person has lived in Canada for more than 2 years;
- d. a person's age was between 21-61.

The eligibility requirements above were introduced for the following reasons. As there are many countries that split from the former USSR where Russian was and is still spoken as a mother tongue by some individuals, eligible participants could come not only from Russia, but from other countries as well. Since this research study focuses on the immigration and adaptation processes, the participants had to be born outside Canada and be first-generation immigrants. However, there was no limitation on the age when a person had moved to Canada, or on residence in any Canadian province or territory. The breadth of age of participants allowed me to compare participant responses across different age groups. Last but not least, the criterion of the minimum of 2 years living in Canada was included to ensure that the participants' process of adaptation to the new life was already well under way by the time of the study and participants could reflect on it.

Participation in this study was voluntary. Participants were recruited via groups on social media (such as Russian-speaking groups on Facebook).

3.3. Ethic approval

Certificate of Ethic approval from *The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB)* was received on May 29, 2020 (ID 1867).

3.4. Data analysis

As the questionnaire was published on the SurveyMonkey, all the answers were extracted from this website in Microsoft Excel Table format that made it easier to work with the data and analyze it.

The data were analyzed using the Chi-square test and Pearson correlations with the significant level of $p < .05$, consistent with previous use in earlier research on language use and acculturation process (Cook et al., 2015; Haghigat, 2016; Balidemaj, 2016), in the software platform, SPSS version 27 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), to test the variables of demographic information, language use, and adaptation for linear relationships.

3.5. Demographic characteristics of participants

In total, there were 100 participants in this study (80 females, 18 males, one identified as Other, and one preferred not to answer). Although there were 208 people who opened and started the online questionnaire, I could not use all of the participants' responses, because some of them either did not complete the survey or did not meet the inclusion criteria.

The age of participants varied from 21 to 59 years old with an average age of 42 ($SD=9.45$). Some people who completed the survey were older than 61 that was the age limit. Thus, I could not use their results. Many age-related diseases start progressing after 60 years old such as multiple sclerosis (Nielson & Nielson, 2015), dementia and Alzheimer's disease (Zverova, 2019), and also, many previous research studies (Kim & Chen, 2011; Genkova et al., 2014) identify people who are 60+ as people in late adulthood. Thus, for the present study, the age limit was set up to 61 years old.

Table 3.1 provides more detail about the number of participants in each age group.

Table 3.1 Age of participants

Age	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-61
Number of participants	9	38	28	25

In response to the question about the country of origin, the majority of participants answered Russia ($n=51$). There were also participants from Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, $n=9$,

n=9, and n=8 respectively, as well as other origins that were identified less frequently. Three participants mentioned more than one country as their home country. Table 3.2 presents the number of participants from each country.

Table 3.2 *Country of origin*

Country	Number of participants
Russia	51
Ukraine	9
Belarus	9
Kazakhstan	8
Moldova	5
USSR	5
Uzbekistan	3
Azerbaijan	2
Latvia	1
Israel	1
Japan	1
Kyrgyzstan	1
Moldova, Russia	1
USSR, Russia, Ukraine	1
Uzbekistan, Belarus	1

Participants came from 7 provinces in Canada, mostly from the larger cities:

- *British Columbia* (n=44; Vancouver (n=28), Coquitlam (n=3), North Vancouver (n=2), Maple Ridge (n=2), Metro Vancouver (n=1), Surrey (n=1), Port Coquitlam (n=1), Abbotsford (n=1), Burnaby (n=1), Victoria (n=1), Delta (n=1), Langley (n=1), New Westminster (n=1))

- *Alberta* (n=6; *Calgary* (n=4), *Edmonton* (n=2))
- *Saskatchewan* (n=10; *Saskatoon* (n=9), *White City* (n=1))
- *Manitoba* (n=11; *Winnipeg* (n=9), *Winkler* (n=2))
- *Ontario* (n=17; *Toronto* (n=9), *Ottawa* (n=4), *Vaughan* (n=2), *Toronto Scarborough* (n=1), *London* (n=1))
- *Quebec* (n=11; *Montreal* (n=9), *Gatineau* (n=2))
- *New Brunswick* (n=1; *Fredericton* (n=1)).

Figure 3.1 presents the detailed information of the number of participants from each province.

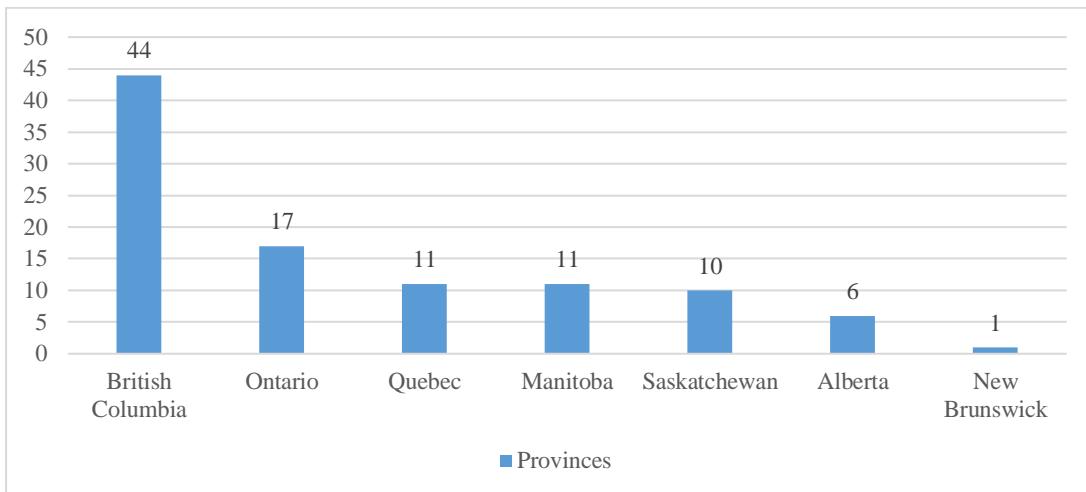


Figure 3.1 Provinces in Canada

All of the participants were native speakers of Russian because it was one of the eligibility criteria for the survey. Most of them (89 participants) had only one mother tongue, while some respondents (n=11) had a second mother tongue (Ref. Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Additional mother tongues

Languages	Number of participants
Ukrainian	4
Belarusian	2
Azerbaijani	1
Hebrew	1
Yiddish	1
Japanese	1
Romanian	1

The majority of the respondents had a full-time (n=68) or part-time (n=14) job. Participants worked in different spheres: those who had a full-time job worked in services (n=11), IT (n=10), education (n=7), finances (n=7), management (n=7), healthcare (n=4), sales (n=3), science (n=3), transportation (n=3), hospitality (n=2), and analysis (n=2). Participants with a part-time job worked in education (n=5), finances (n=3), services (n=3), healthcare (n=1), IT (n=1), and management (n=1). Other participants who had a full-time or part-time job did not specify what sphere they worked in.

Also, some participants (n=5) were homemakers; four participants had their own businesses. Three of them did not work, one was a student, one was a pensioner, one of the participants was on a parental leave, and one respondent was a person with disabilities under the OSDP (Ontario Disability Support Program).

The highest level of education for the participants was a Master's degree (n=40), a Bachelor degree (n=34), a Technical/professional degree (n=10), Ph.D. (n=8), High school (n=2), or Middle school (n=1).

A minimum of two years of living in Canada was the eligibility criteria for participation in the study. The participants came to Canada between 1992 and 2018. The average number of years that participants spent in Canada is 12 years.

The age upon immigration varied from 12 to 56, with an age average of 31 (SD=8.09).

Table 3.4 presents the number of participants in each age group.

Table 3.4 *Age of participants upon immigration*

Age	10-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
Number of participants	6	41	43	8	2

4. RESULTS

In this chapter, I will present the results of the survey that was described in detail in Chapter 3.

4.1. Adaptation

The majority of participants (n=79) answered that their move to Canada was the right decision, 18 respondents were unsure, and three participants did not think it was a good decision. Many participants (n=67) believed that they achieved in immigration what they wanted while 13 respondents said they could not achieve what they planned and 19 people were unsure.

When answering the question about the integration into Canadian society, most participants responded that they felt well integrated in Canada in general (n=81). Some participants (n=10) were unsure and nine respondents believed they did not integrate well.

When participants were asked what country they consider their home (not in terms of residence but culturally and spiritually), many of them answered that *their home was wherever they were* (n=24), *both countries* at the same time (n=22; Canada and their home countries that were Russia – n=11, Belarus – n=4, Moldova – n=2, Kazakhstan – n=2, Kyrgyzstan – n=1, Azerbaijan – n=1, Ukraine – n=1), just *Canada* (n=20), or their *home country* (n=14; Russia – n=8, Ukraine – n=2, Moldova and Russia – n=1, Israel – n=1, the USSR – n=1). Also, some people (n=7) responded *Other* saying their home was a different place or it was difficult to answer the question for them. The responses for *Other* were the following:

- *California (USA)*
- *Russia*
- *Russia and France*
- *I am truly a cosmopolitan in terms of art, as for traditions and everyday life, Russia is closer, but I am already “sprouting roots” in Canada. So it is difficult to unequivocally answer this question.*
- *I never lived in Russia. But I lived in the USSR. My spiritual motherland is Russia. Wherever I live geographically, I am in the ideological field of Russia.*

- *I feel deeply connected to both countries, but emotionally I am more connected to my home country.*
- *British Columbia felt like home to me. Winnipeg is some kind of eternal exile. The south of Ukraine has changed so much that now it is already a different country, so I don't understand everything there now. In short, if the mood is good, then both countries ... and if the mood is so-so, then you feel homeless. How to be here? The home country - the USSR - has long been a part of history.*

Table 4.1 shows the response distribution of this question in more detail.

Table 4.1 Participants' home

Home	Number of participants
“My home is wherever I am”	24
Both countries (Canada and a home country)	22
Canada	20
Home country	13
“I am a cosmopolitan (citizen of the world)”	8
“My home is wherever my family is”	2
“I have no true home”	2
Neither of the countries	1
Other	7

The question about participants' self-identity offered a choice to select one of the following responses: Canadian, Canadian Russian, Russian Canadian, Russian, or other (if the answer was “other”, they could specify the answer). The majority of the participants self-identified as Russian Canadian (n=28) or Russian (n=18). Some respondents said they were Russians in Canada (n=11),

Canadian (n=5), Ukrainian (n=3), Belarusian (n=2), Belarusian Canadian (n=2), Canadian Russian (n=2), Russian and Canadian (n=2), Russian with a Canadian passport (n=2), Ukrainian Canadian (n=1), Ukrainian and Canadian (n=1), Soviet (n=1), Soviet Canadian (n=1), Russian speaker (n=1), Jewish (n=1). Other participants identified themselves using more than two nationalities: Russian/Ukrainian Canadian (n=1), Russian-Canadian-Israeli (n=1), Russian-speaking Israeli in Canada (n=1), Russian-speaking Polish in Canada (n=1), Russian-speaking Tatar in Canada (n=1), Russian-Uzbek Canadian (n=1), Russian Canadian from Moldova (n=1), Ukrainian-Moldovan-Russian speaker (n=1), and Kazakh-Russian-Hebrew-Canadian (n=1).

4.2. Languages

4.2.1. English and French

The majority of the participants had been fluent in English before they moved to Canada (n=39). Some participants were highly fluent in English (n=18), 18 respondents had some ESL skills, and 17 participants had very little. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of the number of participants and the level of their English skills before moving to Canada.

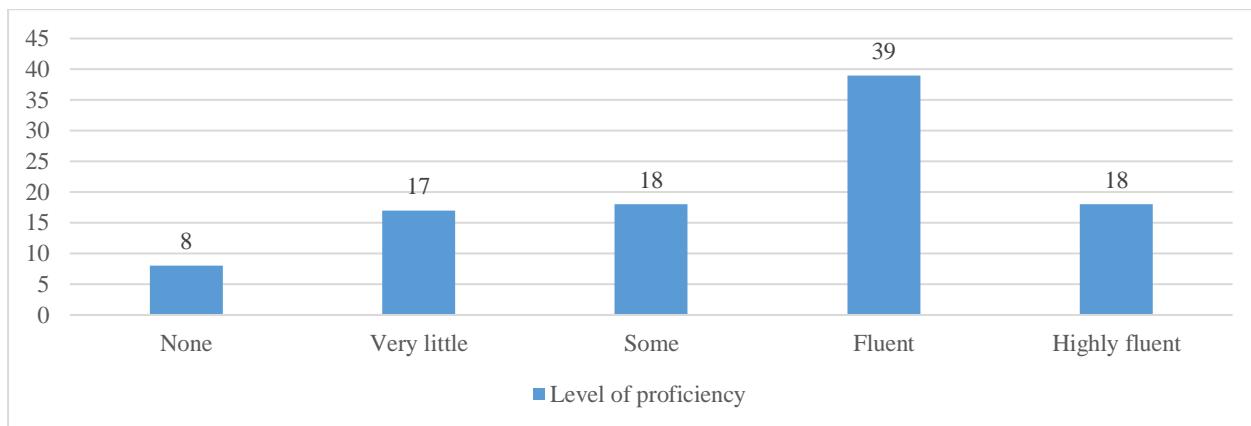


Figure 4.1 Level of English before immigration

Almost half of the participants said that their English skills changed after moving to Canada (n=41). For 23 participants, their English considerably improved and 28 of the respondents said that they somewhat improved their English proficiency. More details are shown in Figure 4.2.

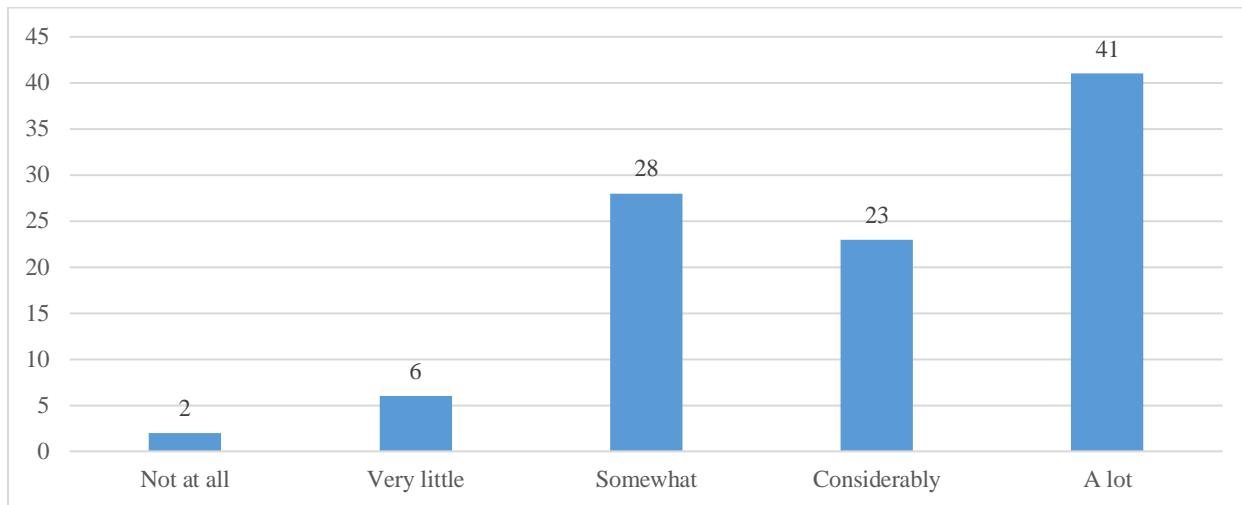


Figure 4.2 Changes in English proficiency after immigration

For 57 respondents, French proficiency did not improve between the time of immigration to Canada to the time of the study. Moreover, 18 participants did not speak French at all. For some participants, French skills improved very little (n=9), somewhat (n=5), considerably (n=5), and a lot (n=6).

Participants were also asked whether it was important for them to learn the official languages of Canada when they just immigrated. Half of the participants answered that English was very important (n=54). French was not important at all for the majority (n=71). Figure 4.3 compares the importance of learning English and French for the participants right after they moved to Canada.

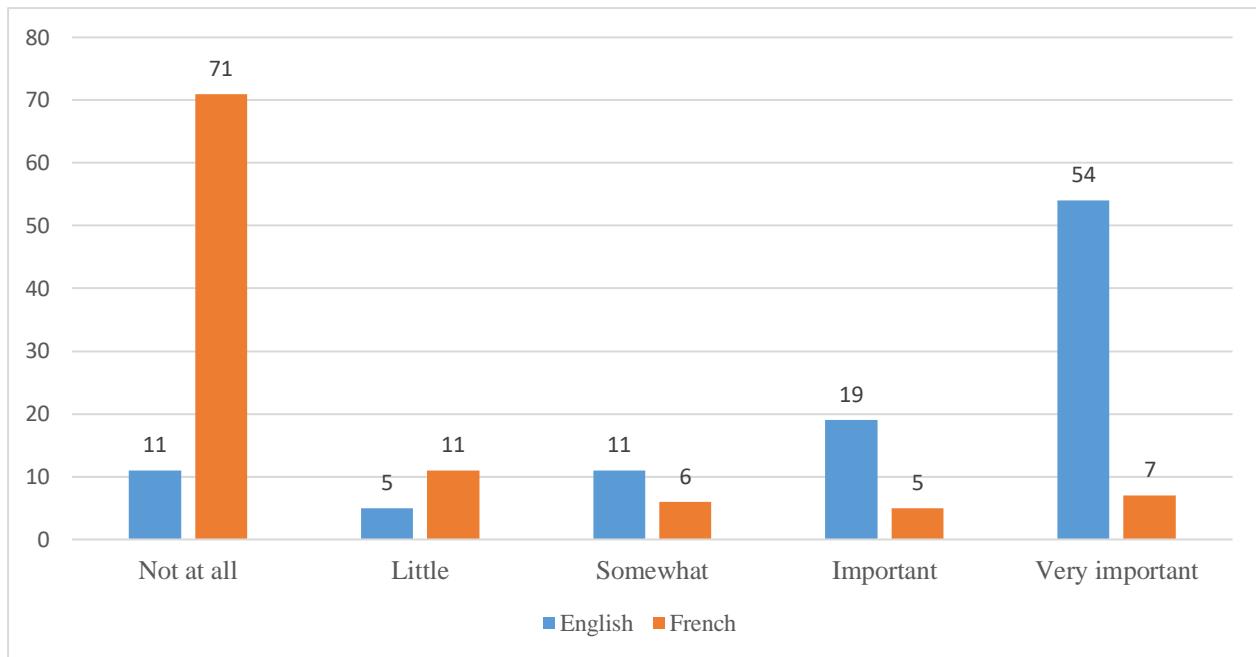


Figure 4.3 *The importance of learning languages upon immigration*

The same tendency can be seen in the respondents' answers to a question about the importance of learning English and French at the time of the study. Most participants indicated that learning English was more important for them than French at the time of the study (similarly to their responses describing the time of immigration). As compared to the responses related to the time upon immigration, fewer people indicated the need to keep learning English ($n=31$) and also, fewer people thought that learning French was not important for them at all at the time of the study ($n=64$). The significance of changes in linguistic values of the participants is considered in more detail in section 4.2.4. Figure 4.4 shows the importance of the official languages in Canada for participants at the time of the study.

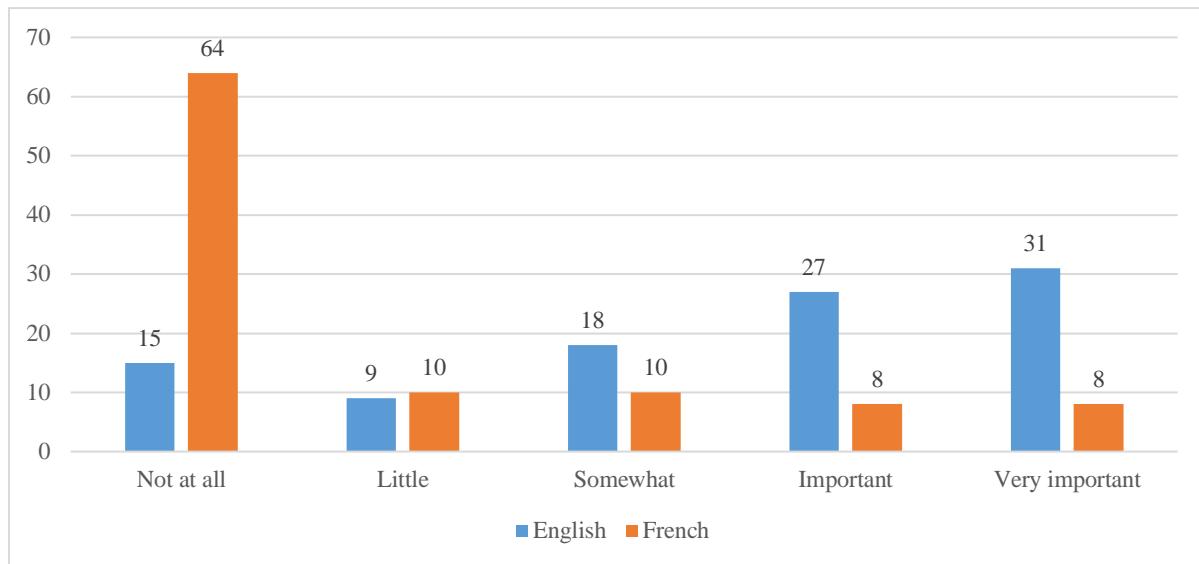


Figure 4.4 Importance of learning English and French at the time of the study

Many participants said they were still working on their English skills ($n=56$) while 44 respondents answered they did not do anything specific to improve their English at the time of the research. In response to the question about the number of their daily interactions in English, participants were asked to write the number in percentage. The minimum daily interaction in English was 1% and the maximum was 100% with an average of 53% which means the respondents used English a bit more than any other languages in their everyday life.

4.2.2. Russian

Participants were asked questions about the importance of Russian language maintenance and whether they did something specific to maintain the language. Figure 4.5 shows the importance of Russian language maintenance upon immigration and at the time of the study. Right after immigration, most respondents indicated that it was not important at all to preserve the language ($n=31$) while at the time of the study, most participants believed it was important ($n=34$) or very important ($n=33$). It means that after spending some time in Canada participants started to value maintaining Russian more. This change over the years is statistically significant (at the significant level of $p < .05$; $\chi^2=14.17$, $N=100$, $df(1)$, $p = .006$).

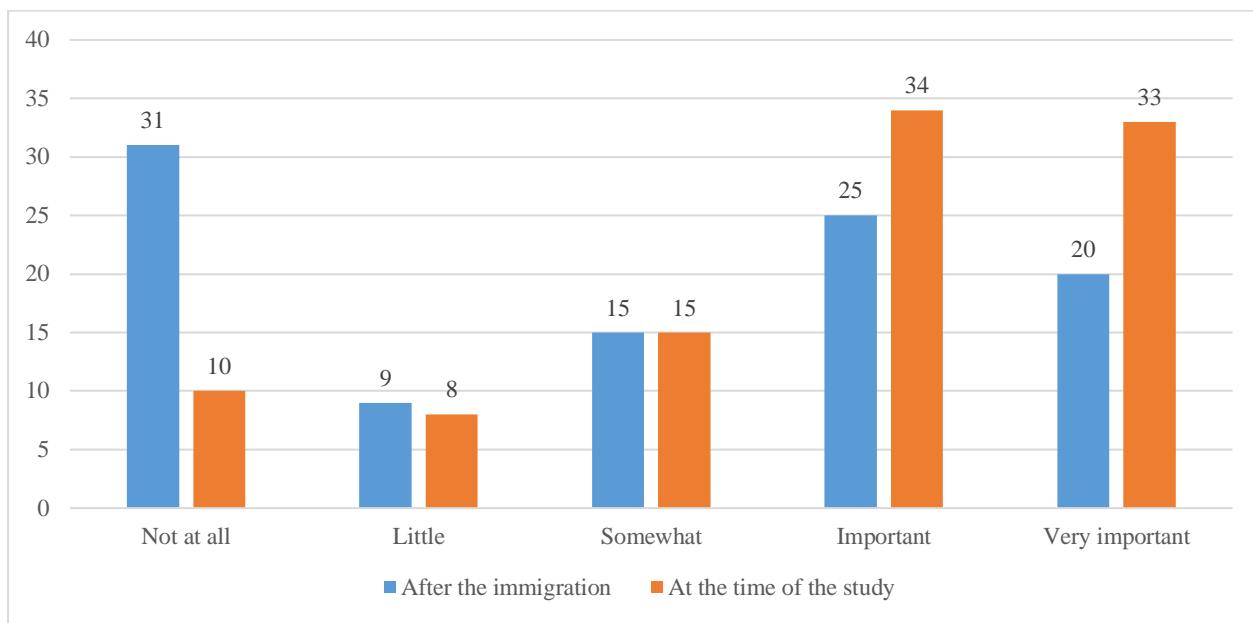


Figure 4.5 Importance of maintaining Russian

Almost half of the participants ($n=42$) said they did something specific to maintain their Russian language at the time of the study and 58 participants did not do anything specific about it. The average amount of their daily interactions in Russian was 48%.

Some participants ($n=41$) answered that there was no weakening of their Russian language skills after immigrating to Canada. Most respondents ($n=59$), however, noticed some weakening of their Russian, which was very small ($n=34$), somewhat noticeable ($n=18$) or considerable ($n=7$). None of the participants' Russian skills decreased a lot after immigration.

4.2.3. Language preferences at the time of the study

For most respondents ($n=46$), the most comfortable languages for communication were Russian and English at the time of the study. Another 35 participants said they were more comfortable to communicate in Russian than in other languages. Two respondents chose their other mother tongues (Ukrainian – $n=1$; Hebrew – $n=1$). Some participants had trouble answering the question because for them it depended on their mood or on the people with whom they talked, or

they simply did not notice which language was more comfortable for communication for them. Figure 4.6 shows what languages are the most comfortable for the participants' communication.

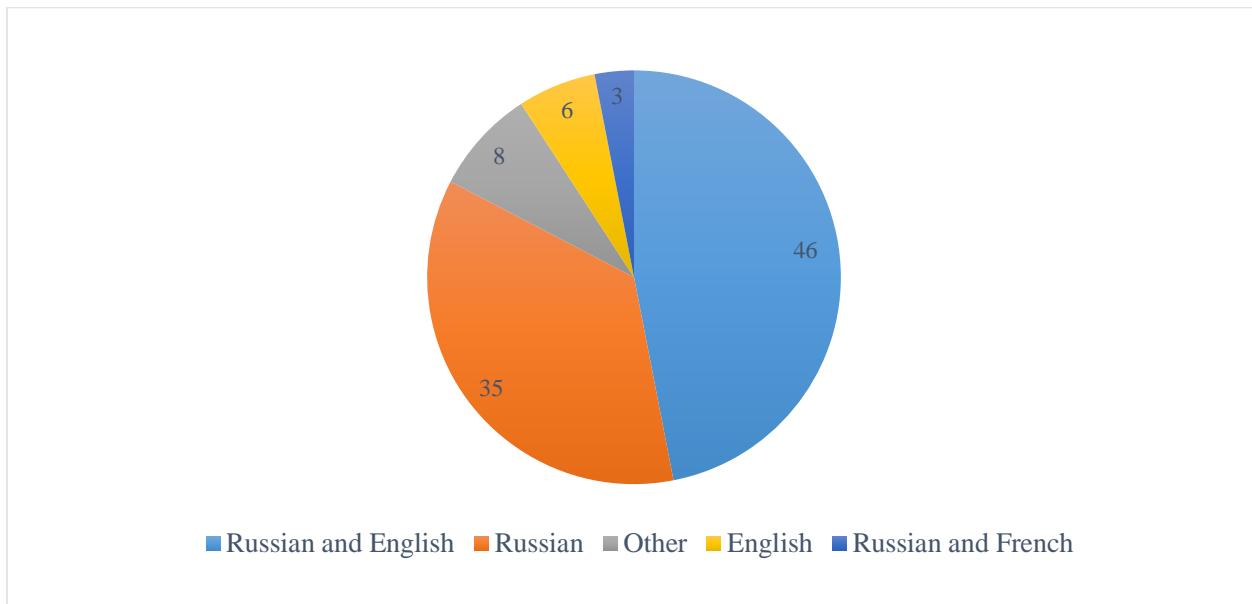


Figure 4.6 *The language(s) participants are more comfortable with in communication*

As for the question about which language participants found more enjoyable in communication, Russian and the combination of Russian and English were equally preferable ($n=41$) at the time this research was conducted. Moreover, here again, some participants could not answer the question, because it also depended on interlocutors themselves, their language knowledge, or other factors. Figure 4.7 presents the languages in which communication were more enjoyable for the respondents.

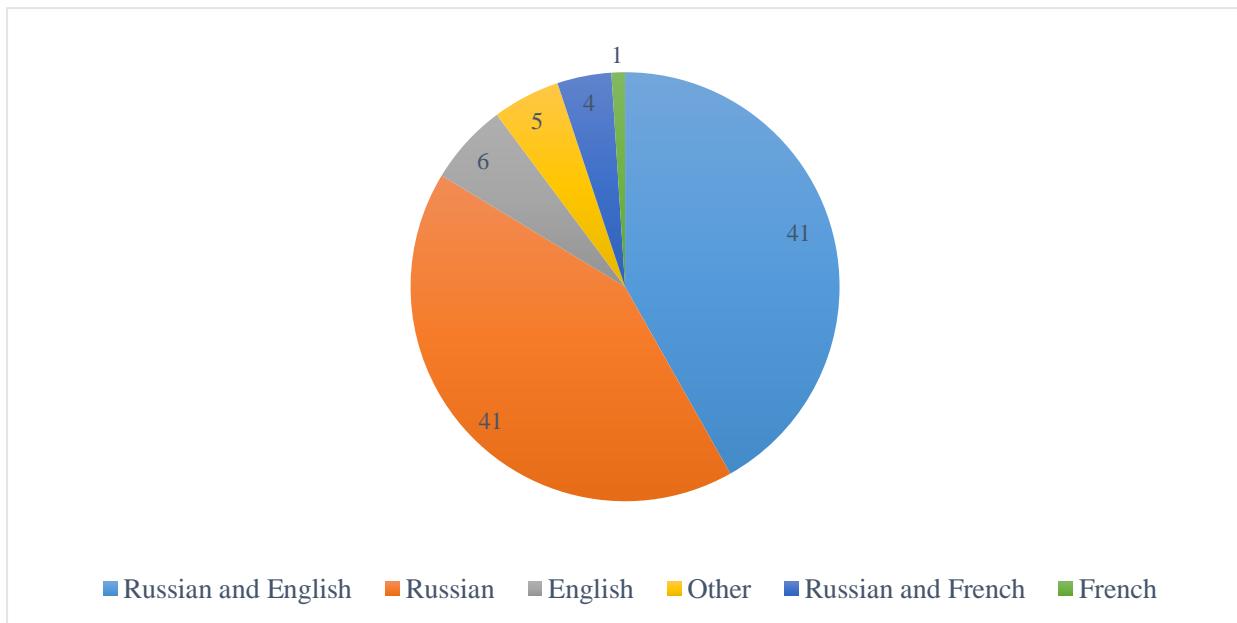


Figure 4.7 *The language(s) participants enjoy more in communication*

4.2.4. Summary of participants' responses to questions about their language use.

After the immigration, participants' priorities in learning and maintaining languages have changed. The acquisition of English was more important for respondents before or right after their immigration. English learning was important or very important to 73 participants upon immigration while at the time of the study, English was important for 58 respondents to some extent. This tendency can be explained by the fact that after spending some time in Canada, participants have learned the official languages to a level that allows them to live and work comfortably. So, the need for language acquisition became less important than immediately upon immigration, when English language proficiency was essential for starting a new life, finding a job, and talking to people.

On the other hand, a wish to maintain the Russian language increased among participants over the years since immigration. Right after the immigration to Canada, it was of a low priority because participants had to integrate into a new society first. However, at the time of the study, more participants focused on maintaining their mother tongue and believed that Russian was important to some extent (at the time of the study – n=45, right after the immigration – n=67). Although maintaining Russian was more important for participants than learning the official

languages of Canada at the time of immigration, more people said they did something to learn English (n=56) than to maintain Russian (n=42).

Although, over time, four more people recognized the importance of the French language (upon immigration n=12, at the time of the study n=16), this difference is not significant, and learning French remained unimportant. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of respondents live in the predominantly English-speaking parts of Canada (n=89).

4.3. Relationships between demographic information, language use, and adaptation variables

Similar to previous research (Haghigat, 2016; Balidemaj, 2016), this section describes the results of Pearson's correlation employed to test the variables of demographic information, language use, and adaptation for linear relationships.

4.3.1. Correlations between Russian and adaptation variables

The amount of use of Russian every day negatively correlates with *whether participants believe their immigration to Canada was the right decision* ($r = -.21, p = .03$) and *whether they think they are well adapted to Canada* ($r = -.35, p < .001$). In other words, those immigrants who actively use their mother tongue are less positive about their migration and feel less integrated into a host country as compared to the ones who do not use Russian this much. While the policy of multiculturalism implies supporting both cultures, this result does not show such tendency.

Also, a negative correlation was found between *the importance of maintaining Russian at the time of the study* and *whether participants achieved their immigration goals* ($r = -.2; p = .04$). It means that the more participants believed Russian was important, the less they believed they achieved what they wanted. Moreover, *the importance of Russian maintenance upon immigration negatively correlates with self-identification* ($r = -.27; p = .01$). Those participants who thought Russian maintenance was important for them were less likely to use the word “Canadian” when self-identified.

4.3.2. Correlations between the Russian language use and attitudes and other language variables

Russian language use and attitudes variables. *The percentage of the usage of the Russian language every day among participants negatively correlates with the extent of the attrition of Russian ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$); in other words, participants who used Russian every day are less likely to lose fluency in Russian. The importance of maintenance of Russian after the immigration positively relates with the importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study ($r = .53$; $p < .001$), specific measures for preserving Russian ($r = .2$; $p = .04$), and also, with the use of Russian ($r = .21$; $p = .03$).* These results indicate that the more important preserving Russian was for participants upon arrival, the more likely they were to a) acknowledge its importance at the time of the study, b) do something specific for maintaining it, and c) use more Russian every day. Moreover, *the importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study* positively correlates with *specific maintenance efforts* ($r = .39$; $p < .001$).

Russian language use and attitudes vis-à-vis English and French. *The use of Russian negatively correlates with the level of English before the immigration ($r = -.26$; $p = .008$), changes in English skills ($r = -.28$; $p = .005$), and the importance of French learning at the time of the study ($r = -.27$; $p = .008$).* It means, the more participants used Russian, the worse their English was when they immigrated, the less their English has changed, and the less they believed French was important for them. *The active use of English* positively correlates with *the loss of Russian* ($r = .32$, $p = .001$) and negatively correlates with *the use of Russian every day* ($r = -.84$; $p < .001$).

Those participants who *did something specifically for English acquisition* were more likely to *lose their Russian skills* ($r = -.22$; $p = .03$) while people who engaged in *specific activities for Russian maintenance at the time of this study* were more likely to have *better English skills before the immigration* ($r = .23$; $p = .02$).

Moreover, *the importance of English learning* positively correlates with *the importance of Russian preservation at the time of the study* ($r = .22$; $p = .02$). In other words, those participants who believed English was important were more likely to see the importance of Russian.

The extent of the Russian attrition positively correlates with the language participants found communication more comfortable in ($r = .31; p = .002$). The better their Russian skills were, the more likely they believed Russian was a more comfortable language for communication.

The percentage of Russian use every day negatively correlates with the languages participants found communication more comfortable ($r = -.24; p = .01$) and *more enjoyable in* ($r = -.24; p = .01$). Those participants who used Russian more were more likely to prefer Russian over other languages for communication.

4.3.3. Correlations between Russian use and maintenance vis-a-vis demographic variables

The number of years that participants spent in Canada is another aspect that may be connected with *the extent of Russian attrition* ($r = .22, p = .02$). It means that the longer immigrants live in a host country, the more likely they are to experience some mother tongue attrition.

The active use of Russian negatively correlates with the type of employment ($r = -.43; p < .001$). Those who had a full-time job tend to use Russian every day less than those who did not.

The age of participants at the time of this research positively correlates with *the use of Russian* ($r = .27; p = .006$) and negatively correlates with *Russian attrition* ($r = -.33; p < .001$). It means that the older participants were at the time of the study, the more likely they used Russian every day and their Russian was less likely to weaken.

A negative correlation was found between *the provinces where participants lived* and *the importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration* ($r = -.21; p = .03$). Participants in the West of Canada were less likely to say that Russian was important than those who lived in the East of Canada.

All the examined correlations between Russian language use and attitudes parameters and other variables can be found in Appendix B.

4.3.4. Correlations between English / French and adaptation variables

The percentage of the use of English every day is another sociolinguistic variable that positively correlates with *integration* ($r = .33$, $p < .001$). It means that active use of English is associated with perceptions of being better integrated into Canadian society.

The importance of English learning at the time of the study negatively correlates with *the achievement of immigration goals* ($r = -.2$; $p = .04$). It indicates that those participants who said English was important were less likely to achieve what they wanted through immigration.

The level of English before coming to Canada positively correlates with *the feeling of being well integrated into Canadian society* ($r = .23$, $p = .02$). Moreover, other linguistic factors can also be connected with the acculturation process, such as the extent to which participants' English skills have changed from the time of immigration to the time of the survey – a positive correlation was found between *increased level of English skills* and *being well integrated to Canada* ($r = .27$, $p = .006$). Response distributions are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 *Changes in the English proficiency by “Being well integrated”*

Being integrated Changes in English	Yes	Not Sure	No
A lot	35	4	2
Considerably	22	1	0
Somewhat	19	4	5
Very little	5	0	1
Not at all	0	1	1

Also, participants whose *French skills have changed* to a greater extent were more likely to use the word “Canadian” and its variations when they self-identified: a positive correlation was found between these parameters ($r = .25$; $p = .01$).

4.3.5. Correlations between English / French variables

The importance of learning languages. *The importance of English acquisition upon immigration* negatively correlates with *the English skills before immigration* ($r = -.37$; $p < .001$) and *changes in participants' French skills* ($r = -.21$; $p = .03$). In other words, those participants who had better English skills before coming to Canada were less likely to think that English was important for them at the time of the survey and were less likely to change their knowledge of the French language.

Also, *the importance of English acquisition upon immigration* positively correlates with *changes in English skills* ($r = .31$; $p = .001$) and *specific activities for improving English* by participants ($r = .25$; $p = .01$). It means that those participants for whom English was more important upon immigration were more likely to improve their English skills since immigration and also more likely to do something specific about their ESL skills at the time of the study.

A negative correlation was found between *the importance of English learning after the immigration* and *the language participants found more enjoyable for communication* ($r = -.25$; $p = .01$). Participants who thought English was important after they moved to Canada were less likely to say that both languages, Russian and English/French, were more enjoyable for communication.

The importance of English acquisition at the time of this study positively correlates with *the importance of English acquisition after immigration* ($r = .4$; $p < .001$) and *whether participants did something for English learning at the time of the research* ($r = .48$; $p < .001$). Also, *the importance of English acquisition at the time of this study* negatively correlates with *participants' English skills before coming to Canada* ($r = -.26$; $p = .01$). It means that participants with lesser English skills before immigration, were more likely to respond that English was important for them at the time of the study and to do some activities to improve their English.

The importance of French acquisition upon immigration positively correlates with *changes in French* ($r = .78$; $p < .001$) and *the importance of French acquisition at the time of the study* ($r = .57$; $p < .001$). It means that for those participants who said French was important after the immigration were more likely to say that French was still important at the time of the study and that their French had changed. Also, *the importance of French acquisition at the time of this study* positively correlates with *changes in French proficiency* ($r = .58$; $p < .001$).

A positive correlation was found between *the importance of French acquisition at the time of this research* and *the language participants found more enjoyable for communication* ($r = .31$; $p = .001$). Thus, participants who said French was important (at the time of the study) were more likely to say that both languages, Russian and English/French, were more enjoyable for communication.

The use of English. *The active use of English* positively correlates with *the level of English skills before moving to Canada* ($r = .29$; $p = .003$) and *changes in English* ($r = .31$; $p = .002$). The better the participants' English was before immigration, the more participants used English at the time of the study, and the more likely was a change in their English skills.

Language preferences. Also, *the language participants found communication more comfortable in* is positively correlated with *the language participants found communication more enjoyable in* ($r = .32$; $p < .001$). It means that the participants who said both languages were more comfortable for communication were more likely to say that both languages were more enjoyable for communication.

4.3.6. Correlations between English / French and demographic variables

Employment. The type of employment is positively correlated with *the level of English before Canada* ($r = .2$; $p = .04$) and *the use of English every day* ($r = .38$; $p < .001$). Participants who worked full-time were more likely to indicate that they have better English skills before coming to Canada and to use English more.

Provinces. *The province of residence* (from East to West of Canada) negatively correlates with *the importance of learning French when participants just immigrated to Canada* ($r = -.28$, $p = .005$) and *at the time of the study* ($r = -.34$, $p < .001$); i.e., those participants who lived in Western Canada were more likely to want to learn English and not French. These results are not surprising considering a more limited role of French in Western Canada. For the same reasons, *the participants who resided in Western Canada* had a smaller amount of *change in their French proficiency* ($r = -.23$, $p = .02$).

The age of participants. *The age of participants upon immigration* positively correlates with *active English learning* ($r = .22$; $p = .03$) and negatively correlates with *how English skills*

have changed during immigration ($r = -.46$, $p < .001$) and *the active use of English* ($r = -.31$; $p = .002$). Also, *the age of participants at the time of the study* negatively correlates with *changes in English* ($r = -.21$; $p = .02$). In other words, immigrants who came to Canada at an older age do not experience changes in English to the same extent younger immigrants do and do not use English as much as other languages; however, they are more likely to do something specific for acquiring English. Moreover, at the time of the study, older participants were less likely to see the importance of the French language ($r = -.30$; $p = .002$).

Additional mother tongue. A positive correlation was found between *the additional mother tongues* and *the importance of English acquisition after immigration* ($r = .25$; $p = .01$). It means that participants who had more than one mother tongue were more likely to say English was important.

Duration of stay. *The number of years that participants have lived in Canada* negatively correlates with the *importance of continued learning the official language of Canada*, French ($r = -.26$, $p = .01$) and English ($r = -.2$, $p = .04$). In other words, right after participants moved to Canada, they wanted to learn English and/or French more, but after spending some time in the country, their desire to continue learning the languages decreased. Also, duration of stay in Canada positively correlates with English changes ($r = .25$; $p = .01$). It means that the longer participants lived in Canada, the more their English has changed.

The country of origin. *Participants' home country* positively correlates with *the level of English before the immigration* ($r = .22$; $p = .02$) and negatively correlates with *the importance of English at the time of the study* ($r = -.3$; $p = .005$) and *specific activities for English learning* ($r = -.22$; $p = .03$). Participants who came from Russia (as opposed to other Russian-speaking countries) were more likely to have a better English proficiency, and thus, were less likely to believe English learning was important and do anything to improve the language skills.

Education. A positive correlation was found between *the highest level of education* and *English proficiency before coming to Canada* ($r = .44$; $p < .001$). Those who had a university degree were more likely to have better English skills. All the correlations between parameters related to the use of English/French and other examined parameters can be found in Appendix C.

4.3.7. Correlations between adaptation and demographic variables

The acculturation process is also connected with the number of years living in Canada or the age of the participants. Surprisingly, *the acculturation process* negatively correlates with *the number of years in Canada* ($r = -.2$, $p = .04$) and *the age of participants at the time of the study* ($r = -.29$, $p = .003$). These results suggest that the longer participants lived in Canada and, also, the older they were, the more they felt that immigration to Canada was not the right decision.

These results may be explained by the following considerations. In the beginning, the participants were too overwhelmed trying to fit in the new society. However, after spending years in the country, they became more aware of some problems in Canada they were not aware of before. Years after immigration, they got an opportunity to evaluate their stabilized position in the society and realize that they still did not quite fit in. Alternatively, they could start missing home and the life they had in their home country.

Also, *participants with a higher-level education* are less likely to say *immigration was the right decision* ($r = -.2$; $p = .04$).

A positive correlation was found between *the type of employment* and *achievement of immigration goals* ($r = .27$; $p = .009$). Participants with a full-time job were more likely to achieve immigration goals. Moreover, *the type of employment* positively correlates with the *feeling of being adapted* ($r = .23$; $p = .02$). It means that full-time workers are more likely to believe they have adapted into Canadian society.

4.3.8. Correlations between adaptation variables

Positive correlations were found between all the factors of acculturation: “*migration is a right decision*”, “*being well integrated into Canadian society*”, and “*achieved what they planned*”. Participants’ beliefs that *their migration was the right decision* positively correlates with *whether they achieved in immigration what they wanted* ($r = .32$, $p = .001$). Also, a positive correlation was observed between *whether they achieved in immigration what they wanted* and *whether they feel adapted* ($r = .52$, $p < .001$). Another positive correlation was found between *the “migration is a right decision”* and *whether participants feel adapted in Canada* ($r = .57$, $p < .001$). It means that a person who believes he/she has integrated is more likely to think they achieved in immigration

what they hoped for and not to regret coming to Canada and vice versa. All the examined correlations between adaptation parameters and other variables can be found in Appendix D.

4.4. The role of demographic parameters in adaptation

The Chi-square test in SPSS was used to check whether the difference between responses by participant groups is not random. The demographic factors were examined in relation to groups of questions related to adaptation across participants' responses. All tested parameters can be found in Appendix E.

4.4.1. Adaptation

Answers from the questions about adaptation were compared across participants' groups by gender, age, type of employment, age of arrival to Canada, mother tongues, number of years spent in Canada, provinces where participants live at the time of the study, country of origin, and the highest level of education. Adaptation questions were the following:

- Do you think that your move to Canada was the right decision?
- Have you achieved your immigration goals?
- Do you feel well integrated in Canada in general?
- What country do you now consider your home (not in terms of residence, but culturally, spiritually and emotionally)?
- How do you self-identify?

4.4.1.1. Adaptation by gender

Achievement of immigration goals by gender. The answers from 18 men and 79 women who responded to this question were analyzed. Chi-square test showed that *achievement* in immigration differs by *gender* ($\chi^2(2, N=97) = 10.6, p = .005$). Although there were more women who participated in this study, the proportions of women and men who said they achieved what they wanted in immigration are about the same (67-68%). Interestingly, close to 30% of women reported that they did not achieve their goals in immigration, and no men admitted not achieving

their goals (Table 4.3). In addition, more men (33.3%) than women (8.9%) produced “not sure” responses.

The results suggest that more women than men do not achieve their goals in immigration, or at least are able to admit it.

Table 4.3 Achievement of immigration goals by gender

Achievement	Gender	
	Male	Female
Yes	12 (66.7%)	54 (68.3%)
Not sure	6 (33.3%)	7 (8.9%)
No	0 (0%)	18 (22.8%)
Total (97):	18 (100%)	79 (100%)

Spiritual home by gender. Another adaptation parameter that is found to be dependent on *gender* is the responses about the country that participants consider to be their *spiritual and emotional home* ($\chi^2(5, N=97) = 12.3, p = .03$). The replies were divided into 6 groups depending on the answers: “Both countries”, “Canada”, “Home country”, “I am a cosmopolitan”, “My home is wherever I am”, and all other responses (in “Other” option). There were 18 responses produced by males and 78 by females. Table 4.4 shows the gender distribution of responses to the question about the spiritual home.

The results show that men are more likely to say that both countries (Canada and their home country) were their spiritual home, unlike women who considered Canada as their home more often than men. Moreover, many females believed that their home was wherever they were, while none of the male participants selected this answer.

Table 4.4 *Spiritual home by gender*

Home	Gender	
	Male	Female
Both countries	6 (33.3%)	16 (20.3%)
Canada	3 (16.7%)	17 (21.5%)
Home country	2 (11.1%)	9 (11.4%)
I am a cosmopolitan (citizen of the world)	4 (22.2%)	4 (5.1%)
My home is wherever I am	0 (0%)	24 (30.4%)
Other	3 (16.7%)	9 (11.4%)
Total (96):	18 (100%)	79 (100%)

4.4.1.2. Adaptation by employment

The category of employment was regrouped into “Full-time” (those participants who worked full-time) and “Non-full-time” (the rest of the participants) to check if being a full-time worker helps in the acculturation process. There were 67 participants’ responses in the Full-time group and 30 in the Non-full-time group. More details about response distribution are presented in Table 4.5.

Achievement of immigration goals by the type of employment. The Chi-square test showed that *achievement* covaries with *on the type of employment* ($\chi^2(2, N=97) = 6.9, p = .03$). It means that those participants who had a full-time job said they achieved their goals in immigration more often than the ones with a non-full-time job. However, there was no significant difference between the gender of full-time and non-full time workers.

Table 4.5 Achievement of immigration goals by employment

Achievement	Type of employment	
	Full-time	Non-full-time
Yes	51 (76.1%)	15 (50%)
Not sure	7 (10.4%)	6 (16.7%)
No	9 (13.4%)	10 (33.3%)
Total (97):	67 (100%)	30 (100%)

Self-identity by the type of employment. Chi-square test found the dependency of *self-identity* and *the type of employment* ($\chi^2(1, N=92) = 4.03, p = .04$). The distribution of responses is represented in Table 4.6. As the table 4.6 indicates, the participants with a full-time job were more likely to use the word “Canadian” and its variations.

Table 4.6 Self-identity by the type of employment

Self-identity	Type of employment	
	Full-time	Non-full-time
Using word “Canadian”	46 (73%)	15 (51.7%)
Not using word “Canadian”	17 (27%)	14 (48.3%)
Total (92):	63 (100%)	29 (100%)

Spiritual home by the type of employment. Moreover, what country participants considered “home” also differs by *the type of employment* ($\chi^2(5, N=97) = 20.4, p = .001$). Table 4.7 shows the response distribution. The results indicate that participants with full-time jobs were more likely to consider Canada or both countries at the same time their spiritual and emotional home. Participants without full-time jobs tend to think that their home was wherever they were without specifying any country or location.

Table 4.7 *Spiritual home by employment*

Home	Type of employment	
	Full-time	Non-full-time
Both countries	17 (25%)	4 (13.8%)
Canada	17 (25%)	3 (10.3%)
Home country	9 (13.2%)	4 (13.8%)
I am a cosmopolitan (citizen of the world)	5 (7.4%)	3 (10.3%)
My home is wherever I am	9 (13.2%)	15 (51.7%)
Other	11 (16.2%)	0 (0%)
Total (96):	68 (100%)	29 (100%)

4.4.1.3. Adaptation by the provinces of residence

Self-identity by provinces. Next, the adaptation factors were considered by the province of residence of the participants. The Chi-square test showed a significant association between the *provincial groups* and *the way people self-identify* ($\chi^2(2, N=93) = 8, p = .02$). The responses to the question about self-identification were divided into two groups: the first one – participants who used the words “Canadian/Canada” in any way, as, for example, Russian Canadian or Canadian Russian. The second group included all other participants who did not self-identify using “Canadian/Canada”. Table 4.8 shows the distribution of the responses.

The results indicate that those participants who resided on the West Coast of Canada and in Central Canada were more likely to use Canadian/Canada when they self-identify. Those who lived in the Prairie Provinces used Canadian and non-Canadian self-identifications equally.

Table 4.8 *Self-identity by provinces of residence*

Provinces	Self-identity	
	Canadian/Canada	Non-Canadian/Canada
West Coast	34 (54.8%)	8 (25.8%)
Prairie Provinces	12 (19.4%)	13 (41.9%)
Central Canada	16 (25.8%)	10 (32.3%)
Total (93):	62 (100%)	31 (100%)

4.5. Participants' responses to open-ended questions about languages and adaptation

Three long open-ended questions from the questionnaire were analyzed to find out more about participants' experience and look at their acculturation process and language change from their point of view.

4.5.1. Question about communication difficulties

One of the open-ended questions was about communicative difficulties that participants experienced in Canada immediately after immigration (See Appendix A, question 32). There were 96 participants who answered this question. The total number of words was 1696 (the average number of words per participant is 17). The most common themes identified in responses to this question are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Responses to the question about communication difficulties

Poor knowledge of English/French	20
Lack of English/French	15
Problems with different aspects of a language (such as speaking and listening)	25
Accent	9
Problems with understanding Canadian variant of English and French, their slang and idioms	11
Other communicative difficulties due to different cultures	15

The majority of respondents (n=70) mentioned that communicative difficulties were caused partly by the poor knowledge of the Canadian official languages. Some participants (n=15) did not face any problems after their immigration. Also, there were participants (n=11) who did not say anything about the language and mentioned other reasons for the experienced difficulties.

A. Language

- Poor or lack of knowledge of languages

The majority of the participants (n=20) among those who noted they had problems with language mentioned they had poor knowledge of English or French while 15 participants mentioned they did not speak official languages at all. Participants wrote they had to carry a dictionary everywhere they went, could not communicate with other people, and had problems everywhere. Two respondents reported being ashamed of their language knowledge. Also, two participants said they felt discomfort, were not confident in everyday interaction, and their self-esteem decreased. One of the participants (participant's ID was *Che12*) commented, “the lack of language provoked seclusion, as I felt stupid, not understanding others. Self-esteem has decreased a lot”.

- Aspects of a language

Many participants mentioned they experienced a language barrier, had difficulties with speaking, were afraid to talk on the phone (n=14), and had problems with understanding people's speech (n=11). Participants noted:

- *It was difficult at first to understand/speak on the phone (ID - Ylg55)*
- *The inability to express my thoughts competently and freely like in Russian, fear of using the telephone, difficulties with listening to others' speech (ID - 123)*
- *I didn't understand people at all. I didn't understand sounds in words at all. It was also difficult to speak. (ID - 355)*

- Accent

Some participants (n=9) observed that their accent was the reason why they were not understood sometimes. Also, as one of the participants (ID - chm) said, "some people were not ready to deal with the accent". Others also mentioned that the Russian accent was considered rude and Canadians did not understand it and did not want to accept it. One participant wrote that when people heard an accent, they assumed a person had poor knowledge of a language.

- Understanding of Canadian English/French

Some participants (n=11) wrote they had difficulties with understanding the Canadian varieties of English and French. Since British English is mainly taught in former Soviet countries, some respondents (n=6) said they did not know the Canadian variations of words. Also, they were taught British pronunciation, so they had trouble with the Canadian one. One of the participants commented on the British variation of English:

Teachers, tutors in Russia taught grammar very well. They taught the pronunciation of a British accent. And I heard English for the first time in Canada. I didn't understand anything. Radio is like a cacophony of sounds. I communicated with difficulty because of my pronunciation. (ID - sgs59)

Moreover, Canadian slang and idioms caused difficulties for four participants. A participant (ID - *nat*) wrote, “new phrases that are often used by Canadians (for example, slang) were unfamiliar to me”.

B. Other communicative difficulties

In addition to language difficulties, 15 participants also mentioned other communicative difficulties. Mainly, these difficulties were attributed by participants to cultural and societal differences, e.g., “cross-cultural misunderstanding” (ID - *Gal78*), “it was hard to adapt without knowing the customs” (ID - *Aaa33*), and another “way of thinking” (ID - *Nov123*).

In summary, the responses to the question about communicative difficulties showed that the majority of communicative difficulties that immigrants had after coming to Canada were caused by the poor knowledge of the official languages, lack of language skills, or Canadian variations of English and French as well as by cultural differences.

4.5.2. Question about linguistic balance after immigration

In an answer to a long question in the survey (See Appendix A, question 33) the participants were requested to describe their linguistic experience after immigration, how they balanced learning the official languages of Canada with maintaining Russian. They were asked to address their priorities of learning the official languages of Canada and maintaining the Russian language immediately after immigration and at the time of the study. There were 93 participants who responded to the question. In total, there were 2877 words in respondents’ answers (the average number of words per one participant is 31). Table 4.10 presents the most common responses to the question about linguistic balance after immigration.

Table 4.10 Responses to the question about linguistic balance after immigration

English and French were the most important languages at the beginning	13
Learning English/French in language classes and during studies	13
Did not do anything specific for language acquisition	9
English and French are the most important languages now	7
Russian is the most important language now	7
Focus more on Russian maintenance now than before	14
Russian maintenance is important for children	11
Russian is used with families and friends	30
Russian will not be forgotten	11
Learning English/French and maintaining Russian are both important now	17

Right after the immigration, English and/or French were more important for some participants ($n=13$) than other languages. None of the respondents wrote that Russian was the most important language when they just moved to Canada. Since participants wanted to adapt to a new country, find a job and friends, learning the official languages of Canada was the priority for them. As one participant (ID - Apo456) wrote, “at first, it was very important to assimilate. Therefore, there was practically no Russian in our life”. Another participant said:

At first, English was more important, it was necessary to reach at least 70-80% of the level of knowledge of Russian. Reading, radio, television, news – everything in Russian has been banned for about three years. (ID - Tat24)

Participants described what they did to acquire English and/or French. There were 13 participants who mentioned they took language courses or improved their language skills during studies in a university. Some respondents ($n=5$) learned English/French on their own while nine

participants said they did not do anything specific and acquired languages at work or during everyday activities, such as talking to neighbours and children's teachers. A participant (ID - *Che12*) commented, "unfortunately, there was no time to learn the language as required – systematically. The language "came" by itself over time".

The responses to the long questions confirmed the findings for multiple-choice responses that the importance of languages changed from the moment participants immigrated to Canada to the moment of completing the questionnaire. Respondents (n=7) said English and/or French were the most important languages for them at the time of this study. Also, seven participants wrote that Russian maintenance was the priority for them and their families.

After spending some time in Canada, participants became more confident in the official languages of Canada and 14 of them mentioned they started to focus more on preserving the Russian language. One participant (ID - *nat*) noted that "the desire to improve English changed gradually to preserving Russian". Another respondent wrote:

Upon arrival, I limited communication in Russian to the maximum in order to get the missing English. It took 4 years. After that, I began to pay attention to Russian and support it in the family. (ID - Ba655)

For some participants (n=11), it was important to maintain the language among their children to communicate with the Russian-speaking family. A participant (ID - *116*) pointed out, "when we noticed that children started to forget Russian, we were concerned for its maintenance in the family".

To maintain the Russian language, participants often watched Russian movies, used Russian websites, read books and news, listened to podcasts, or had a job in Russian. For 30 respondents, this language was maintained thanks to communication with family in Canada and home and Russian-speaking friends. Moreover, many participants (n=21) mentioned that in their families, they did not use English at all and used only Russian with their partners and children. Also, some participants (n=11) noted that for them, it was impossible to forget Russian since they came to Canada in adulthood and also because Russian was their mother tongue and a part of their lives.

Furthermore, some participants (n=17) wrote they wanted to continue learning English and French and, at the same time, preserve the Russian language. One participant said:

Both languages are equally important to me. I need both for work, so learning English was very important. Over time, it became not so much important as exciting and interesting, because fluency in English opens up a rich world of English-language literature and culture. At the same time, the Russian language is a part of me; to lose it or “spoil” it means to lose myself. I can't imagine myself without the Russian language and culture. (ID - a6e14)

Another respondent commented:

In short: my Russian language is me. English is another part of me, that's how I live; I work in English, I live in Russian. (ID - Гал78)

To summarize participants' answers to this question, when they first came to Canada, to a new country and society, it was more important to integrate into another environment by learning the official languages. After some time, when immigrants became more confident with the language and a new life, they started to think of maintaining their mother tongue and passing it over to their children.

4.5.3. Question about the recommendations for new immigrants

The third long open-ended question was “What would you recommend new immigrants to easier adapt to the Canadian life?” (See Appendix A, question 34). In total, 92 participants replied to this question. The total number of words was 1133 (the average number of words per participant is 12). Table 4.11 presents the most common responses to the question about the recommendations for new immigrants.

Table 4.11 Responses to the question about the recommendations for new immigrants

Learn English and French	38
Learn Canadian culture and history	15
Be open to everything and everyone	37
Avoid Russian-speaking people and communities	11
Not to compare lives in a home country and Canada	4
Use Canadian media	3

Many participants (n=38) said that they recommended new immigrants to learn English and French before they move to Canada. Respondents wrote:

- *Knowledge of English is the cornerstone of success when adapting to Canada* (ID - 222)
- *The better the language skills are, the clearer the culture of this country becomes* (ID - 355).

Also, some participants (n=15) recommended to new immigrants to learn Canadian culture. One respondent (ID - Olk14) wrote, “Read more about the characteristics of each province, about the history of Canada, about the indigenous peoples of Canada”. Other participants recommended to “watch videos about the country/immigration” (ID - Ylg55), “try to learn the history and culture of Canadians, now this is your country and the homeland of your children” (ID - Talgat4075). Another participant emphasized the necessity to learn a new culture and maintain home culture simultaneously:

Canada is an amazing multi-faceted country: explore, respect local customs and values, while maintaining and not losing your native culture and language. (ID - a6814)

Moreover, according to 37 participants, it is important to be open to everything new, not to judge what immigrants see and experience, and not to be afraid to communicate with other people. One respondent commented:

Be more open and connect with people from other cultures – we often have a lot in common. And if there are differences, it is very interesting! (ID - nat)

Another participant recommended not to worry about being an immigrant:

Don't worry about being an immigrant, because in Canada everyone is an immigrant except for the indigenous population. (ID - Olk14)

Some participants (n=11) mentioned that it was better for newcomers to avoid Russian-speaking immigrants and communities because it could stop the English language acquisition and acculturation processes. They advised not to find Russian-speaking friends, not to use Russian at work, and to minimize communication in Russian at least for the first few years.

Another recommendation from some participants (n=3) was not to compare the life that immigrants had in their home country and the life that they have after the immigration. Also, they noted that it was important to avoid a comparison between these two countries. A respondent wrote:

Do not compare Canada with your homeland, try to understand that this is a different country. There are other people here, a different culture, no worse, no better – just different. (ID - Sfm24)

Also, four participants pointed out that it was better for new immigrants to use Canadian media, read local newspapers, and watch Canadian TV channels in English and French.

To summarize the recommendations for new immigrants, the most important aspect that many participants described was the knowledge of the official languages which could help newcomers to acculturate in a new society easier and feel belonging to the new society. Another important aspect was to study the culture, history, and other realities of Canadian life.

4.5.4. Language use in long answers by participants and mistakes

Participants' answers were checked in order to find what languages they chose to write them. Since first language attrition often happens and many immigrants make errors in their speech such as the decrease of the lexicon (Cherciov, 2011) and problems with grammar (Schmid, 2004). I have also checked what common mistakes participants made.

- Question about communication difficulties

Participants were asked to write the first question in Russian, however, if they wanted, they could use English or the mixture of both languages (See Appendix A, question 32). 78 participants (81.2%) wrote their responses in Russian, 9 people (9.4%) used only English, and 9 respondents (9.4%) used both languages, for example, they used English borrowings while writing the answer in Russian.

The number of words. A positive correlation was found between *the number of words written in the response* and *the country of origin* ($r = .22$; $p = .03$). Those who came to Canada from Russia tend to write more words.

The presence of mistakes. Also, there is a negative correlation between *the age of participants at the time of immigration* and *whether participants made mistakes* ($r = -.20$; $p = .05$) which indicates that if participants immigrated at an older age, they were less likely to make mistakes.

Interestingly, if *French was important after immigration*, participants were more likely to *make mistakes* ($r = .22$; $p = .03$).

The language use. A positive correlation was found between *the highest level of education* and *what language participants employed in their answers* ($r = .23$, $p = .03$). It means that the higher level of participants' education was, the more likely they were to use English or both languages rather than only Russian.

Also, a negative correlation was found between *the language participants wrote their answers in* and *the language they thought was more comfortable for communication* ($r = -.22$; $p = .03$). Those participants who said Russian was a more comfortable language for communication were more likely to write their responses in Russian.

Also, the participants for whom *English learning was important at the time of the study* were less likely to write in *both languages* ($r = -.25$; $p = .01$). Another negative correlation was found between *the language that participants used for this question* and *the language they found more comfortable communicating in* ($r = -.22$; $p = .03$). It means that those participants who used

only Russian were less likely to say that they were more comfortable communicating in both Russian and one of the official languages of Canada. A summary of correlations between the above described parameters can be found in Appendix F.

In total, 23 participants made 23 mistakes. Two participants made more than one mistake. The most common one was punctuation such as the omission of a comma (n=15). Other mistakes were the absence of a hyphen (n=3; for example, in *umo-mo* “something”), the omission of the article in English (n=2; for example, “French language”, should be “*the French language*”), and a typo (n=2). These mistakes can possibly be explained by the fact that the questionnaire was online, people were typing their answers and did not look at their grammar too much. The last mistake was about the rule in Russian that *not* + verb should be written separately while one participant wrote them as one word. Also, there were non-canonical forms – word contractions that two participants used (n=2, for example, *англ* “Engl” for *английский* “English”).

- Question about linguistic balance after immigration

To answer this question, participants were also requested to use Russian (See Appendix A, question 33). The majority of participants (n=84, 92.3%) used only the Russian language, 3 participants (3.3%) wrote their answers only in English, and 4 people (4.4%) used the mixture of both languages.

Participants wrote more words in the question about linguistic balance after immigration (2877 words) than in other long questions (1696 words in the question the question about communication difficulties; 1125 words in the question about the recommendations for new immigrants). Responses to this question had the highest number of mistakes (n=51) compared to other questions. Although the responses to this question had the maximum number of words, no correlation was observed between the number of words and the number of mistakes. Some participants (n=11) made two mistakes or more.

The number of words. A negative correlation was observed between *the number of words written for this question* and *the gender of participants* ($r = -.23$, $p = .03$). It indicates that men tended to write more words for this question than women.

The number of words in a response positively correlates with *specific activities for Russian maintenance* ($r = .31$; $p = .002$), *changes in French skills* ($r = .28$; $p = .007$), *the importance of French at the time of the study* ($r = .3$; $p = .004$), and *spiritual home* ($r = .37$; $p < .001$). It means that the more participants wrote in their answers, the more likely they did something to maintain Russian, the more their French has changed, they thought French was important, and the less likely they were to name Canada or their home country as their spiritual home.

The language use. *The language use in this question* negatively correlates with *the level of education* ($r = -.22$; $p = .04$), *the importance of Russian upon immigration* ($r = -.33$; $p = .001$), and *the percentage of use of Russian* ($r = -.23$; $p = .03$). Participants who wrote answers in Russian were less likely to have a university degree, to say Russian was important after immigration, and to use Russian actively.

The language use also positively correlates with *the language participants found more enjoyable for communication* ($r = .25$; $p = .01$). If participants used both languages, they were more likely to say that both languages were more enjoyable. All tested parameters can be found in Appendix G.

In response to a long question (See Appendix A, question 33), the most frequent mistake again was the problems with punctuation ($n=21$). Also, 11 people had typos in their responses. Other mistakes were the omission of a hyphen ($n=5$), *not + verb* ($n=4$), mistakes in the ending of the word ($n=3$, these mistakes were caused by the wrong choice of the case for a noun or an adjective, for example, *о поддержание*, should be *о поддержании*, “about maintaining”), a mistake in a word ($n=2$; extra consonant: *галлерея*, should be *галерея*, “gallery”; extra space: *чтобы*, should be *чтобы*, “in order to”, as a conjunction that introduces a subordinate clause), the omission of the word ($n=2$) or a letter ($n=1$), and the use of a word that was not needed ($n=1$). The majority of the mistakes in the question about linguistic balance after immigration can also be explained by the way the questionnaire was administered (online). Moreover, two participants employed words that indicated not a mistake but a non-canonical form.

- Question about the recommendations for new immigrants

This question did not provide any instructions as to which language participants should use (See Appendix A, question 34). The majority of them (n=84, 92.3%) wrote their responses in Russian, while English was used by 5 people (5.5%), and 2 participants (n=2.2%) used the mixture of Russian and English.

The number of words. *The number of words* positively correlates with *the level of education* ($r = .23$; $p = .03$) and *the achievement of immigration goals* ($r = .21$; $p = .04$). People with a higher level of education and who achieved their immigration goals were more likely to write more words.

The presence of mistakes. A negative correlation was found between *the amount of use of Russian every day* and *whether participants made mistakes if they wrote responses in Russian* ($r = -.22$, $p = .03$). It means that the more a person uses Russian every day, the less likely a person will make a mistake.

The presence of mistakes also negatively correlates with *the age of participants at the time of this research* ($r = -.22$; $p = .04$) and positively correlates with *changes in French* ($r = .22$; $p = .03$) and *the importance of French learning at the time of the study* ($r = .23$; $p = .03$). In other words, those participants who made mistakes were more likely to be younger, to have changes in their French and to believe French was important.

The language use. *The language use in responding to Question 34* (See Appendix A) positively correlates with *the use of English* ($r = .22$; $p = .04$) and negatively correlates with *the use of Russian* ($r = -.23$; $p = .02$). It means that those participants who wrote their responses in both languages were more likely to use English every day more than Russian.

A table with all the tested parameters can be found in Appendix H.

In total, 23 participants made 26 mistakes (3 responses had 2 mistakes). In this question, there were only four types of mistakes. Punctuation errors were made by 17 people, 8 respondents had typos, and one participant made a mistake in a word (extra space: *но началу*, should be *поначалу*, “at first”).

5. DISCUSSION

This research study aimed to describe how Russian-speaking immigrants acquire Canada's official languages and adapt to its culture, how at the same time they maintain the Russian language and the culture of their home country, and what helps them in the immigration journey. In this chapter, I will summarize the results of the present study and outline the implications.

5.1. The acquisition and maintenance of languages

This study shows that languages are the most important aspects of the acculturation process: the knowledge of the official languages of Canada eases the adaptation to a new culture while the maintenance of the Russian language help Russian-speaking immigrants to preserve their home culture. This result confirms earlier findings for other immigrant groups (e.g., Reeves, 2015) as well as for Russian immigrants in other countries (e.g., Usuyama, 2015). The importance of knowledge of languages is explained by the fact that a person gets more opportunities in a new country, access to services, and communication with new people if they know Canada's official languages (Immigration, 2021), while the use of Russian is the key to maintenance of the home culture (Usuyama, 2015). Thus, it is important first to discuss how immigrants acquire new languages and preserve the mother tongue.

5.1.1. The acquisition of English/French

For Canada, the language education of adult immigrants is crucial for their settlement (Ellyson et al., 2016). Previous studies showed that multiple ways to access the learning of the majority languages are available to immigrants in Canada (Jackson, 201; Ellyson, Andrew, & Clement, 2016). Strategies of learning the dominant language by immigrants from other cultural groups in Canada include free language classes that are provided by the government for immigrants (Ellyson et al., 2016) such as LINC for English learning, CLIC for French learning (Jackson, 2013), and other language classes (Busko et al., 2019).

In the present research, some participants also mentioned they learnt languages in language classes and the university. However, it remains unclear if they used free government-provided courses or other ones. Also, this study showed that many Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada

have learnt English and/or French on their own doing various exercises, and immersed themselves in a language by practicing it actively, for example, by talking to people as much as possible or using local media in the English or French language.

Participants' responses and results from longer questions indicate that the importance of learning English and French after immigration leads to changes in English and French skills respectively. Some studies indicated that the skills in use of a majority language improve after immigration (Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Ispahonding, 2015). A similar result was also found in this study, in that the longer immigrants live in Canada, the more knowledge of the official languages changes.

Interestingly, in this study, Russian-speaking participants who had an additional mother tongue were more likely to focus on language learning. However, it can be explained by the fact that the most of participants with only one mother tongue were from Russia. Since the respondents from Russia had better English knowledge before immigration, the need for learning languages was less important for them.

The results also indicate that the acquisition of the official languages of Canada becomes less important after immigrants spent some time in Canada. Immigrants feel the need to know the official languages of a country in order to integrate into a new country, live more or less comfortably and be independent. This finding is new as compared to previous research on language acquisition (e.g., Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Becerra et al., 2015) because these earlier studies focused primarily on the reason why the learning of majority languages was important for immigrants and how languages could help newcomers and not on the dynamics of language acquisition from the immigrant point of view.

Better language skills may lead to greater success in the labour market. The present research study found that those Russian-speaking immigrants whose English was better when they immigrated to Canada were more likely to have a full-time job. The importance of language skills in employment confirms the findings of the previous studies (Ferrer et al., 2006; Ellyson et al., 2016).

It is known from earlier studies that the use of minority languages prevents immigrants from integrating into the host country (Hou et al., 2018). The present research found that the active

use of English, one of the official languages of Canada, helps Russian-speaking immigrants to feel more integrated into the host society.

While some earlier studies found that good skills in use of the majority language help to adapt more easily (Stewart et al. 2011; Zorlu & Hartog, 2018), other previous research on the acculturation process indicated that the knowledge of the host country after the immigration does not correlate with integration (Hou et al., 2018). The present study did find a correlation between language skills and the integration process. It means that those immigrants whose English proficiency is high have more chances to feel adapted into Canadian society.

Also, in the present study, participants who had a higher level of education were more likely to have higher proficiency in the majority languages. Similar results were also shown in earlier studies (Adamuti-Trache, 2012; Bonin, 2015) that indicated the relations between the level of education and language skills.

Another aspect that influences English proficiency is the age of immigrants. People who immigrate at an older age experience fewer changes in English skills. Also, this research showed that they do not use English as much as younger immigrants do. These results were also found in the earlier study by Ispphording (2015), precisely older immigrants experience more difficulties with language acquisition.

5.1.2. Maintenance of the Russian language

The maintenance of the mother tongue in a host country is a difficult process (Ng, 2007; Atari, 2013). Many immigrants and minority families may experience a language shift from the mother tongue to the majority language (Ng, 2013). My study has shown that many immigrants successfully handle the preservation of their mother tongue while many people experience the Russian attrition process as well.

As described in earlier research (Mehdiabadi et al., 2020), first language attrition often happens among first-generation immigrants. A change in mother tongue fluency is a natural process in bilingualism (Yilmaz & Schmid, 2018) and it often affects people in immigration. In a host country, a person is exposed to other languages that majority and minority groups of people are speaking which can result in the weakening of a mother tongue (Steinkrauss & Schmid, 2016). The

present study shows that, for individuals, the Russian language weakens when a person uses English more often. It means that active practice of a mother tongue may help to prevent its attrition.

Previous research (Cherciov, 2011) showed that attrition of the first language does not happen among first-generation immigrants necessarily. However, the results from the present study indicate that many Russian-speaking participants experience the weakening of the Russian language. The study by Cherciov (2011) also found that many immigrants have native proficiency in the mother tongue after many years in immigration. Such a finding was not observed in the present research. By contrast, the results of the present study are aligned with findings by Mehdiabadi et al. (2020) that showed the correlation between attrition of the mother tongue and the number of years a person lived in a host country. The present study also confirms that the longer an immigrant lives in a host country, the more his/her native language proficiency is affected.

As shown in Chapter 4, the wish to preserve Russian among immigrants changes over time. Maintenance of the mother tongue was put on hold for some time since the official languages of Canada were the priority. Previous research showed that Russian-speaking immigrant may start feeling nostalgic after some time spent in a host country (Starkova, 2017), which can explain why the desire for Russian maintenance strengthens over the years since immigration.

As many participants mentioned, they maintained the Russian language through communication with their families and Russian-speaking friends. This strategy to keep the language was also observed in earlier studies (Bortolato, 2012; Usuyama, 2015). Also, some participants said that they were not afraid to forget Russian because they spoke with their partners only in Russian. Similar results were found in previous research (Chiswick & Miller, 2014) that showed that partners who have one mother tongue are more likely to use and maintain it.

The results of the present study showed that the active use of Russian may result in worse adaptation. Previous research also found this tendency; immigrants who use their mother tongue more often than majority languages, do not feel strong connections with the host country and lack the practice of the language of the host country (Hou et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the study reveals that for some Russian-speaking immigrants, it is easier to maintain their mother tongue than for others. Older immigrants face fewer problems with

preserving the Russian language because they tend to use Russian more. This can also explain why older Russian-speaking immigrants are less likely to lose their mother tongue than the younger ones.

Another aspect that helps to maintain language is using Russian not only in conversations with other people but also engaging with traditional media, social media, books, and other sources in this language (Woldeab, 2013; Moreira, 2014). Some participants in the present study who wanted to preserve Russian also mentioned that they read newspapers, listened to podcasts, and watched movies in Russian which helped them not to forget their mother tongue.

The small population of a minority community in the host country leads to the lack of language support (Ng, 2007). The present research showed that even though there are places where Russian-speaking immigrants can support their mother tongue in Canada, for example, in different cultural organizations by communication with other Russian speakers (Rogova, 2020), there are not many of them. Although results indicate that bigger cities have more opportunities for Russian-speaking immigrants to maintain the language, I believe that more organizations that would support Russian culture and Russian language are needed in Canada.

5.2. Acculturation

The present study showed that different aspects can ease the acculturation process. In order to be integrated, which means supporting both cultures (Berry, 1997), there should be a balance between the use of languages as well as between two cultures (Sam & Berry, 2010).

5.2.1. Adaptation to Canadian society

Some of the results of this study confirm the previous research on immigrants and particularly on Russian-speaking immigrants. Earlier research on Russian-speaking immigrants in Norway (Marjutenkova, 2019) found that being open-minded can help in the adaptation process. As many participants in this study wrote, people need to be open to everything new and not be afraid of differences.

Every immigration process is different from person to person (Gonzalez & Mendez-Pounds, 2018). There is no one right way how to adapt easier. As previous research stated, Canada is a country that differs from Russia in many aspects, including culture, social structure, language, population (Slavina & Khairova, 2016), and behaviour (Arapova, 2016). Russian-speaking immigrants have to go a long way to feel like they are at home in Canada and think that their immigration was the right decision. Some participants in my study advised newcomers not to expect that everything would be perfect the way they want right away.

Additionally, many participants noticed the importance of learning the new culture and the history of Canada. Awareness of these aspects allows newcomers to better understand everything that surrounds them and not to feel like a stranger. Even before immigration, people can learn about the city and province where they plan to immigrate. This can help to avoid or decrease culture shock, which can slow down the acculturation process and cause disappointment and anger towards a new society (Balidemaj, 2016). Similar advice is provided in my study by some participants: “Read more about the characteristics of each province, about the history of Canada, about the indigenous peoples of Canada”. Furthermore, recommendations for newcomers suggested by participants include reading more books and watching more videos about Canada. Also, Russian-speaking immigrants were advised to find support on Facebook groups (see Chapter 2).

Some of the factors that help in language acquisition or maintenance also ease adaptation, such as the use of local media, as mentioned in previous research on Russian-speaking immigrants (Syskova, 2013) and on non-Russian-speaking immigrants (Woldaeb, 2013; Alencar & Deuze, 2017). Some participants in the present research highlighted the importance of the use of local media. By doing so, Russian-speaking immigrants are able to get news about what is happening in Canada and the province in which they live which can help to feel more connected to a new society.

Moreover, the results of the present study suggest that the demographic status also influences the acculturation process: older immigrants tend to regret their decision to immigrate to Canada more than younger ones. This was also indicated by the earlier study (Angel et al., 1999): younger immigrants are more likely to adapt and learn a new culture.

According to Yijala & Luoma (2019), employment is one of the crucial factors in the adaptation process as it can affect the physical and psychological health of an immigrant. Earlier research on Russian-speaking immigrants (Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017) also showed the

same tendency. Similar to this finding, the present study found that full-time workers are more likely to feel adapted and achieve their immigration goals.

In line with earlier research on non-Russian-speaking immigrants (Le, 2004) and Russian immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008), the level of education was found to influence the acculturation process in the present study as well. Unlike the previous research (Le, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008) that showed that more educated people adapt more easily, the present study found that Russian-speaking immigrants with a higher level of education are less likely to believe their immigration was the right decision.

Previous research on Russian immigrants in the US (Mendez, 2019) found that gender could influence the integration process whereby women tend to adapt easier than men. However, the present study found that more male participants achieved their immigration goals compared to female ones.

Interestingly, the present study showed the fact that length of stay in a host country does not necessarily indicate a better adaptation which goes contrary to previous research on both Russian speaking and other immigrants (Miglietta & Tartaglia, 2009; Grigoryev & Van de Vijver, 2017). The present study indicates that the longer Russian-speaking immigrants live in Canada, the less likely they think their move to Canada was the right decision.

5.2.2. Maintenance of a home culture

The results showed that Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada have the opportunity to preserve their home culture successfully. The maintenance of a home culture is very important when immigrants want to preserve their identity (Alzayed, 2015). Thanks to the policy of multiculturalism in Canada, immigrants are encouraged to maintain their culture (Lutz, 2017). Thus, it makes it easier for Russian-speaking immigrants to preserve their culture and traditions.

Immigrants can watch Russian movies that might remind them of their home country and their life before immigration. Similar to a previous study (Usuyama, 2015), the present research showed that Russian-speaking media helps immigrants in culture preservation. Also, things remind immigrants of the home country can help in cultural preservation, for example, listening to traditional music, practicing traditional dances, or eating Russian food (Alzayed, 2015). Such

immersion can help Russian-speaking immigrants to pass over the culture and the language to their children (Alzayed, 2015).

Many previous studies found that some immigrants wanted their children to be able to speak in Russian and to know aspects of the home culture (e.g., Elias & Lemish, 2011; Antonova-Unlu et al., 2015). Participants in the present research also emphasized the importance of passing over the culture and the language.

Previous research (Shovkovyy, 2020) emphasized the role of the Russian diaspora in culture maintenance. The present study also confirms the importance of the Russian diaspora. The maintenance of home culture can be done by surrounding yourself with people with the same background. This helps Russian-speaking immigrants to keep connections with their roots by celebrating Russian holidays together, eating Russian food, and practicing the traditions of their home country in Canada.

Although the number of Russian-speaking immigrants is growing, they are still a relatively small immigrant group in Canada (Safdar et al., 2011). The research reveals that for those people who live in smaller cities or less populated provinces, such as Saskatchewan, the maintenance of their home culture requires more effort. However, even in bigger places, it is harder for Russian-speaking immigrants to maintain their culture and language compared to other immigrant groups with a larger number of people. Earlier research on Russian immigrants (Usuyama, 2015) showed that it is very hard for Russians to maintain their home culture in Australia, where Russian-speaking immigrants face difficulties and have to do something specific in order to preserve their mother tongue.

Earlier research demonstrates that a dense community helps in culture maintenance (Vinokurov et al., 2019). For example, Chinese immigrants face fewer problems with the preservation of culture and language in Canada because they are one of the largest minority groups (Statistics, 2016). Thus, for Chinese immigrants, it may be easier to support their home traditions, beliefs, and holidays than for Russian-speaking immigrants. However, despite the large number of Chinese immigrants in Canada, they also face problems with home culture maintenance (Xia, 2010). It means that the question of cultural preservation arises among other immigrant groups as well. Moreover, children and grandchildren of Chinese immigrants are less likely to preserve the home culture in Canada (Locher-Lo, 2020). Thus, Canada needs to provide more cultural support

and make the process of culture maintenance easier for all immigrants, including Russian-speaking ones.

5.3. Limitations of the study

The main limitation of this research is the number of participants which is relatively small. Since there were only 100 participants, this study can identify only some trends that are similar among some Russian-speaking immigrants, although it cannot describe the similarities of acculturation between all Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada.

Another limitation of this study is related to the country of origin of the participants. Since this study focuses on Russian-speaking immigrants, there were participants from different countries (mostly from Post-Soviet countries). However, this research did not focus on describing the acculturation journey of Russian speakers from each country specifically. Hence, further research is required to show the differences between the integration process of Russian-speaking immigrants from different countries.

This study showed that the province where Russian-speaking immigrants live can influence their acculturation process. Since the research did not focus on the reasons why it happens, it is important to conduct a study that will show how Russian-speaking immigrants adapt to a new culture and describe ways of maintenance of their home culture in every province. It will be helpful for Russian-speaking immigrants because they will know how to integrate easier based on the province they choose to live in.

The present study found that participants had more Russian-speaking friends compared to non-Russian speaking immigrant friends as well as to English-speaking Canadian-born/raised friends. It is more likely that participants used Russian to speak with their Russian-speaking friends that would help to maintain this language. Also, it is more likely that respondents used English as a lingua franca communicating with other immigrant friends. However, this research design did not address the use of English as a lingua franca while talking with immigrants from other linguistic groups. While it appears obvious that Russian immigrants would use English while communicating with other immigrants with no Russian proficiency, the use of English as a lingua franca among immigrants would be a productive direction to pursue in further studies.

Moreover, this study did not focus on the role of the family (especially, the influence of children) in the acculturation process. It is possible that those with younger children may be more involved in the community through school, sports, and other activities. Hence, another research that would consider this factor seems necessary.

Another limitation concerns the use of correlation. Since, correlation tests can only show the linear covariation (Schwager, 2012), they do not describe non-linear covariation. Moreover, correlation tests cause debates when using it across categorical and categorical/numeric parameters.

6. CONCLUSION

The present research describes the acculturation process of Russian-speaking immigrants who immigrate to Canada, and whether they manage to support home and host cultures, acquire the official languages, and maintain the Russian language.

The results also indicate that a language is a powerful tool that can ease the integration process. With high proficiency in the majority languages, immigrants have a greater chance to live in Canada more comfortably, find a full-time job, and feel more integrated into the new society. Therefore, I would highly recommend learning one of the Canada's official languages before immigrating to Canada.

Moreover, the language priorities for many participants change over time. The present study found that the longer immigrants live in the host country, the more likely it is that they put Russian language maintenance before the improvement of their skills in Canada's official languages.

Also, the results demonstrate that many Russian-speaking immigrants may feel belonging to both cultures and self-identify themselves as Russian Canadians. However, the majority of respondents found their spiritual and emotional home not in a particular country but wherever they were. This could mean that participants have lost a strong emotional connection with a home country and did not build such connection with Canada. Moreover, the present study found that higher levels of education and length of stay do not necessarily mean that a person integrates into Canadian society. The aforementioned findings present important pieces for the whole picture of the acculturation theory.

Additionally, the research shows that there are different factors that can help in the acculturation process. With media and the Internet, Russian-speaking immigrants can integrate faster. By watching the local news and reading local newspapers and journals, immigrants may follow what is happening in Canada, thus not feeling like a stranger. It also increases the proficiency in English and/or French when a person reads and listens actively in these languages.

Moreover, media can help not only in adaptation but also in maintenance. To preserve home culture, some participants recommended to use media in Russian and check the news about their home country. This allows people to know about everything that happens in a home country and not to feel distant from home. Also, the presence of Russian-speaking friends and communication

with family is important because it is easier to support traditions, beliefs, and holidays with people from the same background and ways of thinking, while the presence of non-Russian speaking friends, especially Canadian ones, allows immigrants to know about the country more from the inside and practice a language. However, if Canada had more opportunities that provided cultural and language support for immigrants, Russian-speaking immigrants would have more possibilities to preserve their home culture and language.

I believe that the results of the present research unveil the aspects of Russian-speaking immigration in Canada and contribute to the study of acculturation theory. Also, the results of this study can be applied to create better conditions for language adaptation and acculturation of immigrants, as well as to create tools that could help immigrants to preserve their heritage language.

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APPENDIX A. QUESTIONNAIRE

- Demographic information
 1. Which city/town in Canada do you live in?
 2. How old are you?
 3. What is your gender?
 4. What is/are your mother tongue(s)?
 5. What is your home country?
 6. Are you currently employed?

Yes, full time/ Yes, part-time/ no/ I am a homemaker/ Other
 7. What is your occupation now in Canada?
 8. What was your highest level of education?
 9. In which year did you move to Canada?
 10. How old were you when you moved to Canada?
- Adaptation
 1. Do you think that your move to Canada was the right decision?
 2. Have you achieved what you hoped for when immigrating?
 3. Do you feel well integrated in Canada in general?
 4. What country do you now consider your home (not in terms of residence, but culturally, spiritually and emotionally)?

Canada/Russia/both countries/neither country/I am a cosmopolitan (citizen of the world)/ I have no true home/ my home is wherever I am/ other (please specify).
 5. How do you self-identify? (Canadian, Canadian Russian, Russian Canadian, Russian, other)
- Language
 1. Did you have any proficiency in English before coming to Canada?

None/very little/some/ fluent/highly fluent
 2. Has your English proficiency improved from immigrating to Canada to current time?

Not at all/very little/ somewhat/considerably/ a lot

3. Has your French proficiency improved from immigrating to Canada to current time?

Not at all/very little/ somewhat/considerably/ a lot /does not apply (I do not speak French)

4. How important was it to learn English when you just immigrated to Canada?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important, very important

5. How important was it to learn French when you just immigrated to Canada?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important, very important

6. How important is it for you to keep learning English now?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important, very important

7. How important is it for you to learn French now?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important very important

8. Are you still working on your English skills now?

9. What is the amount of your daily interactions in English (in percentage 0-100%) now?

10. How important was it to maintain Russian when you just immigrated to Canada?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important very important

11. How important is it for you to maintain Russian language now?

Not at all, little, somewhat, important very important

12. Do you do anything specific to maintain your Russian language?

13. Have you noticed any weakening of your Russian language skills after immigrating to Canada?

14. Not at all/very little/ somewhat/considerably/ a lot

15. What is the amount of your daily interactions in Russian (in percentage 0-100%) now?

16. Which language are you more comfortable communicating in now?

Russian, English, French, Russian and English, Russian and French, French and English, Other

17. Communicating in which language is more enjoyable for you?

Russian, English, French, Russian and English, Russian and French, French and English, Other

- Open-ended questions
 1. Could you please describe in more detail communicative difficulties that you experienced in Canada immediately after immigration? How were these difficulties connected to your knowledge of Canada's official languages?
Please write the question in Russian.
 2. Could you please describe your linguistic experiences after immigration? How did you balance learning the official languages of Canada with maintaining Russian? Did the priorities between learning the languages of Canada and maintaining Russian change at any point in immigration? What is more important for you now? If you speak other native language(s) besides Russian, please comment on these as well. Please write the question in English.
 3. What would you recommend new immigrants to easier adapt to the Canadian life?

APPENDIX B. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIAN VARIABLES AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- Correlations between Russian and adaptation variables

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration <i>(discr.)</i>	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study <i>(discr.)</i>	Specific activities for Russian maintenance <i>(cat.)</i>	Russian attrition <i>(cat.)</i>	Percentage of Russian use <i>(discr.)</i>
Immigration is a right decision <i>(cat.)</i>	r = -.17; p = .08	r = -.18; p = .06	r = .04; p = .66	r = -.02; p = .8	r = -.21; p = .03
Achievement of immigration goals <i>(cat.)</i>	r = -.11; p = .25	r = -.2; p = .04	r = -.07; p = .46	r = .05; p = .6	r = -.1; p = .32
Feeling adapted <i>(cat.)</i>	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.17; p = .08	r = .12; p = .22	r = .06; p = .55	r = -.35; p < .001
Spiritual and emotional home <i>(cat.)</i>	r = .06; p = .55	r = .11; p = .26	r = .14; p = .15	r = .007; p = .94	r = .09; p = .37
Self-identity <i>(cat.)</i>	r = -.27; p = .01	r = -.17; p = .1	r = -.08; p = .44	r = .14; p = .17	r = -.2; p = .06

- Correlations between Russian variables

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	Russian attrition (cat.)	Percentage of Russian use (discr.)
Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)		<i>r = .53; p < .001</i>	<i>r = .2; p = .04</i>	<i>r = -.13; p = .2</i>	<i>r = .21; p = .03</i>
Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)		<i>r = .53; p < .001</i>	<i>r = .39; p < .001</i>	<i>r = -.06; p = .53</i>	<i>r = .08; p = .44</i>
Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	<i>r = .2; p = .04</i>	<i>r = .39; p < .001</i>		<i>r = .01; p = .86</i>	<i>r = -.06; p = .53</i>
Russian attrition (cat.)	<i>r = -.13; p = .2</i>	<i>r = -.06; p = .53</i>	<i>r = .01; p = .86</i>		<i>r = -.42; p < .001</i>
Percentage of Russian use (discr.)	<i>r = .21; p = .03</i>	<i>r = .08; p = .44</i>	<i>r = -.06; p = .53</i>	<i>r = -.42; p < .001</i>	

- Correlations between Russian and English / French variables

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	Russian attrition (cat.)	Percentage of Russian use (discr.)
English skills before the immigration (discr.)	r = .003; p = .98	r = -.06; p = .55	r = .23; p = .02	r = .14; p = .16	r = -.26; p = .008
Changes in English (discr.)	r = -.09; p = .38	r = -.05; p = .64	r = -.02; p = .86	r = .19; p = .06	r = -.28; p = .005
Changes in French (discr.)	r = -.16; p = .12	r = -.11; p = .29	r = .08; p = .43	r = .16; p = .11	r = -.15; p = .14
Importance of English learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = .14; p = .17	r = .006; p = .95	r = .15; p = .14	r = .04; p = .69	r = .01; p = .9
Importance of French learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = -.06; p = .56	r = -.05; p = .59	r = .19; p = .06	r = .13; p = .19	r = -.11; p = .25
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .17; p = .1	r = .22; p = .02	r = .17; p = .08	r = -.17; p = .1	r = .16; p = .1

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	Russian attrition (cat.)	Percentage of Russian use (discr.)
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = -.12; p = .23	r = -.005; p = .96	r = .14; p = .18	r = .17; p = .09	r = -.27; p = .008
Specific activities for English learning (cat.)	r = -.05; p = .64	r = .09; p = .37	r = .1; p = .32	r = -.22; p = .03	r = -.05; p = .65
Percentage of English use (discr.)	r = -.12; p = .22	r = -.04; p = .68	r = .04; p = .67	r = .32; p = .001	r = -.84; p < .001

- Correlations between Russian and language preferences variables

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	Russian attrition (cat.)	Percentage of Russian use (discr.)
Language more comfortable communication in (cat.)	r = .07; p = .49	r = .002; p = .98	r = .08; p = .42	r = .31; p = .002	r = -.25; p = .01
Language more enjoyable communication in (cat.)	r = -.07; p = .47	r = .01; p = .88	r = .14; p = .15	r = .17; p = .08	r = -.24; p = .01

- Correlations between Russian and demographic variables

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (discr.)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (discr.)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (cat.)	Russian attrition (cat.)	Percentage of Russian use (discr.)
Gender (cat.)	r = .07; p = .46	r = .02; p = .84	r = -.19; p = .06	r = .00; p = 1	r = -.01; p = .88
Employment (cat.)	r = -.18; p = .08	r = -.12; p = .22	r = -.02; p = .84	r = .08; p = .43	r = -.43; p < .001
Provinces (cat.)	r = -.21; p = .03	r = -.04; p = .71	r = -.04; p = .66	r = .05; p = .6	r = .02; p = .87
Age of participants at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .09; p = .35	r = -.03; p = .75	r = .07; p = .46	r = -.12; p = .22	r = .17; p = .1
Age of participants upon immigration (discr.)	r = .04; p = .69	r = -.04; p = .67	r = .13; p = .19	r = -.33; p < .001	r = .27; p = .006
Additional mother tongues (cat.)	r = -.05; p = .65	r = .06; p = .57	r = -.19; p = .06	r = .003; p = .98	r = -.07; p = .49
Duration of stay in Canada (discr.)	r = .11; p = .28	r = .02; p = .81	r = -.03; p = .77	r = .22; p = .02	r = -.09; p = .4

	Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Specific activities for Russian maintenance (<i>cat.</i>)	Russian attrition (<i>cat.</i>)	Percentage of Russian use (<i>discr.</i>)
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .13; p = .2	r = .09; p = .37	r = .1; p = .33	r = .07; p = .47	r = .04; p = .65
The highest level of education (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .04; p = .72	r = -.02; p = .82	r = .04; p = .72	r = .04; p = .71	r = -.02; p = .87

APPENDIX C. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH / FRENCH VARIABLES AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- Correlations between English / French and adaptation variables

	Immigration is a right decision (cat.)	Achievement of immigration goals (cat.)	Feeling adapted (cat.)	Spiritual and emotional home (cat.)	Self- identity (cat.)
English skills before the immigration (discr.)	r = .002; p = .85	r = .16; p = .1	r = .23; p = .02	r = .14; p = .16	r = -.12; p = .25
Changes in English (discr.)	r = .17; p = .09	r = .14; p = .15	r = .27; p = .006	r = -.13; p = .2	r = .009; p = .93
Changes in French (discr.)	r = .08; p = .39	r = .1; p = .92	r = -.07; p = .48	r = .01; p = .92	r = .25; p = .01
Importance of English learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = .00; p = 1	r = -.14; p = .16	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.19; p = .05	r = .02; p = .84
Importance of French learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = .01; p = .89	r = -.01; p = .91	r = -.01; p = .21	r = -.04; p = .66	r = .12; p = .26

	Immigration is a right decision (cat.)	Achievement of immigration goals (cat.)	Feeling adapted (cat.)	Spiritual and emotional home (cat.)	Self- identity (cat.)
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .06; p = .56	r = -.2; p = .04	r = -.1; p = .3	r = .06; p = .56	r = -.03; p = .74
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .11; p = .24	r = -.01; p = .86	r = -.001; p = .99	r = -.02; p = .81	r = .07; p = .48
Specific activities for English learning (cat.)	r = .06; p = .56	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.14; p = .16	r = -.04; p = 0,72	r = .005; p = .96
Percentage of English use (discr.)	r = .15; p = .13	r = .03; p = .73	r = .33; p < .001	r = -.02; p = .79	r = .12; p = .26

- Correlations between English / French variables

	English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)
English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)		r = -.1; p = .31	r = .03; p = .79	r = -.37; p < .001	r = .004; p = .72	r = -.26; p = .01	r = .18; p = .008	r = -.18; p = .008	r = .29; p = .003
Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.1; p = .31		r = .06; p = .52	r = .31; p = .001	r = -.05; p = .61	r = .17; p = .1	r = .09; p = .38	r = .05; p = .6	r = .31; p = .002
Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .03; p = .79	r = .06; p = .52		r = -.21; p = .03	r = .78; p < .001	r = -.09; p = .36	r = .58; p < .001	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.06; p = .57
Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.37; p < .001	r = .31; p = .001	r = -.21; p = .03		r = -.11; p = .4	r = .4; p < .001	r = -.07; p = .51	r = .25; p = .01	r = .12; p = .24
Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .004; p = .72	r = -.05; p = .61	r = .78; p < .001	r = -.11; p = .4		r = .05; p = .64	r = .57; p < .001	r = -.08; p = .42	r = -.09; p = .36

	English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	<i>r = -.26;</i> <i>p = .01</i>	<i>r = .17;</i> <i>p = .1</i>	<i>r = -.09;</i> <i>p = .36</i>	<i>r = .4; p < .001</i>	<i>r = .05;</i> <i>p = .64</i>		<i>r = .1; p = .34</i>	<i>r = .48;</i> <i>p < .001</i>	<i>r = -.11; p = .25</i>
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)		<i>r = .18;</i> <i>p = .008</i>	<i>r = .09;</i> <i>p = .38</i>	<i>r = .58;</i> <i>p < .001</i>	<i>r = -.07;</i> <i>p = .51</i>	<i>r = .57;</i> <i>p < .001</i>	<i>r = .1; p = .34</i>	<i>r = .12;</i> <i>p = .24</i>	<i>r = .09; p = .39</i>
Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)		<i>r = -.18;</i> <i>p = .008</i>	<i>r = .05;</i> <i>p = .6</i>	<i>r = -.14;</i> <i>p = .15</i>	<i>r = .25;</i> <i>p = .01</i>	<i>r = -.08;</i> <i>p = .42</i>	<i>r = .48;</i> <i>p < .001</i>	<i>r = .12;</i> <i>p = .24</i>	<i>r = .06; p = .95</i>
Percentage of English use (<i>cat.</i>)	<i>r = .29;</i> <i>p = .003</i>	<i>r = .31;</i> <i>p = .002</i>	<i>r = -.06;</i> <i>p = .57</i>	<i>r = .12;</i> <i>p = .24</i>	<i>r = -.09;</i> <i>p = .36</i>	<i>r = -.11;</i> <i>p = .25</i>	<i>r = .09;</i> <i>p = .39</i>	<i>r = .06;</i> <i>p = .95</i>	

- Correlations between English / French and language preference variables

	Language more comfortable communication in (cat.)	Language more enjoyable communication in (cat.)
English skills before the immigration (discr.)	r = .17; p = .09	r = .01; p = .19
Changes in English (discr.)	r = .19; p = .06	r = .16; p = .11
Changes in French (discr.)	r = .07; p = .48	r = .11; p = .29
Importance of English learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = -.01; p = .9	r = -.25; p = .01
Importance of French learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = .06; p = .55	r = .1; p = .33
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = -.07; p = .51	r = .003; p = .98

	Language more comfortable communication in (cat.)	Language more enjoyable communication in (cat.)
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .13; p = .2	r = .31; p = .001
Specific activities for English learning (cat.)	r = -.01; p = .9	r = .01; p = .91
Percentage of English use (discr.)	r = .12; p = .25	r = .07; p = .48

- Correlations between language preference variables

	Language more comfortable communication in (cat.)	Language more enjoyable communication in (cat.)
Language more comfortable communication in (cat.)		$r = .37; p < .001$
Language more enjoyable communication in (cat.)		

- Correlations between English / French and demographic variables

	English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)
Gender (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.02; p = .82	r = -.1; p = .32	r = .05; p = .6	r = -.08; p = .43	r = .13; p = .19	r = -.02; p = .88	r = .18; p = .07	r = .03; p = .77	r = -.04; p = .68
Employment (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .2; p = .04	.15; p = .14	.16; p = .12	r = -.15; p = .12	r = .13; p = .2	r = -.17; p = .09	r = .06; p = .56	r = -.05; p = .61	r = .38; p < .001
Provinces (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .01; p = .91	r = .05; p = .61	r = -.23; p = .02	r = -.06; p = .55	r = -.28; p = .005	r = .02; p = .8	r = -.34; p < .001	r = -.09; p = .37	r = .07; p = .49
Age of participants at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.06; p = .51	r = -.21; p = .03	r = -.19; p = .06	r = -.05; p = .6	r = -.19; p = .06	r = -.11; p = .28	r = -.3; p = .002	r = .1; p = .32	r = -.17; p = .09
Age of participants upon immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.06; p = .54	r = -.46; p < .001	r = -.19; p = .06	r = -.13; p = .21	r = -.13; p = .19	r = .03; p = .77	r = -.15; p = .14	r = -.31; p = .03	r = -.31; p = .002

	English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)
Additional mother tongues (cat.)	r = -.08; p = .44	r = .13; p = .18	r = -.04; p = .68	r = .25; p = .01	r = -.02; p = .82	r = .09; p = .38	r = .04; p = .7	r = .14; p = .16	r = .09; p = .35
Duration of stay in Canada (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.01; p = .92	r = .25; p = .01	r = -.05; p = .62	r = .08; p = .45	r = -.11; p = .26	r = -.2; p = .04	r = -. .26; p = .01	r = -.13; p = .21	r = .13; p = .19
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (cat.)	r = .22; p = .02	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.05; p = .61	r = -.3; p = .005	r = .08; p = .45	r = -.12; p = .23	r = -.002; p = .98	r = -. .22; p = .03	r = -.06; p = .53
The highest level of education (cat.)	r = .44; p < .001	r = -.17; p = .09	r = -.08; p = .42	r = -.09; p = .39	r = .04; p = .73	r = -.17; p = .1	r = .16; p = .12	r = -.04; p = .72	r = .02; p = .86

APPENDIX D. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADAPTATION VARIABLES AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- Correlations between adaptation and demographic variables

	Immigration is a right decision (<i>cat.</i>)	Achievement of immigration goals (<i>cat.</i>)	Feeling adapted (<i>cat.</i>)	Spiritual and emotional home (<i>cat.</i>)	Self- identity (<i>cat.</i>)
Gender (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.07; p = .45	r = .04; p = .72	r = .04; p = .68	r = .05; p = .62	r = .03; p = .76
Employment (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .03; p = .77	r = .27; p = .009	r = .23; p = .02	r = .18; p = .09	r = -.04; p = .72
Provinces (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .05; p = .58	r = .05; p = .58	r = .05; p = .58	r = .09; p = .35	r = -.02; p = .83
Age of participants at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.29; p = .003	r = -.06; p = .53	r = -.08; p = .44	r = .15; p = .15	r = .04; p = .7
Age of participants upon immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.18; p = .07	r = -.12; p = .22	r = -.15; p = .12	r = .06; p = .53	r = .1; p = .29

	Immigration is a right decision (cat.)	Achievement of immigration goals (cat.)	Feeling adapted (cat.)	Spiritual and emotional home (cat.)	Self- identity (cat.)
Additional mother tongues (cat.)	r = .05; p = .58	r = -.11; p = .28	r = -.18; p = .07	r = -.05; p = .63	r = -.11; p = .25
Duration of stay in Canada (discr.)	r = -.2; p = .04	r = .05; p = .61	r = .06; p = .51	r = .13; p = .21	r = -.05; p = .58
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (cat.)	r = -.13; p = .19	r = -.14; p = .15	r = -.1; p = .29	r = .05; p = .61	r = .06; p = .51
The highest level of education (cat.)	r = -.02; p = .04	r = -.05; p = .58	r = -.09; p = .35	r = .005; p = .96	r = .01; p = .87

- Correlations between adaptation variables

	Immigration is a right decision (cat.)	Achievement of immigration goals (cat.)	Feeling adapted (cat.)	Spiritual and emotional home (cat.)	Self- identity (cat.)
Immigration is a right decision (cat.)		<i>r = .32; p = .001</i>	<i>r = .57; p < .001</i>	r = .16; p = .12	r = -.15; p = .13
Achievement of immigration goals (cat.)		<i>r = .32; p = .001</i>	<i>r = .52; p < .001</i>	r = .04; p = .7	r = -.18; p = .07
Feeling adapted (cat.)		<i>r = .57; p < .001</i>	<i>r = .52; p < .001</i>	r = .17; p = .09	r = -.03; p = .76
Spiritual and emotional home (cat.)		r = .16; p = .12	r = .04; p = .7	r = .17; p = .09	r = .008; p = .93
Self-identity (cat.)		r = -.15; p = .13	r = -.18; p = .07	r = -.03; p = .76	r = .008; p = .93

APPENDIX E. CHI-SQUARE TESTS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC AND ADAPTATION PARAMETERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics.

- **Adaptation by gender**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(2, N=98) = 0.7, p = .7$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(2, N=97) = 10.6, p = .005$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(2, N=98) = 2.7, p = .25$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(5, N=97) = 12.3, p = .03$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(1, N=92) = 0.09, p = .75$

- **Adaptation by the type of employment**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(2, N=98) = 0.09, p = .95$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(2, N=97) = 6.91, p = .03$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(2, N=98) = 5.45, p = .06$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(5, N=97) = 20.4, p = .01$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(1, N=92) = 4.03, p = .04$

- **Adaptation by provinces**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(4, N=99) = 1.94, p = .75$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(4, N=98) = 3.7, p = .45$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(4, N=99) = 4.5, p = .34$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(10, N=98) = 8, p = .6$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(2, N=93) = 8, p = .02$

- Adaptation by the age of participants at the time of the study**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(6, N=100) = 12.5, p = .052$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(6, N=99) = 3.25, p = .7$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(6, N=100) = 8.91, p = .18$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(15, N=99) = 16.15, p = .37$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(3, N=94) = 2.63, p = .45$

- Adaptation by the age of participants upon immigration**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(8, N=100) = 11.33, p = .18$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(8, N=99) = 11.63, p = .17$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(8, N=100) = 10.3, p = .24$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(20, N=99) = 15.25, p = .76$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(4, N=94) = 0.58, p = .96$

- Adaptation by the additional mother tongues (monolinguals vs bilinguals)**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(2, N=100) = 0.45, p = .79$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(2, N=99) = 1.84, p = .4$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(2, N=100) = 4.26, p = .12$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(5, N=99) = 2.65, p = .75$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(1, N=94) = 0.06, p = .8$

- Adaptation by the duration of stay in Canada**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(8, N=100) = 12.9, p = .11$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(8, N=99) = 3.52, p = .89$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(8, N=100) = 8.5, p = .38$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(20, N=99) = 18, p = .58$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(4, N=94) = 3.24, p = .52$

- Adaptation by the country of origin (Russia vs others)**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(2, N=100) = 3.28, p = .19$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(2, N=99) = 3.63, p = .16$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(2, N=100) = 4.45, p = .11$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(5, N=99) = 3.74, p = .59$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(1, N=94) = 1.2, p = .27$

- Adaptation by the highest level of education**

	Chi-square test results
Migration is a right decision	$\chi^2(10, N=95) = 6.3, p = .78$
Immigration goals were achieved	$\chi^2(10, N=94) = 17.88, p = .06$
Being well integrated to Canada	$\chi^2(10, N=95) = 12.79, p = .23$
Spiritual and emotional home	$\chi^2(25, N=94) = 27.31, p = .34$
Self-identity	$\chi^2(5, N=98) = 3.02, p = .69$

APPENDIX F. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PARAMETERS FROM THE QUESTION ABOUT COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTIES AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- **Correlations between parameters from the question about communication difficulties and demographic information**

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Gender (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.05; p = .59$	$r = -.05; p = .59$	$r = .15; p = .15$
Employment (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.16; p = .12$	$r = -.03; p = .74$	$r = -.05; p = .63$
Provinces (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .05; p = .6$	$r = .19; p = .06$	$r = .02; p = .8$
Age of participants at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = .01; p = .91$	$r = -.18; p = .07$	$r = -.003; p = .97$
Age of participants upon immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = -.06; p = .54$	$r = -.2; p = .05$	$r = -.08; p = .4$
Additional mother tongues (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.07; p = .46$	$r = -.05; p = .64$	$r = .15; p = .14$
Duration of stay in Canada (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = .1; p = .33$	$r = -.03; p = .8$	$r = .09; p = .38$
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .22; p = .03$	$r = .05; p = .64$	$r = .03; p = .73$
The highest level of education (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .13; p = .22$	$r = -.1; p = .34$	$r = .23; p = .03$

- Correlations between parameters from the question about communication difficulties and the Russian language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.04; p = .7	r = -.04; p = .65	r = -.09; p = .37
Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .14; p = .16	r = -.07; p = .48	r = .06; p = .57
Specific activities for Russian maintenance (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .08; p = .4	r = -.04; p = .69	r = -.15; p = .14
Russian attrition (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .7; p = .5	r = .2; p = .5	r = .15; p = .88
Percentage of Russian use (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .06; p = .54	r = -.04; p = .68	r = -.05; p = .62

- Correlations between parameters from the question about communication difficulties and the English/French language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .03; p = .72	r = -.06; p = .53	r = .11; p = .25
Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .07; p = .47	r = .1; p = .32	r = .009; p = .93
Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.07; p = .5	r = .11; p = .25	r = -.08; p = .45
Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .09; p = .36	r = .04; p = .65	r = -.05; p = .58
Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.01; p = .89	r = .22; p = .03	r = -.03; p = .74
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.15; p = .15	r = -.08; p = .41	r = -.25; p = .01
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.08; p = .41	r = .08; p = .43	r = -.1; p = .32
Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.07; p = .49	r = -.16; p = .13	r = -.18; p = .07
Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.05; p = .62	r = .01; p = .53	r = .11; p = .25

- Correlations between parameters from the question about communication difficulties and adaptation parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Immigration is a right decision (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.03; p = .75	r = .16; p = .11	r = -.13; p = .2
Achievement of immigration goals (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .05; p = .58	r = .15; p = .13	r = -.08; p = .45
Feeling adapted (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .02; p = .85	r = .05; p = .58	r = -.06; p = .53
Spiritual and emotional home (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .02; p = .87	r = -.08; p = .44	r = .01; p = .89
Self-identity (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .09; p = .4	r = -.06; p = .55	r = .003; p = .98

- Correlations between parameters from the question about communication difficulties and language preference parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Language more comfortable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .06; p = .56	r = .05; p = .64	r = -.22; p = .03
Language more enjoyable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.003; p = .97	r = -.04; p = .67	r = -.14; p = .16

APPENDIX G. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PARAMETERS FROM THE QUESTION ABOUT LINGUISTIC BALANCE AFTER IMMIGRATION AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- Correlations between parameters from the question about linguistic balance after immigration and demographic information

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Gender (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.23; p = .03$	$r = .16; p = .27$	$r = -.07; p = .47$
Employment (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .19; p = .07$	$r = .12; p = .24$	$r = .18; p = .08$
Provinces (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.006; p = .53$	$r = -.14; p = .18$	$r = .005; p = .96$
Age of participants at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = .009; p = .93$	$r = -.03; p = .74$	$r = .06; p = .58$
Age of participants upon immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = -.03; p = .76$	$r = -.06; p = .57$	$r = .07; p = .48$
Additional mother tongues (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = -.05; p = .63$	$r = .05; p = .63$	$r = .06; p = .55$
Duration of stay in Canada (<i>discr.</i>)	$r = .06; p = .58$	$r = -.01; p = .93$	$r = -.03; p = .78$
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .17; p = .1$	$r = -.09; p = .37$	$r = -.13; p = .2$
The highest level of education (<i>cat.</i>)	$r = .2; p = .06$	$r = -.09; p = .4$	$r = -.22; p = .04$

- Correlations between parameters from the question about linguistic balance after immigration and the Russian language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .02; p = .86	r = -.08; p = .44	r = -.33; p = .001
Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .1; p = .32	r = -.07; p = .49	r = -.09; p = .36
Specific activities for Russian maintenance (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .31; p = .002	r = -.003; p = .76	r = -.04; p = .73
Russian attrition (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .11; p = .3	r = .09; p = .37	r = .11; p = .29
Percentage of Russian use (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.14; p = .16	r = -.1; p = .34	r = -.23; p = .03

- Correlations between parameters from the question about linguistic balance after immigration and the English/French language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>discr.</i>)
English skills before the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .13; p = .21	r = -.07; p = .49	r = -.14; p = .19
Changes in English (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .02; p = .86	r = -.02; p = .82	r = .07; p = .46
Changes in French (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .28; p = .007	r = .1; p = .33	r = .005; p = .96
Importance of English learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.15; p = .14	r = -.09; p = .38	r = -.13; p = .21
Importance of French learning after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .3; p = .004	r = .15; p = .15	r = .04; p = .67
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.02; p = .83	r = -.12; p = .24	r = -.01; p = .92
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .18; p = .07	r = .13; p = .2	r = .13; p = .2
Specific activities for English learning (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.03; p = .76	r = .09; p = .4	r = .1; p = .33
Percentage of English use (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .15; p = .14	r = .08; p = .42	r = .15; p = .14

- Correlations between parameters from the question about linguistic balance after immigration and adaptation parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Immigration is a right decision (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .01; p = .88	r = .02; p = .86	r = .13; p = .21
Achievement of immigration goals (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.008; p = .94	r = .04; p = .67	r = .12; p = .26
Feeling adapted (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .04; p = .71	r = .04; p = .66	r = .12; p = .26
Spiritual and emotional home (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .37; p < .001	r = .05; p = .59	r = -.12; p = .26
Self-identity (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .12; p = .26	r = .06; p = .57	r = .16; p = .12

- Correlations between parameters from the question about linguistic balance after immigration and language preference parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Language more comfortable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.15; p = .15	r = -.13; p = .2	r = -.08; p = .46
Language more enjoyable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .13; p = .2	r = .13; p = .21	r = .25; p = .01

APPENDIX H. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PARAMETERS FROM THE QUESTION ABOUT THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEW IMMIGRANTS AND OTHERS

Significant results ($p < .05$) are marked in bold italics. Data types are written in parenthesis (*cat.* for Categorical; *discr.* for Discrete).

- Correlations between parameters from the question about the recommendations for new immigrants and demographic information

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Gender (cat.)	r = -.16; p = .13	r = .04; p = .72	r = -.07; p = .51
Employment (cat.)	r = .02; p = .81	r = .05; p = .63	r = .05; p = .61
Provinces (cat.)	r = -.01; p = .92	r = -.16; p = .12	r = .03; p = .74
Age of participants at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.03; p = .78	r = -.12; p = .24	r = .01; p = .89
Age of participants upon immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.12; p = .25	r = -.22; p = .04	r = -.02; p = .85
Additional mother tongues (cat.)	r = -.11; p = .29	r = .09; p = .37	r = .08; p = .43
Duration of stay in Canada (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .09; p = .35	r = .05; p = .59	r = .03; p = .73
Country of origin (Russia vs other) (cat.)	r = .14; p = .19	r = .08; p = .44	r = -.08; p = .41
The highest level of education (cat.)	r = .23; p = .03	r = -.02; p = .82	r = -.04; p = .69

- Correlations between parameters from the question about the recommendations for new immigrants and the Russian language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Importance of Russian maintenance after the immigration (<i>discr.</i>)	r = .03; p = .78	r = -.12; p = .26	r = -.04; p = .72
Importance of Russian maintenance at the time of the study (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.01; p = .87	r = -.1; p = .31	r = -.08; p = .45
Specific activities for Russian maintenance (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .02; p = .8	r = -.12; p = .25	r = .05; p = .59
Russian attrition (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .06; p = .59	r = .11; p = .29	r = .09; p = .38
Percentage of Russian use (<i>discr.</i>)	r = -.06; p = .56	r = -.22; p = .03	r = -.23; p = .02

- Correlations between parameters from the question about the recommendations for new immigrants and the English/French language parameters

	Number of words in a respond (discr.)	Presence of mistakes (discr.)	The language a response was written in (cat.)
English skills before the immigration (discr.)	r = .05; p = .63	r = -.08; p = .43	r = .06; p = .53
Changes in English (discr.)	r = .09; p = .35	r = .07; p = .5	r = .00; p = 1
Changes in French (discr.)	r = .09; p = .38	r = .22; p = .03	r = -.13; p = .21
Importance of English learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = -.07; p = .49	r = -.03; p = .73	r = .07; p = .49
Importance of French learning after the immigration (discr.)	r = -.03; p = .78	r = .23; p = .03	r = -.13; p = .22
Importance of English learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = -.11; p = .29	r = -.01; p = .88	r = -.05; p = .65
Importance of French learning at the time of the study (discr.)	r = .1; p = .31	r = .17; p = .11	r = .11; p = .27
Specific activities for English learning (cat.)	r = .01; p = .9	r = -.07; p = .51	r = .13; p = .22
Percentage of English use (discr.)	r = -.005; p = .96	r = .13; p = .22	r = .22; p = .04

- Correlations between parameters from the question about the recommendations for new immigrants and adaptation parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Immigration is a right decision (<i>cat.</i>)	r = -.02; p = .86	r = .05; p = .6	r = .12; p = .25
Achievement of immigration goals (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .21; p = .04	r = .02; p = .82	r = .09; p = .35
Feeling adapted (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .08; p = .42	r = -.04; p = .71	r = .12; p = .27
Spiritual and emotional home (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .04; p = .7	r = -.16; p = .12	r = .1; p = .33
Self-identity (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .08; p = .42	r = .12; p = .2	r = -.04; p = .71

- Correlations between parameters from the question about the recommendations for new immigrants and language preference parameters

	Number of words in a respond (<i>discr.</i>)	Presence of mistakes (<i>discr.</i>)	The language a response was written in (<i>cat.</i>)
Language more comfortable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .2; p = .06	r = .05; p = .59	r = -.005; p = .96
Language more enjoyable communication in (<i>cat.</i>)	r = .11; p = .3	r = .12; p = .26	r = .04; p = .66