

DOMAIN-SPECIFIC AND GENERAL FUTURE ORIENTATION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN LATVIA UNDER SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGES

Aleksandrs Kolesovs¹
University of Latvia, Latvia

Abstract. *The aim* of this study was to compare general and domain-specific elements of adolescents' future orientation (FO) under relatively favorable socioeconomic conditions versus the situation of the economic crisis in Latvia. It was expected on the basis of the construal level theory that domain-specific hopes will demonstrate greater differences between socioeconomic conditions than individual general FO. *The subjects and the methods of the study.* In 2004 and 2010, two cohorts included 530 senior high school students aged 17 to 19. The Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory, and the Hopes and Fears Questionnaire were administered in the Latvian language for the ethnic majority group and in the Russian language for the ethnolinguistic minority group. *The results* confirmed that adolescents' specific hopes in occupational and family-related domains are lower in negative macro-contextual conditions, whereas general FO remains at the same level and is impacted by ethnicity and gender.

Keywords: Future Orientation, Domain-Specific Hopes, Level of Construal, Economic Crisis, Latvia.

Socioeconomic conditions shape individuals' views of the future impacting their decisions, behavior, and further socialization (Nurmi, 2004). In psychology, the totality of these views is predominantly referred to as individuals' future orientation (for a review see Seginer, 2009). Two main perspectives represent future orientation (FO) as domain-specific motives, hopes, fears, and behavior (e.g., Nurmi, Poole, & Seginer, 1995; Seginer, Vermulst, & Shoyer, 2004) or a generalized pattern of orientation towards and of investment into the future (e.g., Gjesme, 1983; Nuttin &

¹ Address for correspondence: Department of Psychology, University of Latvia, Jūrmalas iela 74/76, Riga, LV-1083, Latvia; e-mail: aleksandrs.kolesovs@lu.lv.

Lens, 1985; Zimbardo & Boyd, 1999). Comprehensive reviews (Massey, Gebhard, & Garnefski, 2008; Nurmi, 1991; Seginer, 2009) demonstrate that the main focus of the studies was on adolescents' domain-specific FO. The aim of this study was to compare both general and specific elements of adolescents' FO under relatively favorable socioeconomic conditions versus the situation of the economic crisis and high unemployment.

Adolescents actively discover their identity and opportunities in different areas of life. A cross-cultural comparison of high school students' FO in Australia, Finland, and Israel (Nurmi et al., 1995) demonstrate that education, occupation, and family are the main themes among their goals and hopes. Occupational, educational and family-related goals are also leading in the FO content of a multi-ethnic sample of senior high school students in the United States (Chang, Chen, Greenberger, Dooley, & Heckhausen, 2006). Therefore, adolescents are preparing for the future career and family life, and their FO reflects these developmental tasks (Nurmi, 2004). The domains of education, occupation and interpersonal relations remain the field of exploration and commitments for emerging adults till age 25 or 30 (Arnett, 2004).

As Nurmi (1991, 2004) emphasizes, adolescents' development occurs through continuous interaction with the socioeconomic context. The impact of contextual settings is related to opportunities that open up for young people and to restrictions in fulfilling their hopes and developmental tasks. Studies in the frame of the domain-specific approach demonstrated that perceived opportunities are closely related to the situation in the country. Rapid economic growth facilitates adolescents' orientation towards education and career (Poole & Cooney, 1987). In turn, an economic crisis raises greater concerns about future occupation (Solantaus, 1987). At the same time, there are few evidences for differences in general FO under macro-contextual changes. Holman and Silver (2005) revealed decrease in general FO after the September 11th terrorist attacks. Younger respondents and those living within a 25–100 mile radius of the WTC demonstrated lower levels of general FO two to three years after the catastrophic event. Higher orientation towards the future is also associated with more positive individuals' environmental and social prospects (Angelini, 2011).

In addition to socioeconomic conditions, adolescents' ethnicity and gender were considered as factors having an impact on their FO (Green &

DeBacker, 2004; Seginer, 2009). Moreover, these factors should be taken into account because of their potential interaction with social changes in the country and a structure of society. For example, a comparison of Israeli Jewish and Arab adolescents' FO (Seginer, 1988) demonstrated higher salience of educational and occupational domains and a higher sum of domain-specific elements of FO in Arab high school students that was in contrast with expectations based on cultural characteristic of these groups. Seginer (1988) explained these differences by both sociocultural transformations providing new opportunities for Arab adolescents' in the domain of education and their minority status restricting their future careers and requesting additional efforts in entry the Israeli society. In addition, Arab girls demonstrated the highest interest in future higher education. Studies in other sociocultural contexts revealed higher specific occupational expectations (Schoon, Martin, & Ross, 2007) and higher general FO in female students (Zimbardo & Boyd, 1999).

An overview of empirical studies demonstrates two important points. First, individual FO is multiple determined by sociocultural and individual factors. Second, general and specific aspects of FO are rarely integrated in one study. Moreover, when these aspects are included in an empirical investigation, the level of their interrelations is relatively low (Holman & Silver, 2005). These points rise a research question: *How do general and specific elements of individual FO differ under different macroeconomic conditions, and how do ethnicity and gender interact with economic conditions in their effects on FO?*

Construal level theory (Trope & Liberman, 2003) represents a perspective that can be fruitful for explanation of differences in domain-specific and general elements of individual FO under changing socioeconomic conditions. In accordance with one of the propositions of this theory, more concrete intentions (lower-level construals) are more context-related, and more general representations of the future (higher-level construals) are decontextualized (Trope & Liberman, 2003). It is possible to draw an analogy between the level of construal and the two perspectives on FO. A view of goals and hopes as the content of FO (e.g., Nuttin & Lens, 1985) also referred as a thematic approach (Seginer, 2009) addresses a lower level of construal concerning specific future events and changes in different life domains. In turn, a view of FO as a general disposition (e.g., Gjesme, 1983) also referred as an athematic approach

(Seginer, 2009) addresses a higher level of construal. Taking into account higher contextual dependence of lower-level construals, it is possible to hypothesize that *domain-specific individual hopes and goals will demonstrate more pronounced differences under different socioeconomic conditions than individual general FO.*

Socioeconomic changes in Latvia provided an opportunity to address the research question and to test the hypothesis. In 2004, Latvia entered the European Union which preceded by the socioeconomic progress and optimistic socioeconomic prospects. The economic crisis beginning in 2008 rapidly changed the macro-economic situation in the country and posed important difficulties in entry the labor-market because of the record level of unemployment (about 18%) in 2009 and 2010. In addition to socioeconomic conditions, both ethnicity and gender are relevant to be considered in the study on FO in Latvia. Ethnic group membership is regarded as a significant factor in social life of the country (Draguns, 2004). Taking into account variability in definition of ethnic groups (e.g., Costarelli, 2006), two main groups are identified on the basis of language and are referred in the present study as the Latvian group (majority) and the Russian ethnolinguistic group (minority). An empirical study on individual FO in Latvia (Kolesovs, 2005) demonstrated that female students are more oriented towards the future than male students, and students from the Russian ethnolinguistic group are more oriented towards the future than students from the Latvian group. These results allow to assess possible changes in adolescents' FO might have occurred since 2004.

METHOD

Participants

The total 530 senior high school students from the 12th grade (the last grade of senior high school in Latvia) participated in the study. Four districts of Riga were represented in the samples. In 2004, the first cohort included 43 adolescent males and 89 adolescent females from four high schools with Latvian as a language of instruction and 53 males and 95 females from four neighboring high schools with Russian as a parallel

language of instruction for the Russian ethnolinguistic group. In 2010, there were 94 females and 47 males from four high schools with Latvian as a language of instruction and 71 females and 38 males from four high schools with Russian as a parallel language of instruction. Participants aged 17 to 19. The mean age was 17.94 years, $SD = 0.56$. There were no significant age differences between cohorts, ethnic groups, and gender. Females were 64 % to 67 % in four subsamples.

Instruments

Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory (ZTPI, Zimbardo & Boyd, 1999). The *Future* scale of the ZTPI was used because it reflects a general orientation towards the future. The scale consists of 13 items. A typical item is: "When I want to achieve something, I set goals and consider specific means for reaching those goals." Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .77 for the Latvian version and .72 for the Russian version. Test-retest reliability was .82 and .78 for the Latvian and the Russian version, respectively. Test of the equivalence of the scale in a bilingual group demonstrated no significant differences between the Latvian version and the Russian version of the ZTPI.

Hopes and Fears Questionnaire (Nurmi et al., 1995). The questionnaire is aimed to represent individual domain-specific FO. By analogy with recent studies (Chang et al., 2006), only students' hopes were analyzed. Participants were asked about their hopes with the following question: "People often think about the future. In the lines below please write down the hopes you have for the future." There were 10 lines allowed for their hopes.

High school students' hopes were analyzed in three domains – education (e.g., "Higher education"; "Complete my schooling"; "Continue my education"), occupation (e.g., "Have a good, interesting job"; "Successful career"; "Own business"), and family (e.g. "Start a family"; "Good marriage"; "Have children"). Presence or absence of domain-related hopes in students' answers was coded by 1 or 0, respectively. The interrater reliability was assessed in a sample of 60 students' answers coded by two independent experts. The Cohen's kappa coefficients were from .91 to 1.00 for the Latvian group and from .92 to 1.00 for the Russian ethnolinguistic group.

Procedure

The research on adolescents' FO was conducted in spring 2004 and in spring 2010, three to four months before the final examinations in senior high school. The Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory and the Hopes and Fears Questionnaire were completed with no time limit in groups of 10 to 24 students. The questionnaires were administered in the Latvian language for the Latvian group and in the Russian language for students from the Russian ethnolinguistic group.

RESULTS

An analysis of general and domain-specific FO was performed in order to answer the research question and to test the hypothesis. Table 1 represents relative frequencies of students' hopes in educational, occupational, and family-related domain and descriptive statistics for their FO in two cohorts of senior high school students from the Latvian and the Russian ethnolinguistic group.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Students' Domain-Specific and General FO

Indicators of FO	2004 cohort				2010 cohort			
	Latvian		Russian		Latvian		Russian	
	Female (n = 89)	Male (n = 43)	Female (n = 95)	Male (n = 53)	Female (n = 94)	Male (n = 47)	Female (n = 71)	Male (n = 38)
Specific hopes	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Education	87.6	62.8	71.6	62.3	75.5	53.2	60.6	36.8
Occupation	80.9	67.4	92.6	86.8	69.1	51.1	77.5	55.3
Family	65.2	58.1	72.6	52.8	59.6	42.6	54.9	44.7
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Future (ZTPI)	3.19 (0.56)	2.99 (0.64)	3.31 (0.44)	3.23 (0.51)	3.11 (0.61)	3.00 (0.59)	3.30 (0.49)	3.07 (0.51)

In order to test differences in general FO, a 2 (Cohort) x 2 (Ethnicity) x 2 (Gender) ANOVA was used. The probability of a Type I error was maintained at .05. The main effect of a cohort was not significant (Table 2). The main effect of an ethnic group indicated that high school students

from the Russian ethnolinguistic group were more oriented towards the future than students from the Latvian group. The main effect of gender confirmed that female students were more future-oriented than male students. There was no significant interaction among factors.

Table 2. Analysis of Variance for Students' General FO

Source	df	F	p	η^2
Cohort (C)	1	1.40	.237	.00
Ethnicity (E)	1	9.57	.002	.02
Gender (G)	1	9.84	.002	.02
C x E	1	0.27	.603	.00
C x G	1	0.06	.801	.00
E x G	1	0.00	.965	.00
C x E x G	1	1.35	.245	.00
Error	522	(0.30)		

Note. A value enclosed in parentheses represents mean square error.

In accordance with suggestions of Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) concerning categorical dependent variables, a logistic regression was used in order to answer the research question addressed domain-specific FO. Three regression models included a cohort, language, and gender as independent variables and domain-specific hopes in educational, occupational, or family-related domain as a dependent variable (Table 3).

Table 3. Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Students' Domain-Specific FO

Predictors for educational hopes	B	SE B	Wald's χ^2	e^B (odds ratio)
Cohort (C)	-0.50	0.33	2.21	0.61
Ethnicity (E)	1.04	0.39	6.89**	2.82
Gender (G)	-0.42	0.36	1.35	0.66
C x E	-0.34	0.52	0.42	0.71
C x G	-0.55	0.55	0.98	0.58
E x G	-1.01	0.58	3.06	0.36
C x E x G	0.98	0.81	1.48	2.67

Test of coefficients, $\chi^2(7, N = 530) = 44.75, p < .001$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$.

Predictors for occupational hopes	B	SE B	Wald's χ^2	e^B (odds ratio)
Cohort (C)	-1.30	0.49	7.16**	0.27
Ethnicity (E)	-1.09	0.48	5.22*	0.34
Gender (G)	-0.65	0.57	1.32	0.52
C x E	0.66	0.60	1.22	1.94
C x G	-0.38	0.71	0.28	0.69
E x G	-0.07	0.71	0.01	0.94
C x E x G	0.33	0.91	0.13	1.39
Test of coefficients, $\chi^2(7, N = 530) = 48.76, p < .001$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .13$.				
Predictors for family-related hopes	B	SE B	Wald's χ^2	e^B (odds ratio)
Cohort (C)	-0.79	0.33	5.51*	0.46
Ethnicity (E)	-0.35	0.32	1.19	0.71
Gender (G)	-0.86	0.36	5.78*	0.42
C x E	0.54	0.45	1.43	1.72
C x G	0.45	0.54	0.70	1.57
E x G	0.57	0.52	1.16	1.76
C x E x G	-0.84	0.75	1.25	0.43
Test of coefficients, $\chi^2(7, N = 530) = 18.69, p < .01$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .05$.				

Notes. The Latvian group, male students, and 2010 cohort were coded as 1. Constant is omitted. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

As statistical analysis demonstrated, the relative frequency of students expressing occupational hopes decreased in the 2010 cohort. In addition, less students from the Latvian group expressed hopes in the occupational domain in 2004 and in 2010. A regression model for family-related hopes identified cohort and gender as significant predictors. More female students reported family-related hopes in both cohorts and less students of both genders hoped for a family in 2010. Ethnic group predicted students' hopes in educational domain. Less students from the Russian ethnolinguistic group expressed educational hopes in 2004 and in 2010.

All domain-specific hopes associated significantly with general FO. For educational, occupational, and family-related domain point-biserial coefficients of correlation were $r_{pb}(525) = .11, p < .05$, $r_{pb}(525) = .14$,

$p < .01$, and $r_{pb}(525) = .11$, $p < .01$, respectively. Therefore, the level of association between elements of individual FO was low.

DISCUSSION

In general, the results of the study reveal significant differences between two cohorts in students' domain-specific FO and no significant differences associated with a cohort in their general FO. Relative frequencies of students' hopes in occupational and family domains demonstrate that high school students in 2010 were less hopeful than those in 2004. Observed differences confirm the hypothesis that changes in concrete hopes are more visible than those in general FO when socioeconomic conditions are changing. The interaction of a cohort with gender or ethnic group was not significant. The last two factors demonstrate independent effects on students' FO.

Differences in students' domain-specific hopes expressed under different socioeconomic conditions are in accordance with a higher level of contextualization at a lower level of construal suggested in the frame of the construal level theory (Trope & Liberman, 2003). Less hopeful occupational and family-related expectations associate with more negative socioeconomic conditions in 2010. It seems important that observed differences address the main domains of adolescents' transition to adulthood (Arnett, 2004; Nurmi, 2004). The effect of changing socioeconomic context on these domains is also in accordance with Nurmi's (2004) view on a contextual channeling of individual socialization by perceived opportunities and restriction for the further development. Faced to the record high level of unemployment, adolescents are less hopeful in the domain of occupation. This finding is also in accordance with previous studies on occupational hopes under unfavorable economic conditions (Solantaus, 1987). In addition, the negative situation affects high school students' plans concerning their future family. Taking into account that family-related and occupational hopes are expected to be fulfilled later than educational goals (Nurmi et al., 1995), the results of this study indicate greater impact of negative macro-contextual settings on adolescents' perception of distal developmental outcomes.

In contrast to domain-specific hopes, there are no significant differences in students' general FO under favorable versus unfavorable socioeconomic conditions. On the one hand, this finding confirms lower level of contextualization hypothesized for the generalized pattern of individual FO. On the other hand, it is possible to speculate that potential lowering in general FO in negative settings is balanced by individual coping efforts maintaining higher general FO associated with positive environmental prospects (Angelini, 2011) and higher achievement motivation (Zimbardo & Boyd, 1999).

Revealed ethnic and gender differences in adolescents FO allow to associate them with the culture, social structure, and gender roles. Higher level of general FO in females is in accordance with previous studies (Zimbardo & Boyd, 1999). In addition, differences in specific FO demonstrate that female adolescents in Latvia are more oriented towards family-related issues than male adolescents. This tendency provides an evidence for traditional gender roles in adolescents' view of the future family in Latvia. Higher general FO of adolescents from the Russian ethnolinguistic group is in line with Seginer's (1988) finding demonstrated higher level of FO in an ethnic minority group. Differences in the domains of education and occupation indicate that adolescents from the Latvian group are more concerned with education whereas adolescents from the Russian ethnolinguistic group are more concerned with future occupation. These differences are consonant with ethnic differences in general FO because hopes in occupational domain represent more distant future perspective than educational hopes (Nurmi et al., 1995). By analogy, higher general FO in female adolescents is in accordance with higher level of orientation to family related goals as the farthest developmental task when compared with education and expected start of a career. However, a relatively low level of associations between general and specific elements of individual FO limits this interpretation, and a detailed model of their interrelations is in question for the further research.

An important limitation of the present study addresses the level of measurement of specific goals. Categorical view on domain-specific hopes can be improved in the further study by measuring the level of specificity of individual goals. Generalization of findings is limited by the

research sample including urban adolescents who live in the capital of Latvia. Various options in the domain of education and lower level of unemployment in Riga opened up more opportunities for adolescents in the capital than in other regions of the country. In addition, SES of people living in the capital can be relatively high. Therefore, mediation of macro-contextual changes by subordinated systems and their impact on individual FO is in question for the further research.

In summary, formulated at a lower level of construal specific hopes demonstrate higher sensitivity to macro-contextual conditions. Unfavorable socioeconomic situation has an effect on adolescents' hopes in the domains of occupation and family. At the same time, a situational effect on adolescents' general FO is not significant. Remaining to be oriented towards the future in general, high school students see less concrete opportunities for the investment into the future during the economic crisis. Therefore, general FO can be considered as a resource maintaining positive prospects under unfavorable socioeconomic conditions when a more active exploration of specific pathways for fulfilling of hopes is needed.

References

- Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Angelini, P. (2011). Aspirations of intergenerational mobility. Perception of change in young Europeans. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 3, 28–51.
- Chang, E. S., Chen, C., Greenberger, E., Dooley, D., Heckhausen, J. (2006). What do they want in life?: The life goals of a multi-ethnic, multi-generational sample of high school seniors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 35, 321–332.
- Costarelli, S. (2006). The distinct roles of subordinate and superordinate group power, conflict, and categorization on intergroup prejudice in a multiethnic Italian territory. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 146, 5–13.
- Draguns, J. G. (2004). Interethnic relations in the Baltic states: Between confrontation and integration. In Y.-T. Lee, C. McCauley, F. Moghaddam, S. Worchel (Eds.), *The psychology of ethnic and cultural conflict* (pp. 175–192). Westport, CO: Praeger Publishers.
- Gjesme, T. (1983). On the concept of future time orientation: Considerations of some functions' and measurements' implications. *International Journal of Psychology*, 18, 443–461.

- Green, B. A., DeBacker, T. K. (2004). Gender and orientations toward the future: Links to motivation. *Educational Psychology Review*, 16, 91–120.
- Holman, E. A., Silver, R. C. (2005). Future-oriented thinking and adjustment in a nationwide longitudinal study following the September 11th terrorist attacks. *Motivation & Emotion*, 29, 385–410.
- Kolesovs, A. (2005). Time perspective of Latvian and Russian (ethnic minority) high school students in Riga and Latgale. *Baltic Journal of Psychology*, 6 (1), 5–20.
- Massey, E. K., Gebhardt, W. A., Garnefski, N. (2008). Adolescent goal content and pursuit: A review of the literature from the past 16 years. *Developmental Review*, 28, 421–460.
- Nurmi, J.-E. (1991). How do adolescents see their future? A review of the development of future orientation and planning. *Developmental Review*, 11, 1–59.
- Nurmi, J.-E. (2004). Socialization and self-development: Channeling, selection, adjustment, and reflection. In R. Lerner, L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 85–124). New York: Wiley.
- Nurmi, J.-E., Poole, M., Seginer, R. (1995). Tracks and transitions – A comparison of adolescent future-oriented goals, explorations, and commitments in Australia, Israel, and Finland. *International Journal of Psychology*, 30, 355–375.
- Nuttin, J., Lens, W. (1985). *Future time perspective and motivation: Theory and research method*. Leuven & Hillsdale, NJ: Leuven University Press & Erlbaum.
- Poole, M., Cooney, G. (1987). Orientations to the future: A comparison of adolescents in Australia and Singapore. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 16, 129–151.
- Schoon, I., Martin, P., Ross, A. (2007). Career transitions in times of social change. His and her story. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 70, 78–96.
- Seginer, R. (1988). Adolescents facing the future. Cultural and sociopolitical perspectives. *Youth & Society*, 19, 314–333.
- Seginer, R. (2009). *Future orientation: Developmental and ecological perspectives*. New York, NY, Springer.
- Seginer, R., Vermulst, A., Shoyer, S. (2004). The indirect link between perceived parenting and adolescent future orientation: A multiple-step model. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28, 365–378.
- Solantaus, T. (1987). Hopes and worries of young people in three European countries. *Health Promotion*, 2, 19–28.
- Tabachnick, B. G., Fidell, L. S. (2007). *Using Multivariate Statistics* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Trope, Y., Liberman, N. (2003). Temporal construal. *Psychological Review*, 110, 403–421.
- Zimbardo, P. G., & Boyd J. N. (1999). Putting time in perspective: A valid, reliable individual-differences metric. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 1271–1288.

LATVIJOS VIDURINĒS MOKYKLOS MOKIŅŪ SU SPECIFINĒMIS GYVENIMO SFEROMIS SUSIJUSIOS IR BENDROSIO VILTYS SOCIOEKONOMIŅŪ POKYČIŪ KONTEKSTE

Aleksandrs Kolesovs
Latvijas universitetas, Latvija

Santrauka. Šio tyrimo *tikslas* – palyginti Latvijos paauglių bendrąją ateities orientaciją ir ateities orientacijas specifinėse gyvenimo sferose gyvenant santykinai ekonomiškai stabiliu ir ekonominės krizės laikotarpiu. Remiantis suvokimo lygio teorija, tikimasi, kad ateities orientacijos konkrečiose srityse labiau skirsis esant skirtingoms ekonominėms sąlygoms nei asmens bendroji ateities orientacija. *Metodika.* Tyrimas atliktas 2004 ir 2010 metais vidurinėse mokyklose. Dvi *tiriamųjų* grupės sudarė 530 mokinių nuo 17 iki 19 metų. P. G. Zimbardo laiko perspektyvos bei Vilčių ir baimių klausimynai latvių kalba buvo pateikti etninės daugumos atstovams, rusų kalba – etnolingvistinės mažumos atstovams. *Tyrimo rezultatai* patvirtino, kad specifinės paauglių viltys su darbu ir šeima susijusiose srityse yra mažesnės esant negatyvioms makroekonominėms sąlygoms, o bendrosios ateities orientacijos lygis nesikeičia. Bendroji ateities orientacija susijusi su etnine grupe ir lytimi.

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: ateities orientacija, su specifinėmis gyvenimo sferomis susijusios viltys, suvokimo lygio teorija, ekonomikos krizė, Latvija.

Received: 03 01 2013

Accepted: 17 05 2013