

Societies and Political Orders in Transition

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Changing Values and Identities in the Post-Communist World

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Intergenerational Value Differences in Latvia and Azerbaijan



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The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the fact that a young generation of citizens in the new independent states grow up in conditions that substantially differed from their parents' period of socialization. A large number of ethnic Russians, who previously lived in one state, now live in different countries outside Russia. The sociopolitical status of Russians changed dramatically: they became an ethnic minority and faced the challenge of adapting to their new life status. The existence of cultural, social, and political differences in the post-Soviet countries led to different changes in values, beliefs, attitudes, and intergroup relations in changed contexts. This study focuses on a comparison of values of ethnic minorities and majorities in countries with different trajectories of post-Soviet development from a cross-national and intergenerational perspective.

Intergenerational Value Differences

Age sets the pace of value changes. The value system of the young generation is more flexible and sensitive, while that of the older generation tends to be more stable and rigid and less influenced by contextual factors. There are three approaches summarizing the effects of age on values (Schwartz, 2006). The first (cohort) approach focuses on the influence of different historical events, such as wars or economic depression, on value priorities. For example, one study conducted in the Czech Republic found that openness to change values increased in post-communist period among younger generation (Danis, Liu, & Vacek, 2011). In another study, an increase of security and wealth in Western Europe countries led to the choice of

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hedonism, stimulation, self-direction among youth, and less importance of values of security, tradition, and conformity (Schwartz, 2006). The second approach is related to the decline of physical abilities with age. Physical aging therefore increases the importance of security and related values and at the same time makes hedonism and achievement less important. The third approach concerns the influence of different life stages of value priorities. Young adults meet different life challenges and demonstrate different risk-taking behaviors; thus, values of achievement and stimulation are more preferable among them. Adults tend to take care of family and children; this pre-retirement stage can be characterized by the importance of security, stability, and tradition (Schwartz, 2006). These three main types of age characteristics show the existence of age-graded systematic differences in value structure between generations.

Intergenerational Value Differences of the Ethnic Majority and Minority

Intergenerational similarity of values is an important basis for the stability of society, which supports communication between different generations and preserves cultural-specific knowledge and beliefs (Schönpflug, 2001). However, the intergenerational transmission of values is not always conducive to adaptation, as in the course of social change, the young generation increasingly faces new challenges and tasks that do not correspond to the “old” solutions (Albert, Trommsdorff, & Wisnubrata, 2009). Thus, it remains a question whether the result of value transmission depends on the cultural environment or to what extent parents transfer their value systems to subsequent generations and whether this process is different in different cultures. In cultures whose members choose independence, children are exposed to many different factors outside the family and have the opportunity to choose among a variety of values (Albert et al., 2009).

The “broader societal context” (defined as the link between social/macro and individual/micro levels; Rindfuss, Liao, & Tsuya, 1992, p. 821) serves as a powerful force affecting the values of parents and children. This force acts as an agent to increase the similarity in value preferences of both generations. Unfortunately, there is still no agreement on how to measure the impact of the “broader societal context” (Boehnke, Hadjar, & Baier, 2007). Boehnke and his colleagues (2007) conceptualized such context as a *Zeitgeist*, “modal value climate in a given society at a given time” (p. 778), and showed that the influence of a *Zeitgeist* on individual values and on parent-child value similarity is measurable.

Every culture offers a specific niche of development and methods of socialization for the transmission of values. Socialization methods vary depending on cultural values and the ways of development that can be characterized by culturally specific conceptions of independence and interdependence (Arnett, 1995; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000;

Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988). A study of intergenerational transmission of values in different cultural environments (Germany and Indonesia) showed that the intergenerational transmission of collectivistic values between adjacent generations is higher than individualistic values in both the German and the Indonesian samples, but the transmission of individualistic values (values that are not typical for the culture) is higher in the Indonesian sample (Albert et al., 2009). Generally, the study showed that the cultural context itself does not contribute to and does not hinder intergenerational transmission of values. However, the content of transmitted values depends precisely on the cultural environment. Moreover, the significant similarity of values of parents and children in majority families mostly indicates the successful assimilation of values of the society, while a considerable similarity of values of parents and children in migrant or ethnic minority families may partly indicate a lack of social integration in the host society.

In ethnic minority families, both the parents and children are involved in the acculturation process; they do not always acquire the same experience and do not always have the same reference group, so the level of similarity of parents' and children's values differs from that level in groups of the majority (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, & Sam, 2009). The objectives of migrant parents and migrant children may differ. However, age features are such that parents are more interested in maintaining traditional values, while children, especially teenagers, often seek to merge with the majority.

The younger generation from the ethnic minority group first socializes in their families, imbuing themselves with the culture of their parents' origin, and then socializes into the culture of the host society (Kwast-Welfel, Boski, & Rovers, 2008). This suggests that teenagers from the minority in some cases face rather difficult problems, as they have to cope with the influence of sometimes conflicting cultural values and, at the same time, to continue the transition to adulthood (Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). Other studies show that adolescent immigrants usually adapt to the values of a new society faster compared to their parents (Rick & Forward, 1992; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Consequently, additional differences in values may occur among teenage migrants and their parents, in addition to those deriving from the imperfection of the socialization process (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). These arguments suggest that the level of value similarity among parents and children is higher in the families of majority groups than in the families of migrants and ethnic minorities. Contradictory results were found in the study of Hadjar et al. (2012) which showed that the degree of value similarity depends on the country, even in the majority group. The country effect, belonging to different ethnic groups, length of the stay in the country, and the place of birth should be also taken into account in comparing value similarity in majority and minority groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Schoeni, McCarthy, & Vernez, 1996).

Current Study

Based on previous research, we can assume that the difference in values between parents and children is not necessarily connected with the migration experience and may reflect an almost universal trend in modern society, according to which the parental generation supports existing norms and expectations, while offspring are questioning the duties they are expected to fulfill (Kwast-Welfel et al., 2008; Steinberg, 1990; Yau & Smetana, 1996).

Despite the abundance of research conducted in the field of intergenerational changes of values in ethnic minorities and the majority, there are no clear answers to the following questions: does a relative group status (minority or majority) have an impact on the intergenerational values similarity? Are there any differences in values within generations between countries? Who are young people closer to in their values: to their ethnic group or to the majority? Therefore, in our research, we seek answers to these questions, using the refined Schwartz's theory of basic individual values, which includes 19 universal values (Schwartz et al., 2012).

In accordance with these issues, the following research questions are raised:

1. Do the values of the young generation differ from the generation of their parents?
2. Do these differences depend on majority and minority status, country, or ethnic identification?
3. What is the impact of local cultural context on values in Latvia and Azerbaijan?

The Sociocultural Contexts of Latvia and Azerbaijan

The post-Soviet period is characterized by forming new national identities in the former USSR republics. The main groups that led this reformation in the newly independent states were the ethnic majority elites. One of the main reasons why exactly these groups drove this process is that they concentrated power in their hands. Ethnic majorities viewed independence as an opportunity to right a wrong, while ethnic minorities (Russians) viewed it with anxiety (Fierman, 2012). Due to their world regional location and cultural closeness, Latvia was more focused on Western European development (Schmid, 2008), while Azerbaijan became closer to Turkey and the Islamic world (Luscombe & Kazdal, 2014; Musabekov & Shulman, 2010).

Changes in identities influenced both the majority and minority groups. The majorities are concerned about national rebirth, while the minorities focused on the achieving balance between preservation of their ethnic culture and accommodation to new challenges.

Russians in Latvia The population of Latvia in 2013 was about 2 million people, with 26% being ethnic Russians (Statistical Yearbook of Latvia, 2014). A general inflow of Russians to Latvia took place after World War II. After that the percentage of ethnic Latvians decreased from 76–75% to 51% from 1935 to 1989 (Cara, 2010;

Ivlevs, 2013). In the 1990s Latvia proclaimed an ethnic minority integration policy. However, this policy to a large extent emphasized cultural and linguistic assimilation (Muižnieks, Rozenvalds, & Birka, 2013). At the beginning of the new Latvian state formation, ethnic Russians faced the problems of obtaining citizenship. In 2005, only 50% of ethnic Russians had Latvian citizenship (Cara, 2006). However the situation changed after Latvia joined EU in 2004. Besides the problems of citizenship, Russians faced the problem of using Russian language. In Soviet times, Latvian and Russian languages were both official languages in Latvia. During the Soviet era, Russian language dominated the economic and social spheres and international communication (Ivlevs, 2013). Before the 1990s there were so-called Latvian and Russian schools in Latvia with lessons in Latvian and Russian, respectively. In independent Latvia, Latvian became the only official language. We can expect, on the one hand, the priorities of “Western European” values in modern Latvia, such as openness to change and self-transcendence. On the other hand, it is accompanied with moving to ethnic and cultural past recognition (tradition values), less openness, and self-isolation of the Latvian population in comparison with non-Latvians in this country (Groys, 2008; Schmid, 2008; Zepa et al., 2005).

Russians in Azerbaijan Azerbaijan is the largest post-Soviet state in the South Caucasus. In 1989, 83% of the population was Azerbaijanis, and the main minorities were Russians, Armenians, and Lezgins. The 1978 Constitution proclaimed Azerbaijani as the official language, but in fact Russian language dominated, especially in the capital of the country, the city of Baku. Since Azerbaijan’s independence, the Azerbaijani language has replaced Russian as the language of education and official government functions. Russian has been demoted to Russian-medium sectors within Azerbaijani-medium schools, and in many schools it has been relegated to an elective, as English has become the required foreign language (Fierman, 2012; Luscombe & Kazdal, 2014). The late 1980s to early 1990s were marked by a strong wave of migration of Russians from Azerbaijan caused by the economic crisis and political changes in the country (Yunusov, 2001). From this time the Russian population lost its position as the largest ethnic and privileged minority in the country and become detached from political life (Musabekov, 2009).

This complex period of transformation in both countries could lead to a value gap between generations and ethnic groups. The generation of the 1970s witnessed the change of epochs and the beginning of the formation of a new state ideology and identity. While their offspring were socialized inside of these ideologies, their values, beliefs, and attitudes were formed in their families but at the same time in the broader social context of newly independent states. Similarities and differences observed between and within countries may depend on belonging to a particular cohort and the majority or minority status of the group.

Table 1 Sample characteristics

	N	Gender characteristics		Age characteristics			
		Male (%)	Female (%)	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Azerbaijani Russians							
Younger generation	95	48.1	51.9	15	27	20.72	3.13
Middle generation	102	20.6	79.4	35	68	47.32	8.20
Azerbaijanis							
Younger generation	94	58.5	41.5	15	26	21.23	3.29
Middle generation	106	29.2	70.8	33	69	47.54	6.71
Latvian Russians							
Younger generation	112	32.1	67.9	16	24	17.63	1.56
Middle generation	112	5.5	95.5	33	59	43.61	5.59
Latvians							
Younger generation	120	37.0	63.0	16	19	17.12	1.14
Middle generation	120	0	100	36	68	44.1	4.24

Method

Sample

The study was conducted in 2014–2015 in Latvia and Azerbaijan. To identify value similarities and differences of values of ethnic majorities (Latvians and Azerbaijanis) and minorities (Russians in Latvia and Azerbaijan), we compared two generations of the same families. Our study included 197 ethnic Russians in Azerbaijan, 200 Azerbaijanis, 224 Russians in Latvia, and 240 Latvians. Sample characteristics are presented in Table 1.

Measures

In this study we used the Refined Values Theory Schwartz, which categorizes 19 individual values into four higher-order values: openness to change (includes values of self-direction thought, self-direction action, stimulation, hedonism), conservation (security personal, security societal, tradition, conformity rules, conformity interpersonal), self-enhancement (achievement, power dominance, power resources, face), and self-transcendence (humility, benevolence dependability, benevolence care, universalism concern, universalism nature, universalism tolerance) (Schwartz et al., 2012). We used the 57-item Portrait Values Questionnaire-Revised (PVQ-R) to measure individual values. A Russian version of questionnaire was translated and adapted by Schwartz, Butenko, Sedova, and Lipatova (2012). PVQ-R includes the 19 value types that are measured with three items each. Each item describes a person in terms of a goal that is important to him/her answering the question “To which extent this person is like you?” Responses range from “not like me at all” (1) to “very

much like me” (6) using a 6-point Likert-type scale. An example of hedonism item is “Enjoying life’s pleasures is important to him.” An example of benevolence-dependability item is “He goes out of his way to be a dependable and trustworthy friend.” Cronbach’s alphas for openness to change ranged from 0.64 to 0.81 in Latvia and from 0.50 to 0.73 in Azerbaijan. Cronbach’s alphas for conservation ranged from 0.71 to 0.75 in Latvia and from 0.66 to 0.78 in Azerbaijan. Cronbach’s alphas for self-enhancement ranged from 0.70 to 0.77 in Latvia and from 0.57 to 0.75 in Azerbaijan. Cronbach’s alphas for self-transcendence ranged from 0.68 to 0.80 in Latvia and from 0.65 to 0.87 in Azerbaijan. Additionally, we asked the participants about their age, gender, level of education, and ethnicity.

For data processing we used SPSS 22.0 statistical package. Besides, we used paired samples t-test and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for groups’ comparison.

Results

Descriptive statistics, including means and standard deviations, are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

First, we compared the values of the two generations of ethnic Russians and Latvians in Latvia. There were significant differences in values between the two generations of Russians in Latvia. Scores in openness to change and self-enhancement values were higher among the younger generation of Russians in Latvia. The value of conservation was significantly lower in youth compared with parents. Russian youth and parents in Latvia did not differ in self-transcendence values. We also found intergenerational differences for higher-order values among Latvians. The results of the value comparison between the two generations of Latvians showed that openness to change values were higher and conservation values were lower among Latvian youth. However, self-transcendence and self-enhancement values between generations did not differ.

The intergenerational analysis of values of the two generations of Russians in Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis revealed significant differences between youth and parents. Table 3 indicates the results of group comparisons of means between the two generations of Russians in Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis. Our results revealed that the younger generation of Russians in Azerbaijan had significantly higher scores in openness to change and self-enhancement values and lower in conservation and self-transcendence values than their parents. The preference for openness to change values statistically was significantly higher among Azerbaijani youth than among their parents.

To summarize, the generation gap between youth and their parents in openness to change values is observed in both the ethnic majority and minority groups in Azerbaijan. In the ethnic majority group studied, the two generations are much closer in their value priorities than in the minority group.

Table 2 Means, standard deviations, and t-tests for parents and youth of ethnic Russians in Latvia and Latvians

	M (SD)				t-test, <i>p</i>	
	Young LR	Middle LR	Young L	Middle L	Young-Middle LR	Young-Middle L
Openness to change	4.38 (0.47)	4.14 (0.44)	4.43 (0.32)	3.91 (0.28)	4.18***	13.79***
Self-enhancement	3.79 (0.63)	3.50 (0.57)	3.74 (0.51)	3.70 (0.35)	4.49***	0.70
Conservation	3.73 (0.43)	4.02 (0.41)	3.83 (0.37)	4.22 (0.23)	-6.38***	-10.22***
Self-transcendence	4.14 (0.39)	4.22 (0.36)	4.02 (0.30)	4.07 (0.20)	-1.65	-1.69

Note: LR Latvian Russians, L Latvians

****p* < 0.001

Table 3 Means, standard deviations, and t-tests for the parents and youth of Russians in Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis

	M (SD)				t-test, <i>p</i>	
	Young AR	Middle AR	Young Az	Middle Az	Young-middle AR	Young-middle Az
Openness to change	4.44 (0.50)	3.88 (0.45)	4.10 (0.47)	3.96 (0.31)	9.25***	2.54**
Self-enhancement	3.62 (0.58)	3.38 (0.64)	3.74 (0.48)	3.64 (0.49)	3.59**	1.46
Conservation	3.91 (0.35)	4.27 (0.34)	4.11 (0.44)	4.18 (0.37)	-7.86***	-1.15
Self-transcendence	4.08 (0.39)	4.27 (0.41)	4.09 (0.31)	4.12 (0.32)	-4.03**	-0.81

Note: AR Azerbaijani Russians, Az Azerbaijanis

p* < 0.01; *p* < 0.001

Further, we also compared the values within each of the two generations between countries to reveal cross-national differences using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). The results of the comparison of the younger generation among Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis are presented in Table 4, Wilks’s $\Lambda = .69$, $F(12,1119) = 14.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Post hoc tests also revealed value differences between the countries involved in the study ($p < .05$).

Openness to change values were lower in Azerbaijanis youth compared to the other three groups but did not differ in ethnic Latvian and the two ethnic Russian youth groups. Conservation values of young Azerbaijanis were higher than in the other three groups. Russian groups in Latvia and Azerbaijan differed in conservation values—they were higher among Russians in Azerbaijan. Self-transcendence values were higher among Russians in Latvia than among Latvians, but did not differ between the other groups. Self-enhancement values did not differ in all four groups.

Table 4 Means and standard deviations of values in groups of Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis among youth

Values	Younger generation of Latvian Russians	Younger generation of Latvians	Younger generation of Azerbaijani Russians	Younger generation of Azerbaijanis	F (3,426)	Partial η^2
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
Openness to change	4.38 (0.47) _a	4.43 (0.32) _a	4.44 (0.50) _a	4.10 (0.47) _b	13.20	0.09
Self-enhancement	3.79 (0.63) _a	3.74 (0.51) _a	3.62 (.58) _a	3.74 (0.48) _a	1.89	0.01
Conservation	3.73 (0.43) _a	3.83 (0.37) _{ab}	3.91(0.35) _b	4.11 (0.44) _c	17.44	0.11
Self-transcendence	4.15 (0.39) _a	4.02 (0.30) _b	4.08 (0.39) _{ab}	4.09 (0.31) _{ab}	2.57	0.02

Note: Means sharing the same subscript are not significantly different from each other (Tukey’s HSD, $p < 0.05$)

The results of the comparison of the parental generation among Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis are presented in Table 5, Wilks’s $\Lambda = .83$, $F(12, 1145) = 7.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Post hoc tests revealed value differences between the countries ($p < .05$). As we can see, the parental generation in all four groups replicated the same pattern in openness to change values as the youth. Conservation values were lower among the parental generation of ethnic Russians in Latvia compared to the other groups and did not differ among the parental generations of Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis. Self-transcendence and self-enhancement values did not differ between Russians in Latvia and Azerbaijan and between the two ethnic majority groups.

Finally, we compared the mean values’ scores of the families of ethnic Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis. The results are presented in Table 6. There were differences in mean family value scores based on group belonging, $F(12, 1082) = 12.48$, $p < .001$; Wilks’s $\Lambda = .71$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$. Post hoc tests revealed group differences ($p < .05$).

Table 6 demonstrates that the families of Azerbaijanis had the lowest scores in openness to change and the highest scores in conservation values. There were no differences in openness to change values between Russian and Latvian families. In Azerbaijan there were no differences in conservation values among majority and minority groups, but Latvian families scored higher than Russians in Latvia on these values. Self-transcendence values did not differ between minority groups as well as between majorities. These values were higher among Russian minorities. Self-enhancement values differed only among Latvian and Azerbaijani Russian families.

Table 5 Means and standard deviations of values in groups of Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis among parents

Values	Middle generation of Latvian Russians	Middle generation of Latvians	Middle generation of Azerbaijani Russians	Middle generation of Azerbaijanis	F (3,436)	Partial η^2
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
Openness to change	4.14 (0.44) _a	3.91 (0.28) _b	3.88(0.45) _b	3.96(0.31) _b	10.98	0.07
Self-enhancement	3.50 (0.57) _{ac}	3.70 (0.35) _b	3.38(0.64) _c	3.64(0.49) _{ab}	8.43	0.06
Conservation	4.02 (0.41) _a	4.22 (0.23) _b	4.27(0.34) _b	4.18(0.37) _b	10.50	0.07
Self-transcendence	4.22 (0.36) _{ac}	4.07 (0.20) _b	4.28(0.41) _a	4.12(0.32) _{bc}	8.26	0.05

Note: Means sharing the same subscript are not significantly different from each other (Tukey’s HSD, $p < 0.05$)

Table 6 Means and standard deviations of values in families of Russians in Latvia, Latvians, Russians in Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijanis

	Latvian Russians	Latvians	Azerbaijani Russians	Azerbaijanis	F (3,412)	Partial η^2
Openness to change	4.26 (0.40) _a	4.17 (0.22) _a	4.16 (0.36) _a	4.01 (0.30) _b	10.34	0.07
Self-enhancement	3.65 (0.49) _a	3.72 (0.32) _{ab}	3.50 (0.50) _{ac}	3.66 (0.38) _a	5.26	0.04
Conservation	3.88 (0.34) _a	4.03 (0.22) _{bc}	4.09 (0.25) _{bc}	4.17 (0.34) _c	18.71	0.12
Self-transcendence	4.18 (0.29) _a	4.05 (0.17) _b	4.17 (0.31) _a	4.12 (0.24) _{ab}	6.74	0.05

Note: Means sharing the same subscript are not significantly different from each other (Tukey’s HSD, $p < 0.05$)

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study we follow the trajectories of value comparisons between two generations within countries in minority and majority groups (1), within generations between countries (2), and a cross-country comparison of families (3). The results of the intergenerational comparison of openness to change and conservation values show repeated common trends. Younger generations demonstrated higher scores on openness to change and lower scores on conservation than their parents. We found that these results are common in the two countries and do not relate to the status of the group. Our findings are in line with the results of previous studies and reflect participants’ age peculiarities (Schwartz, 2006).

Self-enhancement and self-transcendence values do not differ in ethnic majority groups in the two generations, while in the Russian minority groups, we found a

generation gap in self-enhancement values; the youth demonstrated higher scores on these values than their parents. Additionally, there is a gap between the young and parental generations in self-transcendence values; they are higher in the parental generation. We suggest that such results reflect the impact of group status. Self-enhancement values are more important for minority youth. We suppose that this is their reaction to anxiety increase and a reflection of worries about their status and striving for social mobility and success. Self-transcendence values do not differ between generations within countries.

The younger generation of Azerbaijanis demonstrated the lowest scores on openness to change and the highest scores on conservation values. We suppose that this is the result of the country's drift toward a society that is more traditional and more typical for a Muslim country. Nevertheless both majority groups had higher conservation values than minority groups among youth. We think that in the case of Latvia, the recognition of country's cultural past may have caused such trend after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Groys, 2008). It is surprising that self-enhancement values are equally important to all young generations regardless of the context, group status, and ethnic differences. These results indicate that youth in all of the studied groups value competitiveness and desire to perform better than others and be successful in all areas of life to the same extent. Such tendencies are widespread in modern industrial societies (Boehnke et al., 2007).

We can see that parental generation of Russians in Latvia has the highest scores on openness to change and the lowest on conservation values. Latvia is a Western-oriented country, and Russians, as an ethnic minority, follow this stream, while for Latvians state independence meant the revival of traditions, which was necessary for the construction of the national state. The Russian minority neither had no possibilities nor did not aim to behave in such way.

The parental generation of ethnic Russians in Latvia and Azerbaijan is higher in self-transcendence and lower in self-enhancement values than the majority groups. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russians as the ethnic minority tended to adapt to the new requirements and maintain a group harmony. The ethnic majorities were concerned about setting their own rules in the newly independent countries as dominant groups.

The cross-country comparison of mean family values revealed that Russian families in Latvia have the lowest scores in conservation, while families of Azerbaijanis have the lowest scores in openness to change values. These value differences on the family level might reflect the two different trajectories of post-Soviet development (toward Western Europe versus toward Islamic world) that these two countries chose. On the self-enhancement-self-transcendence axis, we found less consistent results. Thus, we can suppose that the value gap along the axe "openness to change-conservation" between the populations of these two post-Soviet counties will grow with the new generations.

Limitations

The main limitation of our study is that small sample sizes were used. Secondly, we used purposeful samples. In our future studies, it will be useful to compare the results of intergenerational value comparison obtained on the family level with the results of other studies with big representative samples in a wider range of post-communist countries.

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