

ARTYKUŁY
[Articles]

**TYPE OF MARRIAGE OF PARENTS
AS THE FACTOR OF ADAPTATION OF A CHILD
IN POLI-ETHNIC SOCIETY¹**

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Summary. This article is based on the material of the specific socio-psychological research held in Yakutia in 2006-2009. The influence of one of the most important factors in the adaptation process is analyzed. In this article one of the most important factors is the family, the type of marriage of parents (ethnically homogenous and ethnically mixed marriage) which influences the acculturation strategies of a child, his migration intentions, ethnic and civil self-identification, as well as his level of psychological adaptation. The questions of historical and modern prerequisites for the formation of positive attitude of the society towards the phenomenon of ethnically mixed families in the North are also considered here.

Key words: type of marriage, ethnically homogenous marriage, ethnically mixed marriage, acculturation strategy, self-identification of young people

This article is based on the material of the specific socio-psychological research held in Yakutia in 2006-2009. The influence of one of the most important factors in the adaptation process of young people is analyzed. One of the most important factors that is analyzed is the family. Special attention was given to the type of marriage of parents (ethnically homogenous and ethnically mixed marriage) which influences the acculturation strategies of a child, his migration intentions, ethnic and civil self-identification, and also his level of psychological adaptation. The questions of historical and modern prerequisites for the formation of the positive attitude of the society towards the phenomenon of ethnically mixed families in the North are also considered here.

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The problem of decreasing of population in the Far East gets bright ethno-social and ethno-political character in the last decades. One of the main reasons of the depopulation of population is officially called migration. For example, the highest raise of immigration in comparison with all Russian regions was registered in the Far East in the middle of the 90s in the XX century (*The Problems of population...*, 2004, p. 42). The population of the considered region reached the maximum level at the beginning of 1991 and reached 8.057 thousand. However, in the same year a process of its gradual decline began. By the beginning of 2002, the population of the Far East had decreased by more than 1 million people and reached 7,038.1 thousand, which was less than 5% of the Russian population (*The Problems of population...*, 2004, p. 42).

In particular, the population of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) (RS(Y) later in the text) in 1991 was 1,119 thousand and in 2010 it reached 958.5 thousand (*The results of the records of Russian population*, 2010), so it decreased by 170 thousand which was more than 15% of the total population of RS(Y). The migration based on socio-economic and ethno-political reasons reached the great size and received wide public reaction as undesirable, from the point of view of the public interest. There is a tendency of immigration from the eastern regions of the country to the western, southern and central parts (*Demographic situation in the republic of Sakha*, 2003, page 13). It is enough to mention that in 1991 (the peak of migration) 71863 people have left the RS (Y), which was 6.4% of the population of the region. On the whole 109.1 thousand people had left Yakutia for the CIS and Baltic countries for the period from 1990 to 2003, and more than 301 thousand for regions of Russia (*Demographic situation in the republic of Sakha*, 2003, p. 13). Obviously it had changed the ethnic picture of the region by the middle of the 90s of the XX century (Ignatieva, 1999, p. 38). By 2002, this tendency had increased (see table 1). The crisis in the industrial area of the RS(Y) led to the increase of tension in the domestic labor market, as the majority of the population employed in this field, was represented by the Slavs, a part of which had fallen from 50.3% in 1989 to 41.2% in 2002 in the ethnic structure of the republic and continues to decrease. So, in the ethnic structure of external migration of the region in 2005, the Slavs made 73.5% of the total migration decrease of population (*The migration of population...*, 2006, p. 40).

The fact that a large part of leaving population is the most mobile, professionally trained people is rather disturbing.

At the same time, the migration situation that settled in the 90s has changed the ethnic picture of the region also led to the increase of the number of ethnically mixed marriages in the central cities of RS(Y). This phenomenon should be considered not only as a consequence of the given situation, but also as one of the ways of the personality adaptation in a multiethnic society. The appearance and spreading of this phenomenon for a multinational state is not something unusual. Historically, inter-ethnic marriages has served for adaptation of the foreigners in the new environment, and hidden assimilation during the seizure of new territory. Back in 1721 (on the 23rd of June) a Decree, that allowed the Swedish prisoners – Protestants who were deported to Siberia marry Russian Orthodox without changing

their faith was created. They were only forbidden to proselytize their wives, and they also were supposed to raise their children in the Orthodox religion (Protoierey, V. Bashkirov). In Siberia, in the XIX century, most of the inter-ethnic marriages were made between Russian men and women from native ethnic groups. That was quite a common phenomenon, because of a clear dominance of men among the Russian population (Makarcheva, 2003, p. 26).

Table 1. National structure of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) population, %
(Demographic annual records of RS (Y), 2006, p. 10)

Nationalities	Years				
	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Sakha (the Yakuts)	43.0	36.9	33.4	45.5	48.7
The Russians	47.3	50.4	50.3	41.2	36.9
The Ukrainians	3.1	5.4	7.1	3.7	2.1
The Belarussians	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.3
The Evenks	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.9	2.2
The Evens	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.6
The others	3.3	3.9	5.4	5.3	8.2
Total population	100	100	100	100	100

Unfortunately, it is hard to estimate the incidence/range of intermarriages in the cities of Siberia because of the lack of sources. In particular, the cases when the Orthodox Christians married the Christians of other denominations were not always noted in the church books. The demographer Klyachkin, researched the national homogeneity of marriages made in 1916 in Omsk on the base of parish registers. On the base of his research, Goncharov had calculated the following coefficients of the national homogeneity of marriages which were: 1.0 for the Jews, 1.0 for the Tatars, 0.96 for the Russians, 0.80 for the Germans, 0.36 for the Polish (Klyachkin, 1928, p. 45; Goncharov, 2003, p. 239-240). The given numbers show that the peculiarities of the Jews' and Tatars' confessions obviously influenced the choice of the spouse. For example, the Siberian Tatars' contemporary wrote about them the following: "They live in isolation from the Russians, do not mix with them and do not get married with them as the other foreigners in Siberia do" (Shvetsov, 1909, p. 26).

According to the words of the eyewitnesses of those times, the elements of the spiritual culture of the various Russian nations were combined in the majority of mixed families. At the same time religion itself was usually receded into the background. The children in such families were taught to respect the past of their parents, their origin, and learned ethnic and religious tolerance. Spreading of inter-ethnic marriages was one of the features of the modernization of family and society, which flowed into Russia (Goncharov, 2003, p. 239-240).

The researcher Riabtseva mentions that during the Soviet period, the number of mixed marriages had increased. While in the Imperial Russia one of the main fac-

tors that prevented marriages between people of different ethnicities/ethnic affiliation was religion, the Soviet Union's proclamation of the equality of all nations and nationalities became the accelerator of the process of miscegenation. The growing tendency of spreading of mixed marriages among the population of the cities and urban-type villages of the West Siberian region has led to the fact that by the middle of the 1930s the proportion of mixed marriages was on the average about 12% (Moscow, Isupov, 1984, p. 120).

In 1920-1930 there was a tendency: when mothers registering their new born child identified him as of a different from their own nationality. This has led to the official reduction of the birth rate among those nationalities. Very often, this phenomenon was observed in families where the spouses were of different nationalities, and where the child's nationality was registered identically to the nationality of his father. Besides, the registration of children against their mothers' nationality often took place among people living not in the main settlement of their nationality, in order to provide rapid adaptation among the local, mainly Russian, population (Riabtseva, 2003, p. 247-248).

In Yakutia a suitable object for studying the marital relationships of ethnic groups is the city Yakutsk, with its multi-ethnic population structure. The number of mixed marriages increased in Yakutsk already in 1920-1930s. In 1970s the growing number of mixed marriages was expressed not only in absolute measures, but also in the increasing of their unit weight in the total number of marriages (see table 2).

Table 2. The proportion of ethnically homogeneous and ethnically mixed marriages in Yakutsk during 1927-1974 years, % (Bragina, 2005, p. 74)

Year of marriage registration	Ethnically homogenous marriages		Ethnically mixed marriages
	Russians	Sakhas	
1927-1930	56.4	36.4	7.2
1931-1934	57.1	35.8	7.1
1935-1938	67.5	27.0	5.5
1940-1944	81.6	13.7	4.7
1945-1949	84.7	10.2	5.1
1950-1954	80.2	13.6	6.2
1955-1959	74.5	19.5	6.0
1970-1974	74.5	17.7	7.8

According to Bragina's research, the index of the number of mixed marriages remains unchanged even in the middle of the 1980s. Until the end of the 1950s the type of marriages where the husband was Sakha, and the wife was Russian prevailed. Since the 1970s, Sakha men were less likely to marry Russian women, and Sakha women, in contrast, more often married men of different nationalities, including Russian men. In particular, the number of marriages with Evens and Even-

ki men has increased. The differences in the levels of education, value systems of men and women of indigenous Northern folks lead to the fact that more than 80% of women under the age of 40 with higher and secondary special education are either not married, or are in ethnically mixed, heterogeneous marriages. In some settlements mixed marriages of northern women reach 90 percent or more (*The development of the Natives*, 2007, p. 20-21).

A number of mixed marriages can be indirectly calculated through the records of new-born children whose father is of a different nationality. A part of such children in all nations living in the RS(Y), on average, has increased from 22.7% in 1990 to 32.9% in 2005, from the total number of new-born children. In 2005, the increase of the number of new-born children, whose father was of another nationality, was 39.4% among the Russians and 28.5% among the Sakhas (*Natural movement...*, 2006). These facts show that the question of considering the adaptational capacity of ethnically mixed and ethnically homogeneous families is acute.

According to the survey, based on the project "Socio-cultural adaptation of students to the conditions of modern transformations" as a part of the program of the Presidium of RAS "Adaptation of nations and cultures to the changes of the environment, social and technological transformations" in the universities of Yakutia in 2005-2007 among the total number of the participants of the survey (1660) 283 respondents whose parents are (were) in the ethnically mixed marriage(s) were identified. In this case, there were 1151 people (69.3% of the sample) who identified themselves as Sakhas. 91% of them were born in the ethnically homogeneous family and 6.7% – were born in ethnically mixed marriages. To compare, there were 52 people (3.1% of the sample) who were the representatives of northern folks of which 21.2% were born in ethnically homogeneous marriages, and 76.9% – in the ethnically mixed marriages (see table 3). The sample also includes a group of Russian respondents and the representatives of various ethnic groups that do not belong to the Sakhas, northern nationalities or the Russians. These respondents were included into a group "the others".

Table 3. The division of the respondents' ethnic identity According to the type of their parents' marriages, 2008, %

Nationality of the respondent	Type of marriage of parents						All	
	Ethnically homogenous		Ethnically mixed		No record of nationality			
	amt.	%	amt.	%	amt.	%	amt.	%
The Sakhas (Yakuts)	1047	91.0	77	6.7	27	2.3	1151	69.3
The Russians	250	74.0	81	24.0	7	2.1	338	20.4
Northern nationalities	11	21.2	40	76.9	1	1.9	52	3.1
The Others	32	26.9	85	71.4	2	1.7	119	7.2
Total	1340	80.7	283	17.0	37	2.2	1660	100

These data confirms the stable growth of endogamy of titular ethnic groups in the conditions of improving their social status, when the national identity is a “complementary” criterion.

For a married couple the “benefits” of joining the ethnically homogeneous marriage eventually become more obvious than the “benefits” from the joining of each of the partners to the inter-ethnic marriages (Arutyunyan, Drobizheva, Susokolov, 1998, p. 233).

According to such researchers as Arutyunyan, Drobizheva and Susokolov, in the new socio-political and economic conditions yesterday’s migrants are beginning to seek psychological and business support in order to maintain or renew their intraethnic relationships. The pattern/rule is that the first generation still tends to keep ethnic culture and identity, the second generation (the children of migrants) – tends to abandon the culture of their ancestors and the perception of the culture of the dominating majority, and the third generation (grandchildren) – often tends to get the former identity, without losing the new one too. This, in some way can explain the controversial attitude of the children and their parents towards the problem of choosing a spouse of another nationality.

In our research, we asked the respondents to answer the question about the meaning of nationality for them when choosing a spouse (see table 4).

Table 4. The significance of nationality for young people when choosing a spouse, 2008, %

Type of marriage of the parents	Nationality of the respondent	Does nationality matter when you choose a spouse?		
		Yes, it is necessary that the spouses are of the same nationality as the similarity of the rituals, customs and language promotes understanding	Yes, it is necessary that the spouses are of the same nationality, because I want my children to have my nationality	No, nationality does not matter
Ethnically homogeneous marriage	The Sakhas (Yakuts)	18.8	18.8	62.4
	The Russians	15.7	22.9	61.4
	Northern nationalities	0	0	100.0
	The Others	16.1	6.5	77.4
Ethnically mixed marriage	The Sakhas (Yakuts)	10.4	13.0	76.6
	The Russians	13.8	12.5	73.7
	Northern nationalities	12.8	12.8	74.4
	The Others	3.6	4.8	91.6

As we can see, for 37.6% of Sakha representatives born in the ethnically homogeneous marriage, and 23.4% of the Sakhas, born in ethnically mixed marriages, nationality is important when choosing a spouse. The 100% lack of importance of ethnicity in choosing a spouse of the indigenous people born in the ethnically mixed marriages is of particular interest for us.

We assume that the size of this ethnic group, as well as special living conditions, influenced the forming of tolerance towards mixed marriages. These factors determine the increase or preservation the proportion of ethnically mixed marriages in the future in the same limits.

For comparison, only half of the young people in the capitals of Russian republics, including 51.3 of Russian and 48.9% of titular nationalities, do not consider the nationality of their spouse important (Guboglo, 2003, p. 241). In Sakha the given criteria are much higher. Thus, for the Sakhas the nationality of the spouse does not matter for 62.4% of participants who were born in the ethnically homogeneous families and for 76.6% of those who were born in the ethnically mixed families. Among the Russian participants the corresponding figures are slightly lower – 61.4% and 73.7%, in accordance. These numbers indicate that it is very likely that a positive attitude towards ethnically mixed marriages in the North has already been formed for a long time. D. Bragin noted that the results of surveys which were held in 1970s, showed a generally positive public attitude towards inter-ethnic marriages, and that created a favorable environment for increasing their number (Bragina, 1985). The results of the survey “How would you react if your daughter or your son married a person of a different nationality?” (1999) are given in the table 5.

Table 5. Respondents’ attitude towards the marriage of their child with the representatives of another nationality 1999, % (Bragina, 2005, p. 81)

Your attitude towards the nationality of your potential son/daughter-in-law	Th Sakhas (Yakuts)		The Russians	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
I prefer a man of my own nationality	23.1	31.4	12.3	7.6
I prefer my own nationality, but I would not mind a different one	22.6	21.8	26.0	3.7
Nationality does not matter as long as he/she follows/respects the customs of my ethnic culture	24.5	19.8	14.5	64.2
Indifferent	22.2	16.8	41.9	1.9
Depends on the nationality	3.3	0.7	2.0	13.2
I don’t know	4.3	9.6	3.4	9.4

The results obtained by Bragina show that the urban environment has a great positive effect on the level of tolerance of urban Sakhas with regard to nationality when choosing a marriage partner for their children. At the same time, Russian people living in rural areas are especially attentive towards the observance of cultural traditions by the future member of the family, which indicates the dominance of moral and ethical requirements to the future spouse of their children. In contrast to the village, city living conditions that do not require following traditional folk culture have negative influence on the dominance of choice of ethnic and cultural requirements when choosing a future husband and wife.

The problem of choice by ethnic identification of children from ethnically mixed families was recorded in Yakutia in the 70s. The analysis of the choice of nationality by teenagers from ethnically mixed families where one parent was Sakha, showed that, despite the different ethnic situation in the cities of Yakutsk, Mirny, Vilyuisk, Olekminsk, as well as in rural areas of Central Yakutia, teenagers mainly chose the Sakha nationality when applying for a passport (Bragina, 1999, p. 63-68).

In Mirny, where Russian population prevails, 34.3% of teenagers from ethnically mixed families identified themselves as Russian, 52.6% – as Sakha, 10.5% – as the representatives of the northern nationalities and 2.6% chose other nationalities. In Yakutsk, 24.2% of teenagers from ethnically mixed families identified themselves as Russians, 67% – as Sakhas, 5.4% – as the representatives of the northern nationalities, 3.4% – as Ukrainians, Buryatian and other nationalities. In the Sakha-Russian families (where father is Sakha), 72% of young people chose their father's nationality and 28% – their mother's. In the Russian-Sakha families (father – Russian), 45% of teenagers called themselves Sakha, 55% – Russians. Here, the boys' choice of nationality was strongly influenced by their fathers, since 25% of them preferred to have the Russian nationality, and 10% – Sakha. For girls, this difference was only 5% (30 and 35% respectively). When choosing their nationality 79% of teenagers from families where father was Sakha and mother was a representative of the northern nationalities preferred to choose the Sakha nationality. In families where the father was a representative of the northern nationalities, all the teenagers chose the nationality the same as their fathers. The same pattern is observed in families where the father was a representative of a different nationality. However, in families with Sakha father and mother of another nationality, 93% of young people considered themselves Sakha, 7% – as representatives of other nationalities (Bragina, 2005, p. 82).

How did the picture change in 30 years? Does ethnic identification matter for Sakhas? We asked the respondents to answer the question about the importance of ethnic identification (see table 6).

Thus, the ethnic identification has the highest significance among Sakhas born in ethnically homogeneous marriage – 87.8%. For members of the same ethnic group, but born in the ethnically mixed marriages the importance of ethnic identity is 12% less. For Russian respondents the type of family did not significantly affect the changes in the importance of ethnicity. However, the children of northern nationalities born in mixed marriages have demonstrated a much greater concern for ethnic identity than children from ethnically homogeneous families.

Table 6. Awareness among youth of being a representative of their ethnic group, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	How important it is to see yourself as a representative of your ethnic group (your nationality)		
		Very important	Not very important	Not important
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	42.1	45.7	12.3
	Russians	39.3	37.2	23.4
	Northern Nationalities	45.5	9.1	45.5
	Others	36.7	36.7	26.7
Ethnically mixed marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	18.7	57.3	24.0
	Russians	27.5	42.5	30.0
	Northern Nationalities	28.2	56.4	15.4
	Others	13.3	41.0	45.8

In this regard, it should be noted that in addition to self-identification, Hotinets emphasized another component of ethnic identity – emotional (positive or negative attitude to ethnic identity). We asked our respondents to rate their attitude towards their nationality (see table 7).

Table 7. Young people's attitude towards their nationality, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	What do you think about your nationality?				
		I like it	Indifferent	I don't like it	I didn't think about it	Other
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	65.2	24.7	2.2	7.1	0.9
	Russians	78.6	9.9	0.4	11.1	0
	Northern Nationalities	54.5	0	9.1	36.4	0
	Others	76.7	16.7	6.7	0	0
Ethnically mixed marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	48.0	33.3	4.0	13.3	1.3
	Russians	67.9	14.8	1.2	13.6	2.5
	Northern Nationalities	47.5	45.0	0	5.0	2.5
	Others	44.0	29.8	1.2	20.2	4.8

As we can see, emotional self-perception of nationality can be generally described positive. However, it is important to mention that the type of family greatly affects the emotional attitude towards ethnic identification. Only 48% of the Sakhas from ethnically mixed families feel positive about their nationality, while 65.2%

respondents from ethnically homogeneous marriages described their attitude as positive. Among Russian respondents a more positive attitude to their nationality is common, as 78.6% and 67.9% of children from ethnically homogeneous and ethnically mixed families, respectively, liked their own nationality. The lowest result of a positive attitude was demonstrated by the representatives in the group "others", the Sakhas and the peoples of the North of the number of children born in mixed marriages. The highest percentage of "negative attitude" and "not to think" is among young people, born in ethnically homogeneous marriage.

It is likely that the respondents may have different perceptions of the content of the term "ethnic identity". We asked the youth what in their opinion the concept of "national identity" means and gave them following options to choose from: 1) "Everyone should be aware of their national identity, know the language and culture of their people", and 2) "it is important to be aware of their national identity, and not necessary to know the language and culture of the people" 3) "it is not important to be aware of the national identity to know the national language and culture". Let's see the results of the survey in table 8.

Table 8. Young people's perception of the concept of nationality as a distinguishing feature, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	Attitude towards ethnical identification		
		1	2	3
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	83.4	9.7	6.8
	Russians	63.3	13.5	23.3
	Northern Nationalities	81.8	9.1	9.1
	Others	64.5	19.4	16.1
	Sakhas (Yakuts)	71.1	15.8	13.2
Ethnically mixed marriage	Russians	57.5	21.3	21.3
	Northern Nationalities	59.0	20.5	20.5
	Others	42.5	21.3	36.3

For most of the respondents to know the culture and language has become the most important thing to reflect the meaning of "national identity". We suppose that indifferent attitude to the importance of ethnic identity among Native Northern Folks is influenced by young people's lack of knowledge of the language and their culture. These factors don't allow them to be fully satisfied with their nationality from the ethical point of view.

At the same time it is necessary to note high percentage of Russian respondents born in the mono-ethnic marriage (23.3%) who believe that knowledge of the national language and culture and awareness of the ethnic background are not essential for modern processes of transformation of Russian society. The rates of a group called "others" were even higher. According to the results of the research, the de-

scendants of children born in mixed marriages and who are not representatives of the titular ethnic group, but they are Native Northern Folks, and the Russian population in Yakutia tend to choose assimilation as their acculturation strategy.

One of the signs of growing assimilation processes is the loss of own language. In order to evaluate the degree of importance of the native language we asked another question: "How important is it to speak the language of your nationality?" (see table 9).

Table 9. The importance of being able to speak the native language of your ethnic group, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	How important is it to be able to speak the native language of your ethnic group?		
		Very important	Not very important	Not important
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	35.7	48.4	15.9
	Russians	64.6	22.8	12.6
	Northern Nationalities	18.2	27.3	54.5
	Others	22.6	48.4	29.0
	Sakhas (Yakuts)	24.7	49.4	26.0
Ethnically mixed marriage	Russians	43.6	35.9	20.5
	Northern Nationalities	20.0	52.5	27.5
	Others	12.0	55.4	32.5

As we can see, the highest possible degree of significance of speaking native language was demonstrated by Russian respondents – 64.6% in ethnically homogeneous families and 43.6% in mixed families. For comparison, the group of respondents of Sakha nationality has the following characteristics: 35.7% and 24.7%, respectively. Even smaller figures were demonstrated by representatives of Native Northern Folks, which also confirms our conclusion that the level of knowledge of native language effects ethnic selfidentity.

Is it true that the desire to speak native language demonstrated by Russians is connected to the socio-political situation in the region? One of the factors which increases young people's need to speak their native language is the increase in the number of urban Sakhas from the country migrants. This group when moving to the city has language problems, and prefers to communicate in their native language even though they can speak Russian. Sometimes the situation becomes sharp because of the specially demonstrative use of the second state language (Yakutia), regardless of knowledge of the language by the people who are in the environment.

Also, important factors affecting the process of mastering the language of titular ethnic group are the peculiarities of Republican identification of Russians and Sakhas (see table 10).

Table 10. Attitude towards different types of self-identification, 2008, %

Type of identification	Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	The importance of identification		
			Very important	Not very important	Not important
Representative of Sakha (Yakutia)	Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	51.3	41.2	7.5
		Russians	12.8	36.6	50.6
		Northern Nationalities	63.6	36.4	0
		Others	16.1	45.2	38.7
		Sakhas (Yakuts)	40.0	52.0	8.0
		Russians	17.5	41.3	41.3
	Ethnically mixed marriage	Northern Nationalities	32.5	55.0	12.5
		Others	16.9	37.3	45.8
		Sakhas (Yakuts)	46.7	44.7	8.6
		Russians	68.9	25.0	6.1
		Northern Nationalities	81.8	18.2	0
		Others	60.0	36.7	3.3
«The citizen of Russia»	Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	46.7	45.3	8.0
		Russians	75.0	18.8	6.3
		Northern Nationalities	44.7	52.6	2.6
		Others	59.0	36.1	4.8
		Sakhas (Yakuts)	29.5	40.1	30.4
		Russians	38.6	32.4	28.6
	Ethnically mixed marriage	Northern Nationalities	36.4	45.5	18.2
		Others	50.0	33.3	16.7
		Sakhas (Yakuts)	37.3	33.3	29.3
		Russians	46.8	26.6	26.6
		Northern Nationalities	31.6	52.6	15.8
		Others	45.8	31.3	22.9

The survey results showed that the Republican identification has less value among the group of Russian ethnically homogeneous families – 12.8%, since they tend to think of themselves as the citizens of Russia – 68.9%, and the citizens of the World – 38.6%. It should be noted that Russians born in ethnically mixed families

tend to pay a little more respect for the Republican identification – 17.5%, but at the same time compared to the Russians from ethnically homogeneous families, they also tend to identify themselves as “Russian citizens” and “World citizens” – 75% and 46.8%, respectively. With this kind of motivation Russian respondents would attach more importance to learning English than Sakhas.

Regarding the respondents of Sakha (Yakutia), their Russian identity is not affected by the type of family they grew up in. However, the type of parents’ marriage has great importance in determining the degree of importance of the Republican identification. Thus, 51.3% of the Sakhas from ethnically homogeneous families emphasized the importance of considering themselves as “residents of the RS (Y)”, while in only 40% of the Sakhas from ethnically mixed families, mentioned the importance of such identification. Another interesting fact is that the level of Russian civil identification of young people from native nations born in ethnically homogeneous marriage is 81.8%, while the level among people from ethnically mixed marriages is 44.7% (which is close to the indicator for Sakhas). The members of the group “others”, regardless of the family type, showed great importance of Russian identification for them.

As we can see the level of civil identification of the Russians is higher among Russian youth compared to the Sakhas. However, even when emphasizing the types of civil identification, ethnic differences can be observed. Thus, Sakha respondents identified themselves as residents of the RS (Y) more than the Russians. These results suggest that Russians who live in the territory of the RS(Y) and do not identify themselves with the place of residence, may in fact be faced with the choice of either migrating or assimilating. The second option suggests forming the behavioral models, the language of the dominant ethnic group and, perhaps, joining the ethnically mixed marriage. This will affect the formation of the patterns of behavior of both the parents and the children born in such marriage, their choice of acculturation strategies and the definition of the hierarchy of identities. At the moment, in ethnically mixed marriages where one parent is Russian, the other is Sakha or a representative of the Northern Nations, only 29.7% of the children identified themselves as Russians. At the same time in other ethnic mixed marriages where one parent is Russian, and the second is neither Russian nor the representative of the Sakha or Northern Nations, 74.7% of the children identified themselves Russians. This shows in the first case, that the person chooses the assimilation strategy (choosing such strategy suggests that the task of preserving their ethnic and cultural patterns of conduct becomes a secondary problem) or the marginality strategy (which suggests ignoring their ethno-cultural characteristics in favor of the dominant group). In the second case – the strategy of integration or separation is chosen, which is characterized by the preservation of ethnic and cultural patterns of behaviour on the background of respect for ethnic culture of their marriage partner (integration) as well as a demonstration of dominance (separation).

The identification of the dominant strategies of acculturation (see table 11) has shown that for the youth of Sakha a range of integration strategies is more typical. The Russian youth can also be characterized by the predominance of those who

elected the integration strategy; however, the number of those who choose the assimilation strategy is increasing. At the same time the type of marriage of parents has significant influence. Thus, if only 23.6% of Russians born in ethnically homogeneous marriage have chosen the strategy of assimilation, the figure for Russians from ethnically mixed marriages was 37%. Such interdependence is also observed among young people of Sakha and the group called "others". It should be noted that for the last group of young people from ethnically mixed families, the second in frequency of occurrence is the assimilation strategy.

Table 11. The acculturation strategy chosen by the respondents born in ethnically homogenous and mixed marriages, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of respondents	Acculturation strategies				
		Undefined	Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginilisation
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	2.9	71.3	9.3	13.9	2.6
	Russians	6.0	62.0	4.4	23.6	4.0
	Northern Nationalities	0	54.5	0	45.5	0
	Others	9.4	59.4	0	28.1	3.1
Ethnically mixed marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	2.6	61.0	9.1	24.7	2.6
	Russians	2.5	53.1	4.9	37.0	2.5
	Northern Nationalities	5.0	72.5	5.0	15.0	2.5
	Others	2.4	48.2	1.2	43.5	4.7

At the same time, most young people of Native Northern Folks who come from ethnically mixed marriages tend to choose the strategy of integration, while 45.5% of young people from ethnically homogeneous families have chosen the assimilation strategy. Let us examine how the chosen strategies affect the level of psychological adaptation of young people (table 12). We divided the respondents in terms of their positive attitude towards the present and the future into three groups: good, average or poorly adapted. In the latter group there was an increased focus on the negative aspects, more frequent detection of formidable problems and pessimistic attitude towards their present and future.

As the results of the research have shown, most of the poorly adapted respondents turned out to belong to the group "other". At the same time, many young people from the same group who were born in the ethnically homogeneous families can be characterized as well-adapted personalities – 54.8% (the highest figure among all groups). Thus, it can be assumed that preserving of ethnic and cultural features in the ethnically homogeneous families will improve the adaptation skills of the children, even in a different ethnic atmosphere. Among the young people of Sakha nationality, born in ethnically homogeneous families the number of well-adapted

people is also high – 41%, while for the descendants of ethnically mixed marriages it is slightly lower – 28.9%. However, if we sum up the rates of medium and well adapted young people, the results are almost identical. Minor differences were demonstrated by Russian youth, as the difference between the descendants of ethnically homogeneous and ethnically mixed families is still evident. The same tendency is typical for young people of indigenous nations. In general it may be said that the respondents have demonstrated fairly high rates of psychological adaptation to the transformations of life in the urban environment.

Table 12. The results of adaptation of respondents, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of the respondent	Quality of adaptation		
		Good level	Average level	Poor level
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	41.0	37.2	21.9
	Russians	42.8	37.0	20.2
	Northern Nationalities	45.5	36.4	18.2
	Others	54.8	19.4	25.8
Ethnically mixed marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	28.9	50.0	21.1
	Russian	39.7	33.3	26.9
	Northern Nationalities	40.0	35.0	25.0
	Others	44.6	25.3	30.1

However, we should consider one more factor – the migratory intentions (see table 13), which on the one hand may act as the sign of confidence of young people in their ability to adapt to the new conditions which reflects their understanding of their adaptation skills. On the other hand – it can also be a sign of a not very successful adaptation of the individual to the situation in the city, which may lead to appearing and strengthening of the individual's migratory intentions.

Table 13. The migration intentions of students, 2008, %

Type of marriage of parents	Nationality of the respondent	Would you like to leave Yakutia after graduation?	
		No	Yes
Ethnically homogenous marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	88.3	11.7
	Russians	55.5	44.5
	Northern Nationalities	81.8	18.2
	Others	50.0	50.0
Ethnically mixed marriage	Sakhas (Yakuts)	82.7	17.3
	Russians	58.2	41.8
	Northern Nationalities	79.5	20.5
	Others	61.9	38.1

Thus, 50% of young people from ethnically homogeneous families from the group "others" would leave Yakutia to stay in Russia and even abroad temporary or permanently. At the same time, only 38.1% of young representatives of the same group, but born in ethnically mixed families gave the same answer. 44.5% of Russians from the number of ethnically homogeneous marriages, as well as 41.8% from ethnically mixed families, would also be willing to move. This suggests the existence of a general spirit among Slavic ethnic groups living in the northern regions. The representatives of the titular ethnic and Native Northern Folks are less likely to be willing to change their places of residence. However, we should mention a small difference in the number of young people who expressed their intention to migrate in ethnically mixed and in homogeneous families. This fact indicates that after all the type of parents' marriage will affect both the choice of acculturation strategy and the level of psychological adaptation of the person, which may be seen in the forming of the person's migratory intentions.

So, the materials received from the socio-psychological surveying of young people in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) allow us to make a conclusion that the descendants of ethnically mixed marriages have higher migration mobility and gravitate towards the realization of the assimilatory strategy of acculturation, which increases their adaptation skills. At the same time, it is necessary to mention the latent binarity of the ethnic identification of the asked respondents, which causes the falling of importance of following some particular model of ethnic culture. Young people from ethnically mixed families who have chosen integration as their main strategy of acculturation, are more likely to reproduce ethno-cultural model of behavior with the elements of respect and cognitive interest towards the culture of the surrounding ethnic groups, which has a positive effect on their adaptive potential.

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