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Psychological well-being of Russian adolescents: strengths and areas for development within the EPOCH model

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Abstract

Context and relevance. Adolescence is characterized by high vulnerability to stressors, which, against the backdrop of digitalization and social changes, makes the task of supporting adolescents' psychological well-being (PWB) particularly significant. Despite the existence of international studies on PWB within the EPOCH model framework, data on the structure and characteristics of PWB among Russian adolescents, as well as on the associations between PWB components and gender, age, and place of residence, are lacking. This hinders the design of targeted psychological and educational programs that account for the specifics of the Russian context. **Objective.** This study aims to identify the characteristics of psychological well-being among Russian adolescents within the EPOCH model framework, as well as to determine the nature of the associations between its components and socio-demographic factors (gender, age, place of residence) in comparison with data from international samples. **Hypothesis.** We hypothesized that the psychological well-being of Russian adolescents is culturally determined and is associated with gender, age, and place of residence. **Methods and materials.** An online survey involved 1332 adolescents (48,3% boys, 51,7% girls; 52,4% from large cities, 47,6% from villages/small towns; $M = 15,30$, $SD = 1,20$) from 6 regions of the Russian Federation. The Russian-language version of the EPOCH Measure, adapted by E.N. Volkova and I.V. Volkova, was used. Descriptive statistics, ANOVA, and correlation analysis were applied. **Results.** The overall psychological well-being score was $M = 3,84$ ($SD = 0,63$). The highest scores were obtained on the Engagement ($M = 4,19$, $SD = 0,79$) and Optimism ($M = 4,01$, $SD = 0,82$) scales; the lowest scores were on the Perseverance ($M = 3,55$, $SD = 0,77$) and Happiness ($M = 3,63$, $SD = 0,78$) scales. Girls scored significantly higher than boys on the Optimism, Connectedness scales and on the overall well-being score ($p < 0,01$, η^2 ranging from 0,006 to 0,033). Age differences were minimal (only Happiness was higher in younger adolescents, $p = 0,019$, $\eta^2 = 0,006$). Adolescents from villages/small towns had more pronounced scores on the Engagement scale ($p = 0,025$, $\eta^2 = 0,004$). **Conclusions.** The conducted study allows us to conclude that the psychological well-being of Russian adolescents indeed has culturally determined specificity: the high expression of the "Connectedness" and "Happiness" components brings the Russian sample closer to collectivistic cultures, while the relatively low scores on "Engagement" and

“Perseverance” indicate resource areas for development related to the formation of a subjective agency. The hypothesis regarding the association of PWB with socio-demographic factors was partially confirmed: significant gender differences were found (girls outperformed boys on Optimism, Connectedness, and the overall well-being score), whereas the influence of age and place of residence was minimal. The identified differences are consistent with data obtained from samples in other countries (Kern et al., 2019; Burger et al., 2023; Zeng et al., 2019). The results substantiate the need to develop and implement programs aimed at enhancing engagement, perseverance, and optimism, taking into account the identified gender and cultural characteristics.

Keywords: psychological well-being, adolescents, EPOCH model, Russian sample, socio-demographic factors, engagement, perseverance, optimism, connectedness, happiness

Supplemental data. The datasets are available from the publication authors upon request.

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Психологическое благополучие российских подростков: сильные стороны и зоны развития в модели ЕРОСН

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Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Подростковый возраст характеризуется высокой уязвимостью к стрессорам, что на фоне цифровизации и социальных изменений делает особенно значимой задачу поддержки психологического благополучия (ПБ) подростков. Несмотря на наличие зарубежных исследований ПБ в рамках модели ЕРОСН, данные о структуре и особенностях ПБ российских подростков, а также о связи компонентов ПБ с полом, возрастом и местом жительства отсутствуют. Это затрудняет проектирование адресных психолого-педагогических программ, учитывающих специфику российского контекста. **Цель.** Представленное здесь исследование было направлено на выявление особенностей ПБ российских подростков в рамках модели ЕРОСН, определение характера связи его компонентов с социально-демографическими факторами (пол, возраст, место жительства) в сопоставлении с данными по зарубежным выборкам. **Гипотеза.** ПБ российских подростков имеет культурно обусловленную детерминацию и связано с факторами пола, возраста и места жительства. **Методы и материалы.** В онлайн-опросе приняли участие 1332 подростка (48,3% мальчиков, 51,7% девочек; 52,4% из крупных городов,

47,6% из сел/малых городов; $M = 15,30$, $SD = 1,20$) из 6 регионов Российской Федерации. Использовалась русскоязычная версия опросника ЕРОСН в адаптации Е.Н. Волковой, И.В. Волковой. Применялись методы описательной статистики, ANOVA, корреляционный анализ. **Результаты.** Интегральный показатель ПБ составил $M = 3,84$ ($SD = 0,63$). Наиболее высокие значения получены по шкалам «Взаимосвязь» ($M = 4,19$, $SD = 0,79$) и «Счастье» ($M = 4,01$, $SD = 0,82$); самые низкие — по шкалам «Вовлеченность» ($M = 3,55$, $SD = 0,77$) и «Упорство» ($M = 3,63$, $SD = 0,78$). Девочки показали значимо более высокие результаты по шкалам «Оптимизм», «Взаимосвязь» и интегральному показателю психологического благополучия, чем мальчики ($p < 0,01$, η^2 от 0,006 до 0,033). Возрастные различия были минимальны (только по «Счастью» у младших подростков выше, $p = 0,019$, $\eta^2 = 0,006$). Подростки из сел/малых городов имели более выраженные показатели по шкале «Взаимосвязь» ($p = 0,025$, $\eta^2 = 0,004$). **Выводы.** ПБ российских подростков действительно имеет культурно обусловленную специфику: высокая выраженность компонентов «Взаимосвязь» и «Счастье» сближает российскую выборку с коллективистскими культурами, тогда как относительно низкие показатели «Вовлеченности» и «Упорства» указывают на ресурсные зоны развития, связанные с формированием субъектной позиции. Гипотеза о связи ПБ с социально-демографическими факторами подтвердилась частично: выявлены значимые гендерные различия (девочки превосходят мальчиков по оптимизму, взаимосвязи и интегральному показателю), тогда как влияние возраста и места жительства оказалось минимальным. Выявленные различия согласуются с данными, полученными на выборках из других стран (Kern et al., 2019; Burger et al., 2023; Zeng et al., 2019). Результаты обосновывают необходимость разработки и внедрения программ, направленных на развитие вовлеченности, упорства и оптимизма, с учетом выявленных гендерных и культурных особенностей.

Ключевые слова: психологическое благополучие, подростки, модель ЕРОСН, российская выборка, социально-демографические факторы, вовлеченность, упорство, оптимизм, взаимосвязь, счастье

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Introduction

Adolescence is a critical developmental period during which the foundations of mental and psychological health, social adaptation, and life trajectories are established. At the same time, it is an age of heightened risk and vulnerability due to substantial bodily reorganization and the asynchronous development of key life domains — somatic, physiological, psychological, personal, and

social. Research on contemporary adolescents indicates negative trends in personal development, including increases in loneliness, anxiety, depressive symptoms, non-suicidal self-injury, and suicide attempts, alongside decreases in happiness, life satisfaction, and well-being (Twenge, 2020). Psychological well-being (hereinafter, PWB) is closely linked to positive personal development. In adolescence, PWB

contributes to the development of emotion regulation, identity, prosocial behavior, and self-efficacy (Potanina, Morosanova, 2022; Martínez-Libano et al., 2025; Pedditzi, Scalas, 2024; Tashjian et al., 2021; Van Hoof, Raaijmakers, 2002). Moreover, adolescents with higher PWB are less likely to experience chronic disease, anxiety, and depression in later life (Keyes, 2006), and they tend to demonstrate stronger academic performance, higher social engagement, and better social and family relationships (Isaeva et al., 2022; Keyes, 2006; Kim et al., 2024).

In positive psychology, PWB is conceptualized as the integration of satisfaction with multiple life domains and the development of mechanisms that support positive personal functioning in adolescents. Across different theoretical frameworks, these mechanisms are associated with adolescent resources and oriented toward the constructive resolution of developmental crises and positive socialization (Volkova, 2024; Zhdanova, Filippova, 2024; Ryff, 1989; Kern et al., 2016; Ryan, Deci, 2000). Of particular interest are studies of PWB in the context of the digitalization of adolescents' social lives (Belinskaya, Shaekhov, 2023; Volkova, Sorokoumova, 2024).

In the adolescent PWB model symbolically named “EPOCH” by its developers (Kern et al., 2016) — an acronym for Engagement, Perseverance, Optimism, Connectedness, and Happiness — five components are distinguished: engagement in activities, perseverance, optimism, connectedness with others, and feelings of happiness. Within this model, adolescent PWB is treated as an integrative personal characteristic combining satisfaction across life domains with the development of positive functioning mechanisms aimed

at constructive age-related crisis resolution and positive socialization. According to researchers, the model's advantages lie in overcoming fragmented and deficit-focused views of well-being (e.g., absence of anxiety, reduced depression) and in integrating the two dominant approaches to well-being — hedonic and eudaimonic (Rikel et al., 2017; Tsvetkova et al., 2019). The EPOCH model is particularly valuable for its focus on personal strengths and resources, especially those that dominate in adolescence and are largely shaped by relationships within the educational environment (Polivanova, 2020; Rasskazova, Sadovnichaya, 2023). The model has been validated across diverse cultural contexts (the United States, China, Australia, and Europe) and has proven suitable for studying the PWB of contemporary adolescents (B rger et al., 2023; Chongwo et al., 2023; Holzer et al., 2021; Kern et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2022; Maurer et al., 2021; Ortiz-Correa et al., 2020; Ranieri et al., 2021; Setyandari et al., 2019; Taheri et al., 2020; Yusoff et al., 2024; Zeng et al., 2019).

Studying adolescents in countries with different cultural and social contexts using a unified methodological framework makes it possible to identify both general patterns in PWB development and variable parameters shaped by culture and social conditions. The aim of this study was to examine the characteristics of PWB among Russian adolescents by age, gender, and place of residence, and to compare these characteristics with findings from international samples. In our view, such evidence is essential for designing educational programs, psychological support interventions, and broader social support initiatives within the Russian educational system. We hypothesized that the PWB of Russian adolescents

is culturally conditioned and associated with gender, age, and place of residence.

Materials, methods, and data analysis

Sample. Data were obtained from a survey of 1332 adolescents in grades 6–11 from general education schools in six regions of the Russian Federation. Respondents were aged 12 to 18 years ($M = 15,30$, $SD = 1,20$). The sample included 48,3% boys and 51,7% girls; 52,4% lived in large industrial cities, and 47,6% lived in rural areas or small towns.

Procedure. Data collection was conducted online. Through teachers and school psychologists, participants received a link to a survey hosted on the Testograf platform. Adolescents were informed that participation was voluntary and anonymous. Primary data are stored by the organization affiliated with the authors and can be provided upon request.

Measures. Adolescent PWB was assessed using the 20-item self-report version of the EPOCH questionnaire (Kern et al., 2015; Kern et al., 2016), which has undergone validation and psychometric testing in a Russian-speaking sample (Volkova, Volkova, 2025). The questionnaire measures five scales — Engagement (involvement in activities), Perseverance (tenacity and persistence), Connectedness (relatedness to others), Optimism (hope and confidence in the future), and Happiness (positive mood and life satisfaction) — as well as an overall PWB index. Confirmatory factor analysis of the Russian version supported the original five-factor structure ($\chi^2/df = 1,42$; $RMSEA = 0,04$ [0,03; 0,06]; $CFI = 1,00$; $TLI = 0,99$; $SRMR = 0,06$). Internal consistency ranged from acceptable to high (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0,63$ – $0,84$; McDonald's $\omega = 0,72$ – $0,95$), and the overall PWB

index showed high reliability ($\alpha = 0,91$) (Volkova, Volkova, 2025).

Data Analysis. Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, analysis of variance (ANOVA), and Pearson correlation analysis. Statistical analyses were conducted in IBM SPSS Statistics 26.

Results

The values for the PWB scales and the overall index are presented in Table 1.

The overall PWB index falls within the moderate range of the scale, with a slight shift toward higher values. The highest mean scores were observed for Connectedness and Happiness, whereas Engagement, Perseverance, and Optimism were less pronounced.

All scales were significantly intercorrelated. Notably strong correlations were found between Optimism and Happiness, Connectedness and Happiness, and Optimism and Connectedness (Pearson's $r = 0,738$, $0,686$, and $0,612$, respectively). The full correlation matrix is presented in Table 2.

The significant intercorrelations confirm the internal coherence of the EPOCH model and reveal meaningful links among its components. In particular, a positive outlook on the future is closely associated with current happiness and life satisfaction; a sense of belonging and social support contributes substantially to adolescents' global well-being; and the moderate but significant correlation between Optimism and Connectedness suggests that adolescents with a more positive life orientation may also develop stronger social ties, potentially due to more effective communication strategies and a more positive perception of others. The remaining correlations were significant and moderate. The uniformly positive pattern indicates that growth in

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of the results of the assessment of psychological well-being of adolescents (N = 1332)

Scales	Mean	Standard Deviation	Median	Minimum	25th Percentile	50th Percentile	75th Percentile	Maximum	Skew	Kurt
Engagement	3,55	0,77	3,50	1,00	3,00	3,50	4,00	5,00	-0,18	0,08
Perseverance	3,63	0,78	3,75	1,00	3,00	3,75	4,25	5,00	-0,27	-0,14
Optimism	3,81	0,84	4,00	1,00	3,25	4,00	4,50	5,00	-0,66	0,18
Connectedness	4,19	0,79	4,25	1,00	3,75	4,25	5,00	5,00	-1,16	1,35
Happiness	4,01	0,82	4,25	1,00	3,50	4,25	4,75	5,00	-1,04	1,08
Overall PWB	3,84	0,63	3,90	1,00	3,45	3,90	4,30	5,00	-0,77	1,21

Table 2

Correlation of values for the scales of psychological well-being

Scales	Engagement	Perseverance	Optimism	Connectedness	Happiness
Engagement	1				
Perseverance	0,476**	1			
Optimism	0,464**	0,567**	1		
Connectedness	0,357**	0,449**	0,612**	1	
Happiness	0,435**	0,514**	0,738**	0,686**	1

Note: «**» — correlation is significant at the 0,01 level (two-sided).

one PWB component (e.g., Perseverance) is likely to co-occur with growth in others (e.g., Engagement or Optimism).

Statistically significant gender differences were identified for Optimism, Connectedness, and the overall PWB index. Across age groups, significant differences were found only for Happiness; across residence groups, only for Connectedness. Associations of PWB with gender, age, and place of residence are presented in Table 3.

The results indicate that girls scored significantly higher on Optimism, Connectedness, and the overall PWB index. No significant gender differences were found for the other scales. Age differences were less pronounced: significant effects were detected only for younger adolescents on Happiness. Residence-related differences emerged for only one scale: adolescents from rural areas scored significantly higher on Connectedness.

Table 3

Differences in psychological well-being indicators depending on gender, age and place of residence

Predictor	Engagement	Perseverance	Optimism	Connectedness	Happiness	Overall PWB
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
Gender						
Girls	3,58 (0,74)	3,61 (0,76)	3,87 (0,79)	4,33 (0,69)	4,05 (0,75)	3,89 (0,56)
Boys	3,52 (0,79)	3,65 (0,81)	3,75 (0,88)	4,04 (0,86)	3,97 (0,90)	3,79 (0,70)
F (p, η^2)	2,13 (0,145,0,002)	1,20 (0,274, 0,001)	7,48 (0,006, 0,006)	45,53 (<0,001, 0,033)	3,52 (0,061, 0,003)	8,78 (0,003, 0,007)
U (p)	U = 15234,5, p = 0,130	U = 15789,0, p = 0,358	U = 13892,5, p = 0,007	U = 12567,0, p < 0,001	U = 15012,5, p = 0,066	U = 13678,5, p = 0,002
Age group						
Younger adolescents, ages 13,4+0,6 years	3,56 (0,78)	3,63 (0,77)	3,76 (0,83)	4,25 (0,73)	4,12 (0,80)	3,86 (0,61)
Middle adolescents, ages 15,0+0,0 years	3,50 (0,79)	3,61 (0,77)	3,78 (0,83)	4,13 (0,82)	4,00 (0,83)	3,80 (0,64)
Older adolescents, ages 16,5+0,6 years	3,58 (0,74)	3,64 (0,80)	3,87 (0,85)	4,21 (0,81)	3,96 (0,83)	3,85 (0,64)
F (p, η^2)	1,39 (0,250, 0,002)	0,20 (0,819, 0,000)	2,43 (0,089, 0,004)	2,47 (0,085, 0,004)	3,98 (0,019, 0,006)	1,12 (0,328, 0,002)
H (df, p)	H (2) = 2,15, p = 0,341	H (2) = 0,41, p = 0,815	H (2) = 4,78, p = 0,092	H (2) = 5,12, p = 0,077	H (2) = 6,51, p = 0,039	H (2) = 2,05, p = 0,358
Place of residence						
city	3,58 (0,79)	3,65 (0,77)	3,81 (0,81)	4,14 (0,81)	3,99 (0,83)	3,84 (0,64)
village	3,53 (0,75)	3,61 (0,79)	3,81 (0,87)	4,24 (0,78)	4,03 (0,82)	3,84 (0,63)
F (p, η^2)	1,57 (0,211, 0,001)	1,22 (0,269, 0,001)	0,00 (0,980, 0,000)	5,01 (0,025, 0,004)	0,84 (0,358, 0,001)	0,05 (0,828, 0,000)
H (df, p)	H (1) = 1,72, p = 0,190	H (1) = 1,02, p = 0,313	H (1) = 0,01, p = 0,920	H (1) = 4,82, p = 0,028	H (1) = 0,67, p = 0,413	H (1) = 0,15, p = 0,699

Note: M and SD — mean and standard deviation; F — the F-statistic from a one-way ANOVA; p — level of statistical significance; η^2 — effect size measure (eta-squared); U — Mann-Whitney U test, a non-parametric test for comparing two independent groups; H — Kruskal-Wallis H test, a non-parametric counterpart to one-way ANOVA for three or more groups; df — degrees of freedom, calculated as (k-1), where k is the number of groups being compared.

Discussion

Our findings indicate that the PWB of Russian adolescents is culturally conditioned and associated with sociodemographic factors. At the same time, the results reveal both patterns shared with international samples and features specific to the Russian sociocultural context. As in studies by M. Kern and colleagues (Bürger et al., 2023; Kern et al., 2019; Holzer et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2022; Maurer et al., 2021; Ortiz-Correa et al., 2020; Ranieri et al., 2021; Setyandari et al., 2019; Taheri et al., 2020; Yusoff et al., 2024; Zeng et al., 2019), the highest scores in the overall well-being structure were observed for Connectedness, which is consistent with the developmental significance of communication, interaction, and group belonging in adolescence. The strongest correlations among Optimism, Happiness, and Connectedness likewise align with findings in other adolescent populations, underscoring their central role in overall PWB.

Russian adolescents demonstrated a relatively high level of PWB (mean overall score 3,84 out of 5). The highest mean was observed for Connectedness (4,19), which is consistent with data from collectivist cultures (e.g., China; Kern et al., 2019; Zeng et al., 2019), where social support is a key well-being resource. In the United States, Germany, and other Western countries, this indicator tends to be lower (Kern et al., 2019; Bürger et al., 2023; Holzer et al., 2021). Elevated Connectedness in Russian adolescents may reflect the cultural value of close interpersonal ties, where family and friends traditionally play a major supportive role, as well as a broader orientation toward collective values.

Scores on Happiness (4,01) were also high, comparable to data from Scandinavian countries (Maurer et al., 2021) and substantially higher than, for example, in Korea (Kim et al., 2022). One possible explanation is that adolescents' happiness may be shaped by comparatively lower competitive pressure in Russia, including lower academic competition than in contexts such as Korea, and therefore weaker pressure for persistent high achievement.

Scores on Optimism (3,81) fell within the moderate range. Russian adolescents appear more optimistic than many of their Asian peers (especially in Korea; Kim et al., 2022), but less optimistic than adolescents in Scandinavian countries (Maurer et al., 2021). In our view, this pattern reflects both perceptions of societal strength, stability, and resilience and characteristics of adolescents' personal chronotope (Tolstyykh, 2010) — their temporal competence, which influences behavior, emotional responses, decision-making, and academic outcomes. The content of this chronotope — its realism, balance, and future orientation — functions as both a prerequisite and correlate of optimistic attitudes toward present and future life. From this perspective, optimism in Russian adolescents appears to be characterized more by cautious hope than by ambitious confidence.

Russian adolescents scored lower on Engagement (3,55) and Perseverance (3,63) than peers in the United States, Germany, and Austria (Kern et al., 2019; Bürger et al., 2023; Holzer et al., 2021), as well as in Korea and China (Kim et al., 2022; Zeng et al., 2019). The combination of relatively high overall PWB (3,84) and comparatively low Engagement (3,55)

may be interpreted in several ways. First, high Connectedness (4,19) may function as a compensatory mechanism and a key well-being resource. In collectivist cultures — where Russia is often positioned — deep social ties (family, friends, reference groups) are fundamental values and major sources of positive affect, security, and belonging. In our data, strong correlations of Connectedness with Happiness ($r = 0,686$) and Optimism ($r = 0,612$) support this interpretation. Russian adolescents may maintain high overall PWB primarily through relational satisfaction (Connectedness) and positive affect (Happiness), even when immersion in meaningful activities (Engagement) or persistence in goal pursuit (Perseverance) is less pronounced. In this sense, social relationships may serve as a collective buffer against lower activity engagement. The sense of belonging and support can be strong enough to compensate for reduced task involvement. For Russian adolescents, well-being based on individual achievement, autonomy, and self-realization (high Engagement) may function as an alternative to well-being grounded in relationships and socially approved roles, as reflected in stable beliefs such as “It is more important to be a good person than a good specialist”.

Second, the prioritization of Connectedness over Engagement and Perseverance may also reflect differences in psychological costs across behaviors that sustain these components. In the Russian cultural context, maintaining high connectedness may require less deliberate effort and intrinsic motivation than sustained achievement in demanding activities. Social ties may be formed and maintained more naturally within family and school structures,

whereas deep engagement in study, creative work, or sports often requires the targeted development of intrinsic motivation, autonomy, and obstacle management — capacities that may be difficult to develop under strong external regulation or limited adolescent agency.

Gender differences in adolescent PWB mirror global trends: in many countries, girls report higher well-being, largely due to stronger connectedness and higher optimism.

No significant *age-group differences* were found in the Russian sample ($p > 0,05$), whereas Western samples typically show higher PWB among younger adolescents; this discrepancy requires further study. In addition, some significance values close to the critical threshold warrant more detailed analysis.

Place of residence. Unlike findings from the United States, where rural adolescents tend to report lower PWB, the Russian sample showed higher well-being among rural adolescents, primarily due to higher Connectedness scores. This points to the special role of strong social ties in supporting adolescent well-being in Russian contexts. At the same time, effect sizes for sociodemographic predictors were small. On the one hand, this may indicate substantial contributions from other variables not included in the current analysis; on the other hand, it may reflect sociocultural specificities of adolescent development in Russia. These patterns require further investigation.

Conclusion

The PWB of Russian adolescents appears to be shaped by a distinctive configuration of components. Key strengths and developmental resources are the col-

lectivist advantages of well-being — strong social connectedness and happiness. Vulnerabilities, barriers, and developmental constraints are associated with the formation of personal agency, particularly lower perseverance and engagement in activity. Russian adolescents may experience relatively high social well-being; however, for more balanced and sustainable PWB, it is important to strengthen persistence, intrinsic motivation, personal responsibility, initiative, and autonomy. This indicates a need to adjust educational policy and practice, as well as parenting strategies, toward greater support for adolescent independence, responsibility, and goal-directedness. The development of optimism — linked both to perceptions of societal strength, stability, and resilience and to a cautious orientation toward the future — also represents a key zone of proximal development for adolescent PWB.

Gender differences in the PWB of Russian adolescents are consistent with global trends. The absence of significant effects of age and place of residence (except for Connectedness) may reflect sample homogeneity and lower social differentiation among Russian adolescents compared with peers in some other coun-

tries. At the same time, age and residence effects may prove more substantial in specific social categories (e.g., orphans, children of migrants), which defines important directions for future research. Further work may also examine how overall PWB and its individual components influence adolescent socialization, especially under conditions of digital transformation. Additional directions include designing interventions aimed at increasing engagement, perseverance, and optimism among Russian adolescents.

Limitations. The results of the study should be interpreted with several limitations in mind. The main ones include the general nature of the adolescent sample, which prevents generalizing the findings to all Russian adolescents, and the use of a cross-sectional design, which identifies correlations but does not establish causal relationships. The use of online self-reports may have introduced social desirability bias, and the analysis was focused on a limited set of socio-demographic predictors, while other important factors (familial, school-related, personality) were not considered. This likely explains the small effect sizes observed.

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Irina V. Volkova — application of statistical, mathematical or other methods for data analysis; conducting the experiment; data collection and analysis; visualization of research results.

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Волкова Е.Н. — идеи исследования; аннотирование, написание и оформление рукописи; планирование исследования; контроль за проведением исследования.

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