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**MOTIVATION FOR ETHNO-
CULTURAL CONTINUITY AS A
PREDICTOR OF
ACCULTURATION AND
ADAPTATION IN TWO
GENERATIONS OF LATVIAN
RUSSIANS**

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**MOTIVATION FOR ETHNO-CULTURAL CONTINUITY
AS A PREDICTOR OF ACCULTURATION AND ADAPTATION
IN TWO GENERATIONS OF LATVIAN RUSSIANS³**

The paper presents the results of empirical research on the relationship of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and strategies of acculturation of the Russian minority in Latvia. We sampled 112 Russian families (parents: N=112, age 35-59, Me=42; adolescents: N=112, age 16-24, Me=17). A questionnaire included measures of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, acculturation strategies, sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem. Using structural equation modeling we revealed that motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, assimilation strategy, self-esteem and sociocultural adaptation of parents are significantly related to those of their children. We found positive relationships of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity with a strategy of integration and self-esteem among parents, and of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and self-esteem among children. Motivation for ethno-cultural continuity of adolescents associates with their preference for separation. Integration positively relates to self-esteem and sociocultural adaptation, while assimilation, marginalization and separation strategies relate negatively to self-esteem in both generations.

Keywords: motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, acculturation, adaptation, ethnic minorities, integration, well-being

JEL Classification: Z

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Introduction

Cultural diversity has become typical for many countries. This is one of the reasons why much attention in acculturation studies is paid to the adaptation of different ethnic groups' members to their life in culturally diverse societies. Past studies demonstrated that attitudes towards culture' maintenance along with participation in intercultural contacts result in more successful sociocultural and psychological adaptation in comparison to cultural loss or rejection of contacts with members of other ethnic groups (Berry, 2006).

Family is one of the main sources of ethnic culture maintenance during the process of acculturation of migrants and ethnic minorities. Therefore we should take into account that acculturation preferences of children might depend on acculturation preferences of their parents and on the desire and readiness of parents to transmit a heritage culture to their children.

Acculturation strategies and adaptation

According to Berry's theory of acculturation individuals have to deal with two central issues (Berry, 1990): the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to maintain identification and involvement with their ethnic culture; and the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to identify and participate in mainstream, majority culture. Positive and negative orientations of migrants or ethnic minorities toward maintaining ethnic culture and toward contact with a wider society could be combined in four different acculturation strategies: integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization (Berry, 1990). Integration is the strategy by which individuals choose to identify with both cultures. Separation means identification only with one's heritage and culture and having contact with one's own group's members. When individuals identify with a host country's culture and do not maintain their heritage and culture – this is assimilation. Marginalization means a rejection of both cultures. These four strategies lead to different consequences. Integration is the most preferable strategy of acculturation because it associates with successful psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). From an adaptation perspective, marginalization seems to be the least preferable, and assimilation and separation strategies are average (Ward et al., 2001; Berry et al. 2006; Berry, Sabatier, 2010; 2011).

Some studies demonstrated that the relationship between acculturation strategies as predictors of psychological and sociocultural adaptation and outcomes might depend on the time and context of minorities' acculturation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk & Kinunen, 2011; Ward, 2013; Kus-Harbord & Ward, 2015). Separation plays an adaptive role in countries with assimilation policies because perceived discrimination increases the need for support from one's own ethnic group (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003). Separation provides a successful adaptation in countries with high cultural diversity and impedes adaptation in culturally homogeneous countries. Assimilation might promote socioeconomic adaptation also, but only at the beginning of the acculturation process in culturally diverse countries (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk & Kinunen, 2011).

Collective continuity and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity

Aside from the problems of adaptation, preferences for different acculturation strategies might have different outcomes at group level. If most minority group members "...acculturate to the dominant society, and if they also fail to teach their children and grandchildren minority culture ways, then the minority group may be assimilated by the dominant society and cease to exist as a coherent cultural group" (Rudmin, 2010, p. 300). From this point of view two strategies, integration and separation, can be considered as contributing to the vitality of a group and temporal group continuity.

Furthermore, the loss of one's own culture can lead to negative consequences at an individual level, because a sense of collective continuity provides existential security (Sani, Herrera, & Bowe, 2009). Collective continuity has two dimensions (Sani et al., 2008; Sani et al., 2007): "perceived cultural continuity" which refers to perceptions that values, beliefs, traditions, habits, mentalities, and inclinations are trans-generationally transmitted within the group, and "perceived narrative continuity", which refers to perceptions that different periods and events in the history of the group are causally linked. Empirical studies demonstrated that perceptions of collective continuity were related to social well-being, and this relationship was mediated by a collective self-esteem (Sani, Bowe & Herrera, 2007).

Smeekers and Verkuyten (2014) showed that people (from the dominant group) with higher perceived cultural continuity are concerned about the preservation of their national culture and identity, and perceive more continuity threats from immigrants. Only one dimension of cultural continuity, perceived cultural continuity, had an impact on the attitudes of ethnic majority members towards immigrants (Smeekers & Verkuyten, 2014).

Since the process of acculturation involves not only the reaction to the environment, but also personal choice, we should take into account the motivation and activity of the individuals

(Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008). In our study we focused on the motivation for ethno-cultural continuity (MEC) that is “a measure that captures the active engagement of ethno-cultural group members in cultural endurance” (Gezentsvey Lamy, Ward & Liu, 2013, p. 1048), and its relationships with acculturation preferences. MEC reflects the individual agency on group level acculturation in terms of transmitting the culture of an ethnic group.

For our study it is important to note that the motivation for ethno-cultural continuity could be associated with maintaining the cultural heritage of an ethnic group. It can be assumed that this type of motivation will encourage or discourage the choice of certain acculturation strategies: for example, to facilitate the choice of strategies associated with culture maintenance (integration and separation) and prevent the choice of strategies associated with culture loss (assimilation and marginalization). However, in a study conducted in the multicultural context of New Zealand, the relationship between MEC and assimilation was not found (Gezentsvey Lamy, Ward & Liu, 2013). We propose that in the face of perceived threats to the cultural identity of minority’ group members, the relationship of MEC and acculturation preferences will manifest itself.

Intergenerational transmission and acculturation

In order to contribute to ethno-cultural longevity, it is important to study whether motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and strategies of migrants and minorities are transmitted to other generations: Is parental motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and acculturation orientation transmitted to their children? And whether or not such outcomes of acculturation as sociocultural and psychological adaptation are related between different generations of the family.

Sabatier and Berry (2008) have observed the direct effect of parents’ acculturation orientations on their children’s acculturation strategies among migrant families in the French context (with higher perceived discrimination), but not in the Canadian context (with multicultural attitudes). They also observed that, in France, parental acculturation orientations have a direct effect on a child’s psychological and sociocultural adaptation. The authors regard experience of discrimination as a major threat to the mental health and adaptation of first- and second-generation youth. Family, which is the first instance of socialization, where children and adolescents acquire a sense of self-worth and learn social relationships and values, plays a pivotal role in the adaptation of adolescents born into immigrant families (Sabatier, 1999). The acculturation orientations of each member of the family interact with the orientations of other members, and may influence the adaptation of the family as a whole. Studies on second-generation adolescents usually neglect this view (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Vatz-Laaroussi, 2001) as Sabatier and Berry (2008) have noted.

Adaptation during the acculturation process has two components: psychological and sociocultural (Ward, 1996). Psychological adaptation refers to an individual's personal sense of well-being. In a recent study, we examined the psychological adaptation of minority' adolescents in terms of general self-esteem. Sociocultural adaptation refers to how well an individual is able to function in their daily lives in school or at work, and in the community in general. In this study, we examine skills of interpersonal communication, language proficiency, personal interests, community involvement, and ecological adaptation (Wilson, 2013). Further details are discussed in the Method section.

The study conducted in Estonia revealed that participation in Estonian culture and the orientation of Russians to Russian cultural maintenance, which are relevant to integration, predicted positive outcomes only when group devaluation was perceived as low (Kus & Ward, 2015).

Perceived discrimination has been found to be an important predictor of how well immigrant youth adapt both psychologically and socioculturally to life in a new society (Berry et al., 2006). When adolescents perceive that they are targets of discrimination, their psychological well-being decreases (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). Some protective factors e.g. ethnic or family pride, attitudes of acculturation, ethnic density in the social network, parental and friends' support, and attachment to parents might reduce either the perception of discrimination or the effect of this perception on well-being (Gil et al., 1994; Greene et al., 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). Immigrant parents try to adapt to new surroundings by seeking a balance between the need for cultural continuity within the family and the need to conform to the new demands and constraints of the environment (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1997; Sabatier, 1991). It looks like they need to choose the strategy of integration to fulfill these different needs. From this perspective, the positive contribution of the acculturation orientations of parents and their motivation for ethno-cultural continuity to the adaptation of their children have to be taken into consideration.

Overall, the contribution of parents to the psychological and sociocultural adaptation of their adolescents depends on different aspects of family life, daily cultural practices, the ease of the parent–adolescent relationship, and the transmission of knowledge and values (Sabatier & Berry, 2008). These factors have both direct and indirect influence. Among the crucial issues for second-generation adolescents is the balance between ethnic and national values and identity in parents' and children's generations. The study in France and Canada has revealed positive correlations of acculturation orientations between parents and their children that demonstrate the intergenerational transmission of these acculturation preferences within the family (Sabatier and Berry, 2008). However, the role of transmission of acculturation attitudes as well as motivation

for ethno-cultural continuity in acculturation studies is still an unexplored domain and needs empirical studies in different cultural contexts.

Our study focuses on the impact of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and acculturation strategies on the sociocultural and psychological adaptation of both parents and children from Russian families in Latvia.

Russians in Latvia

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991 many ethnic Russians found themselves outside of the borders of Russia. The socio-political and psychological status of Russians dramatically changed, because they became an ethnic minority in new independent states, despite the fact that many of them were born in these states and regarded Latvia as their native land. According to statistics, in 2013 the population of Latvia was 2 023 825, and 530 419 (i.e. 26.2%) of the population were ethnic Russians (Statistical Yearbook of Latvia 2013, 2014). Most Russians who lived in the Latvian Soviet republic in 1991, but were not descendants of Latvia's citizens before 1940, have not received Latvian citizenship. In 2005 only 50% of Russians were citizens of Latvia and the rest were non-citizens or aliens (Cara, 2006). Nevertheless, the process of naturalization of non-citizens became more rapid after Latvia joined EU. This was due to a softening of the citizenship policy, which was a result of criticism from the European international community, as well as a desire of non-citizens to obtain citizenship in order to access the possibilities of European labor mobility (Ivļevs, King, 2012). According to the information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia, the percentage of non-citizens dropped to 12% (262 622) in 2015, compared to 29% (approximately 730 000) in 1995 when the naturalization process began. Nowadays 84% of Latvia's population has Latvian citizenship (Basic facts..., 2015).

Surveys showed that despite the positive attitude of Russian speakers toward learning the Latvian language, many of them have reported high levels of perceived discrimination. Yet, young generations of Russian Latvians prefer an integration strategy of acculturation, following by separation, and with marginalization being the least preferred one (Cara, 2006).

The aim of our study was threefold. Firstly, we wanted to test the suggestion that MEC related to acculturation preferences within both parental and child generations. Secondly, we wanted to explore whether acculturation preferences and MEC of parents corresponded with acculturation preferences and MEC of their children. Thirdly, we wanted to investigate whether MEC and acculturation preferences influence psychological adaptation represented by self-esteem, and sociocultural adaptation.

Hypothesis of the research is divided into two groups: the first group reflects the processes occurring at the individual level within both generations, the second group reflects the intergenerational level.

Research hypotheses

Within generations:

H1. MEC positively relates to separation and integration, and negatively relates to marginalization and assimilation in both generations.

H2. MEC positively relates to self-esteem in both generations.

H3. A strategy of integration promotes better sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem in both generations.

H4. Strategies of assimilation, separation and marginalization negatively relate to sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem in both generations.

Between generations:

H5. MEC of parents positively relates to MEC of their children.

H6. Acculturation preferences of parents positively relate to the same preferences of their children.

H7. Sociocultural adaptation of parents positively relates to sociocultural adaptation of their children

H8. Self-esteem of parents positively relates to the self-esteem of their children

The hypothesized relationships are presented in the model to be tested in our research for four acculturation strategies (see fig.1).

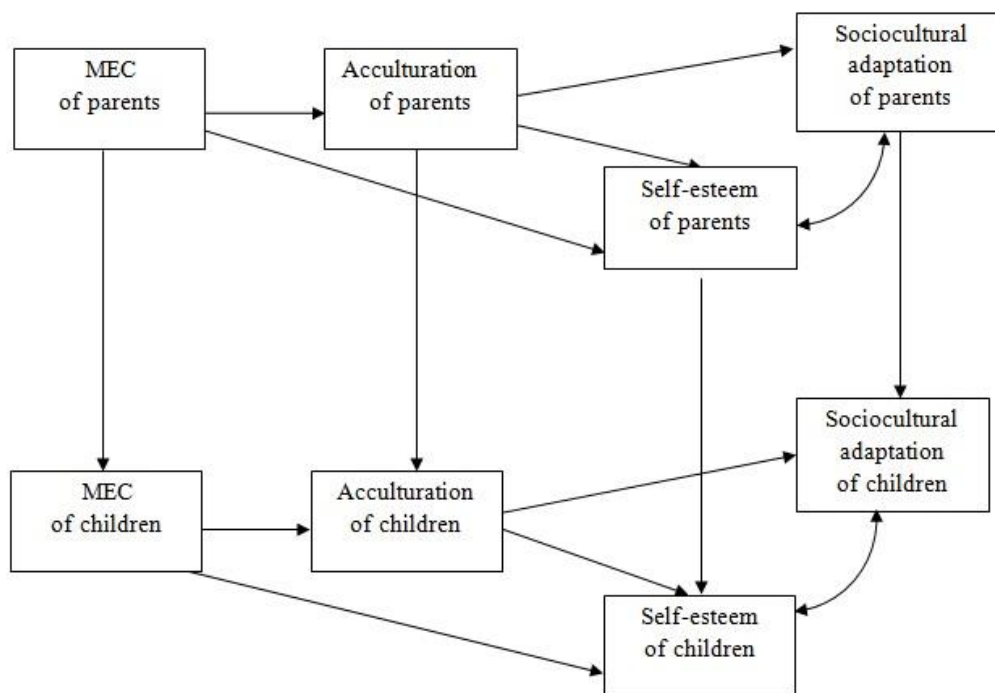


Fig. 1. The theoretical model

Method and procedure

We used a research design that includes representatives of two generations of the same family (parents and children), surveyed by interviewers partly in small groups (classes) or in families. Participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and that responses were anonymous.

Participants

This study was conducted among Russian ethnic minority families who live in Riga, Latvia. The study involved 112 parents (mostly mothers), and 112 children (total N=224). Sample characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Sample characteristics

Generation	N	Gender				Age	
		Male	%	Female	%	Range	Me
Parents	112	5	4.5	107	95.5	35 - 59	42
Children	112	36	32.1	76	67.9	16 - 24	17

Measures

All measures were rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) scale. The scales were formed by averaging their corresponding items.

Motivation for ethno-cultural continuity (MEC). The original scale consisted of 10 items (Gezentsvey et al., 2013). These items were translated into Russian, translation and back-translation were used. To test the construct validity of the scale in two generations we used multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFA). Goodness of Fit Indexes indicated that a model consisted of five items fits the data adequately: CMIN/DF = 1.80; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06; GFI = .97; Δ CFI = .003 (factor loadings for each item are presented in the Appendix). Examples of the items are: “Long term, I would like my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to continue our Russian heritage”, “I want to transmit to my children a love for and interest in their Russian heritage” ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .88$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .89$).

Additionally, we used two scales of the MIRIPS questionnaire: acculturation strategies and self-esteem. The items were translated into Russian and adapted for use in previous studies (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2009). The complete MIRIPS questionnaire and scoring keys are available on the project website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips>.

Acculturation strategies. This scale has 16 items, with four items for each of the following acculturation strategies: *integration* (“It is important to me to be fluent in both Latvian language and in Russian language”) ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .81$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .67$); *assimilation* (“It is more important to me to be fluent in Latvian than in Russian language”), ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .73$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .85$); *separation* (“It is more important to me to be fluent in Russian than in Latvian language”), ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .66$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .72$); and *marginalization* (“It is not important to me to be fluent in Latvian than in Russian language”), ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .50$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .57$).

Self-esteem. The scale consisted of four items ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .87$, $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .82$). For example, “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself”, “I am able to do things as well as most other people”.

Sociocultural adaptation scale. The scale included 7 items from the Revised Sociocultural Adaptation Scale - SCA-R (Wilson, 2013) ($\alpha_{\text{children}} = .87$, $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .85$). The items of the scale were translated into Russian, using translation and back-translation. The items measured self ratings of difficulties in interpersonal communication skills (“Building and maintaining relationships”, “Changing my behaviour to suit social norms, rules, attitudes, beliefs, and customs”), language proficiency (“Understanding and speaking National language”), personal interests and community involvement (“Maintaining my hobbies and interests”, “Attending or participating in community activities”), and ecological adaptation (“Adapting to the pace of life”).

Data processing

To test the predicted model we followed a Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) approach (Kline, 1998), using the AMOS program, Version 20 (Arbuckle, 2010). Path analyses were performed for each acculturation strategy separately.

Results

Descriptive statistics of the main variables are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics and t-test for main study variables

	Parents		Children		t
	M	SD	M	SD	
MEC	4.18	.73	3.76	.84	3.99***
Integration	4.04	.69	4.02	.81	.23
Assimilation	1.70	.81	1.81	.81	.98
Separation	2.69	.86	2.67	.96	.16
Marginalization	2.15	.74	2.28	.73	1.34
Self-esteem	4.13	.66	4.07	.83	.50
Sociocultural adaptation	3.86	.73	3.78	.80	.79

Note: *** - $p < .001$

As can be seen in Table 2, integration is the most preferable acculturation strategy by parents and children, followed by separation and marginalization. The least preferable strategy is assimilation. Children and parents significantly differ in their MEC: it is higher among parents.

The hypothesized relationships were tested for each of four acculturation strategies. Goodness-of-fit indicators of all models are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Goodness-of-Fit Indicators of Models

Model	χ^2	df	p	χ^2/df	CFI	GFI	RMSEA
Integration	9.99	14	.78	.71	1.00	.98	.00
Separation	15.95	14	.32	1.14	.98	.97	.04
Assimilation	15.03	14	.37	1.07	.99	.97	.03
Marginalization	14.24	14	.43	1.02	1.00	.97	.01

Fit measures show that all path models have a good model fit.

The path model for integration is presented in Fig. 2.

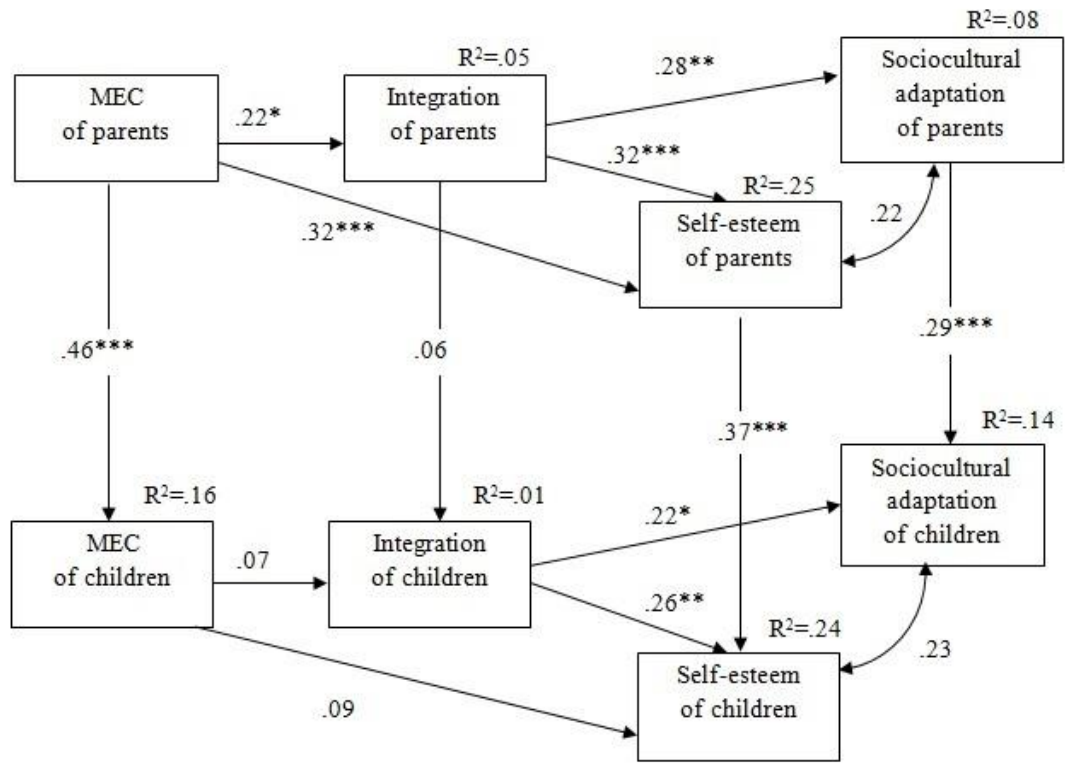


Figure 2. Integration path model

As can be seen in Fig.2, MEC of parents positively associated with their preference for integration ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = .22, p < .05$), but this association is not repeated in the sample of children. The same tendencies are observed in associations of MEC with self-esteem ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = .32, p < .001$). The integration positively related to self-esteem ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = .32, p < .001$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = .26, p < .01$) and to sociocultural adaptation ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = .29, p < .001$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = .22, p < .01$) in both generations. Significant between-generational relationships were found for MEC ($\beta = .46, p < .001$), self-esteem ($\beta = .37, p < .001$), and sociocultural adaptation ($\beta = .29, p < .001$).

The path model for assimilation is presented in Fig. 3.

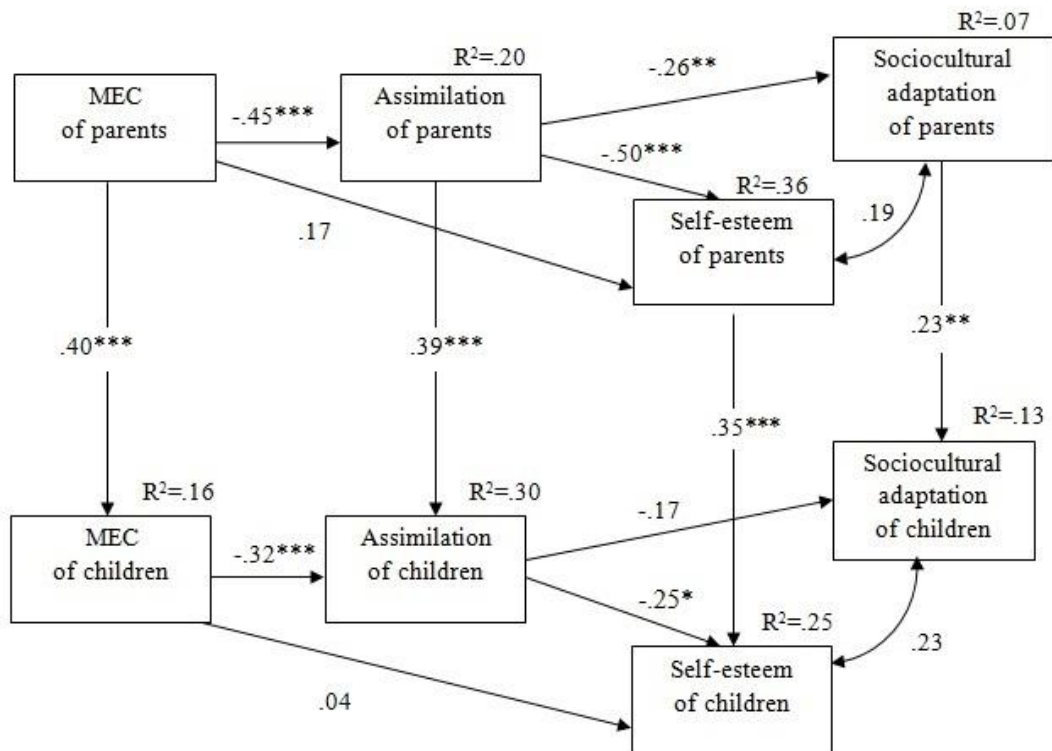


Figure 3. Assimilation path model

Fig.3 shows that, contrary to the previous model for integration, MEC significantly and negatively related to assimilation in both generations ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -0.45$, $p < .001$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = -0.35$, $p < .001$). In turn, these strategies are significantly and negatively associated with self-esteem in both generations ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -0.50$, $p < .001$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = -0.25$, $p < .05$), and with sociocultural adaptation of parents ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -0.26$, $p < .01$). The association of assimilation and sociocultural adaptation of children is negative also, but insignificant. All of the intergenerational relationships are significant and positive: for MEC $\beta = 0.40$ ($p < .001$), for assimilation $\beta = 0.39$ ($p < .001$), for self-esteem $\beta = 0.35$ ($p < .001$), and for sociocultural adaptation $\beta = 0.23$ ($p < .01$).

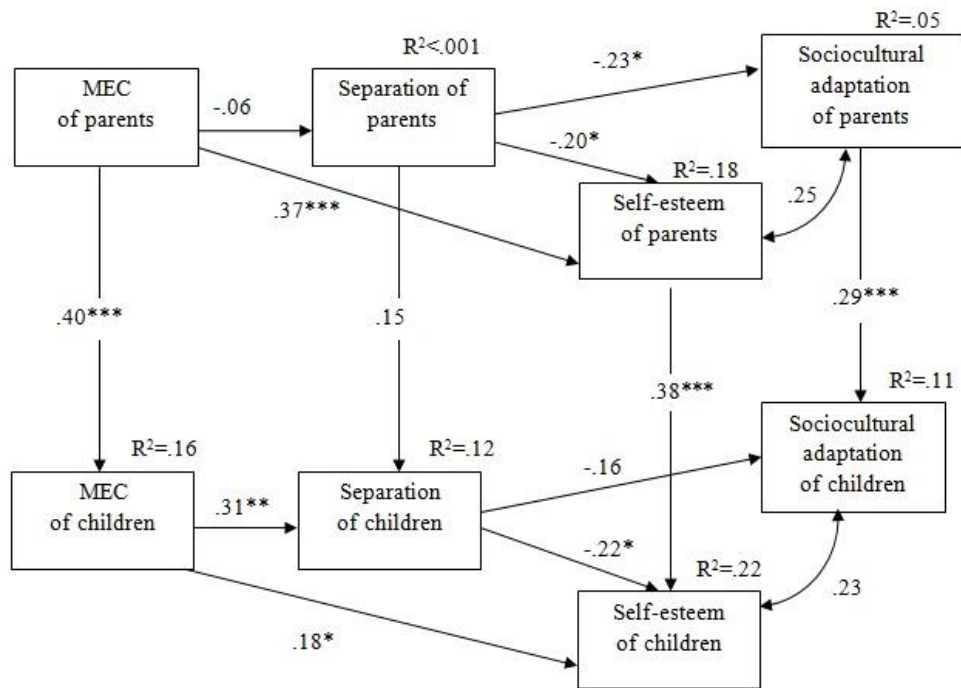


Figure 4. Separation path model

The path model for separation in Fig. 4 demonstrated that MEC has no significant effect on the separation strategy of parents, but the effect of MEC on the separation strategy of children was positive and significant ($\beta_{\text{children}} = .31$, $p < .01$). Preference for separation is negatively associated with self-esteem in both generations ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -.20$, $p < .05$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = -.22$, $p < .05$), and with sociocultural adaptation of parents ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -.23$, $p < .01$). Significant intergenerational relationships were found for MEC ($\beta = .40$, $p < .001$), self-esteem ($\beta = .38$, $p < .001$), and sociocultural adaptation ($\beta = .29$, $p < .001$). The relationship between preferences for separation of parents and children was insignificant.

As can be seen in Fig. 5, MEC was negatively and significantly associated with marginalization only among children ($\beta_{\text{children}} = -.30$, $p < .001$). Marginalization is negatively associated with self-esteem in parents and children respectively ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -.35$, $p < .001$; $\beta_{\text{children}} = -.30$, $p < .001$), and with sociocultural adaptation of parents ($\beta_{\text{parents}} = -.31$, $p < .001$). As in previous models, significant between- generational relationships were found for MEC ($\beta = .40$, $p < .001$), self-esteem ($\beta = .35$, $p < .001$), and sociocultural adaptation ($\beta = .28$, $p < .01$).

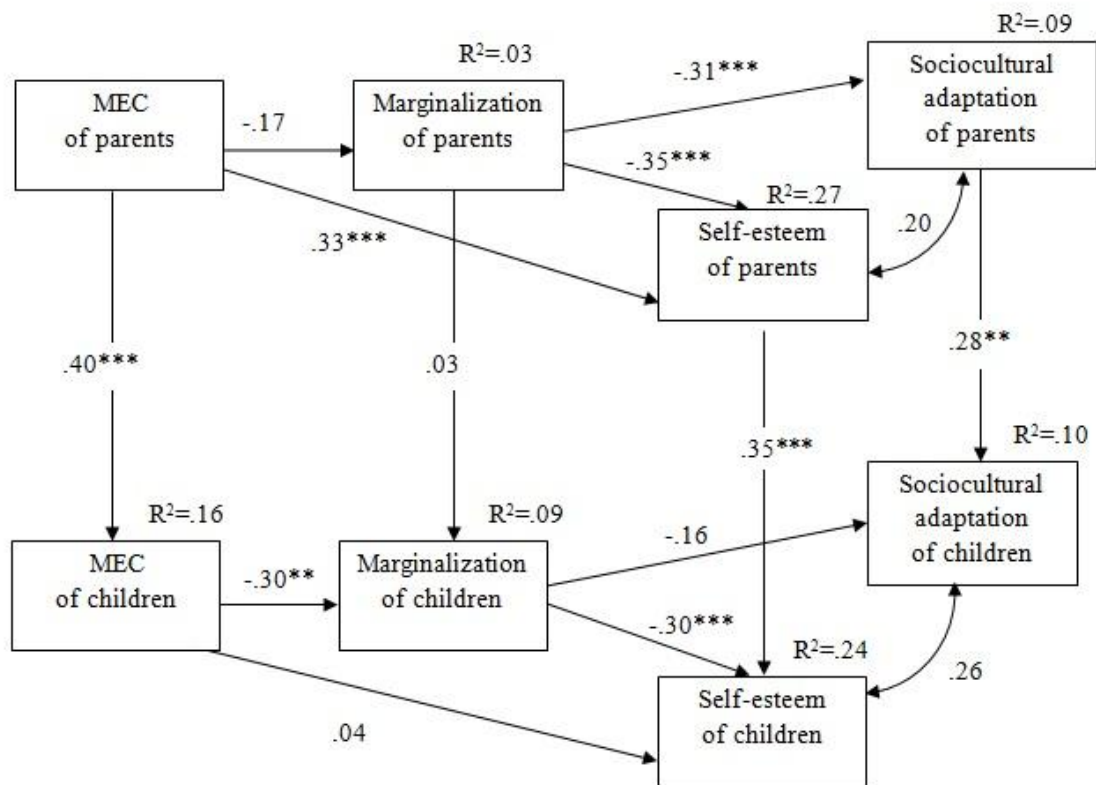


Figure 5. Marginalization path model

To compare impacts of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and acculturation strategies on sociocultural and psychological adaptation within generations we present the relationships between variables obtained by path analysis for each acculturation preference in Table 3.

First we compare the relationships of MEC and strategies of acculturation. In both generations MEC is positively related to a strategy of integration, significantly in parents and insignificantly in children. As for relationships of MEC with a strategy of separation, we obtained the positive and significant relationship in children in agreement with our hypothesis H1 and negative insignificant relationship in parents that contradicts this hypothesis. We also obtained a significant and negative relationship of MEC with assimilation strategy in both generations and with marginalization in children. In parents, this relationship is also negative but insignificant.

Thus our hypothesis H1 is fully confirmed in both generations for the assimilation strategy only. However it is confirmed for integration in parents and for separation and marginalization in children.

Our second hypothesis H2 proposed the positive relations of MEC with self-esteem in both generations. Our study has revealed that in all the models MEC of parents were

significantly and positively related to their self-esteem, but such relations are insignificant for children with one exception for separation strategy.

Our results support the third hypothesis H3: the strategy of integration promotes better sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem in both generations. As for the relations of strategies of assimilation, separation and marginalization with sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem, we obtained negative and significant relations of these strategies with self-esteem in both generations. As for the relationships of these strategies with sociocultural adaptation, all these associations are negative and significant in parents, but insignificant in children. Thus we can conclude that the fourth hypothesis H4 was fully supported in parental generation, while it was partially supported in children: strategies of assimilation, separation and marginalization are negatively related to self-esteem in both generations and to sociocultural adaptation of parents.

Table 3

Relationships between variables within generations

Relationships	Marginalization	Assimilation	Integration	Separation
MEC of parents → acculturation of parents	-.17	-.45***	.22*	-.06
MEC of children → acculturation of children	-.30***	-.35***	.09	.31***
MEC of parents → self-esteem of parents	.33***	.17*	.32***	.37***
MEC of children → self-esteem of children	.04	.05	.09	.18*
Acculturation of parents → self-esteem of parents	-.35***	-.50***	.32**	-.20*
Acculturation of parents → sociocultural adaptation of parents	-.31***	-.26**	.28**	-.15*
Acculturation of children → self-esteem of children	-.30***	-.25*	.26**	-.22*
Acculturation of children → Sociocultural adaptation of children	-.16	-.17	.21*	-.16

Notes: * - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

The results of intergenerational effects are presented in Table 4. According to our hypothesis H5, MEC of parents positively and significantly relates to MEC of their children

regardless of the strategy of acculturation. As for the intergenerational effect of acculturation preferences of parents on acculturation preferences of their children, we have revealed such an effect only for assimilation. Which means that the hypothesis H6 is partially supported only for assimilation, but not for integration, marginalization and separation. Our between-generational hypotheses H7 and H8 were fully supported: sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem of parents positively related to sociocultural adaptation and self-esteem of their children respectively regardless of acculturation strategy.

Table 4

Relationships between variables between generations

Relationships	Marginalization	Assimilation	Integration	Separation
MEC of parents → MEC of children	.40***	.40***	.40***	.40***
Acculturation of parents → acculturation of children	.03	.43***	.07	.15
Self-esteem of parents → self-esteem of children	.35***	.29**	.35***	.38***
Sociocultural adaptation of parents → Sociocultural adaptation of children	.28**	.23*	.27**	.29***

Notes: * - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

As can be seen in Table 4, cross-generational positive relationships were found for MEC, self-esteem, and sociocultural adaptation. Assimilation of parents was positively related to assimilation of their children.

We also evaluated indirect effects of MEC and integration of parents on self-esteem and sociocultural adaptation of children using the bootstrap procedure (Hoyle & Kenny, 1999). The results are shown in Table 5. The analysis shows that there is an indirect positive effect of integration of parents ($\beta=.13$, $p<.05$) and MEC of parents ($\beta=.18$, $p<.05$) on the self-esteem of their children. Statistically significant direct effects of integration of parents and MEC of parents on the self-esteem of children were not found. The indirect effect of integration of parents on sociocultural adaptation of children was also significant, but weak ($\beta=.09$, $p<.05$).

Table 5

Standardized direct and indirect effects

Outcome	Sociocultural adaptation of children		Self-esteem of children	
	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect
Predictor				
Integration of parents	.07	.09*	.04	.13*
MEC of parents	-	-	.04	.18*
R2	.05		.02	

Note: *p < .05.

Discussion

In our research we have studied the relationships of MEC with strategies of acculturation and sociocultural and psychological adaptation within and between two generations of Russians living in Latvia. Our results indicated that MEC of parents can be regarded as a predictor of MEC of their children. It means that MEC could be transmitted over generations. In turn, this kind of motivation can be considered as the source of group vitality since MEC positively related to acculturation preferences providing culture maintenance – integration in the generation of parents, and separation in the generation of children; and negatively related to assimilation in both generations, and to the marginalization of children.

Our results are not consistent with results of the New Zealand study that did not find a relationship between MEC and assimilation (Gezentsvey Lamy, Ward & Liu, 2013). This might be due to the multicultural policy pursued there for many years, therefore allowing for the fact that ethnic minority groups do not perceive any threat to their culture, and this might reduce the impact of MEC on acculturation preferences of minority group members. In the case of Latvian Russians, for whom the necessity to preserve their culture is acute due to pressure for assimilation, we revealed significant relationships of MEC and strategies of acculturation in both generations.

In line with the findings of previous studies on acculturation of migrants (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006) we found the positive relationship of a preference for integration and indicators of successful sociocultural and psychological adaptation (self-esteem). Preferences for separation, assimilation, and marginalization have a negative impact on self-esteem in both generations.

Conclusion

This research is the first in which the relatively new construct of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity is used to study the process of acculturation of ethnic minorities in an intergenerational perspective. We tested how the motivation for ethno-cultural continuity of

parents and children and strategies of acculturation of parents are related to the strategies of acculturation and adaptation of children.

We revealed the relationships between motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and the strategies of acculturation in both generations. In the parental generation the motivation for ethno-cultural continuity contributes to integration while in the generation of children it is positively linked to separation. This means that the desire to maintain one's culture for the younger generation is to a greater degree connected not with the choice of a more successful integration strategy (Sam & Berry, 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2011), but rather with the maintenance of heritage culture and rejecting the culture of the dominant group.

A certain paradox arises: on the one hand, young people are integrated well enough, the fact that living in independent Latvia is given to them from the moment of birth, the majority of them have Latvian citizenship, and the state language is mastered in the process of schooling; on the other hand, this generation see the maintenance of their culture through the lens of separation. However, this strategy is not associated with positive outcomes, such as self-esteem and successful socio-cultural adaptation.

The negative relationship between motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and assimilation, as well as marginalization, suggests that the motivation for ethno-cultural continuity prevents the loss of culture in both generations.

Our study revealed that only assimilation of children from ethnic minority families is determined by assimilation of parents. Adolescent motivation for ethno-cultural continuity is positively associated with separation, and negatively related to assimilation and marginalization. Furthermore, the motivation of parents to preserve their culture has no direct effect on the children's preference for acculturation strategies; however, it is positively associated with motivation for the ethno-cultural continuity of children.

The study showed that only the strategy of integration promotes self-esteem and sociocultural adaptation of Russian youth in Latvia. Preferences for assimilation, marginalization and separation are not successful from an adaptation perspective. These findings are consistent with results of other studies (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

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Appendix

Table 2. Motivation for ethnocultural continuity scale, and factor loadings for each item *

Item	Parents	Children
Continuing to practice my Russian traditions and celebrations is important to me	.73***	.78***
Ultimately, I would like my children to identify as Russians	.87***	.74***
Long term, I would like my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to continue our Russian heritage	.76***	.77***
I want to transmit to my children a love for and interest in their Russian heritage	.89***	.90***
I think it's good to create an environment at home where my Russian traditions can be a normal part of life for my children	.78***	.72***

Notes: * - $\alpha_{\text{children}} = .88$; $\alpha_{\text{parents}} = .89$

*** - $p < .001$

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