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**TRANSMISSION OF VALUES AND PATTERNS OF RELATIONS:
INTERGENERATIONAL STUDIES**

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Abstract

This article presents studies carried out within the framework of the project "Life models of youth: intergenerational and intragenerational research", supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research. (No. 18-013-00599). The purpose of the studies were to identify the role of intergenerational (vertical) transmission in following spheres: value orientations, moral feelings (shame as an experience of discrepancy between action and accepted norms; guilt as a deep remorse, determined by the personality culture), and behavioural patterns of intimate relationships. The mixed method study design was based on a comparison of three different generations within the same family using 90 families; Russians and Dagestanis living in St. Petersburg. 40 young people participated in intimate models study bringing the sample to a total of 310 people. The data collection instruments comprised a semi-structured interview, the Schwartz Value Inventory, the Guilt Inventory, the Test of Self-Conscious Affect, the FACES - III, the Assessment of sexual profile, and Marriage role expectations techniques were used. The findings revealed a decrease in importance of values of security, tradition, conformity, with simultaneous growth values of independence, novelty and achievements from generation to generation. Differences in the understanding and experience of shame and guilt between the older and younger generations; young people's representations of intimacy demonstration and basics of close relations in young and parents' generation are described. The revealed values dynamics corresponds to the general tendencies described in the literature. However, in another ethnic environment, the values of different generations are close, thus the family culture dominates the culture of the community. Moral experience and intimate relations model show the generations within one family as representatives of different cultures.

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Keywords: Intergenerational transmission, values, moral experiences, intimacy.



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1. Introduction

The sphere of intergenerational relations has always been the focus of attention. The current emphasis in this area is due to a fundamental change in the situation of new generations' entry into life. Transitivity, inherent in the modern world (Martsinkovskaya & Turusheva, 2017), sharply raises the issue of reducing the influence of cultural normative patterns, leading to the transformation of the traditional value system, the change of habitual behaviour patterns, and the formation of a situation with the experience of a new generation being absent from their parents. Individual consciousness in such a reality is characterized by a state of multiple identity, determined by the fluid, changing sociocultural contexts of human life (Guseltseva, 2017). In this connection, the study of new ideals and values of cultural development takes the format of the World Values Research ("WVS Cultural Maps"), open for access and actively used in the social sciences and humanities.

(<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>).

The transitivity of the modern world, in another way, accentuates the problem of the relationship between generations. The new social situation of youth development is fundamentally different from the conditions in which their parents and grandparents grew up. These changes concern the establishment of social ties, information immersion and experience that strengthens cultural estrangement between generations. Existing, mostly comparative, cross-sectional studies of social representations, values, attitudes of different generations (in most cases only generations of parents-children, much less often grandparents-grandchildren) reflect the severity, inconsistency and uncertainty of the current social situation. In the case of Russia, which represents an inter-ethnic conglomerate, the intersection of cultures, the change of ideologies over the past thirty years, this situation has multiplied repeatedly, triggering a research need for an evaluation and description of transmission mechanisms.

Literature analysis devoted to the transmission of values showed increased intergenerational distancing and weakening of family ties (Starchikova, 2012). In parallel, other studies, based on comparative surveys of parents and children, emphasize both the reproduction of traditional family values, as well as their liberalization (Rean, 2015). These studies claim the existence of both liberal and conservative views on gender relations and social attitudes, liberalization of family predictors and material values, differences in the main sources of information choice (Grebennikova, et al, 2017).

Studies have revealed the factors influencing the degree of adolescents' acceptance of their parents' values: actual value agreement between parents, parental agreement as perceived by adolescents, parent-child closeness and promotion of child's volitional functioning (Barni, Ranieri & Rosnati, 2011). The strong interaction between family and the social-cultural context in determining the level of value similarity among one family including the generation of ancestors is highlighted (Barni, Ranieri & Scabin, 2012). There are a number of studies observing the features of intergenerational transmission in connection with the poly-ethnic family situation (Lebedeva, et al, 2016).

In many countries, the values of parents and children, and the differences between them have been investigated. So, Demir & Kok (2012) using a modification of Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire studied values of parents of primary school pupils and showed that parents consistently preferred values of Universalism, Security, Benevolence, Conformity, Tradition, that did not significantly vary depending on the age, occupation, education level, and pupils' grade level. Asikuzun & Kildan (2014) showed that in

spite of the current changes in the world's societies and centuries-old habits due to a new circumstances and experiences, some universal and human values still remain a priority for many parents in rearing their children as they were centuries ago. Based on the comparative analysis of two generations values, conducted in Russia (parents and their adult children), similar tendencies were revealed. These are the tendencies in changing the significance of values from generation to generation. Moreover, a comparatively stronger influence of mothers on the values of children compared with fathers was shown (Rzhanova & Alekseeva, 2017).

The study of the sphere of moral experience is of great importance for understanding the role of intergenerational transmission. In different cultures and at different periods of human history, shame and guilt were universal regulators of social behavior. Thus, as the socialization of the individual is carried out, the norms, rules, and regulations that are necessary for successful functioning in society are assimilated. In the studies devoted to the study of these phenomena, the authors emphasize their socio-cultural conditioning, their connection with the individual social formation, with historical and cultural phenomena (Korotkova, 2002). The psychological content of these experiences is presented in the works of Tangney & Dearing (2003) that reveal the feeling of shame as the experience of inconsistency between actions and accepted norms, and the sense of guilt as a deep repentance determined by the person's culture. Shame involves an external judgmental environment, while the experience of guilt is exacerbated by internal "pricks of conscience". Fossum & Mason (1986) define shame as an internal sense of humiliation and inferiority, and self-condemnation. Ausubel (1955) associates guilt with the acceptance and internalization of moral values and notes that parents try to educate children's feelings of guilt and conscience in order to create a sense of responsibility. In this regard, the author assumes the existence of general cultural mechanisms that contribute to the assimilation of guilt and the consequent behavior. Studies of intergenerational differences in the experience of moral feelings show that older people are more likely to experience guilt than young people (Gornayeva, 2012).

Peculiarities of behavioral patterns in the field of close relations in the context of intergenerational transmission have become one of the study objectives of family psychologists and psychotherapists in psychological practice. In Bowen's (1978) theory of family systems, one of the basic propositions is the idea of the importance of understanding the logic of transferring certain features of family interaction to the new generation.

The creation of close intimate relationships, characterized by a demonstration of personal attachment to a partner, a desire to emotionally reveal themselves and a sexual attraction are a significant need for most young people; an important factor in their personal and social development. Most often, the choice of a partner and the way this relationship is built will depend on the value assumptions about the family (Byng-Hall, 1985) and the behaviour patterns in the intimate sphere that young men and women observed with their parents.

In studies related to the analysis of intergenerational transmission concerning the creation of intimate relationships, similarities and differences between parental and positions of young people were found. So Grigorova's (2016) study revealed that for young people, there is a conflict between the idea of unconditional love expectation and the partners merger (parental) and the desire to be emotionally independent of the partner (children). As for the similarity, it was noted that both young girls and their

mothers expect the man to fulfil the leadership role and at the same time, the desire to control it. The study conducted by Izotova, Golubeva and Grebennikova (2017) shows the ambivalence and inconsistency of representations concerning issues of family values between adolescents and their parents. Most parents had stereotyped views and adhered to clear gender differences in the distribution of family responsibilities, emotional response to various situations and building relationships. Older adolescents mostly had liberal views and moved away from gender stereotypes, believing that in difficult situations a man can show weakness and not necessarily restrain emotions.

2. Problem Statement

Changes in society caused by the development of culture, technology, changing reality entail changes in attitudes, values, and rules of conduct that may contradict the norms of the past. There are questions, according to what norms of the parental family or society as a whole, young people form their values, moral feelings, intimate relations. Our study focuses on the intergenerational transmission in three main areas most important for understanding the portrait of a new generation on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ones most affected by the influence of the decline of cultural normative patterns which refer specifically to the sphere of value orientations, the sphere of moral experience and the sphere of close relations.

3. Research Questions

The analysis of the problem have generated the following questions:

- 3.1 How similar and how different are the value orientations of different generations in the same family?
- 3.2 Does the idea of shame and guilt differ or is it similar among people belonging to different generations in the same family?
- 3.3 How similar are the young people's ideas about the patterns of close relations of their parents and about the patterns of their own future close relations?

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose was to identify the role of intergenerational (vertical) transmission in following spheres: value orientations (hierarchical system of life values), moral feelings (shame as an experience of discrepancy between action and accepted norms; guilt as a deep remorse, determined by the personality culture), and behavioural patterns of intimate relationships.

5. Research Methods

5.1. Study Participants

Representatives of three generations of 60 families who live in St. Petersburg, Russia (180 people in total) took part in the study of values. Of these, 30 families (90 people) are Russians, belonging to the main ethnic group of St. Petersburg, representing more than 80% of the city's population. The second group consists of 30 families (90 people), representatives of the Dagestani diaspora, who live in St.

Petersburg under conditions of an ethnic environment (those belonging to a small group, less than 2% of the total population of St. Petersburg).

To study moral feelings, 30 families were selected - only 90 people - three representatives of different generations (the younger generation - children / grandchildren of 17-37 years, the middle generation - parents 42-59 years, the older generation - grandmothers 63-94 years) who were all blood relatives.

40 young men and women took part in the pilot study of models of intimate relations and their average age was 21.8. They were asked to answer questions about their own patterns of intimate relationships and about the patterns of intimate relationships in their parent family.

Altogether, a total of 310 people took part in the research.

5.2. Research Design and Measures

The design of the main study included a comparison of representatives of three different generations within the same family. To identify the features of the value system, the Schwartz Value Inventory in modification by Karandachev was used (Karandachev, 2004). The methodology is intended both for studying values at the level of normative ideals, and for studying the manifestation of values in social behavior. In the applied part of the questionnaire, the respondent is asked to assess, on a seven-point scale, the importance of 57 statements (corresponding to certain values) as the guiding principle of life. When interpreting the results, values are grouped into ten types: Power (social status, domination over people and resources); Achievement (personal success in accordance with social standards); Hedonism (pleasure, enjoyment of life); Stimulation (excitement and novelty); Independence (independence of thought and action); Versatility (understanding, tolerance and protection of the well-being of all people and nature); Benevolence (preservation and improvement of well-being of close people); Traditions (respect and responsibility for cultural and religious customs and values); Conformity (deterrence of actions and motives that may harm others and do not correspond to social expectations); Security (security and stability of society, relations and oneself).

To study moral feelings the interview developed by the author was used. It contained a proposal to tell in detail about the personal situation associated with the experience of shame, and three open questions aimed at revealing the personal meaning of shame and guilt. Standardized questionnaires were used to measure moral principles and experiences. The Guilt Inventory (Jones, Schratte, Kugler, 2000), consists of 45 statements, which should be evaluated on a five-point scale, and allows to measure three scales: "fault-state", "fault-trait" and "commitment to moral standards." The Test of Self-Conscious Affect - TOSCA (Tangney, Wagner, Gramzow, 1989) includes 15 everyday situations, each of which is proposed to be assessed in a five-point scale in terms of the likelihood of its occurrence in personal life. The evaluation of results is carried out on six scales: "fault-trait", "shame-trait", externality, detachment, and two aspects of pride.

To study the close relations we used The Assessment of sexual profile (Potemkina, 1993), that contains 150 questions and allow to reveal the degree of manifestations of sexual behavior on 14 bipolar scales: expressiveness, boldness, self-interest, selectivity, hyper sexuality, scrupulousness, tenderness, sacrifice, responsibility, love as the highest value, jealousy, need for diversity, femininity, avoidance of

sexual contacts between employees. The Role expectations and claims in marriage technique (Volkova, 1990) contains 36 statements, each of which should be evaluated using the answer variants: "totally agree" - 3, "in general, this is true" - 2, "it's not quite so" - 1, "it's wrong" - 0. The method allows to identify the respondents' views on the importance of seven areas of family life: sexual relations, personal identification with the husband or wife, parental responsibilities, the professional interests of each of the spouses, household services, moral and emotional support, external attractiveness of partners.

5.3. Data Analysis

To obtain the data necessary to answer the research questions, descriptive, correlation, and comparative analysis were conducted.

6. Findings

6.1. An intergenerational study of the transmission of a value system in the conditions of a native and heterogeneous cultural environment

The results of value system study in a group of Russian families revealed differences among persons belonging to different generations (Table 01). The general tendencies consist of a reduction from generation to generation of the values importance of conservatism - security, traditionality and conformity with simultaneous growth of the importance of values of independence, novelty and achievements. These trends correspond to the patterns described in the literature, reflecting the dynamics of values from "older" to "younger" generations.

The study of the value system in the group of Dagestani families, however, showed a different picture. For the older generation, there is an orientation toward preserving one's ethnicity, which is manifested in the value of traditions and conformity, but the values of independence, novelty and achievements do not show significant growth in younger generations. In general, the differences between the indicators of values in different generations in this sample are less than in the group of Russian families, which may be a consequence of the active position of the older generation, striving to preserve its values, national traditions and culture in families, maintaining close ties with the historical home. The obtained data allows concluding that in a more "closed" group (existing in the conditions of an ethnic environment) the family culture dominates the culture of the community.

Table 01. The significance of values in three generations of Russians (R) and Dagestanis (D) living in St. Petersburg

Values	Generations					
	Older		Middle		Younger	
	R	D	R	D	R	D
Conformity	4.40	4.7	3.63	4.5	3.18	4.1
Traditions	3.33	4.4	2.93	4.0	1.85	4.0
Benevolence	4.65	4.3	4.21	4.5	3.93	4.0
Versatility	4.20	4.1	3.87	4.3	3.27	4.0
Independence	3.53	4.3	4.25	4.3	4.47	4.0
Stimulation	2.06	3.5	2.80	4.6	3.20	3.9

Hedonism	2.67	3.5	3.03	4.0	4.29	4.0
Achievements	3.58	4.2	3.84	4.4	4.45	4.5
Power	2.34	4.2	2.78	3.9	3.22	4.3
Security	5.03	4.3	4.83	4.5	3.81	4.4

Thus, the mechanisms of intergenerational family cultural transmission differ depending on the degree of inclusion and "openness" - "closure" of families in a broader social context.

6.2. Understanding of the phenomena of guilt and shame by representatives of different generations of the same family

In an intergenerational study of cultural standards of understanding and experiencing guilt and shame within one family, respondents were asked to recall and talk about a situation when they encountered shame, and to describe the details ("How old were you when it happened?"; "Have you told anyone about this situation, and if so, to whom?"; "How did he / she react to your story?"). In the second part of the interview, respondents had to answer 3 open questions revealing the meaning of shame and guilt, as well as describing the situation and the person from whom they learned what shame and guilt mean.

The results of the interviews were processed based on content analysis. The answers were distributed a) on topics (spheres) - with whom or with what the situation of guilt or shame is connected, in what area, in which place it occurred (for example, family, work, friends, appearance, theft, relations with the opposite sex, etc.); b) a brief description of what happened; c) frequency analysis of key words / phrases reflecting the meaning of the situation in which respondents for the first time experienced shame or guilt or learned what shame or guilt mean.

Table 2 presents examples of the most frequent answers to the question "How do you understand what shame is?" among representatives of different generations.

Table 02. The percentage of shame understanding by representatives of different generations

«Shame is ...»	Generation		
	Younger	Middle	Older
A feeling of awkwardness, uncertainty, discomfort	23%	30%	20%
Inconsistency with norms, morals, education, going beyond	23%	20%	17%
Condemnation on the part of society	23%	13%	7%
It's wrong, to do something wrong	20%	10%	27%
Negative self-evaluation	13%	10%	0%
An incorrect act, which is bad for another person	17%	3%	7%
Inner experience, emotion, feeling	13%	3%	0%

Representatives of the younger and middle generation more often associate shame with a sense of embarrassment and discomfort, with a mismatch of morality, upbringing and going beyond the norm, and with condemnation on the part of society. Representatives of the older generation mostly associate shame with situations when they did something wrong or incompetently, and also understand the shame in connection with the feeling of awkwardness and violation of norms, but unlike the younger and middle, they less likely to associate shame with condemnation on the part of society.

Table 3 presents examples of the most frequent answers to the question "How do you understand what guilt is?" among representatives of different generations.

Table 03. The percentage of guilt understanding by representatives of different generations

«Guilt is ...»	Generation		
	Younger	Middle	Older
Did something wrong, it's bad, it's impossible	17%	13%	20%
Should have done and did not	7%	17%	13%
Did it wrong	17%	3%	10%
Regret and remorse	10%	7%	3%
Negative consequences	17%	7%	0%
Because of me or my actions it is bad for another person	27%	13%	3%

The differences in understanding and experience of shame between representatives of different generations, especially between the older and younger, indicate a significant discrepancy between cultural standards for assessing actions for which one should be ashamed. Moreover, it is among the younger generation that the descriptions of situations "dominate, when it should be embarrassing, but there was no feeling of shame". Even fewer coincidences in the answers between generations are recorded in describing the understanding of guilt - no more than 20%. Representatives of the younger generation more often associate guilt with the negative consequences of their actions for another person, the average - with default, and the elder - with a bad or wrong deed. These manifestations of the limited transmission of cultural standards allow us to conclude that it is necessary to consider generations as representatives of different cultures within the same family.

A survey using the Guilt Inventory (Jones, Schratte, Kugler, 2000), and the Test of Self-Conscious Affect -TOSCA (Tangney, Wagner, Gramzow, 1989) showed that representatives of the older generation are reliably more likely to experience guilt because of their behaviour assessment ($p=0.000$) and are more likely to attribute responsibility for the consequences of their actions to external circumstances or to other people ($p=0.003$) than representatives of the younger and middle generation.

Representatives of the older generation have a more pronounced commitment to moral standards ($p=0.000$), followed by representatives of the middle generation, and, the factor of moral standards is expressed least of all in representatives of the younger generation.

6.3. Patterns of close relationship in the parent family and in the future family in the representations of young people

In the pilot study, models of intimate relationship of young people were studied. It included a relatively stable value image containing emotionally colored patterns of behaviour associated with the demonstration of personal attachment, the creation and maintenance of intimate relationship, including sexual relations between two people, as well as a block of ideas about a number of typical events concerning intimacy present in the daily life of the parent family.

Young people were asked to answer the questionnaire "Role expectations and claims in marriage" (Volkova, 1990) from their personal position and the position of their parents (separately mother and father). The results obtained are shown in Table 04. Significant statistical differences were found in the factors "intimate-sexual value", "emotional-psychotherapeutic value of the family" and "personal

identification". In young people, these indicators are significantly higher than the indicators of their understanding of the value for their parents. According to the factor "economic and household values", these indicators are significantly lower.

Table 04. Significance of areas of close relationship in young people's ideas about themselves and their parents

Relationship	Young people	Mother	Father	Mann–Whitney U test
Intimate-sexual	5.94	3.48	4.12	p<0.01
Personal identification	6.48	4.89	3.92	p<0.01
Emotional-psychotherapeutic	6.81	4.31	3.89	p<0.05
Economic and household	5.32	6.95	6.35	p<0.01

According to Potemkina's (1993) questionnaire "Assessment of sexual profile", high indices were obtained on the scale "expressiveness" (M=8.9, $\sigma=1.1$) and "boldness, determination" (M=7.8, $\sigma=1.7$). The data obtained testify to the frustration of young people, their willingness to talk openly about sex, and confidence in their sexual abilities.

Thus, we see that, according to young people, the value basis for the closeness of parents is joint management of the economy, whereas for them, it is a joint emotional and value community and harmony in sexual relations, including emotional and behavioral openness to sex.

So, the first research question about the similarity and difference of value orientations of different generations in the same family can be answered, that more differences between generations are revealed than similarities. This is reflected in the fact that in younger generations the values of one's own importance and uniqueness (independence, hedonism, and achievements) come first, while the older ones prefer the values of safety and social orientation. At the same time, the differences between the generations in value orientations depend on the ethnic factor. In ethnic families living in a different cultural environment, the similarity in value orientations between generations within a single family is significantly higher than the differences. The study of the question about similarity of the concepts of shame and guilt between people belonging to different generations in the same family showed that they differ significantly. The greatest coincidence in responses related to the topic of shame in the family and situations of experiencing shame in life was only 37% and 33% respectively. Representatives of different generations not only understand, but also experience these moral feelings in different ways. In this case, we can note a much greater similarity between generations, when family members describe the primary experience of shame. It can be assumed that this is due to the smaller variety of intra-family experience of situations of shame than the situations of guilt, and similar conditions in which they first learned what shame is and faced with its experience. Probably, the situations of guilt are more unique and are more often associated with the individual's life experience. The third research question about the similarity of young people's ideas of patterns of close relations of their parents and their future close relationships also revealed significant differences. For young people, in their opinion, the basis of close relationships will be emotional support of each other, similarity of interests and values, common activities (for example, joint struggle for ecology), and satisfaction with sexual relations. At the same time, they believe that their parents are more united by the economic and household sphere of life, and to a lesser extent - by the emotional-sensual component.

7. Conclusion

The revealed dynamics of values, the experience of moral feelings and the model of intimate relations shows generations within one family as representatives of different cultures. Value orientations are determined by belonging to the generation: they differ substantially between generations and are close within the generation. However, under the conditions of an ethnic environment, the values of representatives of different generations are similar, thus the culture of the ethnic family dominates the culture of the community. Differences in the experience of shame and guilt have a more complex structure. Despite the fact that significant intergenerational differences in the cultural assessment of situations of shame and guilt are obtained, younger generations, in contrast to older ones, are more likely to feel ashamed of their family members. In addition, representatives of the younger and middle generation are more likely to respond that they have learned about what shame and guilt are, thanks to parents and family. That is, for such social emotions as shame and guilt, an intergenerational transmission appears at the level of affective experiences, and intra social transmission - at the level of cognitive attitudes. Young people are characterized by a transformation of a close relationship model. Their model includes representations reflecting the current trends in the development of society related to family, marriage and gender: the decrease in the importance of traditional economic activity, the growing role of emotional-personal and semantic, value factors in relations, an increasing awareness of the role of sexual relations and the growing interest in them. The model of close relations of their parents, in their opinion, is built mainly around economic activities. This indicates the appearance of an intergenerational break in the part of the notions of intimate relations.

The complex trajectory of the transmission of values and moral orientations revealed in the study testifies to the possibility of enhancing the role of social networks and the Internet, the main medium for transferring behavior patterns within the younger generation, in translating the significance of social norms, socially important attitudes, and patterns of relationships between people. At the same time, the need to provide support to the family as a source of moral self-awareness becomes evident, given that ethnic diasporas are able to promote family values more than values accepted in the culture where they live.

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