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**INTERGENERATIONAL
TRANSMISSION OF VALUES IN
URBAN AND RURAL AREA (THE
CASE OF RUSSIA)**

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INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES IN URBAN AND RURAL AREA (THE CASE OF RUSSIA)³

This paper examines the role of the place of living (rural or urban) and its socio-cultural context in determining the parent-adolescent child value similarity. We interviewed representatives of two generations: parents and adolescent children from 90 families in Moscow and 62 families in villages (n=304 people). Our findings indicate the influence of the socio-cultural context on the transmission of values. Conservation values are primarily transmitted from parents to children in more traditional, rural contexts. Openness to change, Self-Enhancement and Self-Transcendence values are transmitted from parents to children mainly in urban contexts. The perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents (adolescent perception) predicts value transmission in urban and rural contexts. All values of adolescents are more similar to the values of peers than parents, in both urban and rural contexts.

Keywords: individual values, intergenerational transmission of values, value similarity, socialization, parents, adolescents.

JEL Classification: Z

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Introduction

In recent years, the intergenerational transmission of values in families has been increasingly attracting interest (Barni, 2009). Another term for this phenomenon often be encountered in the literature is cultural transmission. Since values are directly related to the culture, these concepts can be viewed as synonyms (Schwartz, 2014). Cultural transmission is important for continuity in the society, as it maintains the relationship between members of different generations and allows saving knowledge about the culture and cultural traditions (Schönpflug, 2001; Trommsdorff, 2009). Currently, in view of the socio-economic changes a value gap between generations, and the heterogeneity in the value orientations of people has been observed in different socio-cultural contexts (e.g., urban and rural) (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Swader, 2013).

The process by which values are acquired has been widely discussed, but has not been studied extensively, especially in families with adolescents (Barni et al, 2011). Meanwhile, adolescence is a very important stage in the internalization of values. Children, during adolescence, are extremely susceptible to the messages transmitting values, more than in any other preceding childhood period (Padilla-Walker, 2007). Therefore, the intergenerational transmission of values should be studied on the sample of adolescents and their parents.

Unfortunately, the studies that compare the socialization environment in relation to the transmission of values are still few in number and mainly concern immigrants in different cultural environments, comparing their values with the ones inherent in the native culture (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Thus, the question arises whether the process of transmission of values and the result changes from one generation to another depends on the social context (such as the type of settlement - urban or rural).

This issue has not been fully studied and we expand knowledge in this research area. Moreover, our results will be useful for parents as well as educators and psychologists working with families and children.

The influence of the place of living on the transmission of values

There are several definitions of the concept “intergenerational transmission of values” (Barni, 2009, Schönplflug 2001, Trommsdorff, 2009), we define it as the transfer of values of one generation to another within the process of an individual’s socialization. Initially, the process of socialization was understood as the process of adaptation of an individual to a society which, in turn, shapes each of its members in accordance with the inherent culture. Thus, society acts as the subject of the action, and the individual as the object at which this action is aimed. In accordance with this approach we can isolate so-called “narrow socialization” cultures, which presume obedience and submission to parental and social values and disapprove deviation from cultural expectations (Arnett, 1995).

Later, in connection with the development of the perception of the socialization process it was assumed that not only do individuals adapt to the society, but they also influence their life circumstances and themselves. The essence of socialization is the combination of adaptation and isolation within a particular society. In this approach, an individual takes an active role in the socialization process. In accordance with this approach, we can identify “broad socialization cultures” that encourage the individualism, independence and self-expression of children (Arnett, 1995). Despite these differences, the transmission of values is present in all cultures (Boehnke, 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). As mentioned, the succession of values between generations is an important task of socialization and is essential for the functioning of society (Fuligni & Zhang 2004; Schönplflug 2001). This succession is dependent on the efficiency of the transmission processes. Not all values are transmitted to the same extent, and not all have the same degree of influence. It is believed that collectivist values are transmitted better than individualistic ones (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001).

Currently the process of transmission of values is defined as an interactive process in which it is assumed that parents and children act as both subjects and

objects in the process of socialization. (Kuczynski & Navara, 2006; Roest et al, 2010.). Since the transmission is interactive in nature, it may serve as a reason for both the differences between generations and the similarities between them: the differences are not necessarily a mistake, but rather a possible result. In the literature, this version of the transmission of values is called vertical, i.e. the transmission of values from parents to children (Berry, Poortinga et al, 1992; Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981).

Steca et al., (2012) found a similarity of value orientations in the Self-Enhancement and Self-Transcendence value meta-values among parents, adolescents and their peers at the level of means and correlations. As a result, at the level of average values the similarity in the value orientations of adolescents was higher with their peers than with parents. After conducting the correlation analysis a similarity was observed between male adolescents and their parents in the Self-Transcendence values, and in the Self-Enhancement values—both with parents and peers. At the same time, girls showed a similarity in the Self-Enhancement block values only with parents. The authors refer such results as the so-called “generational effect”, the essence of which lies in the fact that the younger generation tends to take the values of the Self-Enhancement block rather than ones of the Self-Transcendence (Buzzi, Cavalli, & de Lillo, 1997). In addition, it is known that the main activity of adolescents is communication with peers, so here we see the phenomenon of “perceived similarity”, the essence of which lies in the fact that adolescents are convinced that they are similar to their friends and strive to be like them. But this phenomenon is only possible when there is mutual sympathy and friendship between individuals (Steca et al., 2012). So here, as we have seen, attraction plays a great role.

Steca et al. (2012), referring to the study by Haris (1998), also indicate that younger children born into the family are more susceptible to peer influence than the older children.

Thus, as we see, in addition to the parents, adolescents themselves and their peers are involved in the process of transmission of values. In the literature, this

version of the transmission is referred to as “horizontal”, i.e. the value orientation of adolescents is affected by their peers (Berry, Poortinga et al, 1992; Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). We can conclude that during adolescence the influence of peer values is more important than that of the parents. However, it remains unclear whether this is true for adolescents living in different socio-cultural contexts (e.g. urban and rural).

Besides the above influences (family, peers, friends, and their relationships), the values of parents and adolescents are affected by the socio-cultural context in which these relationships occur. (Trommsdorff, 2009) Therefore, the influence of established standards results in the formation of similar typical value orientations in individuals living in the same socio-cultural context. This effect was discovered by Cronbach in 1955 and named “the accuracy stereotype” (Roest et al., 2009). In other studies, it is called “the stereotype effect” (Barni, 2012). The essence of this effect is that the accuracy stereotype refers to the common cultural or normative influence resulting in similar, typical and stereotyped responses of people living in the same social and cultural environment. The idea is that parents and adolescents are exposed to a wider social context, which functions as a socialization agent that causes similarities in their value preferences (Boehnke et al., 2007).

This effect was widely studied by Boehnke (2001), who suggested that the similarity in values between generations within families are due to many influences, among which two are contextual: the effect of the values of parents and the effect of the values prevailing in society. He called the last "zeitgeist" and used it to show that the covariance in the results for specific children and their parents can be partly attributed to the general or modal social-value climate that promotes communication between generations or between individuals within a single generation, even if these individuals are not relatives. In our view, this concept is synonymous with the concept of "stereotype effect" identified by Cronbach (Roest et al., 2009).

Fuligni and Zhang (2004) studied attitudes towards family responsibilities of adolescents living in urban and rural societies of modern China. China has only

recently switched to market economy, so the study looked at what changes have occurred in the values of the younger generation and how much they are affected by the place of residence. They found that a positive attitude to family responsibilities was less characteristic of male adolescents living in the city. This can refer to the fact that birth rate is strictly regulated in the city, so almost all of the respondents were only children, and this, according to some researchers, promotes the development of individualism. In rural areas the social security system is less developed, so all family members have to devote more time to caring for loved ones. In addition, they found that such attitudes are manifested most in families with close, warm, trusting relationships. The authors suggest that this factor is universal for all countries.

In general, the family has a great importance for the respondents despite the individualistic tendencies among male adolescents living in the city. Evidently, in the urban environment the values of adolescents are more individualistic. For what reason? And how is the urban environment different from the non-urban one in terms of socialization? Zharova (2010) pointed out that the main difference of the urban environment from the non-urban one in terms of socialization is the nature of contacts between individuals. In the non-urban environment contacts are fewer but more constant; in the urban environment they are numerous but less constant. Therefore in the non-urban environment, the social control of compliance with social norms and rules is higher than in urban environments, where the “rules and regulations are less stringent, and subjects of interaction are less judgemental about deviations in behaviour, so everything “new” is much easier to digest than in a less urbanized environment” (Zharova, 2010). In the Russian context, “new” means individualistic values. A city resident has a larger number of social roles than the villager, whose social roles are more diffuse.

Sociologists point out that rural society has elements of a “traditional neighbourhood community”: a permanent population, close kinship and neighbourly relations (Vinogradsky, 1998; Fadeeva, 2007). The way of life of many families living in villages is agricultural and adolescents have to help parents

about the household. In rural areas in modern Russia infrastructure for sport and leisure activities is less developed than in cities thus adolescents have to spend more time at home.

These are some of the specific conditions for socialization in the urban and non-urban environments. In rural areas, socialization is directed more towards collectivism and social control than in the city. Therefore, we expect that the values of adolescents and their parents in the urban environment will be different from those of adolescents and their parents living in rural areas, and the degree of similarity between the values of parents and adolescents will be different.

The process of the transmission of values is not only affected by the value orientation of parents, children and their peers, but also by the socio-cultural context—the type of settlement.

Therefore, we hypothesise that the social context (urban-rural) affect the values of adolescents and their parents (Fuligni & Zhang, (2004); Barni, (2009); Zharova, (2010); Vinogradskiy, (1998) Fadeeva (2007)).

H1. The values of adolescents in urban society are more similar to the values of peers than of their parents.

H2a. Value similarity between adolescents and their parents in "Openness to change" vales and "Self-Enhancement" values is higher in families living in urban areas than in the families living in rural areas.

H2b. Value similarity between adolescents and their parents in "Conservation" vales and "Self-Transcendence" values is higher in families living in rural areas than in families living in urban areas.

The differences between generations may be attributable to the choice that parents make as to which values they are going to transmit, and the choice that children make as to the adoption or rejection of these values. In other words, the transmission is defined as a two-step process: at the first step, children perceive the values that their parents would like them to accept; at the second step, children can choose to either accept or reject the values they perceive. The accuracy of the

perception and the acceptance predict the differences between individual values of adolescents and the values that they attribute to their parents, can be divided into two meta-values: “Openness to change” (hedonism and stimulation) and “Conservation” (tradition, conformity and security). The first one focuses on the enjoyment, pleasure, personal conformity of values between parents and children (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009). It remains unclear as to what determines the acceptance of values by adolescents.

According to the research by Barni (2009), intergenerational satisfaction and openness to new experiences, while the meta-value “Conservation” focuses on self-restraint, order, and resisting change. According to adolescents, parents mainly try to nurture conservative values in them, while they are more open to new experiences and challenges. This is why adolescents refuse to accept Conservation values (Barni, 2009).

Adolescents explore and develop their autonomy and independent identity. The values of the “Openness to change” which block contributing to the achievement of independence are most effective for such motivation. On the other hand, at this life stage, parents are still responsible for the care of their children. They should take into account the aspects of dependence, and the need for safety and rules which continue to be valid during adolescence, as well as adolescents’ growing need for autonomy (Barni, 2009).

According to Barni and Ranieri’s (2011) follow-up study of the intergenerational transmission of values, a moderate acceptance may be because of the low conformity of parental values, distance in the relationship between the child and the parent, or the parent's inability to legitimize the autonomy of the child. Low conformity and distanced relationship may make it harder for a child to identify themselves with their parents, because the parents are perceived as distant to each other and their child. However, if the parents demand obedience from the child, do not give them an opportunity to choose or do not recognize their separate identity, the child can see this as a threat to their autonomy. It is therefore very important to have a positive psychological climate in the family and warm and

trusting relationships between parents and children (Barni & Ranieri, 2011; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004). We can assume that the perceived psychological closeness between parents and children affects the adoption of values by the adolescents.

H3. The perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts intergenerational value transmission.

The study empirically tests the influence of the social context on the similarities and differences between the values of parents and children (in urban and rural areas).

Method

Participants

To determine the similarities and differences of the values of adolescents and parents in different social contexts, we interviewed representatives of two generations (parents, adolescents), living in Moscow (180 people) and in villages of the Yaroslavl, Tver and Ivanovo regions in Russia (124 people). The interviewed parents and children were from 90 families in Moscow and 62 families living in the villages.

The average age of adolescents in an urban sample is 17, parents 43. The average age of adolescents in a rural sample is 15, parents 41.

In Table 1, we present the gender and age characteristics of the sample.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the sample of the study.

	N	% males	% females	M (s)
Families living in the city				
Adolescents	90	40%	60%	17.6 (1.71)
Parents	90	22.2%	77.8%	43.3 (5.71)
Families living in the villages				
Adolescents	62	53.2%	46.8%	15.6 (1.75)
Parents	62	21%	79%	41.7 (5.39)
Total	304	33.8%	66.2%	

Materials and procedure

For the empirical study of similarities and differences of the values of parents and adolescents in urban and rural areas, we used Portrait Value Questionnaire – Revised (PVQ-R) (Schwartz, 2012). The questionnaire is designed for the study of 19 values, which are combined in four meta-values scales:

Conservation (Security-personal, Security-societal, Tradition, Conformity-rules Conformity-interpersonal; all Cronbach's alpha > .79);

Self-Transcendence (Humility, Benevolence-caring, Benevolence-dependability, Universalism-concern, Universalism-nature Universalism-tolerance; all Cronbach's alpha > .82);

Openness to change (Self-Direction-thought, Self-Direction-action, Stimulation, Hedonism; all Cronbach's alpha > .76);

Self-Enhancement (Achievement, Power-dominance Power-resources, Face; all Cronbach's alpha > .72).

Participants were given 57 descriptions of a person and they had to assess how similar they are to that person on 6-point scale: from 1 (not similar at all) to 6 (very similar).

Psychological closeness. We asked our participants to assess their psychological closeness with other family members on 5-point scale: from 1 as (very distant) to 5 (very close).

We conducted the survey at schools in Moscow and rural settlements in the Yaroslavl, Ivanovo and Tver regions. Adolescents were given one copy of questionnaire that they completed either at school or at home and another copy for parents to complete. The questionnaire took about 40 minutes.

Results

To test our hypotheses, we compared intra-class correlation (two way mixed model with measures of consistency (Nichols, 1998)) mean profiles within real and pseudo dyads (adolescents-parents and adolescents-peers (means of all adolescents)) within each family on all values with SPSS version 21 (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003). This allows value similarities between parents and adolescents on family and general levels to be evaluated. We used Fisher transformation, multiple analyses of variance to determine significant differences between rural and urban samples on these indicators. Regression models were constructed to determine the impact of perceived psychological closeness on value similarity between parents and adolescents.

We tested the hypothesis that values of adolescents in urban society are more similar to the values of peers than parents (H1), we used value profiles of urban and rural adolescents by computing intra-class correlations between the values of adolescents and their parents in each family and between the values of adolescents

and the values of their peers. Then we used Fisher transformation to determine the significance of differences between rural and urban samples.

The value profile of adolescents is closer to that of their peers than that of their parents in urban and rural samples. Moreover, the urban and rural samples do not significantly differ in these indicators (see Table 2).

Table 2. Comparison of similarities of values between adolescents and parents in urban and rural areas

Value profiles	City		Village		<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
	M (r)	SD	M (r)	SD		
Adolescents-parents	.365	.28	.340	.32	.17	.86
Adolescents-peers	.527	.14	.499	.23	.23	.82

Note. M (r) - intra-class correlation mean

However, we distinguished significant differences between value profiles of adolescents-parents and adolescents-peers ($z = -1.34$; $p < 0.01$ in urban area; $z = -1.05$; $p < 0.01$ in rural area) using the Fisher transformation.

This greater similarity of the value profiles of adolescents and peers than to the value profile of the parents is a common trend, independent of the influence of the place of residence (urban or rural).

The hypothesis was partially confirmed. The values of adolescents are more similar to the values of peers than to the values of the parents, in both urban and rural society.

For testing the hypotheses that the value similarity between adolescents and their parents in "Openness to change" and "Self-Enhancement" is higher in the families living in urban area than in the families living in rural area (H2a) and that the value similarity between adolescents and their parents in "Conservation" values and "Self-Transcendence" values is higher in the families living in rural area than in the families living in urban area (H2b), we used intra-class correlations between

parental and adolescent values in each family. Then we used multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) to determine the significance of differences between urban and rural sample. For this kind of analysis, we used Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. To obtain more accurate data, we used centred means, which are free from error of the style of response to questions by the participants.

Dependent variables in the study were meta-values (Conservation, Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement, Self-Transcendence). The independent variable was place of residence (urban or rural).

In preliminary analyses, we found sizeable interactions between meta-values and place of residence Wilks's $\Lambda = .931$; $F(4, 147.000) = 2.73$; $p=0.031$; $\eta^2 = 0.069$. The largest contribution to value differences between rural and urban samples is the meta-value "Self-Transcendence" (Humility, Benevolence-caring, Benevolence-dependability, Universalism-concern, Universalism-nature Universalism-tolerance). Place of residence explains 6.9% of variance in value similarity between adolescents and their parents ($\eta^2 = 0.069$). In addition, on the level of tendency the value similarity of the meta-values "Openness to changes" and "Self-Enhancement" is higher in the families living in the city, but the differences were not statistically significant. In the meta-value "Conservation" (Security-personal, Security-societal, Tradition, Conformity-rules, Conformity-interpersonal) the similarity is higher in rural families living, but again the differences were not statistically significant (see Table 3).

Table 3. Comparison of similarities of values between adolescents and parents in urban and rural areas

Value block	City	Village	F	η^2
	M (r)	M (r)		
Conservation	.301	.325	.122	.001
Openness to Change	.226	.126	1.502	.010
Self-Enhancement	.459	.436	.106	.001
Self-Transcendence	.528	.359	9.247*	.058

Note * $p < .05$. M (r) – intra-class correlation mean

The similarity of the value block "Self-Transcendence" was significantly higher in urban families living than in rural families, which was unexpected. Therefore, our hypotheses were partially confirmed—in the value block "Self-Enhancement" the greater the similarity among adolescents and their parents is observed in the urban sample.

To test the hypothesis that the perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts value transmission (H3) we used regression analysis. In the regression model the independent variable was perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents and the dependent variables were the meta-values. Consistent with our research predictions, similarity of Self-Transcendence values and overall scores of all values (i.e. the transmission of these type of values) positively predicted the perceived psychological closeness of adolescents to parents in rural sample ($\beta = .377, p < .01$; $\beta = .474, p < .001$) (see Table 4).

Table 4. Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Similarity on Values in Rural Area.

Similarity of values	PPC ^a parents to adolescents			PPC ^a adolescents to parents			R ²	F
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β		
Similarity on Conservation	-.088	.101	-.149	.042	.085	.086	.125	.374
Similarity on Openness to Change	.114	.147	.133	-.148	.123	-.206	.031	.740
Similarity on Self-Enhancement	-.186	.121	-.258	.160	.101	.267	.063	1.589
Similarity on Self-Transcendence	.0018	.099	.000	.193	.082	.377**	.142	3.897**
Similarity on overall scores of all values	-.034	.060	-.088	.152	.050	.474***	.188	5.424***

Note. ^a PPC - Perceived Psychological Closeness; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Therefore, the closer adolescents perceive their parents, the higher the value similarity, especially on Self-Transcendence values in rural areas.

We ran the same analysis on the urban sample. Consistent with our research predictions, the similarity of Openness to Change values (i.e. the transmission of these values) negatively predicted the perceived psychological closeness of parents to adolescents in the urban sample ($\beta = -.250, p < .05$) (see Table 5).

Table 5. Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Similarity on Values in Urban Area.

Similarity of values	PPC ^a parents to adolescents			PPC ^a adolescents to parents			R ²	F
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β		
Similarity on Conservation	-.020	.085	-.030	-.037	.062	-.077	.009	.324
Similarity on Openness to Change	-.189	.096	-.250*	-.052	.071	.093	.051	1.193
Similarity on Self-Enhancement	.025	.085	.038	.004	.063	.009	.002	.062
Similarity on Self-Transcendence	-.012	.067	-.023	.013	.049	.035	.001	.039
Similarity on overall scores of all values	-.021	.030	-.068	.038	.023	.214	.037	1.402

Note. ^a PPC - Perceived Psychological Closeness; * $p < 0.05$.

As β is negative, the further parents perceive their children the higher the value similarity on Openness to Change values in urban areas.

Discussion

The lack of significant differences between the levels of intra-class correlation of the values of families and peers who live in cities and villages can be explained by the shared value climate, prevailing in the society (zeitgeist), which Klaus Bonke

and other researchers mentioned in their studies (Bonke, 2001; 2007, Vedder et al, 2009).

The same effect took place in the selection of adolescents who live in the city. Their values were more similar to the values of their peers than those of their parents. Hence, our hypothesis is that the values of adolescents in urban society will be more similar to the values of their peers rather than the values of their parents was partially confirmed. Similar results were obtained by Steca et al. (2012).

In addition, as already noted, adolescence is the most important age for the formation of individual values and adolescents are extremely susceptible to the messages that transmit values (Padilla-Walker, 2007). Since the main activity at this age is communication with peers, the adolescent value profile in both selections is closer to the profile of their peers than to that of their the parents. In our opinion, the media and youth subcultures, which also act as the agents of socialization, play no small part. Here we see a “horizontal” transmission of values, i.e., the value orientation of children is affected by their peers.

The data correlates in many ways to the results of other studies (Barni, 2009; Steca, 2012; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004). Therefore, it can be argued that the socio-cultural context of residence influences the process of the intergenerational transmission of values.

The hypothesis that the level of similarity of the values of adolescents and their parents in four value meta-values will differ in urban and rural areas, was confirmed, but the hypothesis that the similarity in value meta-values Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement is higher in urban families than in rural families, while the similarity of the meta-values Conservation and Self-Transcendence is higher in rural families was confirmed partially, because the similarity of Self-Transcendence values is significantly higher in urban families. This can refer to the fact that the block Self-Transcendence includes values “Universalism-Tolerance” and “Universalism-Nature”. These values show the highest figures in the urban selection.

What is the reason for this? As noted, in villages, the social control level is higher than in cities (Zharova, 2010), therefore any deviation from the accepted norms is not approved, and the average figures for this value are lower in the village. This can also be explained by higher figures and similarities in the value block Conservation (Conformity, Tradition, Security) in the village.

For the Universalism value, taking care of nature, in our view, plays an important role here. People living in cities face ecological problems, so taking care of nature has moved into the category of “external status values”, which is the most significant (Yadov, 1975). As environmental problems are less relevant in rural areas, taking care of nature for the villagers, according to the nuclear-hierarchical model of values, is the value of average or below-average status, i.e. less significant (Yadov, 1975). This is why the parents living in villages do not seek to pass this value on to their children.

In this case, the “vertical” the transmission of values takes place, i.e. from parents to children.

In addition, the data collected in the urban selection partially explains and confirms the data obtained by Barni et al. (2011). In study, the greatest discrepancy in value orientations between adolescents and their parents was observed in the meta-values “Openness to Change” and “Conservation”.

Barni (2009) pointed out that according to adolescents, their parents mainly try to nurture in them Conservation values (tradition, security, conformity); while themselves they are more open to new experiences and challenges. For that reason adolescents resist these values. They explore and develop their autonomy and independent identity. Openness to Change values, which contribute to the achievement of independence, is the most effective for this motivation (Barni, 2009).

The influence of the place of residence on this process is confirmed not only by our data, but also by other studies. (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Zharova, 2010).

The hypothesis that the perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts value transmission was confirmed for both samples.

However, we distinguished some peculiarities in it. In the rural sample perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents (from the adolescents' perspective) positively predicts overall value similarity especially on Self-Transcendence values (Humility, Benevolence-caring, Benevolence-dependability, Universalism-concern, Universalism-nature Universalism-tolerance). We have already mentioned that collectivistic values (Conservation, Self-Transcendence) are transmitted better than individualistic (Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement) ones (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001); And we stated that in a rural environment the way of live of many families is mostly agricultural and adolescents have to help parents about the household. If adolescents perceive their parents psychologically close, such values as Benevolence-caring, Benevolence-dependability, Universalism-concern from the Self-Transcendence block are transmitted according to this way of life. Members of such families usually help, support and trust each other. This comprises the social capital within the family, that is defined as a set of resources (trust, mutual support, mutual assistance, attention to the needs of each other) and is mediated by relations between actors within a particular social formation (e.g. the family) (Carr et al, 2011; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Pearson, Carr & Shaw, 2008). And vice versa if members of a family perceive each other as distant (in our case parents' perception of psychological closeness with their children in the urban sample), and the level of social capital is low, such values as Self-Direction-thought, Self-Direction-action, Stimulation, Hedonism from the Openness to change block are transmitted.

Moreover, for the rural environment traditionalism is essential and as modernization is for the urban.

All this can explain obtained results on this hypothesis.

However, there are some limitations of this study. Firstly, most of our respondents among parents and adolescents in urban sample are women, and are men in rural one. Therefore, we controlled for it in MANOVA (in covariance) and regression analysis and it did not influence our results. Secondly, the sample size is not large and it would be better to retest our hypotheses on a bigger sample. Thirdly, we

explained impact of perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents on value transmission by social capital within the family but actually we did not measure it. We measured only one component of it—psychological closeness. Consequently, our next study of intergenerational transmission of values will be conducted measuring social capital within the family measurement.

Conclusion

The research allowed us to draw the following conclusions:

1. All values of adolescents are more similar to the values of peers than parents, in both urban and rural contexts. In this case, there is "horizontal" transmission—for adolescents the values of peers are more significant than parents.

2. The level of similarity of the values of adolescents and their parents in four meta-values (Conservation, Openness to change, Self-Enhancement, Self-Transcendence) is different in urban and rural areas. This shows the influence of socio-cultural context (urban-rural) on the transmission of values.

3. The similarities in the values "Openness to change", "Self-Enhancement" and "Self-Transcendence" are higher in urban families. These meta-values are transmitted from parents to children mainly in the urban context. The similarity in the meta-value Conservation is higher in the families living in the village, i.e. these values are primarily transmitted from parents to children in a more traditional, rural context.

4. The closer adolescents perceive their parents, the better Self-Transcendence values are transmitted in rural areas. The further parents perceive their children the better Openness to Change values are transmitted in urban areas. In general, perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents (from the adolescents' perspective) predicts value transmission in urban and rural contexts.

Summarizing the results of the study, both horizontal and vertical transmission of values are observed in urban and rural contexts. But vertical transmission does not allow the transmission of all the values from parents to children. In the urban context, primarily Self-Transcendence values are transmitted and in rural, Conservation values. In the horizontal transmission, there is the influence of friends, peers and place of residence on adolescents' values from all value meta-values.

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