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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL IDENTITIES, ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF YOUNG RUSSIANS IN LATVIA AND CRIMEAN TATARS IN CRIMEA

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This cross-cultural study examines the role of social identities (ethnic, national and place) and acculturation strategies in the psychological well-being of young ethnic minorities in regions with different policies on minority integration - Russians in Latvia (N=109, age 16-24) and Crimean Tatars in Crimea (N=122, age 17-24). Results revealed the identities that promote psychological well-being of the young generation of these minorities. Ethnic identity predicts self-esteem in both groups and life satisfaction in Crimean Tatar youth. Place identity is positively related to life satisfaction of both groups. The national identity of ethnic minority youth predicts integration in both groups, while integration promotes self-esteem among Russian youth in Latvia only. The findings are discussed taking into account the historical, political and social context of Latvia and Crimea.

JEL Classification: F22.

Keywords: ethnic minorities, social identities, acculturation strategies, subjective well-being.

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Introduction

Representatives of ethnic minority groups combine several identities at once, for example: ethnic, as a result of identification with their own ethnic group, and national, as a result of identification with a larger society. These various social identities, and more precisely the results of their complex interaction, play a crucial role in the acculturation of minority groups, determining both the nature of intercultural attitudes and the success or failure of their psychological adaptation.

The process of identity formation of the young generation of minorities is influenced, first, by the values, norms and traditions of their own ethnic group, transmitted primarily via the family, and secondly, by the requirements of the larger society in which they live. Therefore, the implicit task of the younger generation when combining identities is to maintain a balance between these requirements, which will allow them to function successfully in their context and will contribute to their psychological well-being.

In this study, we analyze the relationship between the different types of identity (ethnic, national and place), the acculturation strategies and the psychological well-being of the young generation of two ethnic minorities. To better understand the role of the context in the acculturation and adaptation of ethnic minorities, we consider regions with different policies in terms of citizenship and minority integration: Latvia and the Republic of Crimea.

Socio-cultural context of the study

Latvia

The Russian minority in Latvia. The Russian community of Latvia is quite large. Russians constituted 25.8% of the country's population in 2015 (Statistical yearbook, 2016) and live in the capital and major cities. In addition, Russians in Latvia are economically active, therefore, their standard of living is above the national average (Ehala, Zabrodskaja, 2013). Although Latvians dominate numerically, most of them live in rural areas and their economic level is lower than that of the Russian community. According to Ehala and Zabrodskaja, "in terms of the Russian-speaking community, we are dealing with a strong group, which by its size and power is only slightly weaker than Latvians" (Ehala, Zabrodskaja, 2013, p. 18). This has allowed the Russian minority to strengthen its presence in public policy (Ehala, Zabrodskaja, 2013; Ehala, Vedernikova, 2015; Regelmann, 2014).

Citizenship. The access of Russians to politics in Latvia was substantially hampered by the Citizenship Law, which ensures the hegemony of the ethnic majority in government. Due to this law, 29% of the population remained stateless in 1991, while 70% of non-citizens were Russians (Więcławski, 2015). As a result of the naturalization process and the country's entry to

the European Union, the number of non-citizens began to decline; according to the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1995 to 2015 it decreased from 29% to 12% (Basic facts about citizenship and language policy of Latvia, 2015).

Language. The second cause for the weakening influence of Russians was the State Language Law that states Latvian as the only official language in Latvia. The educational reform, aimed at strengthening the position of the Latvian language and involving bilingual education in primary school, as well as a complete transition to Latvian in middle schools, faced considerable resistance from the Russian community which turned into mass street demonstrations in 2003 (Więcławski, 2015). As a result of pressure from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a milder version of the reform was adopted stating 60% of teaching hours were to be in Latvian (Ivlevs, King, 2014; Więcławski, 2015).

Religion. In terms of religion, there are no global differences between Russians and Latvians. The dominant religion of both is Christianity. Among ethnic Latvians, Lutheranism prevails (in eastern Latvia - Catholicism). The Russian-speaking population are Orthodox. The Latvian Orthodox Church is the third largest denomination in the country.

Interethnic Relations. A study of intercultural relations between Latvians and Russians in Latvia conducted by Lebedeva and Tatarko showed that despite the existence of the integration policy formally aimed at preserving Latvian cultural and ethnic identity, integration in this case basically means "the participation of the ethnocultural minority in the life of a dominant society, while there is no direction towards maintaining culture of ethnic minorities; it means that the political term of integration is much closer in meaning to the acculturation expectation of assimilation" (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2017, p. 319). This reduces the sense of belonging of minorities to their country and enhances the perception of a cultural threat by both minorities and ethnic Latvians (Muiznieks et al., 2013).

The status of the group. Despite the fact that Russians have lived on the territory of Latvia for a long time, mostly as the result of internal labor migration which took place on the territory of the former USSR after the Second World War (Furman, Zadorozhnyuk, 2004), the Russian population of Latvia cannot be considered indigenous.

Russians in Latvia differ from the Russian diasporas in Western Europe and the USA or from modern migrants. Russians in Latvia did not come to Latvia as migrants; they simply moved to another city within their state (Cara, 2006). According to Matulionis and Frejute-Rakauskiene, Russians in modern Latvia have a strong local identity: identifying themselves with their street, region and country, they consider Latvia as their homeland but feel close to Russia through common language, religion, and literature (Matulionis, Frejute-Rakauskiene, 2014).

Crimea

The Crimean Tatar minority in Crimea. Crimea is one of the multicultural regions of Russia: Russians constitute the majority of the population (about 68%), the largest ethnic minority is Ukrainians (about 16%), Crimean Tatars make up about 10% of the population (Results of the population census, 2015). In 1944, Crimean Tatars were deported to Central Asia, however the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea has continuously increased after the 1989 mass return.

Language. According to the new Constitution of the Republic of Crimea, the official languages in Crimea are Russian, Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar (The Constitution of the Republic of Crimea, 2014). Today in Crimea there are 15 schools with Crimean Tatar as the language of instruction, and there are also classes with Crimean Tatar as the language of instruction in 27 Russian-language schools.

Religion. The majority of the population are Orthodox Christians. There are a number of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. About 15% of the Crimean population adhere to Islam, including Crimean Tatars (Results of the population census, 2015).

Citizenship. As a result of the referendum on March 16th, 2014, Crimea became a part of Russia; all residents of Crimea became citizens of the Russian Federation. Joining Russia brought Crimean Tatars official recognition of the Crimean Tatar people as illegally repressed (Decree of the President, 2014) and recognition of Crimean Tatar language as one of the official languages in Crimea (The Constitution of the Republic of Crimea, 2014). Such reforms in the Russian Crimea are directed towards the formation of national (Russian) identity among Crimean Tatars.

Interethnic Relations. Interethnic relations in Crimea are characterized by a certain degree of tension caused by the challenges of recent decades. In the 1990s, interethnic relations were affected by the massive return of Crimean Tatars to Crimea, which was accompanied by the unauthorized seizure of land. The policy of forced Ukrainization negatively influenced the ethnic majority of Crimea. Ethnic groups living in Crimea had different opinions regarding joining Russia in 2014. Ukrainians reacted negatively to this event, unlike the Russian population who always supported Russia. Crimean Tatars also tended to have a negative attitude towards this event, given their pro-Ukrainian political orientations (Kodja et al., 2019; Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016; Guzenkova et al., 2016). All these factors contributed to the increase in existing tension between the ethnic groups in Crimea.

The status of the group. Crimean Tatars have historically been in Crimea as an ethnic group since the 13th century, the ethnic basis of the Crimean Tatars was composed of Turkic tribes who settled in Crimea. Thus, the Crimean Tatar people can be considered indigenous.

Crimean Tatars have a strong regional Crimean identity, in their minds Crimea is linked with their ethnicity, as the name of the ethnic group contains a regional component (Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016). Although initially Crimean Tatars were the indigenous people of Crimea, they were nonetheless perceived as "newcomers" by the older generation of Russians and Ukrainians of Crimea, who witnessed the massive return of Crimean Tatars in 1989, almost fifty years after their deportation.

To summarize, a comparison of sociocultural contexts shows that we are dealing with two ethnic minority groups that represent fairly vital and visible ethnic communities and identify strongly with their region of residence. However, the policy regarding ethnic minorities and their integration in these regions varies significantly. While for Russians in Latvia the main obstacle to full integration is the state assimilation policy which results in resistance to a perceived cultural threat, for Crimean Tatars such a barrier is their internal resistance to the rapid changes taking place in the region and the memory of the deportation and repressions that they now associate with Russia. It is therefore important to examine how different types of identities and preferred acculturation strategies are associated with the psychological well-being of young representatives of these ethnic minorities in order to make predictions regarding integration and its results.

The theoretical background of the study

The acculturation model that distinguishes the conditions and results of acculturation serves as the theoretical basis of the current study (Arends-Tóth, van de Vijver, 2006). Various types of social identities are considered conditions for acculturation, while psychological well-being is considered its result.

Social identity and acculturation strategies

Due to massive migration processes in the contemporary world, research interest in identities (ethnic, national, religious etc.) has increased. Social identity can be defined as "part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978).

Belonging to numerous social groups results in having multiple cultural identities (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Verkuyten et al., 2012). The types of social identities that relate to the strategies of acculturation of ethnic minorities are considered below (Liebkind et al., 2016).

Ethnic identity refers to the sense of belonging to a certain group of people united by language, values and traditions (Phinney, 2007). Ethnic identity, according to Phinney, includes identification with an ethnic group, a sense of attachment to this group, as well as knowledge of one`s own ethnic origin and attitude towards it (Phinney, 1990).

National identity as one of the components of social identity involves identification with the larger society – the citizens of a particular country (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Studies have shown that decreased national identity can threaten social stability: weak national identity contributes to supporting national autonomy (Livingstone et al., 2011), and a threat to one's sense of identity leads to stronger separatist attitudes (Sindic, Reichert, 2009). Under discrimination conditions, the sense of belonging to an ethnic minority increases (Hutchison et al., 2015), while the sense of belonging to a national group decreases (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009).

Identity not only gives people a sense of belonging, but also provides them with a "sense of place", where this belonging arises and exists (Haslam et al., 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to take **place identity** into account in studies of the acculturation of ethnic minorities, along with ethnic and national identity (Ryabichenko et al., 2019). Place identity is defined as the component of social identity associated with a person's perceptions, feelings, and behavior in relation to the physical world where he or she lives (Proshansky et al., 1983). Emotional attachment to a certain place provides a sense of security, connects people to each other, and creates a sense of community.

Thus, social identity is a changing construct, which is formed under the influence of the relations between ethnic minorities and the majority. "The dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" is called acculturation (Berry, 2005, p. 699).

During this process, people may tend to maintain their own heritage culture and at the same time to identity with or participate in the larger society. **Four strategies** are possible depending on the relative preference towards their own or other group: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Berry, 1997). The integration strategy means an interest in both preserving the original culture and interaction with representatives of the larger society. Choosing a separation strategy, people try to preserve their culture and avoid contacts with representatives of the dominant culture. The assimilation strategy involves active participation in the life of the larger society and neglecting one's own cultural heritage. People adhering to marginalization strategy are not interested in either preserving their culture or participating in the host society.

Studies have revealed various relationships between types of social identity and acculturation strategies: ethnic identity is positively related to separation strategy, negatively to integration strategy (Berry, Sabatier, 2010) and assimilation strategy (Verkuyten, 2005). National identity is positively related to integration and negatively with separation (Berry, Sabatier, 2010).

The psychological well-being of ethnic minorities

According to the concept of subjective well-being proposed by Diner, subjective well-being reflects an individual's assessment of life and includes two components - cognitive and affective (Diner, 1984; Pavot, Diner, 1993). The cognitive aspect is called "life satisfaction", the affective component of psychological well-being refers to the positive or negative feelings about life. Self-esteem is one of the components of subjective well-being along with life satisfaction. According to Rosenberg, self-esteem reflects an individual's perception of him- or herself and a vision of his or her own worth (Rosenberg et al., 1989).

According to studies on the relationship between acculturation strategies and psychological well-being, the integration strategy contributes to psychological well-being and successful psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006; Kosic et al., 2006; Nguyen, Benet-Martínez, 2013). In terms of adaptation, marginalization seems to be the least preferable strategy, and assimilation and separation are in the middle (Berry et al., 2006; Berry, Sabatier, 2010).

Some studies have shown that the impact of acculturation strategies on psychological and sociocultural adaptation may depend on the time and context of the acculturation of minorities (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011; Kus-Harbord, Ward, 2015). Separation plays an adaptive role in countries with assimilation policies, because perceived discrimination increases the need for support from the minority ethnic group. Separation also ensures successful adaptation in countries with high cultural diversity and prevents adaptation in culturally homogeneous countries. Assimilation can contribute to socio-economic adaptation, but only at the beginning of the acculturation process in countries with high cultural diversity (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011).

Studies on the relationship between the various components of social identity and psychological well-being have demonstrated that ethnic identity is positively related to self-esteem and life satisfaction (Yap et al., 2011; Smith, Silva, 2011).

The present **study** identifies the similarities and differences in the nature of the relationship between identities, acculturation strategies and indicators of psychological well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem) among representatives of the young generation of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea.

The following **research questions** were posed:

1. Are there differences in the relationship between different types of social identity with the acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation and separation) of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea?

2. Are there differences in the relationship between acculturation strategies and psychological well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem) among Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea?

3. Are there differences in the relationship between different types of social identity and psychological well-being among Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea?

4. Do the acculturation strategies of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea mediate the relationship between different types of social identity and psychological well-being?

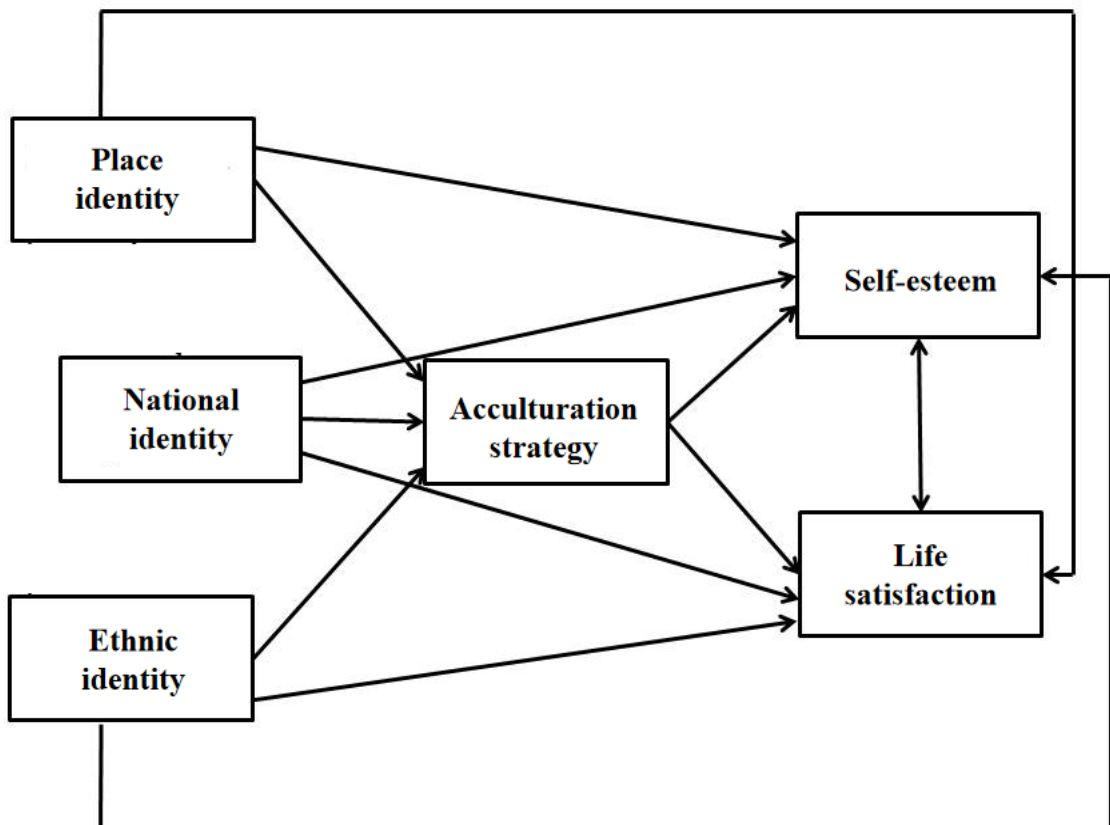The model tested in the study is shown in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. The model of the relationships between identities, acculturation strategies and psychological well-being

Method

Participants. The participants of the study were Russians in Latvia (N=109), ranging in age from 16 to 24 (M=17.65, SD=1.58), 32.1% male; and Crimean Tatars (N=122), ranging in age from 17 to 24 (M=19.88; SD=1.99), 34.4% male.

Data collection procedure. Participants were asked to fill out a written questionnaire. The questionnaire was in Russian.

Measures. To assess acculturation strategies and national and ethnic identity, the study uses scales from the MIRIPS questionnaire (http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips), translated into Russian and adapted for use in Russia (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2009; Lebedeva, 2017). The place identity scale (Droseltis, Vignoles, 2010) was translated into Russian and adapted for the use of Russians in Latvia (*Ryabichenko* et al., 2019).

Measures used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "1" (= "Strongly disagree") to "5" (= "Strongly agree").

Ethnic identity is assessed with 3 items, for example, "I am proud of being Russian/Crimean Tatar".

National identity is assessed with 3 items, for example, "I feel that I am a part of Latvian/Russian culture".

Place identity is assessed with 5 items, for example, "I feel that this place (Latvia/Crimea) is a part of me".

Acculturation strategies. The scale for each strategy includes 4 items: "It is important to me to be fluent in both Russian and in Crimean Tatar (both in Latvian and Russian)" (integration), "It is important to me to be more fluent in Russian than in Crimean Tatar (in Latvian then in Russian)" (assimilation), "It is important to me to be more fluent in Crimean Tatar than in Russian (in Russian than in Latvian)" (separation).

Life satisfaction is assessed with 4 items (Diener et al., 1985), for example, "If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing".

Self-esteem is assessed with 4 items (Rosenberg, 1965), for example, "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself".

Sociodemographic data: gender, age, ethnicity.

Data analysis. Structural equation modeling was used for hypotheses testing (Kline, 2016). Three path-models were constructed for all acculturation strategies separately in SPSS AMOS 20 (Arbuckle, 2011). Mean comparisons were performed using Student`s t-test for independent samples in SPSS 22.

Results

The results of the mean comparisons and Cronbach's Alpha coefficients for all variables for the two groups are presented in Table 1.

Tab. 1. Cronbach`s Alpha coefficients and descriptive statistics for all variables

	Cronbach`s Alpha		Mean (SD)		t	Cohen's d
	Russians in Latvia	Crimean Tatars	Russians in Latvia	Crimean Tatars		
Place identity	.89	.88	3.22 (.93)	4.17 (.83)	-8.20***	1.07
Ethnic identity	.72	.76	4.08 (.81)	4.66 (.66)	-5.90***	.79
National identity	.82	.91	3.28 (1.10)	2.52 (1.24)	4.87***	.65
Assimilation	.76	.67	1.81 (.82)	1.56 (.67)	2.57*	.33
Separation	.73	.80	2.68 (.96)	3.02 (.77)	-2.58**	.39
Integration	.82	.68	4.01 (.82)	3.94 (.76)	.54	.09
Life satisfaction	.81	.84	3.20 (.88)	3.72 (.92)	-4.35***	.58
Self-esteem	.88	.79	4.06 (.84)	4.34 (.61)	-2.99**	.38

Note: *p≤0,05, **p≤0,01, *** - p≤0,001.

According to Table 1, there are significant intergroup differences in the strength of the types of identity. The Russians in Latvia have a higher level of national identity in comparison with the Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatars have higher levels of ethnic and place identity. Both indicators of psychological well-being — life satisfaction and self-esteem — were higher among Crimean Tatars.

For the acculturation strategies, integration was the most preferred, while assimilation is the least preferred for both groups. The results of intergroup comparison also show that orientation towards separation is higher among Crimean Tatars than among Russians in Latvia, while the orientation towards assimilation is higher among Russians in Latvia. No differences in the level of integration was revealed.

To examine the relationship between multiple identities, acculturation strategies and indicators of psychological well-being, path models were created for both samples. Models for assimilation, separation and integration were tested separately. The models showed the following characteristics: $\chi2/df$ =.821; p=.365, RMSEA=.000; CFI=1.000 (Latvia); $\chi2/df$ =1.267; p=.260, RMSEA=.047; CFI=.998 (Crimea).

The indirect effects of ethnic, national and place identity on self-esteem and life satisfaction were also examined using Maximum-Likelihood estimation.

Tab. 2 shows the results for assimilation model.

Tab. 2. Standardized direct and indirect effects in the assimilation model for Russians in Latvia / Crimean Tatars

Predictors	Assimilation	Self-esteem		Life satisfaction	
		Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect
Place identity	.10/-.14	.14/-.02	-.04/-.01	.42***/.24**	-.01/-.01
National identity	.01/.23***	.10/.04	-.01/.01	-.16/-.09	-.01/.02
Ethnic identity	-.31***/-.24**	.19*/.40***	.11**/-.01	.06/.42***	.02/-.02
Assimilation	-	-.37***/.02	-	-.05/.07	-
R^2	.10/.16	.24/.15		.12/.29	

Note: coefficients for Latvia and Crimea are divided with "/";
*$p < 0,05$; **$p < 0,01$; ***$p < 0,001$.

In both groups, ethnic identity is negatively related to assimilation. National identity is positively related to the assimilation only for Crimean Tatar youth. For place identity, no relationship with assimilation was found.

Place identity is positively related to life satisfaction in both groups. Ethnic identity is positively related to the self-esteem in both groups. In addition, an indirect positive effect of ethnic identity on the self-esteem of Russians in Latvia was revealed.

Table 3 shows the results for separation model.

Tab. 3. Standardized direct and indirect effects in the separation model for Russians in Latvia / Crimean Tatars

Predictors	Separation	Self-esteem		Life satisfaction	
		Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect
Place identity	-.16/.25**	.05/-.04	.06/.02	.42***/.18*	.01/.05*
National identity	-.37***/-.20*	-.04/.06	.13**/-.01	-.13/-.04	-.03/-.04*
Ethnic identity	.33**/.23*	.42***/.38***	-.12**/.02	.05/.35***	.03/.05*
Separation	-	-.36***/.07	-	0,08/.07	-
R^2	.34/.19	.21/.16		.13/.32	

Note: coefficients for Latvia and Crimea are divided with "/";
*$p < 0,05$; **$p < 0,01$; ***$p < 0,001$.

Place identity positively predicts separation for Crimean Tatars. National identity is negatively related to separation, while ethnic identity is positively related to separation. This pattern is repeated in both groups. Separation is negatively related to self-esteem for Russians in Latvia.

In both groups, the direct positive effects of ethnic identity on self-esteem and place identity on life satisfaction were found, there is also a direct positive effect of ethnic identity on life satisfaction in Crimean Tatars. The study also revealed indirect positive effects of place and ethnic identity on life satisfaction for Crimean Tatars.

Table 4 shows the results for integration model.

Tab. 4. Standardized direct and indirect effects in the integration model for Russians in Latvia / Crimean Tatars

Predictors	Integration	Self-esteem		Life satisfaction	
		Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect
Place identity	.29**/-.14	.02/-.01	.09**/-.01	.50***/.22**	-.09**/.01
National identity	.34***/.31***	-.01/.03	.10**/.02	-.06/-.05	-.10**/-.02
Ethnic identity	0,05/0,36***	.29**/.37***	.02/.02	.09/.43***	-.02/-.03
Integration	-	.30**/.06	-	-.30**/-.08	-
R^2	.32/.19	.19/.15		.18/.29	

Note: coefficients for Latvia and Crimea are divided with "/";
*p < 0,05; **p < 0,01; ***p < 0,001.

The study showed that place identity positively predicts integration for Russians in Latvia, ethnic identity positively predicts integration for Crimean Tatars. In both groups, national identity was positively related to integration. Integration is positively related to the self-esteem of Russian youth in Latvia and negatively with their life satisfaction. In both groups, a positive direct effect of place identity on life satisfaction and ethnic identity on self-esteem was revealed. The results also show the indirect positive effects of national identity on self-esteem of Russians in Latvia, there is also an indirect negative effect of place and national identity on life satisfaction for Crimean Tatars.

Discussion

According to our study, the young generation of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars are predominantly oriented towards integration, which is fully consistent with the results of studies on the post-soviet space (Lebedeva, 2017). The study did not reveal intergroup differences in attitudes toward integration (Table 1). The second preferred strategy is separation. Assimilation is the least preferred strategy in both groups, which indicates the potential ethnocultural vitality of these groups in the future. This is also evidenced by higher levels of ethnic identity compared to national and place identity in both groups.

The indicators of psychological well-being are higher among Crimean Tatars compared to Russians in Latvia, despite the fact that the standard of living of Russians in Latvia is

estimated as relatively high (Ehala, Zabrodskaja, 2013). We can also assume that the standard of living of Russians in Latvia is higher than the standard of living of Crimean residents in general, especially in the context of international sanctions. Therefore, the standard of living per se is not enough for high subjective well-being: it requires additional conditions, including, perhaps, a more loyal policy of the state towards minority groups.

Now we proceed to the *analysis of the relationships between various types of identities and the acculturation strategies* of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars. Place identity is positively related to integration for Russian in Latvia (Table 4) and the separation strategy for Crimean Tatars (Table 3). For Russians in Latvia this can be explained by their wish to participate equally in society, which requires integration.

For Crimean Tatars the fact that *place identity* positively predicts separation can be explained by the indigenous nature of the ethnic group, and the idea that the problem of the future of the Crimea is perceived as unresolved (Kodja, Lebedeva, 2018). Taking into account, on the one hand, the strong place identity of Crimean Tatars and their strong sense of belonging to Crimea, and, on the other hand, the pro-Ukrainian orientation of Crimean Tatars and their generally negative attitude towards the reunification of Crimea with Russia, we can assume that in this case the orientation towards separation for ethnocultural group may demonstrate their wish for separation of Crimea from Russia in general. The young Crimean Tatars who constitute the sample of this study were born in Ukrainian Crimea and spent most of their school years in the Ukrainian school system, studied Ukrainian language, literature and history, and, therefore, may see the integration of Crimea into the political, economic, legal, and social space of Russia negatively (Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016).

National identity positively predicts integration and negatively predicts separation in both groups, which is logical, as national identity reflects the minority group's desire to belong to the larger society. This is consistent with the results of studies in Western countries (Berry, Sabatier, 2010) and Russia (Lebedeva, Tatarko 2009). National identity predicts assimilation among Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatars, unlike the Russians in Latvia, see themselves not only as an ethnic minority, but as a small indigenous group that has already faced the real threat of extinction once (during the deportation period), therefore, they have a deeper fear of extinction as an ethnocultural group as a whole. For Crimean Tatars the line between assimilation and integration strategies is vague, for them the integration strategy will always include some danger of falling into assimilation. This also shows the difference in the two samples. The Russians in Latvia, despite an aggressive assimilation policy in Latvia, are aware that Russians will not disappear as an ethnocultural group in the global sense.

Ethnic identity promotes separation and prevents an orientation towards assimilation in both groups, while it promotes the preference for integration among Crimean Tatars. In the absence of a perceived cultural threat, ethnic identity can carry an integration potential and be consistent with national identity. This confirms the conclusion of Verkuyten: for ethnic minorities, ethnic identity can reflect the status relations of groups (Verkuyten, 2000). If status relationships are asymmetric, as in the case of Russians in Latvia, there will be no links between ethnic identity and integration.

For Crimean Tatars, the multinationality of Crimea that existed for centuries and the multinationality of Russia that is now manifested in national policies aimed at maintaining ethnocultural diversity as a part of the country's wealth, can serve as a favorable background for ethnic minorities in order, first, to realize the value of their own ethnicity, secondly, to see the place for their ethnic group in the kaleidoscope of ethnic groups of Russia. This explains the fact that the ethnic identity of Crimean Tatars increases their orientation towards integration. The absence of such a background in Latvia also demonstrates the difference between the two contexts.

For the *relationship between acculturation strategies and indicators of psychological well-being*, significant relationships were found only for the Russian youth in Latvia. The orientation towards assimilation and separation reduces self-esteem, while a preference for integration increases self-esteem. We can therefore assume that for Russians in Latvia the need for integration still exists. The orientation towards integration is negatively related to the life satisfaction of this group, which is consistent with the results obtained for Russians in Estonia: similar results were revealed under conditions of a perceived devaluation of the group (Kus-Harbord, Ward, 2015).

For Crimean Tatar youth, no significant relationships between acculturation strategies and psychological well-being were found. This is because the identity of Crimean Tatars (especially ethnic and place) represent a stable construct that was formed long ago and now shapes the foundation for their psychological well-being. Identities can serve as a source of strength, in contrast to acculturation strategies, which are currently being formed for Crimean Tatar youth in Russian Crimea. We can assume that over time, the longer Crimea is a part of Russia, acculturation strategies among Crimean Tatars will also serve as a source of psychological well-being.

Now we proceed to the *analysis of the relationships between different types of identities and psychological well-being* in both groups. The direct relations between national identity and indicators of psychological well-being were not reveled in any of the tested models. Place identity which has no political connotation is positively related to life satisfaction in both groups

and in all the tested models: assimilation, separation and integration. We can therefore assume that place identity in both contexts acts as a kind of safe analogue of national identity. That is why place identity is positively related to life satisfaction ("it is good to be home").

As for the *indirect effects*, for Crimean Tatars, *place identity* increases life satisfaction by increasing the orientation towards separation. For Russians in Latvia, place identity, by increasing the orientation towards integration, helps to promote self-esteem but reduces satisfaction with life. The analysis of the indirect effects of *national identity* on the indicators of psychological well-being showed that for Russians in Latvia national identity, reducing attitudes toward separation (Table 3) and increasing attitudes towards integration (Table 4), has an indirect positive effect on self-esteem. Thus, we can say that national identity can be a factor contributing to the feeling of their own value for the Russian minority in Latvia. National identity has an indirect negative effect through integration on life satisfaction in this group.

For Crimean Tatars, the indirect effect of *national identity* on life satisfaction through separation was negative: by reducing attitudes towards separation, national identity decreases satisfaction with life. In this sense, the nature of the phenomena (acculturation strategies and national identity) becomes visible - their dependence on external reality (politics and economics). Thus, integration in Latvia means the recognition and consent of the negative economic situation (Ivlevs, 2012) (and the political decisions that caused this). Integration in Crimea means recognition and consent with the political decision that Crimea joined Russia. For both groups, this leads to a decrease in satisfaction with life.

Some differences were obtained for *ethnic identity*. In all three models, ethnic identity contributes to positive self-esteem, this pattern is observed both in Latvia and in Crimea. Positive relationships between ethnic identity and life satisfaction were found only for Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatars survived as a unique ethnic group for almost 50 years away from Crimea and managed to maintain a strong ethnic identity, their culture, language and traditions. The persistent orientation of Crimean Tatars towards their own culture (reinforced by the negative experience of deportation) explains the multifunctional nature of their ethnic identity and its positive relationship not only with self-esteem, but also with life satisfaction.

For Russians in Latvia, satisfaction with life is mostly based on their attitude towards the economy of their country, which is currently in decline. This also shows the differences in the historical and social context of the samples - orientation towards objective (economics) or subjective criteria (collective memory).

These indirect effects show that ethnic identity promotes the self-esteem of Russians in Latvia by reducing the orientation towards assimilation. Ethnic identity has an indirect negative effect on self-esteem by increasing the orientation towards separation in this group. For Crimean

Tatars, ethnic identity increases the orientation towards separation, having an indirect positive effect on life satisfaction.

So, the study allows us to draw the following **conclusions**:

1. Relationships universal for both contexts are the positive relationship between national identity and integration strategy; the negative relationship between national identity and separation strategy; the positive relationship between ethnic identity and separation strategy, and the negative relationship between ethnic identity and assimilation strategy.

2. Relationships dependent on the sociocultural, historical, and political context are the relationships between various types of identities and acculturation strategies. In Crimea, positive relationships were found between national identity and assimilation and between ethnic identity and integration. Place identity is positively related to the separation strategy for Crimean Tatars and to the integration strategy for Russians in Latvia.

3. The direct effect of place identity on life satisfaction is relevant for both groups and does not depend on the context of acculturation.

4. The direct effect of ethnic identity on self-esteem is relevant for both groups. Ethnic identity is positively related to life satisfaction only for Crimean Tatars.

5. Indirect effects of various types of identities on psychological well-being were context dependent.

6. There is an indirect positive effect of ethnic identity on self-esteem through the decreased orientation towards assimilation and an indirect negative effect of ethnic identity on self-esteem through the increased orientation towards separation for Russians in Latvia. For Crimean Tatars, there is an indirect positive effect of ethnic identity on life satisfaction through an increase in separation orientation.

7. For place identity, there is an indirect positive effect on life satisfaction through an increase in the separation orientation for Crimean Tatars. For Russians in Latvia, there is an indirect positive effect of place identity on self-esteem and an indirect negative effect on life satisfaction through an increase in the orientation towards integration.

8. For national identity, there are indirect negative effects on life satisfaction through a decrease in the orientation towards separation for Crimean Tatars and through an increase in the orientation towards integration for Russians in Latvia. National identity has an indirect positive effect on self-esteem through an increased orientation towards integration for Russians in Latvia.

Taking into account the results of the study, we can make a preliminary **conclusion** regarding the preferred strategies for the younger generation of Russians in Latvia and Crimean Tatars in Crimea. The psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars at this stage is facilitated by

separation. The psychological well-being of Russians in Latvia is enhanced by integration which cannot be fully achieved due to state policies.

The current study contributes to research on identities, acculturation strategies and their role in psychological well-being. The findings indicate the importance of taking historical, political, social context into account in the studies on acculturation of ethnic minorities.

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