

RAKSTI

SOCIOLOĢIJA

Felicianā Rājevska, Katrīne Kūkoja

THE DYNAMICS OF VALUES IN LATVIAN SOCIETY

DOI: [https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2\(1\)](https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2(1))

For citation: Rājevska F., Kūkoja K. (2021) The dynamics of values in Latvian society. *Sociālo Zinātņu Vēstnesis / Social Sciences Bulletin*, 33(2): 7–29. [https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2\(1\)](https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2(1))

Citēšanai: Rājevska F., Kūkoja K. (2021) Vērtību dinamika Latvijas sabiedrībā. *Sociālo Zinātņu Vēstnesis*, 33(2): 7–29. [https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2\(1\)](https://doi.org/10.9770/szv.2021.2(1))

In this article, the analysis of dynamics of values in Latvia is carried out based on Sh. Schwartz value theory using data from the European Social Survey from the years 2008 and 2018. This period is full of events and changes: a dramatic financial and economic crisis, mass emigration that has changed the demographic structure and behaviour of the population, reforms in the education system, digitalization, and the rapid development of social networks. The aim of the study is to track the dynamics of values in Latvia to identify differences in value perception among different groups of society based on their gender, age and ethnicity, as well as to identify factors that hinder development and to indicate ways to strengthen growth and achievement values in the society of Latvia. In the framework of the study, the Latvian situation was compared with the overall situation in the European Union, as well as in Estonia and Finland. The results of the research show that changes in the value process take place gradually, maintaining a relatively high level of anomie in Latvian society, especially among the youngest generation. The value of security consistently maintains the highest priority in Latvian society, the importance of universalism and benevolence is growing, the perception of values between the genders is getting closer, social focus values have strengthened their positions, while personal focus values have weakened. As a result of the deep trauma left by the crisis, values such as achievement, power, and stimulation have decreased in importance significantly. Small differences in the level of identification with self-protection and growth values show that none of these values have yet strengthened their position in Latvian society. Changes in the perception of values in Latvia have taken place to a much greater extent compared with the situation in Estonia, Finland, and the EU average. The process of faster value transformation has affected the youngest generation the most. Youth policy should foster values that promote personal and team success, achievements, competitiveness in professional excellence and sports, as well as openness to change.

Key words: European Social Survey, Sh. Schwartz value theory, generation theory, growth values, openness to change, motivational values, value education.

Vērtību dinamika Latvijas sabiedrībā

Šajā rakstā vērtību dinamikas Latvijā analīze ir veikta balstoties uz Š. Švarca vērtību teoriju, izmantojot Eiropas Sociālā pētījuma datus par 2008. un 2018. gadu. Šis laika posms ir notikumiem un pārmaiņām bagāts: dramatiskā finanšu un ekonomikas krīze, masveida iedzīvotāju emigrācija, kas mainīja iedzīvotāju demogrāfisku struktūru un uzvedības modeļus, iesāktas reformas izglītības sistēmā, digitalizācijas un sociālo tīklu strauja attīstība. Pētījuma mērķis ir izsekot vērtību dinamikai Latvijā, lai konstatētu vērtību atšķirības dzimuma, vecuma grupu un etniskās piederības skatījumā, kā arī apzināt faktoros, kas kavē attīstību un norādīt veidus kā stiprināt izaugsmes un sasniegumu vērtības. Pētījuma ietvaros Latvijas situācija tika salīdzināta ar Eiropas Savienības vidējiem rādītājiem, Igauniju un Somiju. Pētījuma rezultāti parāda, ka vērtību procesa maiņa notiek pakāpeniski, saglabājoties visai augstam anomijas līmenim Latvijas sabiedrībā. Drošības vērtība konsekvēnti saglabā augstāko prioritāti, pieaug universālisma un labvēlības vērtību nozīme, tuvinās vērtību uztvere dzimumu starpā, nostiprinās sociāli fokusētās un vājinās uz personu fokusētas vērtības. Krīzes atstātas dziļas traumas rezultātā ievērojami kritās tādu vērtību kā panākums, vara, stimulācija nozīme sabiedrībā. Mazas atšķirības identifikācijas līmenī attiecībā uz vērtībām, kas saistītas ar paš aizsardzību un izaugsmi liecina, ka neviena no šīm vērtībām vēl nav nostiprinājusi savas pozīcijas Latvijas sabiedrībā. Vērtību uztveres izmaiņas Latvijā ir notikušas daudz lielākā mērā salīdzinot situāciju ar Igaunijas, Somijas un ES vidējo rādītāju. Visvairāk vērtību transformāciju process skar tieši jauno paaudzi. Jaunatnes politikai aktīvāk ir jāsekmē vērtības, kas veicina personisko un komandu panākumus, sasniegumus, konkurētspēju profesionālajā jomā un sportā, kā arī atvērtību pārmaiņām.

Atslēgas vārdi: Eiropas Sociālais pētījums, Š. Švarca vērtību teorija, paaudžu teorija, izaugsmes vērtības, atvērtība pārmaiņām, motivācijas vērtības, vērtību izglītība.

Динамика ценностей в латвийском обществе

Статья предлагает анализ динамики ценностей населения Латвии, сделанный на базе теории Ш. Шварца с использованием данных Европейского социального исследования за 2008 и 2018 годы. Это десятилетие насыщено событиями и переменами: глубокий финансовый и экономический кризис (2008–2011 годы), массовая эмиграция, изменившая демографическую структуру и модели поведения, начало реформ в системе образования, бурное развитие дигитализации и социальных сетей. Цель исследования – проследить динамику ценностей в латвийском обществе, чтобы выявить различия в ценностях с точки зрения пола, возрастных групп и этнической принадлежности, а также выявить факторы, препятствующие развитию, и указать пути укрепления ценностей роста и достижения. В рамках исследования ситуация в Латвии сравнивалась со средними показателями Европейского Союза, Эстонии и Финляндии. Результаты исследования показывают, что процесс изменения ценностей происходит постепенно на фоне относительно высокого уровня аномии в латвийском обществе. Безопасность сохраняет высший приоритет в системе ценностей, растёт значение ценностей универсализма и благожелательности, сближается восприятие ценностей между полами, укрепляются позиции социально-сфокусированных и ослабляются позиции лично-сфокусированных ценностей. Вследствие глубокой травмы, оставленной кризисом, существенно уменьшается значимость таких ценностей, как достижение, власть, стимуляция (риск-инновации) – одновременно с ростом значимости такой ценности, как открытость переменам. Малая разница в уровне идентификации относительно ценностей, связанных с сохранением, – с одной стороны, и ростом, открытостью переменам – с другой стороны, показывает, что ни одна из этих ценностей ещё не укрепила свои позиции в латвийском обществе. Изменения в восприятии ценностей произошли в Латвии в гораздо большей степени, чем в Эстонии и в среднем по

ЕС. Процесс ценностной трансформации относится прежде всего к молодому поколению. Молодёжной политике следует содействовать развитию ценностей индивидуального успеха и успешной работы в команде, достижений, соревновательности в профессиональном мастерстве и спорте и открытости переменам.

Ключевые слова: Европейское социальное исследование, теория ценностей Ш. Шварца, теория поколений, ценности роста, открытость переменам, мотивационные ценности, ценностное образование.

Introduction

When society is going through a radical transformation process at both the global and country level, like it is in the case of Latvia, it is difficult to avoid a situation when different and conflicting ideas, memories and norms exist in society and a more cautious attitude towards life is adapted by citizens, thereby hindering the development processes of the society towards the values that encourage self-expansiveness and openness to change. Decade between 2008 and 2018 was rather rich on dramatic changes that have influenced value perception. Many aspects of Latvian public policy, reforms, and the painful process of society's transformation were carefully analyzed by scientists, including within the framework of state research programs (Rozenvalds, Zobena 2014; Rajevska 2018; Rajevska F., Rajevska O. 2020).

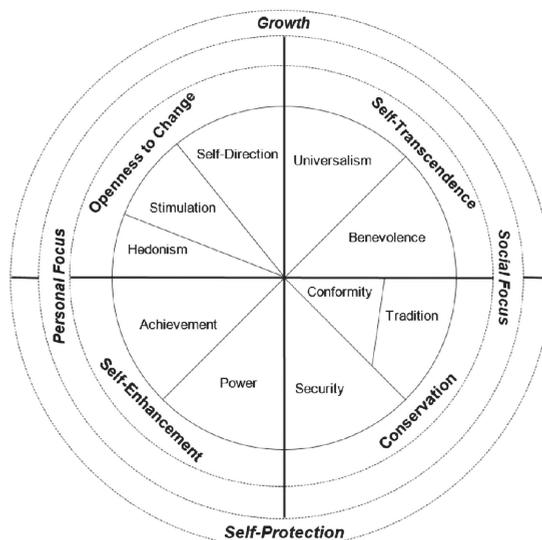
To foster social stability and promote a country's welfare, it is essential for the country to develop and transform through the common values that it promotes. Values are one of the key concepts in the social sciences and they help to analyse social and personal organization and change (Schwartz 2012). The influence of values has been confirmed in many studies, both in terms of everyday behaviour and important life decisions (Schwartz 2012; Austers u.c. 2012; Bardi et al. 2009; Zobena 2018). Although, this is just one of the functions of values. No less important is the influence of values on an individual's verbal activities and through them on other people's verbal and practical activities (Schwartz 2006).

Russian researcher A. Ryndina (*А. Рындина*) (2021) examines the philosophical origin of the value theory (E. Durkheim, T. Parson, M. Weber, J. Mill) and its gradual shift to the empirical and instrumental approach (M. Rokich, Sh. Schwartz, R. Inglehart). This article is based on the Sh. Schwartz value model in its classic version (Figure 1). This theoretical framework has gained considerable support in several studies in different cultures (Schwartz 2006), and Latvian researchers have used this model in their studies as well (Austers u.c. 2012; Rungule, Senkane 2018; Zobena 2018; Rajevska, Kukoja 2021).

The aim of the study is to track dynamics of values in Latvia during decade in order to identify differences in value perception among different groups of society based on their gender, age and ethnicity, as well as to identify factors that hinder development and to indicate ways to strengthen growth and achievement values in the society.

Figure 1

The Sh. Schwartz value circle depicting the relations between 10 values and several value groupings



Source: Schwartz 2006.

In this article the European Social Survey (ESS) data of years 2008 and 2018 have been used, since only data on these two rounds of Latvia were available for analysis. The ESS is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since 2001. It's method for measuring values is a modification of the Portrait Values Questionnaire that is based on Sh. Schwartz's value theory. The ESS scale includes brief verbal portraits of 21 different people. Each portrait points implicitly to the importance of a single value and respondents must answer the question: "How much like you is this person?" Since respondents differ in their use of the similarity response scale, the authors corrected individual differences by centering each person's responses on his or her own mean perception of all values (ESS (European Social Survey) 2021).

To get a wider perspective, Latvian data were compared with the ESS data of Estonia, Finland and the European Union (hereafter – the EU average). In the case of the EU, 22 country data were available from the survey held in 2008 and 24 country data from the survey held in 2018. Round 4 (2008) and 9 (2018) data of the ESS were analysed using SPSS software.

In the framework of this study, the level of identification with the basic values defined by Sh. Schwartz was analysed from the gender, age group and ethnicity perspective. As the ESS questionnaire does not include variables indicating respondents' ethnicity, to identify ethnical value preferences the authors looked at the question about the respondent's most frequently used language in daily life.

In total, as a result of data selection, 1930 answers of Round 4 (2008) and 861 answers of Round 9 (2018) were used in this study.

Within this article, 10 basic motivational values are analysed within two orthogonal dimensions (openness to change vs conservation and self-transcendence vs self-enhancement), social focus vs personal focus, as well as growth vs self-protection views. The authors of the article devote special attention to the growth value trends in Latvia, because previous research has shown that persons who identify themselves with growth values, can promote the production of national wealth, that it is essential for the knowledge society and stimulates motivation for entrepreneurship (Magun et al. 2017).

Sh. Schwartz value theory

In Sh. Schwartz theory, values are defined as desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives. Table 1 offers a description of Sh. Schwartz's defined motivational values. In general, human value priorities have been found to be relatively stable, since previously conducted research shows little change in adulthood (Lee et al. 2021). However, over time values may change in society and the three main systemic reasons for that are: historical events that affect certain age groups (war, depression, crisis), physical aging (loss of strength or memory), and life stage (parenting) (Bardi et al. 2009).

Table 1

10 basic values within Sh. Schwartz theory and the characteristics that describe them

Value	Value characteristics
Self-direction	Freedom, independent, creativity, curious, choosing own goals
Stimulation	Daring, a varied life, an exciting life
Hedonism	Pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent
Power	Wealth, social power, authority, preserving my public image, social recognition
Achievement	Intelligent, capable, successful, ambition, influential
Universalism	Equality, protecting the environment, social justice, broadminded, tolerance
Benevolence	Loyal, honest, helpful, true friendship, responsible
Conformity	Self-discipline, politeness, obedient, honouring of elders
Tradition	Humble, respect for tradition, devout, detachment, moderate
Security	Healthy, sense of belonging, family security, social order, national security

Source: Schwartz 2006.

The source of the Sh. Schwartz defined value structure is the fact that actions in pursuit of any value have consequences that conflict with some values and are congruent with others. The closer any two values are around the circle, the more similar are their underlying motivations. Two orthogonal dimensions summarize this structure. Self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence: in this dimension, power and achievement values oppose universalism and benevolence values. These values emphasize self-interest vs

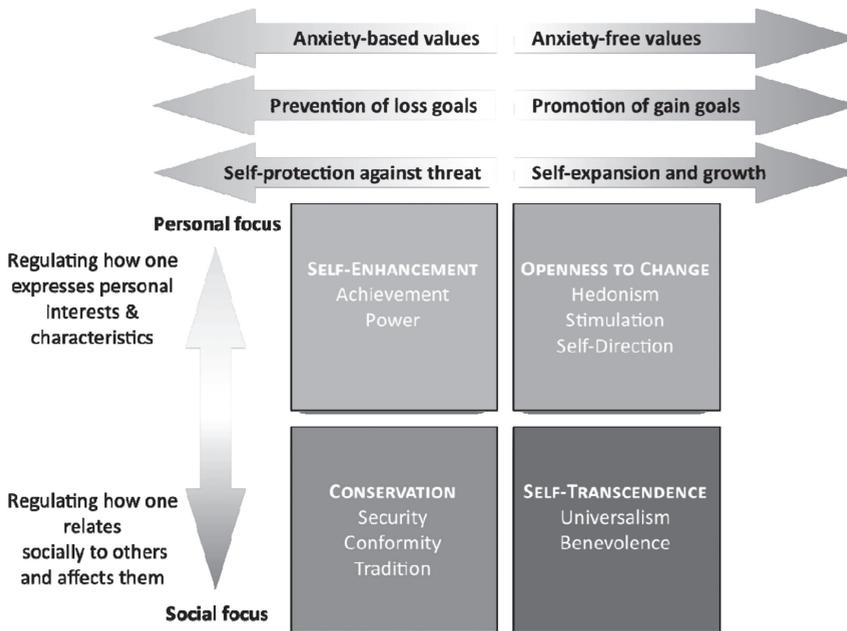
the welfare and interests of others. Similarly, on the openness to change vs. conservation dimension, self-direction and stimulation values oppose security, conformity, and traditional values – independent action, thought and readiness for new experience vs self-restriction, order and resistance to change. Hedonism shares elements of both openness and self-enhancement (Schwartz 2006).

The second way values can be structured and analysed is by the interests that value serves. Power, achievements, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction regulates how a person expresses personal interests and qualities, while benevolence, universality, tradition, conformism, and security regulate how a person is connected socially with others and influences their interests (Schwarz 2012).

Relations of values to anxiety is a third organizing principle. Pursuit of values of power, security, conformity, and tradition serves to cope with anxiety due to uncertainty in the social and physical world. These are self-protective values. While values of hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, and benevolence express anxiety free motivations – these are growth values (Figure 2). Although achievement values do both (Schwartz 2012), authors stress the importance of these values among the youth. Basing this on the fact that values that are considered to incompatible with each other (achievement and benevolence) can prove to be compatible if they are divided between different statuses in the social structure, and thus will not lead to conflicting demands on the person (Ryndina 2021).

Figure 2

Dynamic underpinnings of the universal value structure



Source: Schwartz 2012.

Growth values are the values that can increase a state's welfare, since these values intrinsically promote creativity and cooperation. People who identify themselves more with the growth values combine an adherence to the ideals of equality, justice, and the welfare of others with an adherence to personal freedom and independence. This type of person strongly adheres to a belief in caring for others but does not expect others to give them guidance on how to live and act, or reciprocal protection and care: they are committed to independence and are not afraid to take risks (Magun et al. 2017).

Previous research shows, that people who identify themselves more with growth values tend to reside in more economically advanced countries, for example in Northern and Western European countries rather than in the Mediterranean and Post-Socialist countries. Partly this can be explained by A. Maslow's logic, according to which higher-level needs and values intensify once lower-level needs have been met (Magun et al. 2017).

Although a country's domestic product and wealth impact the identification of society with growth values the most, government spending on education also positively correlates with the probability that a country's people will associate themselves more with growth values (Magun et al. 2017). That is why education plays a very important role in straightening growth values in society.

Previous findings of intercultural research show that there is a surprisingly high level of consensus on the importance of the ten values between different countries. In the majority of the studied countries, the value hierarchy is the following: (1) benevolence, (2) universalism, (3) self-direction, (4) security, (5) conformity, (6) hedonism, (7) achievements, (8) traditions, (9) stimulation, (10) power (Schwartz 2006, 2012).

While analysing value tendencies, it is also important to look at the value consensus level. Value consensus is at the heart of the social order: it promotes social stability, increases cooperation and reduces the likelihood that violence will be used to resolve conflict. Commitment to common values encourages members of society to identify more with each other by adopting common goals and agreeing on rules that set out how those goals are to be achieved (Sagie, Schwartz 2000). Several studies have found that differences in values within countries tend to be significantly greater than differences between countries (Schwartz 2014). Values themselves may play a smaller role than the hierarchy or structure of values between members of a given society. In recent years Sh. Schwartz has turned his research focus to value consensus and the latest results show that the consensus of value hierarchy is the highest in Finland, while in Latvia it is one of the lowest. He came to this conclusion by analyzing all of the data from the ESS Rounds 1, 2, 7, 8 (Schwartz 2021).

Dynamics of values in Latvian society in the period from 2008 to 2018

The restoration of the independence of Latvia caused radical changes in values and created a certain moral vacuum in Latvian society. Around the turn of the millennium and with Latvia's accession to the EU, the issue of moral values on the basis of which the state should act became topical again (Gonzalez 2019).

The data analysed in the framework of the research project “Value Orientations and Reproduction of Society” show that in Latvia there is an anomie in the perception of society’s values, especially among young people. Intra Mieraņa, a leading researcher at the University of Latvia, points out that Latvian society is facing a certain crisis of values, when people are not sure what they are trying to achieve in the long run, they lack clear guidelines for life, and they feel culturally alienated from family and society (Zobena 2018). Our analysis has shown the same tendencies.

Looking at the ESS data about Latvia, we can see that in the period from 2008 to 2018, the following values have significantly lost their importance in society: power (-0.71, 10th place in 2018) and achievements (-0.53, 8th place in 2018). Although the decline of these values and their low place in the value hierarchy appear in other countries as well (Estonia and the EU average in 2018: achievements – 8th place, power – 10th place; Finland in 2018: achievements – 9th place, power – 10th place), the decline of these values has not been as sharp as in Latvia. In the EU average the values of power and achievement were already significantly less important in 2008 and in 10 years the differences between the EU average and Latvia in the perception of these values have become insignificant.

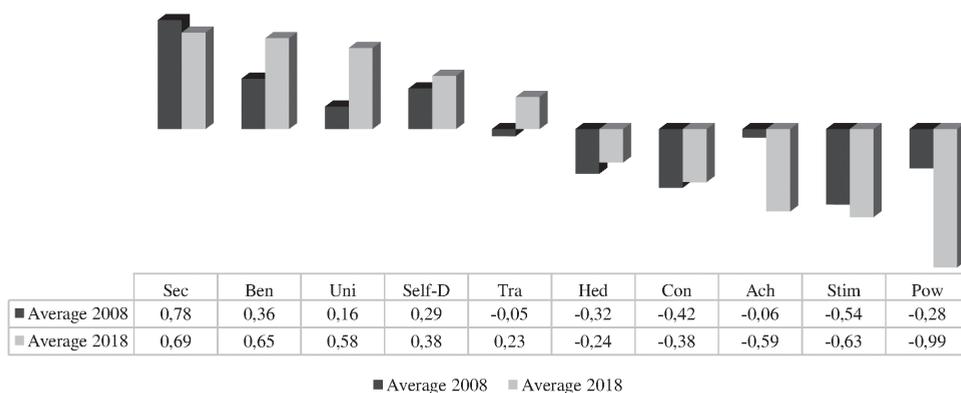
In the period from 2008 to 2018 the following values have significantly increased in importance among Latvian society: (1) universalism (+0.42), (2) benevolence (+0.29) and traditions (+0.28). It should be mentioned that neither in the EU average nor in Estonia was there such a sharp increase in identification with universalism. However, in the EU already in 2008, it was significantly higher than in Latvia – by 0.46, and in 2018 the difference has decreased to 0.08.

The strong posttraumatic effect of the financial and economic crisis in 2009–2011 and the following high outmigration has had a long-lasting impact on the value system in Latvia. People in Latvia were weakly (or even completely) uneducated in the issues of taking and returning loans, and the rapid growth rates of the economy and wages created unfounded and high expectations for the future. The landing was very rapid, dramatic and painful for many people, their families and relatives. Many lost their jobs, property was taken by banks because people could not repay the loans. Thousands saw a way out by migrating to EU countries and Norway in search of work. Gradually, they were followed by other family members, including children. Their remittances were an important support and source of livelihood for the family and relatives who remained in Latvia in conditions of high unemployment. This is one of the explanations for the significant growth in self-transcendence values, especially support for close persons – family and friends, during the crisis. Local and state authorities were rather open and sensitive to the needs of persons in trouble: Active Labour Market Measures for the long-term unemployed (“100 LVL program”), temporary state co-payment for housing benefits and GMI, a ceiling for high sickness and unemployment benefits demonstrated the good will of the ruling elite in a time of crisis.

In 2008 Latvians identified themselves the most with the following values: (1) security, (2) benevolence, (3) self-direction and (4) universalism, while in 2018 the hierarchy of the dominant values in society changed to: (1) security, (2) benevolence, (3) universalism, (4) self-direction and (5) traditions (Figure 3). Compared to other countries and previous research results (Schwartz 2012) security values have a rather stable first

place in the Latvian value hierarchy during the 10-year period. This may be due to persistent uncertainties about the situation in the world economy, as well as social insecurity and relatively high levels of inequality in Latvia. If in 2007 21.2% (Estonia – 19.4%) of the Latvian population was at a risk of poverty, then in 2018 already 23.3% (Estonia – 21.9%) were (Eurostat 2021). As we can see the percentage of persons at risk of poverty is significantly high in Latvia and rather stable.

Figure 3
Identification level with Sh. Schwartz’s defined motivational values, scores, Latvia, 2008 and 2018



Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2008, 2018 using SPSS software.

In 2018, the values of self-transcendence rather than self-enhancement and conservation value rather than openness to change dominated in Latvia. Self-transcendence values have strengthened their positions since 2008, while the identification level with conservation values have remained almost the same (+0.37 – self-transcendence, +0.08 – conservation). There is a far smaller difference in the identification level regarding the values related to conservation and to openness to change, showing that conservation values have a moderately stable position in Latvian society. In Sh. Schwartz view, the dominance of conservation values is a feature of post-communist society, as in the past, authoritarian political regimes reduced the manifestations of individuality, which is promoted through an openness to change values (Rungule, Senkane 2018). However, just like in Latvia, the EU average data shows that, the values of self-transcendence and conservation dominate.

Rapid growth of self-transcendence values has led to the increased identification level with social focus values. In the researched period, social focus values have become even more important in Latvian society (+0.21), while personal focus values naturally have become less important (-0.23), based on conflicts and congruities among the value groups.

In the period from 2008 to 2018 there has been an increase in the identification level with growth values in Latvia. If in 2008 Latvian society identified themselves a

little more with self-protection values (0.007), then in 2018 growth values (0.15) took over. However, the Latvian identification level with growth values is lower than in Estonia and the EU average and considerably lower than in Finland, where growth values have quite strong positions (in 2008: 0.25; in 2018: 0.39).

Growth values have not strengthened stable positions in Latvian society, mainly due to the fact that openness to change values in still are rather uncommon (except the self-direction value which represents freedom). Many of those who emphasized openness to change values – those who were used to relying on themselves, have left Latvia. In the early beginning of the XXI century, the share of such persons was rather high in Rīga and Latgale (Simane 2003).

If we take a deeper look at specific values, we can see that growth values have become more important in Latvia at the expense of universalism and benevolence values, especially in such positions as to care for nature and the environment, to understand different people, as well as to help people and care for another's well-being. These are the values that have experienced the largest identification increase in Latvian society, while values such as self-direction and hedonism have barely changed, and the value of stimulation has even experienced a little identification level reduction.

Table 2

**Identification with growth values, scores, Latvia, Estonia, Finland
and the EU average, 2008 and 2018**

Territories	Identification with growth values		
	2008	2018	Difference
Finland	0.25	0.39	+0.14
EU average	0.16	0.17	+0.01
Estonia	0.13	0.17	+0.04
Latvia	-0.01	0.15	+0.16

Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2008, 2018 using SPSS software.

If we look at tendencies in identification with specific growth value portraits included in the ESS questionnaire, we can see that all portraits have experienced an increase in the identification level except stimulation portraits. Both of the stimulation portraits have a negative identification mean-level, showing that these values are rated below average 10 value importance level. The same is correct in the case of hedonism values.

The situation with self-direction is bilateral. While respondents in Latvia highly identifies themselves with the importance to make their own decisions and be free, they evaluate thinking new ideas and being creative at below an average value importance level. Although identification with this portrait has grown a little since 2008 (+0.06), it is still negative (-0.04).

Gender perspective

Gender is a powerful predictor of human development throughout life, because men and women differ significantly in their experiences in life and interpretations of these experiences, as well as in terms of work and family roles, etc. (Vecchione et al. 2016). Empirical studies from many countries reveal a tendency for women to place more importance on benevolence, universalism, and security values than men, while men place more importance on values of power, achievement, stimulation, hedonism, and self-direction (Schwartz, Rubel 2005). Such trends are also confirmed by Latvian data. Values of tradition, universalism, conformity, and security positively correlate with the female gender, while achievement, hedonism, power and stimulation with the male gender, also self-direction, but in this case the correlation is surprisingly weak (-0.04), due to the fact that, while in the case of women, identification with this value has increased (+0.13), in the case of male respondents their importance level has remained stable (+0.01).

The data shows that the gender gap between male and female respondents regarding value perception tends to decrease, except tradition (Pearson correlation coefficient in 2008 was 0.13, in 2018 – 0.18), and correlation coefficient between respondents' gender and 10 basic values are rather weak. The value hierarchy of the most important values among male and female respondents were the same in 2018. This trend partly reflects the growing role and status of women in our society, as well as a greater degree of gender equality in Latvian society.

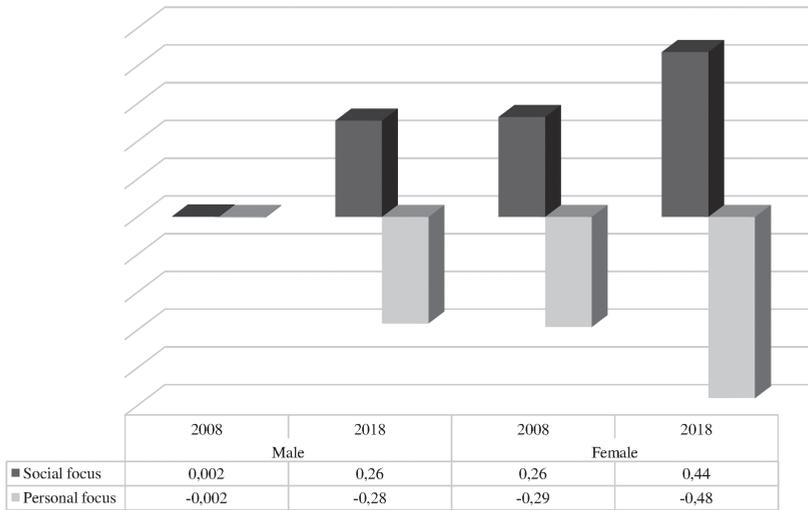
Data of ESS 2008 and 2018 show, that men and women identified themselves more with self-transcendence and conservation values. However, women tend to identify themselves a little more with self-transcendence and conservation values, while men with self-enhancement and openness to change values in Latvia. It is important to mention that identification with self-enhancement values for both genders has decreased significantly over 10 years, but especially in the case of male respondents.

Figure 4 demonstrates that the identification level with social values has increased for females and especially for males, however social focus values still have more stable positions among female respondents than in the case of male respondents.

When we look at growth and the self-protection value dimension, we can see that men in Latvian society tend to identify themselves a little more with growth values than women do, and already in 2008, the majority of male respondents in the ESS outlined that they associate themselves with growth values (Figure 5).

Figure 4

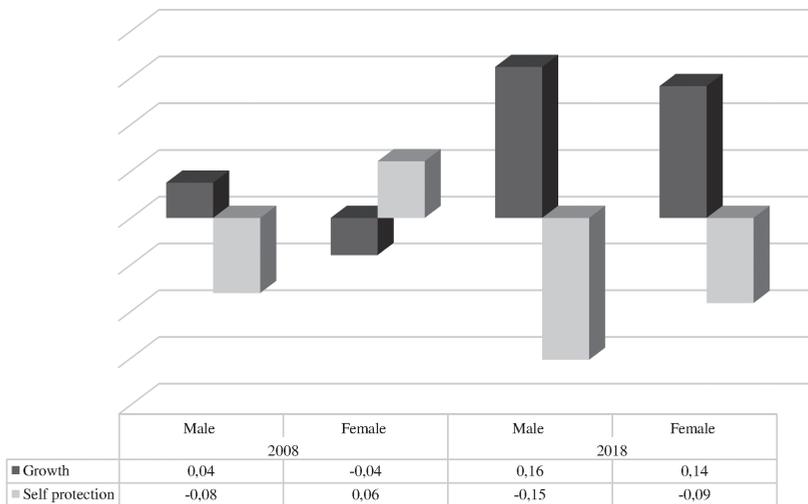
Identification with social and personal focus values among male and female respondents, scores, Latvia, 2008 and 2018



Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2008, 2018 using SPSS software.

Figure 5

Identification with growth and self-protection values, scores, Latvia, 2008 and 2018



Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2008, 2018 using SPSS software.

Age group perspective

When analysing data from the age perspective, we first have to give a short look at generation theory. A generation is a group of people who are born at a certain time and have felt the same events, the specifics of upbringing, the influence of the world around them and have similar values. The values of the generations develop until the child began to critically evaluate the life around them (Shamis, Nikonov 2019).

The theory of generations was posed by K. Mannheim in 1928 and translated into English in 1952 as “The Problem of Generations”. According to him, people are significantly influenced by the socio-historical environment of their youth. However, whether a generation succeeds in developing a distinctive consciousness is significantly dependent on the pace of social change (Shamis, Nikonov 2019).

The American scientists N. Howe and W. Strauss describe a theorized recurring generational cycle in American history and global history. According to their theory, each generational persona unleashes a new era lasting around 20–25 years, in which a new social, political, and economic climate exists. According to them, members of five generations comprise the vast majority of the current USA population (with birth dates listed): The Greatest Generation, also known as the World War II generation (1901–1924), the Silent generation (1925–1942), the Baby Boomer generation (1943–1960), Generation X (1961–1981), and the Millennial generation (1982–2002). The theory has been tested in the USA, Asian countries, Europe and Latin America (Shamis, Nikonov 2019).

In 2002, the researcher E. Shamis (*Е. Шамис*) began systematic work on Russian and the Commonwealth of Independent States’ generations. Currently, E. Shamis and E. Nikonov (*Е. Никонов*) are the leaders of the RuGenerations project. They characterized the main values of the Millennium or Generation Y as optimism, positivism, colour, a global world, success, opportunities, challenges. This generation is emerging and growing in a world of global challenges. They are connected with the whole world, like to travel, can easily change their place of life, work and study, goods and services from all over the world are easily accessible to them. E. Shamis and E. Nikonov emphasize that life-work balance is a scenario for this generation that wants to gain as much control over their lives as possible. The world is changing very fast, constantly creating many new attractive development vectors, thus it is difficult to deal with such diversity. The future is uncertain and incomprehensible to them. Therefore, in recent years, the Millennium has been discussing the concept and the possibility of living without goals but being happy (Shamis, Nikonov 2019). This is the generation that in the ESS 2018 represents Latvian youth (17–34 years).

If we look at previously conducted research on identification with values from an age perspective, studies show that age is positively correlated with the values of conservation and self-transcendence and negatively with the values of openness to change and self-enhancement. Younger people tend to give more priority to the values of hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, and possibly universalism, but less to the values of security, tradition, and conformity (Vecchione et al. 2016; Schwartz, Rubel 2005; Schwartz 2006).

Table 3

**Correlation between 10 basic values and a respondents' age,
Pearson correlation coefficients, Latvia, 2008 and 2018**

	2008		2018	
	Pearson Correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)	Pearson Correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Tradition	0.46	0.000	0.35	0.000
Security	0.37	0.000	0.26	0.000
Conformity	0.34	0.000	0.20	0.000
Universalism	0.34	0.000	0.19	0.000
Benevolence	0.24	0.000	0.14	0.000
Self-direction	-0.21	0.000	-0.10	0.003
Power	-0.23	0.000	-0.12	0.001
Hedonism	-0.44	0.000	-0.17	0.000
Achievement	-0.32	0.000	-0.28	0.000
Stimulation	-0.49	0.000	-0.36	0.000

Note: all correlations are significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed).

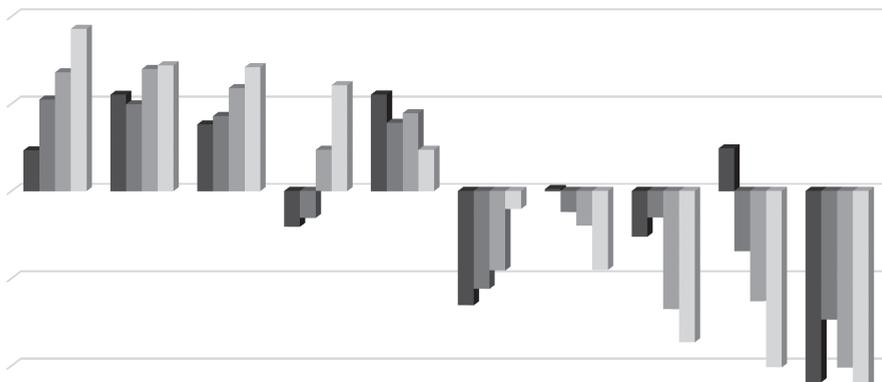
Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2008, 2018 using SPSS software.

Also, the ESS data of Latvia show that value perception between age groups differs. If respondents until the age of 24 identified themselves more with: (1) self-direction, (2) benevolence, (3) universalism, (4) stimulation, (5) security and (6) hedonism, then age group 65+ respondents identify themselves more with: (1) security, (2) benevolence, (3) universalism, (4) tradition and (5) self-direction in 2018. However, the generation gap regarding value perception has decreased within all 10 values over the last years (Table 3). Generation gap between the youngest and oldest age group has decreased mainly due to significant increase in identification with universalism (+0.56) and benevolence (+0.45) values and decrease in identification with power (-1.08), hedonism (-0.41) and achievement (-0.58) values among the youth, as well as increase in identification with values of hedonism (+0.48) and self-direction (+0.17) within the oldest age group.

If we look at the tendencies, by comparing ESS 2018 data with the data of 2008, we can see that the biggest changes regarding value perception can be observed in the age group ≤ 24 . If in 2008 the most important values in the age group ≤ 24 were: (1) self-direction, (2) hedonism, (3) stimulation, (4) achievement and (5) security, then in 2018 they were: (1) self-direction, (2) benevolence, (3) universalism, (4) stimulation and (5) security. Values of self-direction and security have stayed in the same positions, while values of hedonism and achievement were replaced by benevolence and universalism. Young people in Latvia have become significantly more tolerant, equality-oriented and focused on the well-being of nature and other people, including people close to them.

Figure 6

Identification with Sh. Schwartz's defined values in different age groups, scores, Latvia, 2018



	Sec	Ben	Uni	Tra	Self-D	Con	Hed	Ach	Sti	Pow
■ ≤24	0,23	0,55	0,38	-0,20	0,55	-0,65	0,01	-0,26	0,24	-1,10
■ 25-44	0,52	0,50	0,43	-0,15	0,39	-0,56	-0,12	-0,15	-0,35	-0,74
■ 45-64	0,68	0,70	0,59	0,24	0,45	-0,45	-0,20	-0,68	-0,63	-1,01
■ 65+	0,93	0,72	0,71	0,61	0,24	-0,10	-0,45	-0,87	-1,01	-1,12

Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2018 using SPSS software.

Until the age of 34, the values of openness to change (both in 2008 and 2018) have dominated over the values of conservation in Latvian society. However, it should be noted that during these ten years, the level of identification with openness to change has decreased, while the level of identification with conservation values has increased.

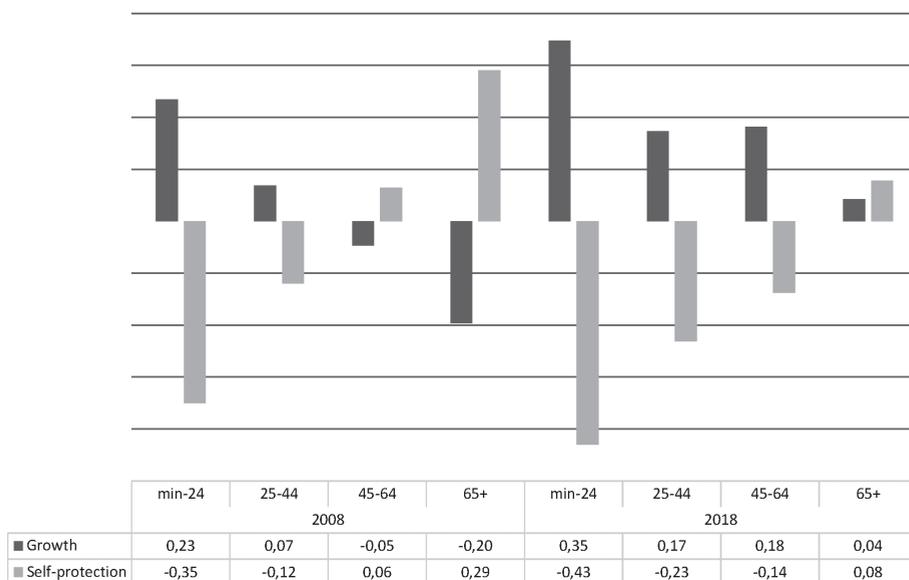
Within the second dimension, significant changes have taken place in the case of the youngest age groups. If in 2008 the respondents under the age of 34 identified themselves more with the values of self-enhancement, then in 2018 all the analysed age groups set self-transcendence values as a priority. Self-enhancement values have experienced a significant drop in the level of identification over the last 10 years, while the values of self-transcendence have significantly increased. It has happened due to the rapid increase in benevolence and universalism values, as mentioned before. This situation can be explained through generation theory, since during ESS 2018, generation Y represents youth. The ideas of globalization, bringing people together to tackle common challenges – the fight against terrorism, the fight against climate change and for the protection of the environment were popular in the childhood of Generation Y (Shamis, Nikonov 2019). Already in 2010, answering a question about their sense of territorial belonging to Europe, more than one third (34.5%) of representatives of the age group 18–24 gave a positive answer (average – 20.6%) (ASPRI 2012). Another research on the public opinion of Russians in Latvia done in 2020 approved a strong pro-European orientation of the young generations (76%) (Kugel, Lysenkov 2021).

In 10 years, young people in Latvia have become more focused on caring for the well-being and interests of others rather than pursuing their own interests, but at the same time they are still more focused on independent action, thinking and readiness for new experiences than obedience, self-restraint and resistance to change. The EU average data also indicates openness to change and a self-transcendence value domination among young people. Young people in Latvia have become more socially oriented. ESS 2008 data analyses show that until the age of 34, respondents associated themselves more with personal rather than social focus values, however in 2018 all age groups already outlined social focus values as more important.

In 2008 younger people in Latvia tended to identify themselves with growth values while older people associated themselves more with self-protection values. However, in 2018 all age groups already identified themselves with growth values, see Figure 7. This has happened mainly due to the significant increase in the identification level with self-transcendence values within all age groups, especially youth. However, only in the youngest age group (min-24) growth values have a rather stable position in 2018.

Figure 7

Identification with growth and self-protection values in different age groups, scores, Latvia, 2008 and 2018



Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2018 using SPSS software.

Comparing the changes in the value hierarchy of the youngest age groups in other countries we conclude that the changes in these countries were smaller than in Latvia, showing the traces of the value crisis among Latvian youth. Besides that, the hierarchy of youth values in Latvia differs more from the overall country hierarchy than any

other analysed group. A low level of consensus on the most important values indicates the alienation of young people from the existing value hierarchy in the country and the low level of consensus about the most important values among age groups – anomie (Beilmann, Lilleoja 2015). However, we must point out that in Latvia, the level of consensus has increased in all analysed groups, except that representing ethnicity (Table 4).

Table 4

**Consensus of value hierarchies among different groups,
Pearson correlation coefficients, Latvia, Estonia and Finland,
2008 and 2018**

Correlated variables: Country value hierarchy and ...	Latvia		Estonia		Finland	
	2008	2018	2008	2018	2008	2018
value hierarchy among male respondents	0.88	1.00	0.96	0.99	0.99	1.00
value hierarchy among female respondents	0.95	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99
value hierarchy among respondents in age group min-24	0.04	0.65	0.48	0.75	0.60	0.93
value hierarchy among respondents in age group 25-44	0.81	0.92	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95
value hierarchy among respondents in age group 45-64	0.96	0.98	0.95	1.00	0.98	1.00
value hierarchy among respondents in age group 65+	0.88	0.98	0.92	0.95	0.94	0.95
value hierarchy among Latvian/ Estonian respondents	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.99	1.00	1.00
value hierarchy among Russian speaking respondents	0.99	0.93	0.93	0.94	0.96	0.96

Note: all correlations are significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: calculated and elaborated by the authors based on the data of ESS 2018 using SPSS software.

Such a significant value change and low level of value consensus among youth can be connected with the fact that generation Y has an unstable sense about values. An uncertain future and informative noise hinder the choice of the main and creates confusion even at the age of 20 and 30. The situation is unusual all over the world. This generation was trained through a test system. As a result, as children, they lacked time to discuss important issues: who is a good person, who is a villain, what is love, friendship, honesty, what it means and how to act in a given situation (Shamis, Nikonov 2019).

However, as Table 4 shows, the hierarchy of youth values in Latvia differs more from the overall hierarchy of values, than in Estonia and Finland. This might be due to the fact that Latvia was influenced by economic crises and outmigration, as well as the consequences that followed, to a greater extent than Estonia and Finland. Therefore, the impact on our Latvian generation Y, has been significantly stronger.

Ethnicity perspective

To claim that there is a fundamental difference between the Latvian and Russian ethnic groups concerning the value hierarchy is a common argument in Latvia. However, the data shows that value perception doesn't differ much between the Latvian and Russian speaking population. In 2018, the Russian speaking respondents associated themselves a little more with security, tradition, universalism, achievement, and power values than the Latvian speaking respondents. While Latvian speaking respondents identified themselves more with hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction than Russian speaking respondents.

ESS data show that the consensus on the value hierarchy between Latvian-speakers and Russian-speakers is high but with a tendency to decrease (Table 4). However, hierarchies have significantly larger differences between age groups than between ethnic groups. In ten-year, period differences in value perception have increased regarding following values: security, self-direction, hedonism, achievement and stimulation.

Both for Latvian and Russian speaking respondents in 2008 and in 2018 conservation values dominate over openness to change values, however the Russian speaking population tends to associate with conservation values a little bit more (in 2018: +0.26) than the Latvian speaking respondents do (in 2018: 0.14). In the case of both groups, self-transcendence values dominate.

For both – respondents who most often speak Latvian at home (in 2018: +0.35), and for those who most often speak Russian (in 2018: +0.43), the social focus values are more important than personal focus values, and the tendency is for social values to strengthen their position. However, speakers of Russian associate themselves a little bit more with social values.

Latvian respondents tend to associate themselves with growth values more (Latvian speaking respondents: 0.19 in 2018; Russian speaking respondents: 0.03 in 2018), and already since 2008, while Russian speaking respondents in 2008 identified themselves a little more with the values of self-protection (0.04). However, the differences between growth and self-protection value perception between ethnical groups are weak.

Value education

According to E. Schumacher, the essence of education is the transmission of values and the task of all education is to understand the present world. It was written almost 50 years ago. Since that time the world became much more complicated and difficult to understand. Schools and teachers are not the only or main source of information in the era of the internet. They became only one link in this chain. Their tasks became much more challenging and difficult. They have to compete with many other sources of information and knowledge and to explain the world to their pupils, to encourage them (Schumacher 2010).

Ernst Friedrich Schumacher (1911–1977) was an internationally influential economic thinker, statistician, and economist. He brought his ideas in the publication “Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as If People Mattered” (1973). In 1995, this book was ranked by The Times Literary Supplement as one of the 100 most influential books published since World War II. We would like to quote some thoughts from his essay “The Greatest Resource – Education” (Schumacher 2010):

“The essence of education is the transmission of values, but values do not help us to pick our way through life unless they have become our own, a part, so to say, of our mental make-up. This means that they are more than mere formulae or dogmatic assertions: that we think and feel with them, that they are the very instruments through which we look at, interpret, and experience the world. When we think, we do not just think: we think with ideas. Our mind is not a blank, a tabula rasa. When we begin to think we can do so only because our mind is already filled with all sorts of ideas with which to think. All through your youth and adolescence, before the conscious and critical mind begins to act as a sort of censor and guardian at the threshold, ideas seep into our mind, vast hosts and multitudes of them. When people ask for education, they normally mean something more than mere training, something more than mere knowledge of facts, and something more than a mere diversion. Maybe they cannot themselves formulate precisely what they are looking for; but I think what they are really looking for is ideas that would make the world, and their own lives, intelligible to them. When a thing is intelligible you have a sense of participation; when a thing is unintelligible you have a sense of estrangement. “Well, I don’t know”, you hear people say, as an impotent protest against the unintelligibility of the world as they meet it. Our task – and the task of all education – is to understand the present world, the world in which we live and make our choices. Education which fails to clarify our central convictions is mere training or indulgence”.

“Estrangement breeds loneliness and despair, the “encounter with nothingness”, cynicism, empty gestures of defiance. Education is the transmission of ideas which enable man to choose between one thing or another. ... What matters is the tool-box of ideas with which, by which, through which, we experience and interpret the world”.

Values need to be nurtured and promoted among people, especially youth, and value-based education is one of the key ways to do it (Laganovskis 2019). Currently the Latvian education system is in a transition phase to competence education within the project “Competence Approach in Curriculum” (“School 2030”) (Skola 2030 2019). The values and virtues that students must acquire in the new curriculum are included in practically all fields of study and are fixed in the standard of education. However, due to various education reforms, teachers are overwhelmed with new information, as well as with a continuous process of reform (reform of inclusive education, work-based learning, replacement of bilingual education with education in the

Latvian language, etc.), and rarely have the time and support to implement value education in schools (Gonzalez 2019). As a result, the child is not always kept in the centre – promoting the acquisition of value education.

More than a billion euros from the European Union's structural funds and public money have been invested in infrastructure and the provision of teaching aids to make education system close to work environment and to provide the opportunity to develop the skills, knowledge and competences that are necessary in the labor market. (Golca, Rajevska 2017). However, work-based learning's prestige among potential students has not increased significantly.

The decrease in the value of achievement importance among the young generation is demanding a systemic analysis and activities on different levels. The long-time of distance learning due to COVID-19 approved a high need for direct human contact between children and teachers and mutual children contacts. Sports activities and their role in children's physical and mental development, character building, enjoying the taste of victory, team spirit building is underestimated in the Latvian education system and youth policy in general. There is an urgent need to raise the prestige and salary of all teachers, including sports teachers, to develop sports competitions between classes, schools, counties and regions, paying special attention to team sports that do not require expensive equipment but train and teach work in a team.

Based on the results of the analyses, more attention throughout the education process should also be put on openness to change values, especially creativity and stimulation values, to promote growth value dominance in Latvian society.

Conclusions

The value of security has remained the top priority for Latvia's population in 2008 and 2018. The need for security is one of the basic human values. In the situation in Latvia, the rather high level of income inequality and uncertainty about the availability of health care largely explains such a choice by the people. The value system is quite conservative. The core values remain almost unchanged: benevolence, universalism, self-direction, only slightly changing their order over a decade. However, the global financial crisis has hit Latvian society and its economy very painfully. The great traumatic syndrome of the crisis has long-lasting consequences for society. Unexpectedly high migration, in which people of working age saw the solution to their problems, left significant traces in society, changed its age structure, family life patterns, sources of income, life, and worldview. In the period from 2008 to 2018, the following values have significantly decreased in their importance in Latvian society: (1) power, (2) achievements and (3) stimulation, while more Latvians have started to identify with the values – (1) universalism, (2) benevolence and (3) traditions. In the analysed period, value perception in Latvia has grown significantly closer to the level of the EU average.

Our society is more socially focused rather than personally, mainly due to the increase in self-transcendence values in the period. One of the explanations for that is that during the crisis, in the period from 2009–2011, local and state authorities were

rather open and sensitive to the needs of persons in trouble. However, the family and relatives still remain the main source of support. Many of those who were used to relying on themselves have left Latvia.

When we analyse values in the self-protection and growth dimension, we can observe that in Latvia there is not a strong difference in these value perceptions. Although more people identify themselves with growth values, these values have not yet strengthened their positions in Latvian society. This is mainly due to the fact that although self-transcendence values have very strong positions in Latvian society, openness to change value perception is rather weak, especially when it comes to stimulation and hedonism values. It can be explained as post-traumatic crisis syndrome, which can be reduced with changes in the education system in the future.

Consensus on values in Latvia increases slightly in 2018 compared to 2008. However, consensus on the hierarchy of core values was relatively weak among age groups in 2018, showing that the value system is under a large transformation into the new global world, its opportunities and challenges of uncertainty. Generation Y has an unstable sense about values. The COVID-19 crisis is a serious challenge for both the ruling coalition and the corporate governance system as a whole. Covid-19 tests people's benevolence not only to those closest to them, but also to solidarity with those further afield. Only a society whose members are united, open to dialogue and diversity of opinion can emerge from the crisis.

Comparing the situation with Estonia and the EU average, we can conclude that changes in value perception have taken place to a much greater extent in Latvia. This may be explained by the fact that during the analysed decade Latvian society has faced more severe changes and challenges, including economic crisis, migration, and announced reform in the education system.

Based on the results of the analyses, more attention throughout the education process should be put on self-direction (creativity) and stimulation value strengthening, as well as maintaining stable levels of identification with self-transcendence values of universalism and benevolence. Since these are the values that represent growth and can promote a country's welfare. In Latvia, there is strong need to strengthen achievement value through active youth policy that promote spirit of competition in area of sport, professional skills and innovative approach. Value consensus is important for stability and development of society, therefore there is an acute need for further studies on this subject.

Acknowledgements

Research has been conducted within the project "Values in Action: promotion of responsible, secure and educated civil society in Latvia through research and model development" (Project No. VPP-IZM-2018/1-0013). The project is implemented within National Research Program "Latvian heritage and future challenges for the country's sustainability".

References

- ASPRI (The *Advanced Social and Political Research Institute*). (2012) *Latvia. Human Development Report 2010/2011. National Identity, Mobility and Capability*. Riga: University of Latvia Press. Available: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/805?show=full> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Austers I., Renge V., Muzikante I. (2012) Predicting traffic accident rate: human values add predictive power to age and gender. Sullman M., Dorna L. (Eds.) *Advances in Traffic Psychology*. Farnham: CRC Press, pp. 167–176. Available: <https://www.routledge.com/Advances-in-Traffic-Psychology/Sullman-Dorn/p/book/9781138072978> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Bardi A., Hofmann-Towfigh N., Lee J., Soutar G. (2009) The structure of intraindividual value change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 97, pp. 913–929. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016617>
- Beilmann M., Lilleoja L. (2015) Social trust and value similarity: the relationship between social trust and human values in Europe. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 19–30. Available: <http://publications.tlu.ee/index.php/stss/article/view/267> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- ESS (European Social Survey). (2008) *European Social Survey Round 4 Data. 2008*. Data file edition 4.5. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/download.html?r=4> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- ESS (European Social Survey). (2018) *European Social Survey Round 9 Data. 2018*. Data file edition 3.1. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/download.html?r=4> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Eurostat. (2021) At-risk-of-poverty rate by poverty threshold, age and sex. *Eurostat – Data Explorer*. Available: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_li02&lang=en (accessed: 1.12.2021).
- Golca L., Rajevska F. (2017) Work-based learning programmes in Latvia. *Proceedings of the 18th Annual International Scientific Conference “Economic Science for Rural Development”*, Vol. 45, pp. 79–86. Available: http://www.flexwbl.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/11.-Latvia-ESRD_45_2017-79-86.pdf (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Gonzalez M. (2019) *Cultural and historical research on character and virtue education in Latvia in an international perspective*. Doctoral thesis. Riga: University of Latvia. Available: https://www.lu.lv/fileadmin/user_upload/LU.LV/EN_WP2_research_report_FINAL.pdf (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Kugel M., Lysenkov A. (2021) *Different from Both Their Parents and Latvian Peers*. Available: <https://spektr.press/different-from-both-their-parents-and-latvian-peers-latvian-russian-speaking-youth-choose-liberal-freedoms-eu-values-and-are-satisfied-with-nato-membership-research-by-spektr-press-and-skds/> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Laganovskis G. (2019) *Vertibas jaunaja macibu satura – kadas tas ir*. Available: <https://lvportals.lv/skaidrojumi/309571-vertibas-jaunaja-macibu-satura-kadas-tas-ir-2019> (accessed on 1.12.2021). (In Latvian)
- Lee J., Garrans P., Herk H., Bardi A., Sneddon J., Evers U., Schwartz S. (2021) Are value-behavior relations stronger than previously thought? It depends on value importance. *European Journal of Personality*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/08902070211002965>
- Magun V., Rudnev M., Schmidt P. (2017) A typology of European values and Russians' basic human values. *Sociological Research*, Vol. 56, Iss. 2, pp. 149–180. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10610154.2017.1358029>

- Rajevska F. (Red.) (2018) *Socialas politikas transformācijas likloki*. Rīga: Zelta Rudens Printing. (In Latvian)
- Rajevska F., Kukoja K. (2021) Need for value education as an integral part of sustainable education. *Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference "Society. Integration. Education"*, Vol. 6, pp. 468–482. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17770/sie2021vol6.6372>
- Rajevska F., Rajevska O. (2020) Social policy reforms in Latvia Shift towards individual responsibility of welfare. Blum S., Kuhlmann J., Schubert K. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of European Welfare Systems*. Routledge International Handbooks, pp. 348–366. Available: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429290510-20/social-policy-reforms-latvia-feliciana-rajevska-olga-rajevska> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Rozenvalds J., Zobena A. (Zin. red.) (2014) *Daudzveidīgas un mainīgas Latvijas identitātes*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads. (In Latvian)
- Rungule R., Senkane S. (2018) Values of Latvians across socio-demographic groups. Kruks S. (Ed.) *Pluralism Anxiety. Acting Socially in Latvia*. Rīga: Rīga Stradins University, pp. 91–104. Available: https://www.rsu.lv/sites/default/files/book_download/Kruks_Pluralism_Anxiety.pdf (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Ryndina A. (2021) Istoki teorii tsennostei v sotsiologii i napravleniia ee razvitiia. *RUDN Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 590–609. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2272-2021-21-3-590-609> (In Russian)
- Sagie G., Schwartz Sh. (2000) Value consensus and importance a cross-national study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 31, Iss. 4, pp. 465–497. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022100031004003>
- Schumacher E. (2010) *Small is Beautiful. Economics as if People Mattered*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Schwartz Sh. (2006) Basic human values: theory, measurement, and applications. *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol. 47, Iss. 4, pp. 929–968. Available: <https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-francaise-de-sociologie-1-2006-4.htm> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Schwartz Sh. (2012) An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, Vol. 2, Iss. 1. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116>
- Schwartz Sh. (2014) Rethinking the concept and measurement of societal culture in light of empirical findings. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 47, Iss. 1, pp. 5–13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022113490830>
- Schwartz Sh. (2021) *The Human Values Scale: Findings from the European Social Survey*. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=skbG90LJ-G4&t=368s> (accessed on 1.12.2021).
- Schwartz Sh., Rubel T. (2005) Sex differences in value priorities: cross-cultural and multimethod studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 89, Iss. 6, pp. 1010–1028. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.6.1010>
- Shamis E., Nikonov E. (2019) *V sem'e ne bez Milleniuma. Chto delat' pokoleniiu (1985–2002 g.r.), kotoroe meniaet mir*. Moscow: Sunergy Book. (In Russian)
- Skola 2030. (2019) *Vertības un tikumi*. Available: <https://www.skola2030.lv/lv/macibu-saturu/merki-skolenam/vertibas-un-tikumi> (accessed on 1.12.2021). (In Latvian)
- Vecchione M., Schwartz Sh., Alessandri G., Doring A., Castellani V., Caprara M. (2016) Stability and change of basic personal values in early adulthood: an 8-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Research in Personality*, Vol. 63, pp. 111–122. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2016.06.002>
- Zobena A. (Zin. red.) (2018) *Apmaldījusies brīvība: anomija musdienu Latvijā*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads. Available: https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/bitstream/handle/7/45404/Apmaldijusies_briviba_gramata_D.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (accessed on 1.12.2021). (In Latvian)