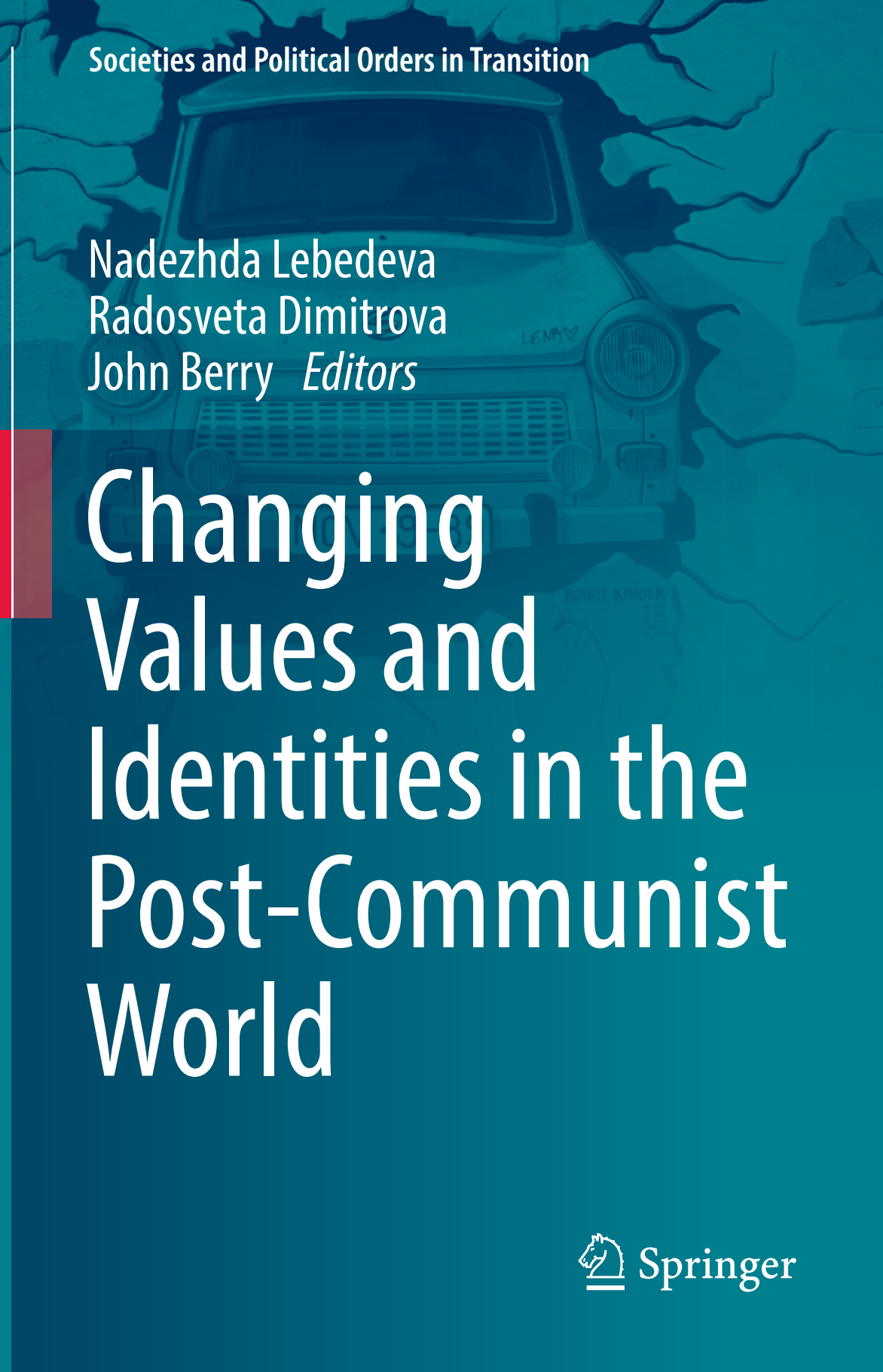
Societies and Political Orders in Transition



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Changing Values and Identities in the Post-Communist World

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Contents

Value Similarity with Mothers and Peers and Family Climate as Predictors of Well-Being of Russian Youth in Latvia

Tatiana Ryabichenko, Nadezhda Lebedeva, and Irina Plotka

In a broad sense, the concept of cultural transmission includes a wide range of interaction models between individuals belonging to different generations within a family and within a society as a whole (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011). The conceptual schema outlining the different sources of cultural transmission on an individual is presented in Fig. 1.

There are three sources of influence: the individual's parents (*vertical transmission*), other adult members of the same society (*oblique transmission* from other adults and institutions in the society), and other individuals of the same age (*horizontal transmission* from peers). In adolescent acculturation there are two additional sources of influence: adult members of the larger (national) society (*oblique transmission*) and other individuals of the same age from the larger society (*horizontal transmission* from national peers) (Berry et al., 2011).

In the context of family lives, transmission refers to the transfer of elements of culture, such as beliefs, norms, values, attitudes, behaviors, and social, religious, and ethnocultural practices, and the content of family roles from generation to generation (Martin-Matthews & Kobayashi, 2003).

In our study, we focused on vertical and horizontal value transmission, both with the own group (enculturation route) and with members of the larger national society (acculturation route). According to Schwartz' basic human values theory, values reflect desirable goals and serve as guiding principles in people's life, as criteria for the selection of actions and the evaluation of events (Schwartz, 1992). Values could predict behaviors and behavior intentions (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).

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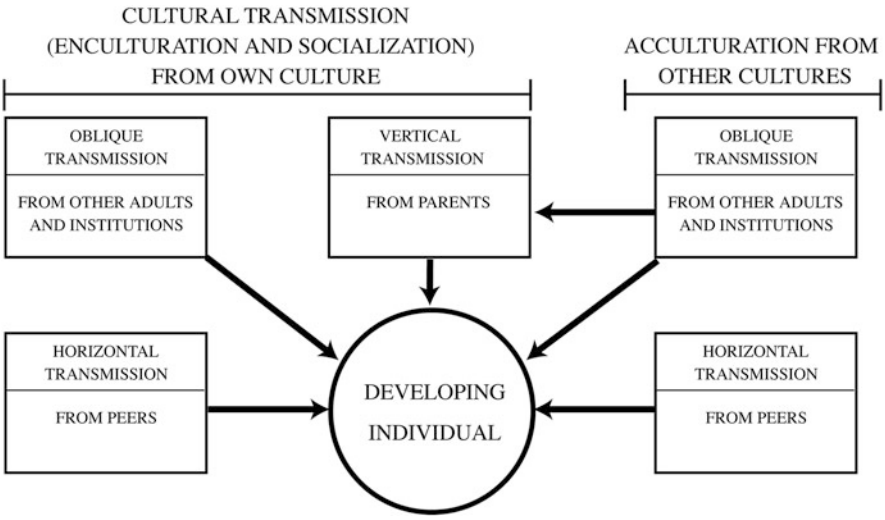

Fig. 1 Vertical, horizontal, and oblique forms of cultural transmission and acculturation (Berry et al., 2011)

Moreover the value similarity of the individual and the prevailing value environment may contribute to the subjective well-being of the individual (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000), and a congruence between own values and those of one's reference groups promotes life satisfaction (Khaptsova & Schwartz, 2016).

Additionally in migrant and ethnic minority families, parent-child value transmission may be seen as a source of culture maintenance. However, the effectiveness of transmission might be less obvious, and a host country environment might influence its cultural and psychological consequences such as psychological well-being. Parent-child value similarity as well as child-peers value similarity and the content of transmitted values might contribute to the psychological well-being of children in different ways. Thus we decided to find out how parent-child similarity in particular values, family climate (perceived psychological closeness between child and parent), and value similarity of children and their peers can become a resource for the psychological well-being of children in ethnic minority families.

Value Transmission in the Family

Although the value transmission process within family is bidirectional, it occurs mainly in the direction from parents to children due to the fact that parental values are more stable and have been shaped for longer. In adolescence and youth, the potential for value change is higher due to the lower stability of values of younger generations (Vollebergh, Iedema, & Raaijmakers, 2001).

The content of the transmitted values and the efficiency of transmission are important for culture maintenance over generations. Continuity of values is considered as a prerequisite for the functioning of society and as an important goal of the socialization of future generations (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Schönpflug, 2001). Despite the cultural universality of the phenomenon of transmission (Albert, Trommsdorff, & Wisnubrata, 2009; Boehnke, 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001), not all basic values are transmitted to the same extent in different cultures. Independence and autonomy are preferred in individualistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures more attention is paid to family relations, parental control, and duties of children. Deviation from cultural norms and expectations is not encouraged (Arnett, 1995).

Values that reflect cultural specificity and are more important for the family as a whole as well as for all its members are transmitted more accurately. The personal values of parents and the values they transmitted to their children often correlate, and the more values are important for parents, the more accurately they are perceived by children (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). However, the expectations of children and parents related to the transmission of values can be different. Parents are concerned about the continuity of values; children try to establish independence from parents, focusing on the differences between the values of two generations (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1971). Additionally parents could distinguish between what is good for them and what may be good for their children. In turn, children could make a choice about accepting or rejecting the values that parents want to transmit. Intergenerational differences may come from these choices (Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, & Rosnati, 2011). Moreover, in migrant families the transmission of the culture of origin may impede adaptation (Schönpflug, 2001); therefore horizontal value transmission from conational peers and oblique transmission from adults and institutions of the dominant culture could become a very important source of socialization and acculturation in a larger society.

The so-called transmission belts having different natures, and depending on the education of the parents, the phase of adolescent development, the context of transmission, parenting styles, and the quality of family relationships could enhance the intergenerational transmission of values (Schönpflug, 2001). If parents demand obedience and do not recognize the independence of their children, the latter may perceive this requirement as a threat to their personal autonomy. That is why a positive psychological family climate, close relationships between parents and children, and warmth and responsiveness of parents are important "transmission belts" for value transmission (Barni et al., 2011; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).

Rossi (1993) highlighted the importance of gender differences in the intergenerational transmission of values in families. Comparing the role of men and women in the transmission of values, the author noted two main "resource reasons" for the greater influence of women on the process and the result of the value transmission from parents to children. First, women play the role of caregivers, which starts in the early stages of a child's life and is saved for later in their life.

Second, usually the mother, in accordance with the traditional understanding of gender roles, becomes the guardian of the "family home," which largely involves not only the implementation of practices related to the livelihood of family members but has symbolic value as well (Rossi, 1993). The gender specifics of vertical value transmission still need further investigations.

Social Context and Transmission

Apart from the family, there are agents of socialization and sources of oblique transmission (such as schools, teachers, the media), which also affect the values of the younger generations (Albert et al., 2009; Arnett, 1995). Horizontal transmission outside the family comes from peers, and the psychosocial adjustment of adolescents is crucial. Steca, Monzani, Greco, and D'Addario (2012) found that young adults were more similar to their friends than to their parents in their values.

The "Zeitgeist" (defined as the current modal value climate of a society) also affects the values of children independently from the value transmission from parents. Empirically, Zeitgeist is the mean of the preferences for a certain social value in a given society at a given time. It is common for all people in a society, although people may perceive the Zeitgeist differently and may accept it to different degrees (Boehnke, 2001; Boehnke, Hadjar, & Baier, 2007). Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, and Sam (2009) explored the role of both the broad societal Zeitgeist including national and immigrant samples and the Zeitgeist based on a particular ethnic group. The main idea was that if Zeitgeist from their own ethnic group only influences the values of minority parents and adolescents, this might reflect a limited participation in the larger society and a lack of mutual acceptance. On the other hand, if the broad societal Zeitgeist (from a majority group) also influences values of parents and adolescents from a minority group, this might be an indicator of better acculturation (Hadjar et al., 2012; Vedder et al., 2009).

Value Similarity and Subjective Well-Being

The value congruence of an individual and the prevailing value environment may contribute to the subjective well-being of the individual (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). Positive relationships were found between adolescent value congruence with peers and their life satisfaction (Musiol & Boehnke, 2013). The study of Khaptsova and Schwartz (2016) revealed that value congruence of individuals and their important reference groups was positively related to their life satisfaction, even if a group was constructed only because of common sociodemographic characteristics of its members rather than being a specific reference group.

A comparative study conducted in Germany and Israel showed that intergenerational value similarity predicted life satisfaction among both majority

and minority groups. However, it was found that being a member of ethnic minority group might reduce the strength of the link between parent-child value similarity and subjective well-being (Hadjar et al., 2012). In the case of migrants and ethnic minorities, it is important to consider that both parents and children are involved in the process of acculturation. During this process, they do not always have the same experiences, and their reference group may not coincide as well (Vedder et al., 2009). These can result in differences in the relationships between value similarity of children with their parents (or peers) and subjective well-being of children.

Current Study

Russians in Latvia

Russians are the largest ethnic minority group in Latvia. According to statistics, in 2015 the population of Latvia was nearly 2 million, and 25.8% of them were ethnic Russians (Statistical Yearbook of Latvia, 2015, 2016). Most of the Russians living in Latvia are descendants of people who migrated within the borders of the USSR and settled in Latvia after World War II. After the collapse of the USSR, the sociopolitical and psychological status of the Russians in Latvia has changed because they became an ethnic minority. Many of them have not obtained Latvian citizenship after Latvia regained independence in the 1990s. Despite the fact that the status of noncitizens has a number of serious disadvantages relative to citizen status (Ivlevs & King, 2012), only about 50% of Russians were citizens of Latvia in 2005 (Cara, 2006), and about 62% of Russians were citizens in 2016 (Population of Latvia by ethnicity and nationality, 2016). The percentage of Russians to whom Latvian citizenship was granted increased due to a softening of the citizenship policy as well as a desire of noncitizens to obtain citizenship in order to access the possibilities of European labor mobility after Latvia joined the EU (Ivlevs & King, 2012). The second sensitive issue for Latvian Russians is Russian language usage. Before the 1990s Latvian and Russian were the two official languages. In independent Latvia, the only Latvian became an official language, and Russians had to adapt linguistically (Cara, 2010). In 2004 the "60/40" law was passed stipulating that 60% of instruction at schools with Russian language of instruction must take place in Latvia (Ivlevs & King, 2014; Schmid, 2008). The attitudes of Russian speakers toward the school reform have been quite negative due to the perceived threat of assimilation and concerns about the deterioration of the quality of education in schools with Russian language of instruction. Positive results of the reform did not become so apparent: Latvian language proficiency slightly increased; however pupils' sense of belonging to Latvia declined (Ivlevs & King, 2014). Surveys showed that despite the positive attitude of Russian speakers toward learning the Latvian language, many of them have reported fears of assimilation. The assimilationist tendencies of such integration policy affected the sense of belonging in minorities as well as the perception of cultural threat in both Latvian and Russian communities (Muiznieks,

Rozenvalds, & Birka, 2013). However, the interest of the Russian population to preserve their native language not only in private life but also in the public space of Latvia has been intensified since the middle of the first decade of the 2000s in comparison with the previous period. For example, if in the 1990s the number of first-graders in schools with Russian language of tuition decreased from 30,000 to 14,000, but in the 2000s there was an increase in this indicator to more than 18,000. It is a reflection of the fact that Latvian Russians perceive Russian language as the most important factor for maintaining and developing their ethnic identity. At the same time, the commitment of the ethnic Russian minority to the strengthening of their ethnolinguistic identity does not threaten the positions of the Latvian language as the state language at all (Volkov, 2013). In this regard, intergenerational value transmission for Russians in Latvia may be considered as a means of preserving their culture; it is thus crucial to investigate how it is related to the well-being of younger generations.

Our current study aims to contribute to the current understanding of the roles and effectiveness of vertical and horizontal value transmission, family psychological climate, and psychological well-being of youth from ethnic minority families. We expect perceived psychological closeness with parents to contribute to higher psychological well-being of late adolescents/youth. Value similarity with ethnic peers (ethnic Zeitgeist) is also expected to be positively related to youth psychological well-being. However, the questions about patterns of the relationship between parent-child value similarity as well as the value similarity with national peers and the psychological well-being of minority's youth remain open, and we hope to shed some light on these underestimated relations. The special focus of the current study is on a mother-child value transmission and its effects that helped us to make deeper and more detailed investigation of this relationship. The tested model is presented in Fig. 2.

The model explains whether the mother-child value similarity, family climate (psychological closeness with the mother perceived by the child), and similarity of values of children and their peers could become resources for the psychological well-being for the younger generation of Russians in Latvia.

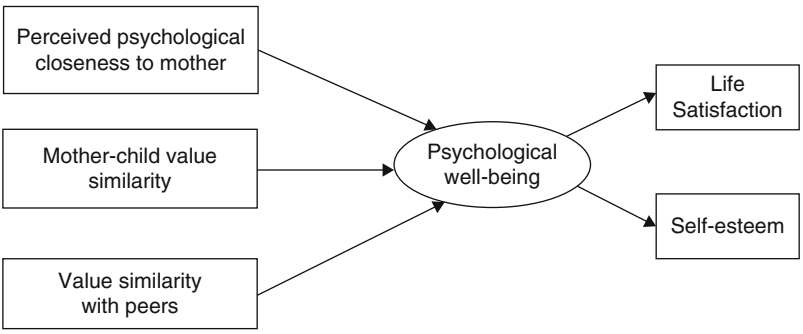

Fig. 2 The tested model. Note: The model has been tested for value similarity with Russian and Latvian peers separately

Hypotheses

1. Perceived psychological closeness with the mother is positively related to the psychological well-being of the adolescent.
2. Value similarity of adolescents with peers is positively related to their psychological well-being.
3. Mother-child value similarity is positively related to the psychological well-being of the adolescent.

Method

Sample

The study was conducted in the capital of Latvia, Riga, among ethnic Russians, as a part of the project of the Higher School of Economics' International laboratory for Socio-Cultural Research "Social and psychological consequences of economic and cultural change: cross-cultural analysis" in 2014. We used a research design that included representatives of two generations of the same family (mother and late adolescents). Interviewers (student—psychologists) surveyed participants in small groups (classes) or in families. Additionally we used the data of late adolescents/youth from families of ethnic Latvians. The final sample for our study included 107 mothers (age 35–59, mean = 43.37, SD = 5.48) and their children, 107 late adolescents (age 16–24, mean = 17.67, SD = 1.58, 34 (31.8%) males) from ethnic Russian families, and ethnic Latvian youth [N = 120, age 16–19, mean = 17.12, SD = 1.14, 44 (36.7%) males]. Despite the fact that the younger generation was represented by late adolescents/youth, sometimes we use the term "children," and in this case it means their family role, not their age.

Measures

Values To measure the 19 individual values, respondents completed the Russian version of Portrait Values Questionnaire-Revised (PVQ-R) (Schwartz et al., 2012; Schwartz, Butenko, Sedova, & Lipatova, 2012). This questionnaire includes 57 items measuring 19 basic values. Items were designed as one-sentence verbal portraits of people. For each portrait, respondents indicate how similar the person is to themselves using a 6-point Likert scale from 1, not like me at all, to 6, very much like me. Respondents' own values were inferred from the values of the people they described as similar to themselves. For example, "Being wealthy is important to him" describes a person for whom power resources values are important; "Protecting his public image is important to him" describes a person for whom face values are important. The refined values theory allows the possibility to combine 19 values into

four higher-order values: Conservation, Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement, and Self-Transcendence. Cronbach's alphas for Conservation values are 0.72, 0.71, and 0.71; for Openness to Change, 0.81, 0.72, and 0.64; for Self-Enhancement, 0.76, 0.73, and 0.71; and for Self-Transcendence, 0.79, 0.66, and 0.68 in the samples of Russian children, their parents, and Latvian peers, respectively.

Perceived Psychological Closeness Perceived psychological closeness with family members was accessed by item "Please rate the extent of your psychological closeness with the people listed below on a 5-point scale from 1 (not at all close) to 5 (very close): my father, my mother, my son, my daughter." For our study, we used children's ratings of psychological closeness with their mother.

Self-esteem We used four items from Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). For example, "I am able to do things as well as most other people." Cronbach's alpha is 0.87 for Russian youth.

Life Satisfaction The scale consisted of four items from Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). For example, "So far I have got the important things I want in life." Cronbach's alpha is 0.80 for Russian youth.

Ethnicity Ethnicity was measured with the item "What is your ethnic background?"

Demographic Measures The demographic measures used were age and sex.

Data Processing We computed mother-child difference scores for each value by subtracting the mother's score from the child's one. We used the absolute value of the difference in mother-child value scores and converted them to absolute similarities by subtracting each one from 6. Absolute similarity of higher-order values is the mean score of the absolute similarities of lower-order values. We computed the absolute value similarity with peers in each of four higher-order values in a same way, using mean scores of Russian and Latvian peers that we subtracted from the children's scores. Moreover, we used mean scores of self-esteem and life satisfaction as indicators of a latent variable *psychological well-being*. To test the predicted model, we followed a structural equation modelling (SEM) approach (Kline, 1998) and used path analyses with AMOS version 20 (Arbuckle, 2011).

Results

We performed four distinct one-way ANOVAs to compare children', mothers', Russian peer's, and Latvian peers' scores on each higher-order value. The means and standard deviations of higher-order values of children and their mothers and the scores of the absolute value similarity with mothers and two groups of peers are presented in Table 1.

As seen in Table 1, the absolute value similarity scores between the children in Russian families and their Russian peers were the highest in all higher-order values. Youth values scores were higher in Openness to Change, F (2, 331) = 15.37,

Table 1 Means and standard deviations of higher-order values and absolute value similarity scores

	Values of Russian youth	Values of mothers	Values of Latvian youth	Similarity with mothers	Similarity with Russian peers	Similarity with Latvian peers
	M (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)	*M* (SD)
Openness to change	4.39[a] (.47)	4.13[b] (.44)	4.42[a] (.34)	4.83 (.42)	5.02 (.35)	4.64 (.38)
Conservation	3.73[a] (.43)	4.04[b] (.41)	3.81[a] (.42)	4.73 (.50)	4.91 (.44)	4.83 (.40)
Self-transcendence	4.12[ab] (.48)	4.23[b] (.46)	4.05[a] (.43)	4.86 (.43)	4.99 (.40)	4.76 (.36)
Self-enhancement	3.79[a] (.62)	3.48[b] (.58)	3.72[a] (.52)	4.63 (.45)	4.86 (.40)	4.67 (.39)

Note: Means of higher-order values with differing superscripts within rows are significantly different at the $p < .05$ based on Tukey's HSD post hoc paired comparisons

$p < 0.001$, and Self-Enhancement, F (2, 331) = 8.98, $p < 0.001$, and lower in Conservation, F (2, 331) = 15.92, $p < 0.001$, compared to the scores of their mothers. Between-group differences were found for Self-Transcendence values, F (2, 331) = 5.76, $p < 0.01$. However, post hoc comparisons showed that for Russian children Self-Transcendence values are as important as for their mothers. Additionally, the mean score of children' life satisfaction was 3.24 (SD = 0.85), and the mean score of children' self-esteem was 4.10 (SD = 0.81).

Then we tested models of the relationships of mother-child value similarity, value similarity with Russian and Latvian peers, perceived psychological closeness, and psychological well-being of children from Russian families for each of the four higher-order values. The models which included value similarity with Russian and Latvian peers were tested separately due to multicollinearity between the similarities with peers' scores in these two groups. Standardized regression coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Model fit indices were χ^2/df relative chi-square, CFI comparative fit index, RMSEA root mean square error of approximation, SRMR standardized root mean square residual, and PCLOSE p of close fit. Model fit indices for the tested models showed $\chi^2/df = 1.33$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .04, PCLOSE = .35, $p = .26$ ($\chi^2/df = 1.08$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .03, SRMR = .04, PCLOSE = .43, $p = .34$) for Openness to change; $\chi^2/df = .52$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .03, PCLOSE = .67, $p = .59$ ($\chi^2/df = .48$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .02, PCLOSE = .69, $p = .62$) for Conservation; $\chi^2/df = 2.57$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .12, SRMR = .03, PCLOSE = .13, $p = .08$ ($\chi^2/df = 2.17$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .10, SRMR = .03, PCLOSE = .18, $p = .14$) for Self-Transcendence; and $\chi^2/df = .58$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .03, PCLOSE = .64, $p = .56$ ($\chi^2/df = .58$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .02, PCLOSE = .64, $p = .56$) for Self-Enhancement. Fit indices for the models that compare value similarity with Latvian peers are presented in the parentheses. Consequently, fit measures indicate

Table 2 Standardized regression coefficients of the relationships between perceived psychological closeness, value similarity and psychological well-being of children

	Openness to change model		Conservation model		Self-transcendence model		Self-enhancement model	
	RP	LP	RP	LP	RP	LP	RP	LP
Perceived psychological closeness	.46***	.45***	.45***	.45***	.48***	.44***	.47***	.47***
Value similarity with mothers	−.12	−.09	−.06	−.01	−.12	.05	−.13	−.06
Value similarity with peers	.23	−.10	.15	.19	.24	.01	.31*	.16
R^2	.27	.22	.23	.23	.27	20	.28	.23

Note: RP means models that included similarity with Russian peers; LP means models that included similarity with Latvian peers
*$p < .05$, ***$p < .001$

that path models have a good model fit. Exceptions are RMSEA indices for models that included similarity in Self-Transcendence values.

Perceived psychological closeness with mothers was positively related to psychological well-being among Russian youth. In these models β coefficients vary from 0.44 to 0.47. The relationships between value similarity with mothers and psychological well-being of children were not found for all of the four higher-order values. Similar results obtained for value similarity with Latvian peers. Value similarity with Russian peers in Self-Enhancement values positively related to the psychological well-being of Russian youth ($\beta = 0.31$).

Discussion and Conclusion

In our study, we expected that the Russian minority youths' perceived psychological closeness with their mothers would positively relate to their psychological well-being. The results fully confirmed this prediction. We can conclude that a positive psychological climate within a family (psychological closeness of youth with their mothers) is a strong predictor of the well-being of Russian youth in Latvia. However, for mother-child value similarity, such relationships with the child's psychological well-being were not found. These results do not coincide with the results of the study in Germany and Israel, which showed positive associations between intergenerational value similarity and adolescents' subjective well-being (Hadjar et al., 2012). However, it is impossible to compare the results directly because of the different measures of values and well-being used.

We expected that the similarity of values with peers, who are a reference group for Russian youth, also contributes to their psychological well-being. However, it should be taken into consideration that groups of ethnic and national peers might be evaluated differently by the ethnic minority youth. Therefore, value similarity conditioned by age similarities only may be insufficient to ensure the well-being of the younger generation. Our results indicate that the absolute value similarity scores of Russian youth with their Russian peers are the highest in all the higher-order values compared to value similarity of Russian youth with their mothers and Latvian peers.

The positive relationship between the value similarity of Russian youth with Russian peers and psychological well-being of Russian youth was found only for similarity in Self-Enhancement values. For other values the patterns of the relationships were similar; however they did not reach the level of significance. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the Self-Enhancement value similarity with Russian peers contributes to the higher psychological well-being of Russian youth in Latvia. The latter result is in line with the results of the research in this direction, which showed that value congruence with the group of peers (this group might be seen as a reference group) contributes to life satisfaction (Khaptsova & Schwartz, 2016; Musiol & Boehnke, 2013). However, the similarity with Latvian peers did not relate to the psychological well-being of Russian youth. This might be either a sign of

problems with mutual adaptation (Vedder et al., 2009) or a consequence of the noncongruence of values of Russian youth with their national peers, because value system of youth is more sensitive to the societal changes (Tulviste, Konstabel, & Tulviste, 2014) that might be perceived differently by majority and minority youth. A good example of such different perception and evaluation is the school reform in Latvia, reducing the usage of Russian language in education settings that not only had positive results but also negative effects (Ivlevs & King, 2014). Moreover the mutual perception of cultural threat in both Russian and Latvian communities impedes horizontal value transmission between Russian and Latvian youth making intercultural contacts difficult and psychologically unsecure, which inhibits the integration of Russians in Latvia (Lebedeva, Tatarko, & Berry, 2016). Therefore, we can conclude that our first hypothesis, suggesting a positive relationship between the adolescent-mother psychological closeness and psychological well-being of the adolescent, was fully confirmed. Nevertheless, we did not find confirmation of such vertical value transmission from Russian mother to Russian youth in Latvia; hence the results do not support our third hypothesis. Our second hypothesis proposing a positive relationship between peers-adolescent value similarity and their psychological well-being was partly supported by the similarity in Self-Enhancement values with co-ethnic peers.

We also can conclude that value transmission of ethnic minority youth serves not only as a tool for culture maintenance and well-being but also as a tool for acculturation at the individual, family, and group levels. Late adolescence and youth is a time for seeking for personal autonomy and identity building. Psychological closeness with the mother and family support provide secure and smooth grounds for personal growth and identity building. Value similarity with mothers does not provide growth of autonomy and independence and does not contribute to the psychological well-being of minority youth. At the same time, the similarity with co-ethnic peers in the values of Self-Enhancement that promote striving for personal success and vertical mobility is probably one of the tools for successful acculturation for minority youth as well as a mechanism of cultural maintenance and group solidarity in a larger society, resulting in a sense of psychological well-being. Our study showed that similarity in values contributes to the well-being of Russian minority youth when such values promote better adaptation in the changing environment and are shared with a reference group. The processes of individual and family acculturation are closely related to the processes of group's culture maintenance and transmission in different directions, and the most sensitive indicator of such complex interplay is youth' psychological well-being.

Limitations and Future Directions

The main limitation of our study is the relatively small sample size: the study included 107 mother-child dyads from Russian families and 120 Latvians. The second limitation is the absence of comparison with native Latvian families. The

roles of fathers and older family members were not considered in the study as well. Nevertheless, these gaps open new possibilities for future studies in this field.

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