Коджа Е.А.[1] Роль множественных идентичностей и стратегий аккультурации в психологическом благополучии крымских татар: межпоколенный анализ

*Kodja E.A.[1] The role of multiple identities and acculturation strategies in the psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars: Intergenerational analysis*

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Recent geopolitical transformations in the Crimea have been challenging for all residents of the peninsula – both ethnic majority and ethnic minorities. The present study aims to examine the role of multiple identities and acculturation strategies in psychological well-being of two generations of Crimean Tatars. Young generation of the Crimean Tatars (under 35 years old) was socialized mostly in the Ukrainian context, while Crimean Tatars of the older generation (over 35 years old) spent part of their life outside of the Crimea during the deportation. The sample included 269 Crimean Tatars (75% female) from 17 to 66 years old. The following methods were applied: scales for identities, acculturation strategies, the Satisfaction with Life Scale by Diener and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Results showed that ethnic identity predicts self-esteem for both generations, and life satisfaction for young generation only. Among the younger generation of Crimean Tatars ethnic identity is positively related with the preference for integration, while place identity is positively related with the preference for separation. Integration strategy promotes life-satisfaction and self-esteem for older generation, while separation strategy predicts life-satisfaction for young generation of Crimean Tatars. The findings are discussed given the historical, political and social context of the Crimea.

**Keywords**: multiple identities, acculturation strategies, psychological well-being, ethnic minorities

# Introduction

Complicated interethnic relations in the Crimea make it necessary to study the relationship between different types of identities, acculturation strategies, and psychological well-being of ethnic groups living in the Crimea, especially Crimean Tatars, whose situation has the greatest conflict potential. The study helps to expand our understanding of the socio-cultural context of the Crimea.

## *Socio-cultural context of the current research*

The Crimea is one of the multicultural regions of Russia: Russians constitute the majority of the population (about 68%) and the largest ethnic minority is Ukrainians (about 16%). The Crimean Tatars are the indigenous people of the Crimea and make up about 10% of the population [Results of the population census … , 2015].

Over the past hundred years, the Crimean Tatars have faced numerous political and socio-economic challenges. The key one is the forced deportation to Central Asia in 1944. The decision of the Supreme Council in 1989 on repatriation caused a mass return of Crimean Tatars to the Crimea. As a result of the all-Crimean referendum on March 16th, 2014, the Crimea became part of Russia, and all residents of Crimea, including the Crimean Tatars, became citizens of the Russian Federation.

Current reforms in the Russian Crimea aim at forming a positive attitude on behalf of the Crimean Tatars towards Russia. The entry of Crimea into Russia in 2014 brought the Crimean Tatars, firstly, official recognition of the Crimean Tatar people as illegally repressed with the need for rehabilitation [Decree of the President … , 2014], and secondly, the recognition of the Crimean Tatar language as one of the state languages of the Republic of Crimea together with Russian and Ukrainian [Constitution of the Republic of Crimea, 2019]. There are 15 schools in the Crimea with the Crimean Tatar language of instruction, and also there are classes with the Crimean Tatar language of instruction in 27 Russian-language schools.

The state program "Republic of Crimea - territory of interethnic harmony" has been implemented in Crimea since 2015. The programme aims at strengthening "the unity of the nation" and ethnocultural development of the ethnic groups. It includes numerous measures for the cultural revival of repressed people, including social support for rehabilitated ethnic groups, measures to ensure interethnic harmony and regular monitoring of the state of interethnic relations [Resolution of the Council of Ministers … , 2018]. Despite the measures taken, the process of new national identity formation does not go smoothly for the Crimean Tatars. Studies show a weak identification with Russia, meaning that the Crimean Tatars have not yet fully accepted the transitional change [Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016;

Kodja, Lebedeva, 2018]. Thus, the relationship between identities, acculturation strategies, and psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars deserve research attention.

# Ethnic minorities: identity, acculturation, well-being

## *Multiple identities and acculturation strategies*

Social identity can be defined as the awareness of an individual about his membership in a social group, as well as the value and emotional significance of this membership [Tajfel, Turner, 1986]. Belonging to numerous social groups results in having multiple cultural identities (ethnic, national, religious etc.). Due to massive migration processes in the contemporary world, research interest in the identities has recently intensified.

Ethnic identity refers to a sense of belonging to a certain group of people united by common 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 involves identification with a larger society, i.e. citizens of a particular country [Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009]. Studies have shown that decreased national identity can threaten social stability and contribute to supporting national autonomy [Livingstone et al., 2011].

Place identity is defined as a component of social identity associated with a person's perceptions, feelings, and behavior in relation to the physical world where he lives [Proshansky et al., 1983]. Emotional attachment to a certain place provides a sense of security connecting people that is very important in the transition period.

Social identity 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]. Depending on the relative preference towards one's own or other group, four strategies are possible, namely integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization [Berry, 1997]. The integration strategy means an interest in both preserving original culture, as well as in interaction with representatives of a 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 a larger society along with neglect of one's

own cultural heritage. People adhering to marginalization strategy are not interested in either preserving their culture or participating in the life of the host society.

Studies have revealed various relationships between types of social identity and acculturation strategies. Regional identity [Galyapina et al., 2018] and national identity [Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2009] contribute to the choice of integration strategy. Ethnic identity is positively related with the strategy of separation, negatively with the strategy of integration [Berry, Sabatier, 2010], and the strategy of assimilation [Verkuyten, 2005].

## *Psychological well-being of ethnic minorities*

The multiple identities of ethnic minorities, as well as their strategies for interacting with the ethnic majority impact their psychological well-being. The concept of subjective psychological well-being includes self-esteem and life satisfaction. According to Rosenberg, self-esteem reflects the individual's perception of self and one's own value [Rosenberg et al., 1989]. It includes two sides, cognitive (a kind of judgment about oneself) and affective (a feeling-based assessment of oneself). According to Diener, life satisfaction is an assessment of one's own life (the cognitive aspect), as well as positive and negative feelings that a person has about his life (the affective aspect). Cognitive and affective components determine the overall perception of life [Pavot, Diner, 1993].

According to research, an integration strategy promotes successful psychological and socio-cultural adaptation and increases psychological well-being [Berry et al., 2006; Kosic et al., 2006; Nguyen, Benet-Martínez, 2013]. Assimilation strategy can also contribute to the psychological well-being of ethnic minorities [Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011]. However, the impact of acculturation strategies on psychological well-being may depend to a large extent on the context of minority acculturation. In regions with a complex ethnic structure and dynamic history of interethnic relations, the separation strategy is positively associated with life satisfaction [Kodja et al., 2019; Galyapina, Lepshokova, 2017]. The integration orientation of ethnic minorities reduces life satisfaction if the context does not contribute to the minority culture preservation [Kus-Harbord, Ward, 2015].

Studies examining the relationship between various components of social identity and psychological well-being have established that ethnic identity is related to self-esteem [Costigan et al., 2010; Umaña-Taylor, 2004] and life satisfaction [Yap et al., 2011; Smith, Silva, 2011]. Studies also reveal a positive relationship between religious identity and psychological well-being [Dimitrova et al., 2017; Ajibade et al., 2016].

Based on the literature review and context description, the following **hypotheses** have been posed:

– Ethnic identity is positively related with integration and negatively with assimilation strategy. Place and national identities are positively related with integration strategy.

– Preference for integration strategy is positively related with psychological well-being, preference for assimilation and separation strategy is negatively related with psychological well-being.

– Ethnic and place identity are positively related with psychological well-being, national identity is negatively related with psychological well-being.

Research also shows that psychological well-being is influenced not only by the identities as such, but also by their transmission from one generation to another [Dimitrova et al., 2014; Dimitrova et al., 2015; Dimitrova et al., 2017]. A mismatch in the preference for acculturation strategies among different generations can potentially lead to misunderstanding between parents and children, which can have negative consequences for psychological well-being. This is especially true for ethnic groups that initially have a closer connection between generations and a high motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, such as the Crimean Tatars [Kodja, Lebedeva, 2018].

Therefore, it is necessary to take into account intergenerational differences when studying the identities, acculturation strategies, and psychological well-being of the Crimean Tatars. The Crimean Tatars of the older generation were actually born and spent part of their adult life outside of the Crimea until 1989. Young generation of the Crimean Tatars was socialized mostly in the Ukrainian context. In this regard, joining Russia might be perceived differently by the two generations. This can also potentially affect their psychological well-being and preferred strategies for interacting with the ethnic majority. In addition to the hypotheses, the **research question** has been posed: Are there similarities and differences in the relationships between identities, acculturation strategies, and psychological well-being among representatives of two generations?

## Methodology

### *Sample*

Participants of the study are residents of the Crimea who define their ethnic origin as the Crimean Tatars. Sample includes 269 respondents overall, ranging in age from 17 to 66 years old. Sample was further divided into two age groups: 17–34 years old (M = 22,19, SD = 4,47) and 35–66 (M = 49,1, SD = 8,4). In terms of gender, "young group" included 60 male (36,1%), 106 female (63,9%)

respondents, and "adult group" included 56 male (54,4%), 47 female (45,6%) respondents. The age of 35 years old (year of birth 1983) was taken as a borderline to mark two generations due to the special features of the historical context. In this study, we refer to the younger generation, first, as Crimeans by birth (born in the Crimea after 1989), and second, as those who were born and spent their early childhood outside of the Crimea, but went to school in the Crimea (starting in the 1990s) and, thus, joined the Ukrainian school system.

## *Data collection procedure*

This study was conducted among Crimean Tatar residents of the cities and villages of the Crimea with the help of Psychology faculty of Crimean Federal University. The participants are recruited by using snowball sampling technique. The study was introduced as aimed at examining cultural diversity of the Crimea. Participants were asked to fill out the written questionnaire provided in Russian language. The average time for filling in the questionnaire was about 15 minutes. Respondents were not paid for participating in the study.

## *Measures*

The questionnaire used scales from the Mutual Intercultural Relations In Plural Societies (MIRIPS) questionnaire (http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips), translated into Russian and adapted for use in Russia [Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2009] to assess national identity, ethnic identity and acculturation strategies. The questionnaire also included Rosenberg Self-esteem scale [Rosenberg, 1965], Satisfaction with life scale [Diener et al., 1984], place identity scale [Droseltis, Vignoles, 2010]. For all items a 5-point Likert scale was used ranging from "1" ("Strongly disagree") to "5" ("Strongly agree").

Ethnic identity is assessed with 3 items ("I think of myself as Crimean Tatar"). National identity is assessed with 3 items ("I am proud of being a Russian citizen"). Place identity is assessed with 5 items ("I feel that the Crimea is a part of me").

Acculturation strategies are assessed with 4 items for each strategy (integration, assimilation, and separation), for example, "It is important to me to be fluent in both Russian and Crimean Tatar language" (integration), "I prefer social activities that involve Crimean Tatars only" (separation). Self-esteem is assessed with 4 items ("On the whole, I am satisfied with myself"), life satisfaction is assessed with 4 items ("If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing").

Sociodemographic data. The questionnaire includes questions about the participant's gender, age,

education, place of birth and place of residence.

For data analysis we used the following methods of data processing: descriptive statistics, Cronbach's α, correlation analysis, structural equation modeling with SPSS 22.0 and AMOS 22.0.

## Results

Before proceeding with the analysis, we screened the dataset for missing values. In order to check the reliability and internal consistency of the measures, we analyzed Cronbach's Alpha coefficients (Table 1). All scales reached satisfactory reliability level.

According to the descriptive statistics analysis (Table 1), ethnic and place identities are strong among both generations of Crimean Tatars, while national identity is relatively weak. The analysis also revealed high level of subjective well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem) for both groups. Integration strategy is the most preferred by both groups, orientation towards assimilation is low for both groups, the preference for separation is quite high for both groups but lower than integration.

*Table 1*

Descriptive statistics of all scales

| | Young group | | | Adult group | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Standard Deviation | Cronbach's α | Mean | Standard Deviation | Cronbach's α |
| Ethnic identity | 4,67 | 0,61 | 0,678 | 4,80 | 0,48 | 0,879 |
| National identity | 2,74 | 1,27 | 0,915 | 3,02 | 1,09 | 0,935 |
| Place identity | 4,23 | 0,77 | 0,860 | 4,42 | 0,59 | 0,879 |
| Integration strategy | 3,93 | 0,76 | 0,653 | 3,63 | 0,75 | 0,686 |
| Separation strategy | 3,04 | 0,97 | 0,753 | 3,30 | 0,92 | 0,757 |
| Assimilation strategy | 1,64 | 0,80 | 0,540 | 1,54 | 0,53 | 0,711 |
| Life satisfaction | 3,58 | 0,91 | 0,821 | 3,51 | 0,91 | 0,894 |
| Self-esteem | 4,32 | 0,58 | 0,765 | 4,31 | 0,48 | 0,737 |

Pearson's correlation analysis has been conducted for all variables for both groups. The results for young group are presented in Table 2.

*Table 2*

Correlations between variables (young group of Crimean Tatars)

|   |   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ethnic identity | 1 | | | | | | |
| 2 | National identity | –0,086 | 1 | | | | | |
| 3 | Place identity | 0,365*** | 0,058 | 1 | | | | |
| 4 | Integration strategy | 0,227** | 0,272 *** | 0,019 | 1 | | | |
| 5 | Separation strategy | 0,335*** | –0,198* | 0,336 *** | –0,317 *** | 1 | | |
| 6 | Assimilation strategy | –0,249 *** | 0,268 *** | –0,169* | –0,057 | 0,002 | 1 | |
| 7 | Life satisfaction | 0,432*** | –0,128 | 0,267 *** | 0,043 | 0,277 *** | –0,136 | 1 |
| 8 | Self-esteem | 0,309*** | –0,039 | 0,105 | 0,110 | 0,155* | –0,065 | 0,441 *** |

*Notes*. Significance level: * p < 0,05, ** p < 0,01, *** p < 0,001.

The results for adult group are presented in Table 3.

*Table 3*

Correlations between variables (old group of Crimean Tatars)

|   |   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ethnic identity | 1 | | | | | | |
| 2 | National identity | –0,183 | 1 | | | | | |
| 3 | Place identity | 0,046 | -0,137 | 1 | | | | |
| 4 | Integration | 0,020 | 0,440 | 0,019 | 1 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | strategy | | *** | | | | | |
| 5 | Separation strategy | 0,256** | −0,452 *** | 0,063 | −0,378 *** | 1 | | |
| 6 | Assimilation strategy | −0,323 *** | 0,327 *** | −0,160 | 0,079 | −0,090 | 1 | |
| 7 | Life satisfaction | 0,064 | 0,000 | 0,112 | 0,355 *** | 0,088 | −0,011 | 1 |
| 8 | Self-esteem | 0,290** | −0,115 | 0,195* | 0,279** | 0,147 | −0,262** | 0,601 *** |

*Notes*. Significance level: * p < 0,05, ** p < 0,01, *** p < 0,001.

For adult group ethnic identity correlates positively with self-esteem only, while for young group it correlates positively with both life satisfaction and self-esteem. Ethnic identity for adult group correlates positively with separation strategy, while for young group it correlates positively with both integration and separation. Analysis also revealed significant positive correlations between ethic and place identity for young group only. Place identity also positively correlates with separation strategy and life satisfaction for young group. Psychological well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem) correlates positively with separation strategy for young group and with integration strategy for adult group.

Analysis of the relationship between multiple identities (national, ethnic and place), strategies of acculturation, and subjective well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem) was carried out using structural equation modelling. We tested three models for acculturation strategies (integration, separation and assimilation) for two generations separately.

Figure 1 shows the model for **integration strategy**, three identities, life-satisfaction and self-esteem. Model fit: $\chi^2/df = 1,247$, CFI = 0,992, RMSEA = 0,039, and PCLOSE = 0,483 (young group) and $\chi^2/df = 1,785$, CFI = 0,958, RMSEA = 0,088, and PCLOSE = 0,212 (adult group).

National identity predicts integration for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,30$, $p < 0,001$) and adult ($\beta = 0,47$, $p < 0,001$). Ethnic identity positively predicts integration for young group only ($\beta = 0,29$, $p < 0,01$). Ethnic identity also positively predicts self-esteem for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,30$, $p < 0,05$) and adult ($\beta = 0,25$, $p < 0,01$), and positively predicts life satisfaction for young group only ($\beta = 0,45$, $p < 0,001$). Integration is a significant positive predictor of self-esteem ($\beta = 0,28$, $p < 0,01$) and life-satisfaction ($\beta = 0,36$, $p < 0,001$) for adult group only.
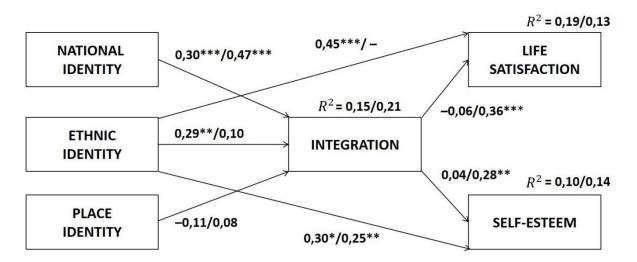
**Fig. 1**. Three identities, integration strategy, life-satisfaction and self-esteem.

*Notes*. Significance level: * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$, *** $p < 0,001$. Coefficients are presented using a slash: young group / adult group.

For adult group there is also significant indirect effect of national identity on self-esteem ($\beta = 0,13$, $p < 0,01$) and life-satisfaction ($\beta = 0,17$, $p < 0,001$) through integration strategy.
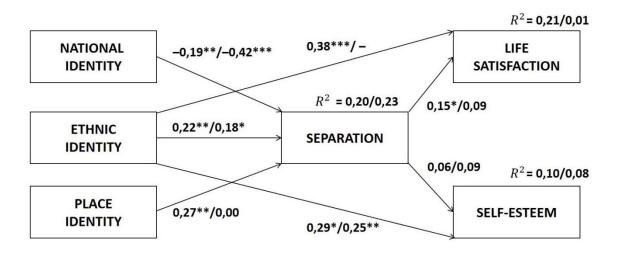


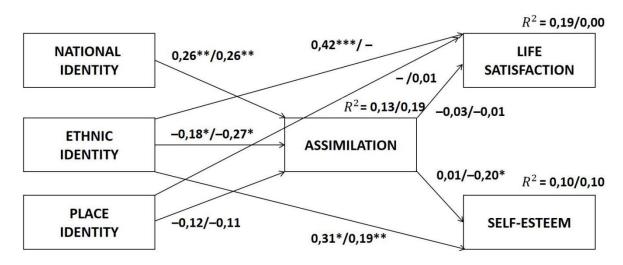**Fig. 2**. Three identities, separation strategy, life-satisfaction and self-esteem.

*Notes*. Significance level: * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$, *** $p < 0,001$. Coefficients are presented using a slash: young group / adult group.

Figure 2 shows the model for separation strategy, three identities, life-satisfaction and self-esteem. Model fit: $\chi^2/df = 0,943$, CFI = 1,000, RMSEA = 0,000, and PCLOSE = 0,627 (young group) and $\chi^2/df = 0,921$, CFI = 1,000, RMSEA = 0,000, and PCLOSE = 0,604 (adult group).

National identity negatively predicts separation for both groups: young ($\beta = -0,19$, $p < 0,01$) and adult ($\beta = -0,42$, $p < 0,001$). Ethnic identity positively predicts separation for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,22$, $p < 0,01$) and adult ($\beta = 0,18$, $p < 0,05$). Ethnic identity also positively predicts self-esteem for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,29$, $p < 0,05$) and adult ($\beta = 0,25$, $p < 0,01$), and positively predicts life satisfaction for young group only ($\beta = 0,38$, $p < 0,001$). Place identity positively predicts separation for young group ($\beta = 0,27$, $p < 0,01$). Separation is a significant positive predictor of life-satisfaction for young group ($\beta = 0,15$, $p < 0,05$).

For young group there is also significant indirect effect of ethnic ($\beta = 0,03$, $p < 0,05$), national ($\beta = -0,03$, $p < 0,05$) and place identity ($\beta = 0,04$, $p < 0,05$) on life-satisfaction through separation strategy.

Figure 3 shows the model for **assimilation strategy**, three identities, life-satisfaction and self-esteem. Model fit: $\chi^2/df = 1,390$, CFI $= 0,986$, RMSEA $= 0,049$, and PCLOSE $= 0,422$ (young group) and $\chi^2/df = 0,833$, CFI $= 1,000$, RMSEA $= 0,000$, and PCLOSE $= 0,623$ (adult group).



**Fig. 3**. Three identities, assimilation strategy, life-satisfaction and self-esteem.
*Notes*. Significance level: * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$, *** $p < 0,001$. Coefficients are presented using a slash: young group / adult group.

National identity positively predicts assimilation for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,26$, $p < 0,01$) and adult ($\beta = 0,26$, $p < 0,01$). Ethnic identity negatively predicts assimilation for both groups: young ($\beta = -0,18$, $p < 0,05$) and adult ($\beta = -0,27$, $p < 0,05$). Ethnic identity also positively predicts self-esteem for both groups: young ($\beta = 0,31$, $p < 0,05$) and adult ($\beta = 0,19$, $p < 0,01$), and positively predicts life satisfaction for young group only ($\beta = 0,42$, $p < 0,001$). Assimilation is a significant negative predictor of self-esteem for adult group ($\beta = -0,20$, $p < 0,05$).

For adult group there is also significant indirect effect of ethnic identity ($\beta = 0,06$, $p < 0,05$) and national identity ($\beta = -0,05$, $p < 0,05$) on self-esteem through assimilation strategy.

Summing up the data analysis, we highlight the main results of the study of the role of multiple identities and acculturation strategies in the psychological well-being of two generations of Crimean Tatars:

– Preference for integration strategy is significantly positively related with self-esteem and life satisfaction among the older generation. Preference for separation strategy is significantly positively related with life satisfaction among the younger generation, and also positively correlates with their self-esteem. The assimilation strategy is significantly negatively related with the self-esteem of the older generation.

– Ethnic identity is positively related with the self-esteem of representatives of two generations, and positively related with the life satisfaction of young Crimean Tatars.

– Ethnic identity is positively related with the preference for integration among the younger generation. It is also positively related with the separation strategy and negatively with the assimilation strategy in both groups.

– National identity is positively related with the preference for integration and assimilation, and negatively related with the preference for separation among representatives of both groups.

– Place identity is positively related with the preference for separation among young Crimean Tatars, it also positively correlates with the ethnic identity and life satisfaction.

– Significant indirect effects were found in both groups. For the older generation: the indirect effect of national identity on self-esteem and life satisfaction through the integration strategy and the effect of ethnic and national identity on self-esteem through the assimilation strategy. For the younger generation: effects of ethnic, national, and place identity on life satisfaction through a separation strategy. So, the hypotheses of the study were partly confirmed.

## Discussion

This research aims at studying the role of multiple identities and acculturation strategies in the psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars. The results revealed different relationships between the

constructs in two generations. In the discussion section, first we will consider the relationships common to the two generations, next, we will pay attention to the revealed differences.

According to the study, both generations of Crimean Tatars demonstrate a rather low level of national identity. At the same time, in both groups, national identity promotes attitudes towards integration and assimilation, and reduces their attitudes towards separation. We can assume that a weak national identity indicates that the process of identity formation among the Crimean Tatars is still ongoing [Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016]. In the years that have passed since the referendum and, consequently, since the transition of the Crimean peninsula to the Russian Federation, the Crimean Tatars, as well as other ethnic groups of the Crimea, have undergone a serious transformation of national identity - building a new national (Russian) identity with a gradual disidentification with Ukraine as a country of citizenship.

It is difficult to say how long it will take to build a strong and stable national identity for the Crimean Tatars. Obviously, this will largely depend on Russia's national policy in the Crimea, whether it takes into account the specific features of the social, political, and historical context. We can say that the measures that exist at the moment in general take into account the main problem areas of the Crimean Tatar identity. The traumatic experience of the deportation, stored in the collective memory, keeps on provoking negative feelings in new generations, such as anger and resentment towards the heritage country of the USSR - Russia, that is perceived as a direct culprit of these events [Mikitinets, 2016]. The official recognition of the Crimean Tatars as repressed people with the need for rehabilitation partially smooths this problem. The anniversary of the deportation on May 18 has been set in the Crimea as a memorable date - the day of remembrance of the victims of deportation [Law of the Republic of Crimea ... , 2015]. In addition, national policy measures aimed at recognizing and maintaining the identity of the Crimean Tatars (for example, the recognition of the Crimean Tatar language as one of the state languages of the Crimea), create the basis for the gradual strengthening of national (Russian) identity by reducing the fear of possible assimilation for the Crimean Tatars.

The fact that these long awaited measures were not taken under Ukraine contributes to the further turn of the Crimean Tatars towards Russia. However, it must be admitted that some problems still remain unresolved. For example, the ban of the Mejlis, which is a form of socio-political organization of the Crimean Tatars, was introduced in 2016. The Mejlis (representation) was included in the list of public and religious associations whose activities were suspended due to the alleged extremist activities. This is not consistent with the ideas of the Crimean Tatars about their opportunities to exercise their political rights, which makes it difficult to reach understanding and interact with the

As for ethnic identity, the study revealed a high level of ethnic identity in general, and a positive relationship of this identity with separation and a negative one with assimilation. This pattern is observed in representatives of both studied generations. One of the consequences of deportation for the Crimean Tatars is a rather deep fear of extinction as an ethno-cultural group, because this group has already faced a real threat of extinction in the past. The Crimean Tatars managed to survive as a unique ethnic group and maintain a strong ethnic identity, culture, language and traditions for almost 50 years separated from their Crimean homeland [Aydıngün, Yildirim, 2010; Kodja, Lebedeva, 2018].

According to the study, ethnic identity forms the basis for the psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars. Ethnic identity significantly positively correlates with self-esteem in representatives of two generations. Relying on the culture of one's own ethnic group helps to overcome the challenges of the transition period. At the same time, ethnic identity contributes to life satisfaction of the young generation only, while the study found no significant relationships between ethnic identity and life satisfaction for the older generation of Crimean Tatars. Maintaining a strong ethnic identity for the minority group guarantees the integrity preservation for the ethno-cultural group in the future. This is confirmed by the results of this study - assimilation is the least preferred strategy in both groups. In addition, assimilation negatively correlates with self-esteem in the older generation.

According to the results of the study, integration is the most preferred strategy for both generations of Crimean Tatars. During the deportation, Crimean Tatars faced the need to preserve the integrity of a group in an unfamiliar environment (Central Asia). It is the ability to adapt quickly, use the potential of cross-cultural contacts and not to be isolated within their own culture, allowing the Crimean Tatars to successfully cope with this task, overcoming the difficulties of deportation (economic, cultural, etc.) and returning to Crimea. In particular, for economic survival during the deportation period, a good command of the Russian language was necessary for higher education [Kulpin, 2013]. It can be assumed that currently the Crimean Tatars consider the integration strategy as the one that has already proved to be successful in terms of maintaining the vitality of a small ethnic group.

The separation strategy ranks second after integration, but its level is quite high among representatives of both generations. This once again shows that finding support in one's own group and appealing to one's own group identity mitigates the consequences of sudden political, social, and economic changes, and helps to regain a sense of security and stability.
As for the relationship between integration and separation strategies and indicators of psychological

well-being, this study revealed a major difference between generations. Among the older generation of Crimean Tatars, the integration strategy positively predicts both indicators of psychological well-being, namely self-esteem and life satisfaction. In turn, the separation strategy is a significant predictor of life satisfaction among the younger generation and it also significantly correlates with self-esteem.

The main difference between the studied generations is the difference in the conditions of their socialization process. Older Crimean Tatars were born outside of Crimea (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan), passed through the Soviet education system and were raised as Soviet citizens. Young Crimean Tatars were born in Ukraine and spent most of their school years in the Ukrainian school system studying the Ukrainian language, literature and history. Socialization within the framework of fundamental social institutions such as the education system helped the formation of a Soviet identity for the older generation and a Ukrainian identity for the younger generation of Crimean Tatars.

After the collapse of the USSR and gaining national independence, Ukraine set a course to build a national state, which led to the gradual implementation of the policy of "*ukrainization*" in Crimea [Miller, 2010]. This policy, on the one hand, included an understandable desire for the young state to introduce the residents of the Crimea as citizens of Ukraine to the Ukrainian language, culture, and state symbols. On the other hand, it did not take into account the specifics of the context of the Crimea, in particular, the right of ethnic minorities to self-determination. However, this process had different meaning for the ethnic groups living in the Crimea. Russians, as the ethnic majority of the Crimea, were the focus of the ukrainization policy, in contrast to the Crimean Tatars. The inflexibility of Ukraine's national policy towards the Crimea gradually increased the dissatisfaction of Russians in the Crimea and aggravated the existing contradictions, which eventually laid grounds for rapid political transformations in 2014 [Shevtsov, 2017].

At the same time, the Crimean Tatars, unlike the Russian residents of the Crimea, perceived Ukraine as a country that accepted them after deportation, despite the fact that the permission to return to their homeland was given by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The process of repatriation of Crimean Tatars went along with the creation of Ukrainian independent state. Therefore, the policy of ukrainization in the Crimea was perceived by the Crimean Tatars not so dramatically. This helped the Crimean Tatars, especially the younger generation, to form a relatively stable national Ukrainian identity along with Pro-Ukrainian political orientations. Even now, Ukraine continues to rely on the Crimean Tatars regarding the return of the Crimea. For example, the current policy of decommunization in Ukraine, aimed at eliminating Soviet ideological heritage, involves renaming

more than 70 settlements in the Crimea and assigning them indigenous Crimean Tatar names [Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada ... , 2016]. It is assumed that this decree will come into force from the moment the Crimea is returned to the jurisdiction of Ukraine.

The Soviet identity for the older generation of Crimean Tatars stopped being relevant with the collapse of the Soviet Union. But, firstly, it was a large-scale event for all the people of the former USSR at the same time. Secondly, the Soviet identity did not disappear completely, its features remain and unite the older generation of people throughout the post-Soviet space. The formation of the Ukrainian national identity among the older generation took place outside the school system of Ukraine, which makes it initially less thorough and stable, compared to the younger generation. Now, in the context of citizenship change, the older generation of Crimean Tatars demonstrates greater flexibility, which explains the positive relationship between the integration strategy and indicators of psychological well-being.

As for young Crimean Tatars born in Ukraine, for them, the change of citizenship and, consequently, the loss of relevance of the Ukrainian national identity has a slightly different meaning. Ukraine is the only country they knew. Unlike the older generation, young Crimean Tatars tend to feel more lost during the transition period. At the same time, they cannot share the feeling of "loss" of the country with their peers among the Russian residents of the Crimea. Joining Russia had a completely different value for the Russian population of the Crimea, resolving long standing contradictions, freeing them from what was perceived as the forced policy of ukrainization, and restoring the status of the ethnic majority in the country.

If Russians tend to perceive joining Russia, according to Vladimir Putin, as "returning to their native harbor" (https://www.vesti.ru/article/1795632), young Crimean Tatars have no grounds for such a vision at the level of history, identity, and culture. For the older Crimean Tatars, their own return to the Crimea is a much more significant event than the return of the Crimea to Russia. Therefore, the opportunity to share the "loss" with older members of their ethnic group is also not fully available to the young Crimean Tatars. The disagreement of young Crimean Tatars with this change in this case explains the positive relationship between the separation strategy and life satisfaction, and its the correlation with self-esteem. This allows us to draw a certain conclusion about the unfavorable consequences of the Crimea being part of Ukraine for mutual understanding not only between the ethnic groups of Crimea as a whole, but also between different generations within the ethnic group.

The study also found differences between generations regarding the role of place identity. The place

identity of the Crimean Tatars is closely intertwined with ethnic identity. The name of the place is included in the ethnonym "Crimean Tatar", which means that it is impossible to be a Crimean Tatar without the Crimea. Studies suggest that Crimea also has a symbolic meaning for the Crimean Tatars, the Crimea is a "home", a symbol of the connection between the past and the future, that ensures the preservation of the Crimean Tatar people [Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016; Aydıngün, Yildirim, 2010]. However, only the younger generation of Crimean Tatars showed a positive correlation between ethnic identity and place identity. For the younger generation, place identity also correlates positively with life satisfaction. In addition, place identity positively correlates with the separation strategy for young Crimean Tatars. For the older generation, no such significant relationships were found. These results are consistent with the fact that young Crimean Tatars are Crimean by birth. Along with the strong place identity, the reaction of young Crimean Tatars to the transition of the peninsula is mostly negative [Mukomel, Khaykin, 2016] and likely includes the tendency to consider the integration of Crimea into the Russian space as undesirable.

For the representatives of the younger generation of Crimean Tatars, the study shows the positive relationship of ethnic identity not only with separation (as in the older generation), but also with integration. Young Crimean Tatars are searching for their place in the new conditions, they are forced to find the best form of interaction with the citizens of a large country new to them, to reconsider the form of interaction with the ethnic majority of the Crimea, and, according to the current study, to coordinate their views on this interaction with the older generation of their own ethnic group. The revealed positive relationship of ethnic identity with the integration strategy can set this search in the right direction.

The national policy of Ukraine aimed at building a nation state did not match multiculturalism of the Crimea that developed for centuries. For instance, both Russian and Crimean Tatar languages did not enjoy the same status as the Ukrainian which was the only official language, also referred to as state language. Ukraine's national policy did not take into account the specifics of a complex historical and social context, which eventually contributed to the 2014 successful transition of the peninsula to Russia when the majority of Crimea's inhabitants sided with the Russian Federation.

In contrast to the rigidity of the official Ukrainian national discourse aimed at creating the unitary state, the multinational Russian Federation provides a different level of opportunities for self-determination of ethnic groups. Russia's national policy envisions ethnic and cultural diversity as the country's wealth. The definition of Russia as a "federation" initially stipulates a range of necessary conditions for inclusiveness. Among many other criteria, there is recognition of national languages

as state or official languages for national republics. The awareness of ethnic minorities of their value is the key to taking an equal place in the mosaic of the ethnic groups of Russia. The implementation of a national policy in the Crimea that, on the one hand, takes into account the needs and rights of the Crimean Tatars and, on the other hand, raises the level of national identity (the awareness of being a Russian citizen) will greatly contribute to the harmonious integration of the Crimea into the social, political, and cultural space of Russia.

### *Limitations and future research*

In terms of limitations small sample size should be acknowledged due to the obvious difficulties in accessing minority groups. Secondly, obtained results should not be generalized to other ethnic minorities of the Crimea, for example, Ukrainians, that have different contextual features of the identities and acculturation experience. The results of the current study can serve as a basis for further research of the intergenerational differences in the identities, acculturation and psychological well-being among representatives of other ethnic minorities as well as ethnic majority, that can shed light on the context of the interethnic relations in the Crimea.

## Conclusion

Two generations of Crimean Tatars, socialized in different contexts, have both common and specific relationships between multiple identities, acculturation strategies and psychological well-being. Ethnic identity serves as a positive predictor of self-esteem for both generations. The main difference lays in the role of acculturation strategies for psychological well-being: for the older generation integration strategy promotes self-esteem and life satisfaction, while for the younger generation separation strategy is positively related with life satisfaction and positively correlates with self-esteem. The results are discussed taking into account historical, political and social context and help to better understand the integrative potential of the Crimea - the region with complex ethnic structure and dynamic interethnic relations.

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Коджа Е.А.[1] Роль множественных идентичностей и стратегий аккультурации в психологическом благополучии крымских татар: межпоколенный анализ

*Kodja E.A.[1] The role of multiple identities and acculturation strategies in the psychological well-being of Crimean Tatars: Intergenerational analysis*

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Недавние геополитические преобразования в Крыму были непростыми для всех жителей полуострова – как для этнического большинства, так и для этнических меньшинств. Целью настоящего исследования является изучение роли множественных идентичностей и стратегий аккультурации в психологическом благополучии двух поколений крымских татар. Молодое поколение крымских татар (до 35 лет) социализировалось по большей части в украинском контексте, в то время как крымские татары старшего поколения (старше 35 лет) провели часть своей жизни за пределами Крыма во время депортации. Всего в выборку вошли 269 крымских татар (75% женщин) в возрасте от 17 до 66 лет. В исследовании используются шкалы для идентичностей, стратегий аккультурации, шкала удовлетворенности жизнью Динера, шкала самооценки Розенберга. Согласно результатам, этническая идентичность положительно взаимосвязана с самооценкой представителей двух поколений, а также положительно взаимосвязана с удовлетворенностью жизнью молодых крымских татар. У представителей молодого поколения этническая идентичность положительно взаимосвязана с предпочтением стратегии интеграции, идентичность с местом положительно взаимосвязана с предпочтением стратегии сепарации. Предпочтение стратегии интеграции значимо положительно взаимосвязано с самооценкой и удовлетворенностью жизнью у старшего поколения, при этом предпочтение стратегии сепарации способствует удовлетворенности жизнью представителей молодого поколения крымских татар. Полученные результаты обсуждаются с учетом исторического, политического и социального контекста Крыма.

**Ключевые слова:** множественные идентичности, стратегии аккультурации, психологическое благополучие, этнические меньшинства

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