

# Intergenerational Transmission of Values in Urban and Rural Areas of Russia: The Role of Perceived Psychological Closeness



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In recent years, intergenerational transmission of values in families has been attracting increasing interest (Barni, 2009). Another term for this phenomenon can often be encountered in the literature: cultural transmission. Since values are directly related to the culture, these concepts can be viewed as synonyms (Schwartz, 2014). As noted by researchers, 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, due to socioeconomic changes, a value gap between generations, as well as the heterogeneity in the value orientations of people, is observed in different sociocultural contexts (e.g., urban and rural) (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Swader, 2013).

Adolescence is a very important stage of internalization of values. Adolescent children are extremely susceptible to messages that transmit values, more than in any other period preceding childhood (Padilla-Walker, 2007), especially from peers (Steca, Monzan, Greco, & D'Addario, 2012). Therefore, intergenerational transmission of values should be studied on the sample of adolescents and their parents. The nature of relationships between parents and children plays a significant role for value transmission process [e.g., emotional bonding (Roest, Dubas, & Gerris, 2010) that brings us to the idea of the necessity to study the psychological closeness between parents and children while studying of the transmission of values (Lee & Gillath, 2016)]. Unfortunately, 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 in the native culture (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Thus, the question arises whether the process of transmission of values changes from one generation to another, depending on the

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social context (type of settlement—urban or rural) and the perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents.

This issue is not so fully studied, and we expect to 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 Essence of Value Transmission Between Generations

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 from 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 existing 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, there is a distinction between “narrow socialization” and “broad socialization” (Arnett, 1995). “Narrow socialization” presumes obedience and submission to parental and social values and disapproves deviation from cultural expectations. “Broad socialization” presumes individualism, independence, and self-expression of children. This second form of socialization is based on the view 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 second approach, an individual takes an active role in the socialization process.

Despite these differences, the transmission of values is present in all cultures (Boehnke, 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). As mentioned, the transmission 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, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011).

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 means, 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 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. 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 large role.

In addition to parents, children 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 children is affected by fellow peers (Berry et al., 2011; Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). We can conclude that during adolescence, the influence of peer values is more important than the influence of parents’ ones. However, it remains unclear whether this is true for adolescents living in different sociocultural contexts (e.g., urban and rural).

## **The Impact of the Place of Living and Family on the Transmission of Values**

Along with the influence listed above (family, peers, friends, and their relationships), values of parents and adolescents are affected also by the sociocultural context in which these relationships occur (Trommsdorff, 2009). Fuligni and Zhang (2004) studied the attitudes toward family responsibilities of adolescents living in the urban and rural societies of modern China. China has only recently switched to market economy, so the study checked what changes have occurred in the values of the younger generation and the extent to which they are affected by their 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 the 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 (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004).

In general, the family has a great importance for adolescents, 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 nonurban one in terms of socialization? Zharova (2010) pointed out that the main difference of the urban environment from the rural one in terms of socialization is the nature of contacts between individuals. In the rural environment, contacts are fewer but more stable, while in the urban environment, they are numerous but less stable. Therefore in the rural 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 judgmental about deviations in behavior, so everything “new” is much easier to digest than in a less urbanized environment” (Zharova, 2010, pp. 3–4).

Sociologists point out that rural society has elements of a “traditional neighborhood community”: a permanent population, close kinship, and neighborly relations (Fadeeva, 2007; Vinogradskii, 1998). The way of life of many families living in villages is agricultural, and adolescents have to help parents in 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 rural environments. In rural areas, socialization is directed more toward 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.

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 sociocultural context, i.e., the type of settlement.

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

*H1* Horizontal value transmission will prevail over vertical transmission, resulting in larger similarity between value profiles of adolescents and the value profiles of their peers than with the value profiles of their parents in both urban and rural areas.

*H2a* The significance of transmission of “openness to change” values and “self-enhancement” values is higher in families living in the city than in the families living in the rural area.

*H2b* The significance of transmission of “conservation” values and “self-transcendence” values is higher in families living in the village than in the families living in the urban area.

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. It remains unclear as to what determines the acceptance of values by adolescents.

According to Barni and her colleagues' (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 to 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 et al., 2011). It is therefore very important to have a positive psychological climate in the family, warm and trusting relationship between parents and children (Albert & Ferring, 2012; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Schönplflug, 2001).

In this regard Schönplflug (2001) pointed out such term as "transmission belts," that is, "conditions favorable for transmission in a particular socioeconomic and cultural context. . ." (p. 175). According to this and some other studies, emotions and emotional bonding within a family create such "transmission belts" (Roest et al., 2010; Schönplflug, 2001). Meanwhile emotions comprise perceived psychological closeness (Lee & Gillath, 2016). Thus, we can assume that the perceived psychological closeness between parents and children affects the adoption of values by the adolescents. However, we expect values which adolescents accept due to perceived psychological closeness to be different in urban and rural areas. According to studies that we reviewed for the previous hypothesis, we suppose that in rural area, adolescents will accept values of social focus (conservation, self-transcendence) and adolescents from urban area will accept values from personal focus (openness to change, self-enhancement).

*H3a* Perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts intergenerational transmission of social focus values in rural area.

*H3b* Perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts intergenerational transmission of personal focus values in urban area.

Thus, the *main objective* of the study is the empirical testing of influence of social context (urban or rural living) on the similarities and differences between the values of parents and children.

## Method

### *Participants*

To determine the similarities and differences of values of adolescents and parents in different social context, we interviewed representatives of two generations (parents,

**Table 1** Demographic characteristics of the samples of the study

	<i>N</i>	% males	% females	M age (s)
Families living in urban area				
Adolescents	90	40	60	17.6 (1.71)
Parents	90	22.2	77.8	43.3 (5.71)
Families living in rural area				
Adolescents	62	53.2	46.8	15.6 (1.75)
Parents	62	21	79	41.7 (5.39)
Total	304	33.8	66.2	

adolescents), living in Moscow (180 people) and in the villages of Yaroslavl, Tver, and Ivanovo regions in Russia (124 people). We interviewed parents and children from 90 families in Moscow and 62 families living in villages distant from cities. In these villages people live mostly agricultural lives.

The average age of adolescents in the urban sample was 17 and of parents was 43. The average age of adolescents in the rural sample was 15 and of parents was 41 (Table 1).

## ***Materials and Procedure***

For empirical study of similarities and differences of the values of parents and adolescents in urban and rural area, we used Portrait Value Questionnaire—Revised (PVQ-R) (Schwartz, Butenko, Sedova, & Lipatova, 2012). We used the Russian version, adapted by Sh. Schwarz in our lab within 2 years of research in several stages on samples of a total of more than 2500 respondents. The questionnaire designed for the study includes 19 values, which are combined in four meta-values scales:

*Conservation* (security-personal, security-societal, tradition, conformity-rules, conformity-interpersonal)

*Self-transcendence* (humility, benevolence-caring, benevolence-dependability, universalism-concern, universalism-nature, universalism-tolerance)

*Openness to change* (self-direction-thought, self-direction-action, stimulation, hedonism)

*Self-enhancement* (achievement, power-dominance, power-resources, face)

Participants were given 57 descriptions of a person, and they had to assess how much they are similar 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 (*very far*) to 5 (*very close*). For example: “Please, assess the level of psychological closeness between you and members of your family on 5-point scale: from 1 (*very far*) to 5 (*very close*).”

We conducted the survey at schools in Moscow (urban area) and rural settlements in Yaroslavl, Ivanovo, and Tver regions. Adolescents were given one copy of questionnaire that they filled in either in school or at home and another copy for parents to fill in. Completion of the questionnaire took about 40 minutes.

To test our hypotheses, we compared intra-class correlation [two-way mixed model with measures of consistency (Nichols, 1998)] mean profiles within 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 similarity between value profiles of parents and adolescents.

Results

First we computed means and Cronbach’s alphas on meta-values within urban and rural samples (see Table 2).

For testing 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 3). However, we distinguished significant differences between value profiles of adolescents-parents and adolescents-peers ( $z = -1.34$ ;  $p < .01$  in urban area;  $z = -1.05$ ;  $p < .01$  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

Table 2 Means and Cronbach’s alphas on meta-values within urban and rural samples

Meta-values	Adolescents (urban)			Parents (urban)			Adolescents (rural)			Parents (rural)		
	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$
Openness to change	4.61	.46	.76	4.03	.63	.79	4.36	.64	.82	3.99	.64	.78
Self-enhancement	3.93	.74	.85	3.59	.77	.85	3.77	.78	.84	3.46	.68	.80
Conservation	3.99	.63	.84	4.50	.66	.78	4.08	.67	.84	4.45	.57	.84
Self-transcendence	4.33	.64	.89	4.44	.60	.87	4.28	.54	.84	4.45	.56	.86

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

Value profiles	Urban		Rural		<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
	M ( <i>r</i> )	SD	M ( <i>r</i> )	SD		
Adolescents-parents	.36	.28	.34	.32	.17	.86
Adolescents-peers	.53	.14	.50	.23	.23	.82

Note: M (*r*) intra-class correlation mean

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 hypotheses that similarity in value profiles between adolescents and their parents in “openness to change” values and “self-enhancement” values is higher in the families living in urban area than in the families living in rural area (H2a) and value similarity between value profiles of adolescents and their parents in “conservation” vales 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 parents and adolescents’ 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 a centered means, which are free from error of style of response to questions by the participants. Dependent variables in the study were the four meta-values (conservation, openness to change, self-enhancement, self-transcendence). The independent variable was place of residence (city-village).

We found dependence of meta-values on the place of residence (city-village), Wilks’s  $\Lambda = .931$ ;  $F(4, 147.000) = 2.73$ ;  $p = .031$ ;  $\eta^2 = .069$ . The preferences of “self-transcendence” meta-value are most different between rural and urban samples. Place of residence explains 6.9% of variance in value profile similarity between adolescents and their parents ( $\eta^2 = .069$ ). In addition, we can notice similarity in the meta-values “openness to changes” and “self-enhancement” is higher in urban families, but the differences were not statistically significant. Meta-values “conservation” (security-personal, security-societal, tradition, conformity-rules, conformity-interpersonal) are better transmitted in the families living in the village, but the differences were not statistically significant again (see Table 4).

Unexpected was that the similarity in profiles in the meta-value “self-transcendence” is significantly higher in the families living in the city than in the village. Therefore, our hypotheses were partially confirmed; the meta-value “self-enhancement” is transmitted better in the urban sample.

To test the hypothesis that perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts value transmission (H3), we used regression analysis. In regression model independent variable was perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents, and dependent variables were meta-values. Consistent with our predictions, similarity between value profiles in self-transcendence values and overall scores of all values (transmission of these type of values) positively predicted perceived psychological closeness of adolescents to parents in rural sample ( $\beta = .377$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $\beta = .474$ ,  $p < .001$ ; see Table 5). Therefore, the



**Table 4** Comparison of similarities of values between adolescents and parents in urban and rural areas

Value block	Urban	Rural	<i>F</i>	$\eta^2$
	<i>M</i> ( <i>r</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>r</i> )		
Conservation	.30	.32	.12	.001
Openness to change	.23	.13	1.50	.010
Self-enhancement	.46	.44	.11	.001
Self-transcendence	.53	.36	9.25*	.058

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

**Table 5** Standardized regression coefficients predicting similarity on values in rural area: parents/ adolescents

Similarities in meta-values	PPC Parents to adolescents			PPC Adolescents to parents			$R^2$	<i>F</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$		
Conservation	−.09	.10	−.15	.04	.08	.08	.12	.37
Openness to change	.11	.15	.13	−.15	.12	−.20	.03	.74
Self-enhancement	−.19	.12	−.26	.16	.10	.27	.06	1.59
Self-transcendence	.00	.09	.00	.19	.08	.38**	.14	3.90**
Overall scores of all values	−.03	.06	−.08	.15	.05	.47***	.19	5.42***

Note: *PPC* perceived psychological closeness; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 6** Standardized regression coefficients predicting similarity on values in urban area: parents/ adolescents

Similarities in meta-values	PPC parents to adolescents			PPC adolescents to parents			$R^2$	<i>F</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$		
Conservation	−.02	.08	−.03	−.04	.06	−.08	.01	.32
Openness to change	−.19	.10	−.25*	−.05	.07	.09	.05	1.19
Self-enhancement	.02	.08	.04	.00	.06	.01	.00	.06
Self-transcendence	−.01	.07	−.02	.01	.05	.03	.00	.04
Overall scores of all values	−.02	.03	−.07	.04	.02	.21	.04	1.40

Note: *PPC* perceived psychological closeness; \*  $p < .05$

closer adolescents perceive their parents, the better value transmission, especially of self-transcendence values in the rural area.

We ran the same analysis on the urban sample. Consistent with our predictions, similarity of profiles in openness to change values (transmission of these type of values) is negatively predicted by perceived psychological closeness of parents to adolescents in rural sample ( $\beta = −.250, p < .05$ ; see Table 6). As  $\beta$  is negative, the farther parents perceive their children, the better openness to change values are transmitted in urban area.

## Discussion

The lack of significant differences between the levels of intra-class correlation of the values of families and peers who live in the city and village can be explained by the shared value climate, prevailing in the society (the *zeitgeist*), which Boehnke and other researchers proposed in their studies (Boehnke, 2001; Vedder, Berry, Sabatier, & Sam, 2009).

The same effect took place in the sample of adolescents who live in the city. Their values were more similar to the values of their peers than the ones of their parents. Hence, our hypothesis that horizontal value transmission will prevail over vertical transmission, resulting in larger similarity between value profiles of adolescents and the value profiles of their peers than with the value profiles of their parents in urban and rural areas, was confirmed. Similar results were obtained by Steca and her colleagues (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 samples is closer to the profile of their peers than to that of their parents. In our opinion, 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.

According to obtained data, our hypotheses (H2a, H2b) were confirmed partially as the significance of transmission “self-transcendence” values is higher in the families living in the urban area (see Table 4). This can refer to the fact that the meta-value self-transcendence includes values “universalism-tolerance” and “universalism-nature.” What is the reason for this?

As we have already noted, in villages, the level of social control is higher than in the city (Zharova, 2010), therefore any deviation from accepted norms is not approved. The means for the “universalism-tolerance” value are lower in the village than in the city (adolescents, 4.05; parents, 4.13 in urban sample; adolescents, 4.03; parents, 4.11 in rural sample). This can also be explained by higher scores and similarities in the meta-value value conservation (conformity, tradition, security) in the village (see Tables 2 and 4).

As for the universalism value in our view, the environment aspect plays an important role here. People living in cities have already faced problems of ecology, so taking care of nature has moved into the category of “external status values,” which is the most significant one (Yadov, 1975), while environmental problems are less relevant in rural areas, so taking care of nature for the villagers, according to the Yadov 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 the village do not seek to transmit this value to their children. Means on this value were the following: adolescents 3.84 and parents 3.94 in urban sample; adolescents 3.51 and parents 3.75 in rural sample. As we can see, in this case, a “vertical” version of the transmission of values takes place, i.e., from parents to children.

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 refuse to accept these values. They explore and develop their autonomy and independent identity. Openness to change values, which contribute to the achievement of independence, are the most effective for this motivation (Barni, 2009).

The influence of the social context (place of residence) on this process is confirmed not only by our data but also by other studies. (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Zharova, 2010). Moreover, according to the data obtained, the hypothesis that perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents predicts value transmission was confirmed in both samples. However, we distinguished some peculiarities in it. In the rural sample, perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents (in adolescents' perception) positively predicts overall value profile similarity especially in 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 rural environment, way of living 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, and universalism-concern from self-transcendence block are transmitted according to this way of life. Members of such families usually help, support, and trust each other. Such relationships form 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 subjects within a particular social unit (e.g., the family) (Carr, Cole, Ring, & Blettner, 2011; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Pearson, Carr, & Shaw, 2008). And vice versa, if members of a family perceive each other far (in our case parents' perception of psychological closeness with their children in urban sample), and the level of social capital is low, such values as self-direction-thought, self-direction-action, stimulation, and hedonism from openness to changes meta-values are transmitted. In sum, all this can explain the results obtained for this hypothesis.

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.

## Conclusions

Our research allowed us to draw the following conclusions:

1. All values of adolescents are more similar to the values of peers than to parents, in both urban and rural contexts. That is, horizontal transmission of adolescents impacts the values of their fellow peers. Consequently, for adolescents the horizontal transmission of values is more significant than vertical transmission of parents to adolescents.
2. The similarity in the meta-values “openness to change,” “self-enhancement,” and “self-transcendence” between profiles of parents and adolescents is somewhat higher in the families living in the city than in the families living in the village. The significance of transmission of these values is higher in urban context. The similarity between profiles in the meta-value conservation is higher in the families living in the village, i.e., the significance of transmission of these values is higher in more traditional, rural context.
3. The higher adolescents assess perceived closeness with their parents, the better self-transcendence values are transmitted in rural area. The lower parents assess perceived closeness with their children, the better openness to change values are transmitted in urban area. In general, perceived psychological closeness between parents and adolescents (in adolescents’ perception) predicts value transmission in urban and rural contexts.

Summarizing the results of the study, we can say that both forms of cultural transmission of values (horizontal and vertical) are observed in urban and rural contexts. But vertical transmission does not allow transmitting all the values from parents to children. In the urban context, from parents to children primarily self-transcendence values are transmitted and in rural—conservation values. In the horizontal variant of value transmission, there is the influence of friends, peers, and sociocultural context (place of residence) on adolescents’ values from all value meta-values.

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