Brief report

Welcome or not? – Natives' Security Feelings, Attachment and Attitudes toward Acculturation of Immigrants

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Acculturation of Immigrants

Immigration has become a key topic in many European countries (and all over the world), not only due to recent refugee movements but also following the European integration process and globalization in general. Many societies have become multicultural (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004), entailing that people of different cultural background live together and experience increased cultural contact (Bakker, Van de Zee, & Van Oudenhoven, 2006). The question of how the native population experiences these developments is of prime importance for these intercultural interactions, for subjective well-being of all parties involved here, as well as for policy decisions and political choices.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (GDL) might be seen as a sample case for studying aspects of immigration and multiculturalism, since this Western society in the heart of Europe is constituted of a large variety of different nationalities. Population statistics indicate that in the GDL, 46% of the inhabitants are of foreign nationality. In addition, Luxembourg represents a multilingual setting with Luxembourgish, French and German as official languages (Statec, 2015). Luxembourg's culturally diverse context seems therefore an ideal place to study natives' perceptions regarding cultural diversity, which might be one of the most important challenges for many societies today. Considering the increasingly controversial public debates around migration as well as the recent success of populist parties all over Europe, learning more about how native Luxembourgers get along with a highly complex multicultural situation might also help to identify ways to cope with societal challenges regarding migration on a European level. More precisely, as acculturation is a two-way process, including both immigrants as well as host nationals, the views of the latter are highly important when it comes to opportunity structures for interaction and

participation of immigrants in the host society (Sam & Berry, 2010). Even though acculturation strategies and preferences differ among immigrants, the host society lays the ground for acculturation of immigrants as they might provide a more welcoming or unwelcoming acculturation context.

**Attitudes Toward Acculturation**

The most influential model regarding acculturation strategies was undoubtedly put forward by Berry (2001) who characterized acculturation strategies of immigrants by two dimensions-- cultural contact and cultural maintenance. The combination of these two dimensions provides the well-known fourfold-scheme of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization, complemented by the acculturation expectations of the host society, namely multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation or exclusion. Drawing on Berry's work, Bourhis, Moise, Perrault and Senecal (1997) proposed an interactive model taking into account how expectations of host society members and acculturation strategies of immigrants are interrelated and connected to immigration policies. According to Bourhis and colleagues (1997; 2013), natives may choose between welcoming (i.e., integrationism, transformation-integrationism, individualism) and unwelcoming (i.e., assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism) acculturation orientations, expressing how immigrants should behave in the view of natives. Welcoming strategies are characterized by a tolerance for cultural difference and diversity, allowing immigrants to stay culturally connected to their countries of origin as well as to establish contact with the host society; on the contrary, unwelcoming strategies either exclude immigrants from the host society or urge them to dismiss their culture of origin completely.

Here, we will consider two factors that might contribute to natives' adherence to different acculturation orientations: a) feelings of cultural and economic security as well as b) early

childhood attachment experiences that might generalize into a secure or a fearful attachment style. More precisely, we will ask to what extent does security, at the individual difference level (security/fearfulness), and at the cultural and economic level, predict acculturation orientations of natives with regard to their views on immigrants?

**Feelings of Cultural and Economic Security**

About 40 years ago, Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) already suggested that individuals who feel culturally and economically safe would be more open and tolerant towards other cultures and have more positive attitudes toward cultural diversity and multiculturalism. This multiculturalism hypothesis has been extensively studied by Berry and colleagues in the last years (see Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), demonstrating that natives' feelings of economic or cultural threat due to the arrival or presence of immigrants can be one base for negative attitudes toward cultural diversity, less openness toward immigrants and an unwillingness to change aspects of the own culture due to cultural contact with newly arrivals (see also Berry, 2006).

**The Role of Attachment**

Both feelings of security and threat represent subjective judgments and may differ considerably between individuals. Depending on their judgment criteria, two persons in the same cultural context and economic situation might thus experience economic and cultural security very differently. These different individual evaluations are informed by rather general tendencies about how to view self and others, and this brings us to the concept of attachment. Attachment theory refers to the idea that a person's early attachment experiences will influence how she will encounter future social interactions and relationships (Bowlby, 1968). Based on these assumptions, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) proposed a two-dimensional model regarding adult attachment in interpersonal relations, distinguishing between a positive vs. negative view of self and others

that can be combined in a four-fold scheme. Most interesting for the present study, whereas securely attached individuals hold a positive view of self and others, fearfully attached individuals hold a negative view of both.

Several studies have underlined the link between early childhood experiences of attachment and behavior in adulthood. A study by Lapsley and Edgerton (2002) showed that individuals with a secure attachment style adapted better to new and unknown situations (e.g. college adjustment) than individuals with an unsecure attachment style. Mikulincer, Shaver, Gilliath and Nitzberg (2005) found that people with a secure attachment (compared to unsecure attachment) were more likely to show prosocial behaviour and empathy towards a person in need. Finally, with regard to attachment and acculturation orientations Hofstra, Van Oudenhoven and Buunk (2005) showed that Dutch natives' attachment styles had a strong influence on their own attitudes towards acculturation strategies of immigrants in the Netherlands. More precisely, unsecure attachment styles correlated with unwelcoming acculturation strategies and a secure attachment style was positively related to the welcoming acculturation strategy of integration. In that sense, one could refer to the concept of the secure base in attachment theory which suggests more explorative behavior of securely attached individuals whereas fearfully attached individuals would be more reluctant to explore new situations (Bowlby, 1969). In a similar vein, Hong and colleagues (2013) have proposed a theory of cultural attachment, suggesting that attachment to the own culture or to the host culture one has migrated to might serve as a safe haven, similar to childhood attachment to primary caregivers. These assumptions were also empirically tested with regard to sojourners who had to cope with the potentially stressful situation of acculturation, showing better adjustment related to cultural attachment (to culture of origin or host culture). Drawing on these earlier findings, we suppose here that securely attached individuals will be more open to explore new

cultural experiences whereas fearfully attached persons will close themselves off to everything that seems foreign.

## Research Questions and Hypotheses

The aim of the present study is to shed further light on the links between general attachment, cultural and economic security feelings and acculturation orientations from the perspective of Luxembourg natives. Based on findings reported above, we hypothesize in the present study that feelings of (un)security at the individual level will predict acculturation orientations of natives with regard to their views on immigrants. Feelings of security at the cultural and economic level will mediate this relationship.

Our hypothesis is based on two assumptions: first, secure attachment will be positively correlated with welcoming acculturation orientations, while fearful attachment will positively correlate with unwelcoming acculturation orientations. Second, referring to previous findings and drawing on Berry's multiculturalism hypothesis (e.g., Berry et al., 1977), we expect a negative relation between cultural and economic security feelings and unwelcoming acculturation orientations that will third explain the links between attachment and acculturation orientations.

## Methods

### Sample

The present sample included $N = 134$ Luxembourgish participants (61.2% female) between the age of 18 to 80 years ($M = 45.02$, $SD = 17.41$). About 47% were employed, 23.1% students, 20.1% retired, 3.0% seeking a job, and 5.2% housewives/men (1.5% categorized as "others"). Most participants described their socio-economic status as average or higher than average (43.3% and

43.2%) and were rather highly educated, with 65.7% having at least a high school diploma and 52.2% having some university education (either completed or being a student). All participants had Luxembourgish citizenship acquired through birth. Most participants were born in Luxembourg (95.5%); further, in 88.1% of the cases their mothers were born in Luxembourg too and in 88% of the cases their fathers were born in Luxembourg. A number of 27.6% reported to be single, 38.8% were married, 9% living with a partner in a registered relationship (PACS) or were in a relationship living apart (11.2%), and 85.3% of these had a Luxembourgish partner, the remainder being widowed (3.7%) or divorced (9.7%). Participation regarding the questionnaire was voluntary, the retrieved data remaining confidential and anonymous. Ethics standards were in line with the guidelines of the Ethics Board of the University of Luxembourg. Participants were not reimbursed for their participation. The online survey took about 20-25 minutes and was available for 3 weeks, using the SoSci Survey tool (https://www.soscisurvey.de/). Participants were recruited through advertisements in social media (Facebook) as well as other professional and/or social networks contacted by the first author.

**Measures**

The online questionnaire (in German language) concentrated on several domains regarding multiculturalism in Luxembourg. Participants were asked about which immigrant group was—in their views—most representative in Luxembourg; they were then instructed to take this as target group when answering the questions regarding acculturation orientations. Most participants (80.6%) indicated Portuguese immigrants as most representative, in line with the official statistics; the remainder indicated French (2.2%), Italian (2.2%), other comprehensive European groups (3.7%; e.g. Southern Europeans), or non-EU immigrant groups (9.0%; e.g. Syrian); 2.3% of the participants gave unclear answers.

**Attachment styles.** We used the Attachment Style Questionnaire (*ASQ*) by Van Oudenhoven and Hofstra (2004) containing 24 items which we translated from English into German to capture general attachment styles of individuals regarding their interpersonal relationships, following the scale author's specifications [1]. For the present study, we were particularly interested in the roles of secure (7 items; α = .69; e.g., "I feel at ease in emotional relationships"; *M* = 3.76, *SD* = 0.51) as well as its opposite, fearful (5 items; α = .85; e.g., "I would like to be open to others, but I feel I can't trust other people"; *M* = 2.58; *SD* = 0.81) attachment dimensions, as they refer to a positive view of self and others, entailing trust and being at ease in social relations, respectively to a negative view of self and others, entailing mistrust in social relations. Secure and fearful attachment were negatively correlated with *r* (134) = -.65, *p* = .00. Secure attachment was neither correlated with age (*r* (134) = -.04, *p* = .62) nor with socio-economic status of the participants (*r* (134) = .14, *p* = .11), also no differences were found with regard to university education (*t* (132) = -.60, *p* = .55) or gender (*t* (132) = .09, *p* = .93). Fearful attachment was negatively related with age (*r* (134) = -.18, *p* = .04), but not with socioeconomic status (*r* (134) = -.04, *p* = .69), there was no difference regarding university education (*t* (132) = -.34, *p* = .74), neither a gender difference (*t* (132) = 1.52, *p* = .13).

**Cultural and economic security.** Natives' perceptions of cultural and economic security were assessed by the Security Scale used in the MIRIPS project (Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies, Berry, 2010; e.g., "I'm concerned about losing my cultural identity", recoded, or "This country is prosperous and wealthy enough for everyone to feel secure") which we translated

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[1] The original Dutch version of the ASQ with the four dimensions secure, fearful, preoccupied and dismissing attachment has been validated by Hofstra (2009) and has been successfully used in further language versions, e.g. by Polek (2008). In the present study, applying principal axis factoring a four-factor solution was found with the first factor "anxious attachment" explaining 29.32% of total variance (Eigenvalue of 7.04) and the second factor "secure attachment" explaining 11.73% of total variance (Eigenvalue of 2.82), further, the third factor "preoccupied attachment" explained 7.90% (1.98) and the fourth factor "dismissing attachment" 6.30% of total variance (Eigenvalue 1.51). We retained the original item assignment in spite of cross-loadings for conceptual reasons.

to German and adapted to the Luxembourgish context. Two items were added in order to consider the specific context of Luxembourg as a super diverse society with a high number of foreigners in the population (Murdock, 2016; "Despite the cultural diversity in Luxembourg, it is easy for me to preserve my Luxembourgish identity") as well as considering reports on a growing risk of poverty due to a high price level especially regarding housing costs (Statec, 2015; "I am worried about the high risk of poverty in our society", recoded) resulting in a total of 15 items. The cultural security scale contained six items and reached a reliability of $\alpha = .82$ ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.79$), the economic security scale contained seven items and reached a reliability of $\alpha = .71$ ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.55$) [2] Both dimensions were moderately positively correlated with $r$ (134) = .34, $p = .00$. Economic security feelings were not correlated with age of the participants ($r$ (132) = -.16, $p = .07$); but it differed for participants without and with university education (including current students) with the latter rating their feelings of economic security higher ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 0.48$ vs. $M = 2.30$, $SD = 0.59$; $t$ (130) = 2.83, $p = .01$); there was no gender difference, $t$ (132) =-.60, $p = .55$. No correlations were found between economic security feelings and socio-economic status ($r$ (134) =.04, $p = .62$). There were no effects regarding cultural security feelings with age $r$ (134) = .01, $p = .93$ and socioeconomic status $r$ (134) = .15, $p = .09$, neither was there a difference regarding university education ($t$ (132) = 1.56, $p = .12$ or gender $t$ (132) = 1.21, $p = .23$.

**Acculturation orientations.** Luxembourgers' perceptions of which acculturation strategies immigrants should follow were assessed by a German version of the Host Community Acculturation Scale (*HCAS;* Bourhis & Montreuil, 2013) established by Kunst and Sam (2013), containing 12 items which we adapted to the Luxembourgish context. Participants were presented

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[2] Due to the slight change in the original scale, we applied principal axis factoring in order to explore the factor structure of the items. Based on the scree plot and in line with theoretical assumptions, two factors were derived, the first named "Cultural Security feelings" explaining 27.97% of total variance with an Eigenvalue of 4.20, and the second factor named "Economic Security feelings" explaining 14.64% of total variance and with an Eigenvalue of 2.20. Three items had to be left out due to low loadings on both factors.

with six different acculturation orientations, the first three being characterized as welcoming and the last three as unwelcoming: individualism; integrationism, transformation-integrationism, assimilationism; segregationism and exclusionism. In order to reduce complexity for the present study, 8 of the twelve items measuring the different acculturation orientations were merged into one unidimensional scale[3] (by computing the mean of all 8 items) which served as dependent variable in the following analyses. This composite score reached high internal consistency ($\alpha =$ .79; $M = 2.94$, $SD = 0.58$). This scale represented a continuum from welcoming (e.g., "Luxembourgers should transform certain aspects of their own culture in order to really integrate the culture of immigrants") to unwelcoming ("The culture of non-Luxembourgers has no use for Luxembourgers")acculturation orientations of natives, where higher values indicated the unwelcoming pole of the dimension. It did not correlate with age ($r = .09$, $p = .32$) nor with socio-economic status ($r = -.01$, $p = .94$), no gender difference was found (t (90) = 1.28, p = .21) but there was a difference regarding university vs. no university background ($t$ (125) = 1.94, $p = .05$), namely participants without university background scored higher on unwelcoming acculturation orientations ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 0.47$) compared to their university educated counterparts ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 0.66$).

All items had to be rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Composite scores were built as average on the respective items belonging to each scale.

## Results

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[3] In principal axis factoring, the scree test showed a strong first factor which explained 29.08% of variance with an Eigenvalue of 3.49. In line with theoretical considerations as well as parsimony, we opted for the unidimensional solution. Four items were left out both due to low factor loadings and for theoretical reasons as they could not be clearly located on the continuum, namely the items related to individualism and integrationism.

Regression analysis was used to investigate the hypothesis that feelings of cultural and economic security mediate the effects of secure and fearful attachment on unwelcoming acculturation orientations of natives with regard to their views on immigrants (see table 1 for correlational patterns). We used first hierarchical regression (table 2) to establish mediation and second bootstrapping in order to test for direct and indirect effects.

With regard to our hierarchical regression, the first model included only socio-demographic variables. None of the control variables was a significant predictor for unwelcoming acculturation orientations (see table 2).

In the second model, we added secure and fearful attachment: secure attachment was not a significant predictor, whereas fearful attachment was a predictor for unwelcoming acculturation orientations, indicating that the more fearful persons were regarding their general attachment style, the less they allowed migrants to have an impact on the Luxembourgish culture, thus shielding the host society from foreign cultural influence that might entail change. In the third model, economic and cultural security were introduced as potential mediators.

As expected, the regression coefficient of fearful attachment was not significant anymore when introducing cultural and economic security feelings in the regression model, in line with our mediation hypothesis (see Baron, & Kenny, 1986; see table 2).

The significance of direct and indirect effects was then examined by use of the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). Separate analyses were carried out for secure attachment and fearful attachment as independent variables, including simultaneously both mediators, cultural and economic security, to predict unwelcoming acculturation orientations. With regard to secure attachment as independent variable (figure 1), results indicated that secure attachment was a significant predictor of cultural security, $B = .31$, $SE = .13$, $p = .02$, but not for economic security, $B = -.15$, $SE = .09$, $p$

= .10. There was no direct effect of secure attachment on unwelcoming acculturation orientations, $B$ = .06, $SE$ = .09, $p$ = .47, when including both mediators, cultural and economic security, in the regression predicting unwelcoming acculturation orientations. The mediator cultural security was a significant predictor of unwelcoming acculturation orientations, $B$ = -.42, $SE$ = .06, $p$ = .00, whereas economic security was not, $B$ = .02, $SE$ = .08, $p$ = .81. Approximately 30% of the variance in unwelcoming acculturation orientations was accounted for by the predictors ($R^2$ = .30). The indirect effect was tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 samples. The bootstrapped unstandardized indirect effect of secure attachment on unwelcoming acculturation orientations through cultural security feelings was significant with $B$ = -.13, $SE$ = .06; 95% CI [-.26; -.01]. Secure attachment was associated with approximately .13 points lower unwelcoming acculturation orientation scores as mediated by cultural security. Instead, the indirect effect of economic security was not significant ($B$ = .00, $SE$ = .02, 95% CI [-.04; .03].

- Figure 1 about here -

Similar results but in the opposite direction were obtained for fearful attachment as independent variable: Fearful attachment was a significant predictor of cultural security, $B$ = -.30, $SE$ = .08, $p$ = .00. There was no significant effect of fearful attachment on unwelcoming acculturation orientations when controlling for the mediators, $B$= .00, $SE$ = .06, $p$ = .97. The mediator cultural security was significant, $B$ = -.41, $SE$ = .06, $p$ = .00, whereas economic security was not, $B$ = .01, $SE$ = .08, $p$ = .94. Approximately 31% of the variance in unwelcoming acculturation orientations was accounted for by the predictors ($R^2$ = .31). The indirect effect was tested again using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5000 samples. The bootstrapped unstandardized indirect effect of fearful attachment on unwelcoming acculturation orientations through cultural security feelings was significant with $B$ = .12; $SE$ = .04; 95% CI [.06; .20]. Fearful

attachment was associated with approximately .12 points higher unwelcoming scores as mediated by cultural security. Again, the indirect effect of economic security was not significant ($B = .01$, $SE = .00$, 95% CI [-.01; .01].

- Figure 2 about here –

In order to determine each independent variable's relative importance in predicting the different perceptions of acculturation orientations, we further carried out a relative weight analysis. This analysis allows to determine each predictors' unique contribution to the explanation of variance in the specific model tested (Barni, 2015; Johnson, 2000; Tonidandel & LeBreton, 2015[4]). Relative weight analysis including socio-demographics, secure and fearful attachment as well as economic and cultural security confirmed the prime importance of cultural security feelings for the prediction of unwelcoming acculturation strategies. Cultural security feelings accounted for 77.5% of explained variance and this contribution differed significantly from all the other predictors. In fact, age had a share of only 3.3% of explained variance, university education 5.2% and socioeconomic status 1.6%, whereas the relative weights of secure and fearful attachment were 1.4% resp. 7.2% and economic security feelings accounted for 3.7% of explained variance when predicting unwelcoming acculturation orientations.

**Discussion**

The results concerning the relationship between attachment styles of Luxembourgers and their acculturation expectations regarding immigrants corroborate earlier findings of Hofstra and colleagues (2005). In general, it seems that a fearful attachment style is related with rather unwelcoming acculturation orientations regarding foreigners, entailing in particular the

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[4] Calculations were carried out by use of the online tool provided under http://relativeimportance.davidson.edu

unreceptiveness for any cultural influences immigrants might bring and–related to this--the wish that immigrants adapt to the Luxembourgish culture or not interfere with it, hence shielding the receiving culture from change due to cultural contact. Fearful attachment might thus stand in contrast to multiculturalism, thereby not allowing for the coexistence and exchange of diverse cultural attitudes but protecting the receiving culture from foreign cultural influences that might entail change. The preference for immigrants' adaptation to the receiving culture might serve to reduce complexity as a means of dealing with fear of novelty and change. These findings are consistent with previous findings linking fearful attachment to more hostile responses towards outgroups (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001).

In line with the multiculturalism hypothesis according to Berry and colleagues (see Berry et al., 2006), analyses showed that individuals who perceive their cultural identity or—to a lesser extent—their economic security as threatened by immigrants are less open to foreigners and their cultures of origin.

Interestingly, secure as well as fearful attachment at the individual level were related to feelings of security at cultural but not economic level. Thus, feeling securely attached in general seems to coincide with a strong cultural identity and a feeling of being securely embedded in the own culture whereas a generally fearful and untrusting relationship style goes hand in hand with worries for cultural identity; however, general attachment security or insecurity might not brighten or overshadow the perception of the specific economic situation in one's country. Probably, feelings of security or threat regarding the economic state of society as a whole do not only represent judgments using subjective criteria but depend also on more objective data, whereas feelings of cultural security or identity threat seem to be more strongly connected to general attachment styles and interpersonal trust.

Interestingly, in line with our hypothesis, cultural security feelings mediated the relation between attachment and unwelcoming acculturation expectations, namely the unreceptiveness for foreign cultural influences from immigrants. This finding suggests also that perceptions of cultural security respectively cultural threat might be biased by a secure or fearful attachment style. In fact, in particular fearfully attached persons might be more sensitive to the experience of cultural insecurity and threat, in line with a more negative view of self and others in the case of fearfully attached persons, following Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991), and this in turn makes them closing up from foreign cultural influences.

## Caveats

The present study has two major limitations. First, using an online survey we are aware that our sample disposes of a certain digital competence which may also cover other personality factors; the chosen procedure excludes persons without such competences. Findings obtained within this sample should evidently not be interpreted as representative for Luxembourg as a whole. Nonetheless, the age range of participants was large, including individuals with diverse educational background. A second caveat is that our correlational study design does not allow for causal explanations of the observed relations. However, the significant variance that we found in our data as well as our correlational findings can serve as a starting point for further studies using different sampling strategies or a longitudinal design.

## Conclusions

The study by Hofstra and colleagues (2005) was carried out more than 10 years ago in the Netherlands. Recently, Europe has experienced several waves of migration and refugee movements that have been highly debated in the media, politics and the general public across Europe. In contrast to Hofstra et al. (2005), the present study focuses on another European

receiving society, namely the GDL, of today, aiming thus at replication as well as at the transfer of earlier findings to another cultural context.

Our study presents interesting and theory-enhancing results: findings strongly suggest that cultural contact as well as the (un)willingness to interact with and learn from others is related to feelings of cultural security or the other way round the perception of foreigners as a threat for cultural identity. Interestingly, perceptions of cultural security or threat seem partly biased by a more general fearful attachment. The world of today is confronted with growing migration, constant economic, political and cultural change, as well as periods of uncertainty; societies need to reduce anxiety by providing a secure base both at macro and micro level in order to provide the ground for cultural contact and exchange, thereby promoting well-being of their population and enhancing a harmonious living together of different cultural groups. Future studies should concentrate on how favorable interactions between individuals from different cultures can be promoted considering the crucial role that feelings of cultural (and economic) security or threat play here.

**Policy and practical implications**

In light of a rather critical media coverage regarding migration as well as the recent success of populist parties across Europe, public discourses and the ways how they link migration to factual or assumed economic security and in particular to cultural identity threat should be reviewed. Policy makers should consider the prime importance of feelings of (cultural) security and reassurance as a (secure) base for tolerance and openness to cultural diversity which are needed in order to deal successfully with the challenges of today's multicultural societies.

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Table 1. *Intercorrelations between variables regarding Acculturation Orientations, Attachment, and Cultural-Economic Security (N =132)*

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | 1 | -.09 | .21* | -.19* | -.55** |
| **2** |   | 1 | -.65* | -.11 | .23** |
| **3** |   |   | 1 | -.05 | -.36** |
| **4** |   |   |   | 1 | .30** |
| **5** |   |   |   |   | 1 |

*Note.* 1 = Unwelcoming (vs. Welcoming) Acculturation Orientations, 2 = Secure Attachment, 3 = Fearful Attachment, 4 = Economic Security and 5 = Cultural Security. *p <.05. **p <.01. +p < .10.

Table 2

*Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Unwelcoming Acculturation Orientations (N = 134)*

| Variable | Model 1 | | | | | Model 2 | | | | | Model 3 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *B* | *SE B* | *β* | *t* | *p* | *B* | *SE B* | *β* | *t* | *p* | *B* | *SE B* | *β* | *t* | *p* |
| Age of Participant | .00 | .00 | .01 | .09 | .93 | .00 | .00 | .07 | .62 | .54 | .00 | .00 | .08 | .89 | .38 |
| Gender of Participant (1 = female) | .11 | .10 | .10 | 1.08 | .28 | .08 | .10 | .06 | .72 | .47 | .05 | .09 | .04 | .54 | .59 |
| University Education (1 = yes) | -.17 | .12 | -.15 | -1.44 | .15 | -.16 | .12 | -.14 | -1.32 | .19 | -.09 | .10 | -.08 | -.84 | .40 |
| Socio-economic Status | .01 | .07 | .02 | .21 | .83 | .01 | .07 | .01 | .11 | .91 | .06 | .06 | .07 | .98 | .33 |
| Secure Attachment | | | | | | .12 | .13 | .11 | .92 | .36 | .12 | .12 | .11 | 1.04 | .30 |
| Fearful Attachment | | | | | | .18 | .09 | .25 | 2.07 | .04 | .06 | .08 | .08 | .75 | .46 |
| Cultural Security | | | | | | | | | | | -.42 | .06 | -.56 | -6.72 | .00 |
| Economic Security | | | | | | | | | | | .06 | .09 | .06 | .69 | .49 |
| $R^2$ | .04 (*p* = .30) | | | | | .07 (*p* = .10) | | | | | .33 (*p* = .00) | | | | |
| *F* for change in $R^2$ | 1.23 (4, 129) | | | | | 2.35 (2, 127) | | | | | 23.91 (2, 125) | | | | |

*Note:* Gender of Participant (1 = female, 0 = male), University Education (1 = having some university education [either completed or being a student], 0 = no university education), Socio-economic Status (Likert-scale from 1 = much lower than average to 5 = much higher than average)
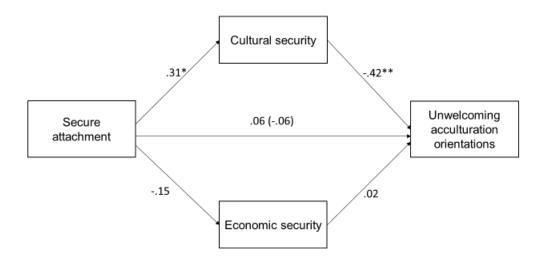
*Figure 1.* Testing cultural and economic security as mediators for the relation between secure attachment and unwelcoming acculturation orientations
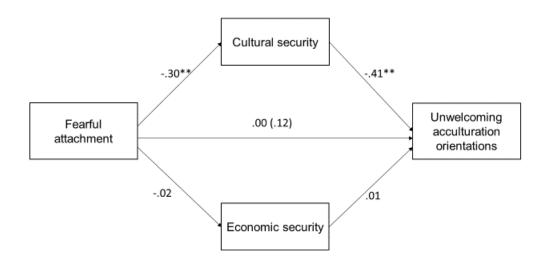
*Figure 2.* Testing cultural and economic security as mediators for the relation between fearful attachment and unwelcoming acculturation orientations