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ARTÍCULO DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Estrategias de valor de las familias del Cáucaso Norte en condiciones de inestabilidad sociopsicológica de la sociedad*

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Resumen

La inestabilidad social y psicológica de la sociedad plantea el problema de la elección de estrategias de valores de la familia como institución social, amplía el ámbito de análisis de los tipos de valores en la crianza y aumenta la variabilidad de los modos y formas de adaptación de la familia en las realidades actuales. El objetivo del estudio era analizar las estrategias de valores de las familias del Cáucaso Norte en un contexto de inestabilidad socio-psicológica de la sociedad. La investigación se realiza en el marco teórico del enfoque sociocultural y el enfoque de valores de M. Rokeach, utilizando el método de análisis comparativo. El estudio incluye una encuesta sociológica en forma de entrevistas en profundidad. El estudio demuestra la ansiedad persistente entre los padres de todo tipo de familias en relación con el gran papel de Internet en la vida de los niños. Los padres creen que la seguridad cultural de la familia reside en preservar las normas y los valores de las tradiciones y las normas religiosas, a pesar de reconocer la necesidad de integrarse en el mundo cambiante. La identidad de género del niño dentro del paradigma sociocultural es un recurso para las estrategias de afrontamiento de los padres en el contexto de la posmodernidad, donde los principales riesgos de la influencia de los valores globales son vistos por los padres en la exhibición de identidades.

Palabras clave: valores, estrategias de afrontamiento, la familia como institución social, inestabilidad social, seguridad cultural.

Abstract

Value strategies of families in the North Caucasus under the conditions of socio-psychological instability of the society

The social and psychological instability of society brings to life the problem of choosing value strategies of the family as a social institution, expands the scope of analysis of the types of values in upbringing, and increases the variability of ways and forms of the family's adaptation in the current realities. *The goal of the study* was to analyze the

value strategies of families in the North Caucasus under socio-psychological instability in society. The research is conducted in the theoretical framework of the socio-cultural approach and M. Rokeach's value approach, utilizing the method of comparative analysis. The study involves a sociological survey in the form of in-depth interviews. The study demonstrates persistent anxiety among parents in all types of families concerning the large role of the Internet in children's lives. The cultural security of the family is believed by parents to lie in preserving the norms and values of traditions and religious norms, despite recognizing the need to integrate into the changing world. The child's gender identity within the sociocultural paradigm is a resource for parents' coping strategies in the context of postmodernity, where the main risks of the influence of global values are seen by parents in the display of identities.

Keywords: values, coping strategies, family as a social institution, societal instability, cultural security.

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1. Introduction

A person's value attitude to the world permeates all spheres of their life and serves as an integral characteristic of their social state (Vinokurova, 2009). Amid complex social transformations, new modus of comprehension of the nature of values is formed, through which society tries to respond to the new challenges of the time.

Among all social institutions, the family is the most vulnerable in these conditions. Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin No. 400 of July 2, 2021 "National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation" (President of the Russian Federation, 2021) brings to the fore the task of protecting Russia's traditional spiritual and moral values, culture, and historical memory, where family serves as the core. This provision directly concerns the institution of the family and the fundamental axiological norms of its preservation. The dynamics of the processes of change are such that its boundaries are wider and deeper than the explanatory value models with which society has caught these changes. The chaotization of social norms and values creates a situation of uncertainty at the macro and micro level in the public consciousness, in which the spiritual security of the family acquires special significance.

The reason behind this is the lack of clear and predictable mechanisms for parents to adapt in a climate of digitalization, where alternative information resources, in which the child is included, diminish the parents' influence on the child, given the importance of previous value strategies. The global information world, carrying the widest range of

interpretation of value strategies, becomes a factor of anxiety and uncertainty for parents in the socialization of children. Old models of upbringing fail to work, and new ones are not easy to find. In this situation, the problem of cultural security of the family, a social group, and the state is an issue of systemic balance, which can largely be stabilized by the preservation of the accumulated cultural patterns (Romanova & Bicharova, 2015). The Russian family feels the pressure of the changing world in two directions. On the one hand, it transforms under a set of historical, cultural, socio-political, economic, and ideological factors of the global world (Babich, 2008; Kharsiev, 2015). On the other hand, the family bears the "birthmarks" of the transitional period from the Soviet family type to the reproduction of the traditional bounds of normative ethics of traditional culture and religious identity (Babich, 2008).

In this light, we see the relevance of the problem in analyzing the mechanisms of preservation of family value strategies, in a recognition of the fact that the family deliberately observes the universal norms of life that are cultural (Flier, 1998). Given the set goal, we address the following objectives:

1. To analyze value orientations proceeding from the results of the World Values Survey based on R. Inglehart's maps over the past 30 years.

2. To conduct a sociological study on families from the four republics of the North Caucasus (the Chechen Republic, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Dagestan Republic, and the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (in-depth interviews, 1.5-3 hours), N=20 families: five from each republic, families of various types).

3. To identify the convergence of the value strategies of the Russian society reflected in the results of the 2022 World Values Survey based on Inghart's maps with the results of sociological research in the North Caucasus republics.

4. Through an analysis of in-depth interviews of families from the North Caucasus republics:

- to analyze the transgeneration of cognitive-behavioral patterns of subjects in intergenerational relationships in modern families;

- to study the interrelation of family upbringing styles and parents' coping strategies;

- to identify the specifics of the transformation of the value strategies of the family as a social institution in a globalizing world based on sociological studies of families in North Caucasian societies.

In the context of this discussion, the discourse of cultural security has turned from the field of theoretical reflection of researchers (Romanova & Bicharova, 2015) into a problem of an applied nature (Razlogov, 2010). The various approaches relying on the most polar interpretations of the concept of cultural security can be reduced to the following three:

- a) Cultural security with a negative connotation, understood as interference in the natural development of any culture by political or organizational methods. Calls for cultural security are seen as attempts to preserve national culture at the level of the

best examples of the past, leading to a rigid rejection of contemporary mass culture (Razlogov, 2010).

- b) The concept of cultural security as applied to Russian culture and the prospect of its disappearance into the Western, so-called mass culture. Russian culture is characterized as Orthodox, implying the Orthodox part of Russia, although concerning North Caucasian regions, this can be considered as an infringement of ethnic and Islamic values. Adherents to this approach see any novelty in culture as an attack on its value foundations, described as "danger", "destabilization", and "destruction" (Dushina & Bokachev, 2011). Those sharing this perspective also insist on the need for the state to intervene in the regulation of cultural spheres of society as a resource to counteract the dominance and promotion of Western subculture. The expansion of Western norms and values is labeled as immoral, capable of undermining the morally healthy and viable staples of national culture. In this context, cultural security is regarded as a strategic task to save the value foundations of Russian culture.
- c) The third approach relies on the paradigm of the duality of any national culture. On the one hand, national culture is open to influence and exchange either way. Its uniqueness and authenticity are not dependent on the culture's isolation: it is constantly enriched by the values of other cultures, their experiences, ideas, and innovations (Marshak & Sergeev, 2008). Proponents of this view tend to refer to the concept of cultural security as functional, reflecting a basic set of value strategies.

What are values and which of them are basic and form the basis of everyday practices of an individual? Are there differences in value preferences between countries, and what factors do they depend on? How principal are intra-country differences in values for us, how can they shape a unified socio-cultural value strategy for a country, a national group, and, specifically, a family? These and related questions are analyzed in this paper.

2. Methods

Theoretical background

The theoretical framework of the study is formed by the sociocultural approach of Russian-American sociologist P. Sorokin and the founder of the American school of structural functionalism P. Parsons, as well as the sociocultural approach and the value approach developed by M. Rokeach (1973).

Sorokin's theoretical concept holds that sociocultural changes consisting in the replacement of a fundamental principle of culture by another are more important events in the history of mankind than a change in the form of government, for the most important and cardinal changes in society occur when it undergoes "a thorough and epochal revolution in human culture" (Sorokin, 2020: 67). The individual is considered in the sociocultural approach as a subject connected with society by a system of relations

and culture as a set of values and norms. The change of value paradigms frees the space for reflection and forces one to look at culture as a social tradition. Parsons, examining culture in the process of interaction with society, believes that it can be portrayed in three dimensions. "Firstly, culture is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or social tradition; secondly, it is something that is learned, culture is not a manifestation of human genetic nature, and thirdly, it is universally accepted. It is thus, on the one hand, a product and, on the other hand, a determinant of the system of human social interaction" (Zdravomyslov, 1968: 49). The entire system of human interaction is permeated with a matrix of values that helps to define the boundaries and meanings of this interaction. Rokeach developed his concept of personal value orientations, understanding value as a stable belief in the principal preference of some goals or ways of existence over others (Leontiev, 2005). Rokeach, despite dividing values into terminal and instrumental, assigning 18 positions to each class, "packed the nature of human values into a general catalog" and reduced them to the following positions:

1. the total number of values a person possesses is relatively small;
2. all people possess the same values, albeit to varying degrees;
3. values are organized into systems;
4. the origins of human values can be traced back to culture, society and its institutions, and the individual;
5. the influence of values can be observed in almost all social phenomena worthy of study. These characteristics of values became defining in our work with respondents. From the two classes of values (terminal and instrumental=36), we singled out 12 values that are the most embedded in the culture and value preferences in the upbringing process among the families under study.

Experimental study

In-depth interviews were conducted following a specially developed guide survey.

The guide survey consisted of three sections with sub-questions:

- a) The present time and the problems of upbringing.
- b) Culture as a regulating factor in upbringing.
- c) Difficulties and problems in family socialization.

The survey included participants from families across the North Caucasus republics, specifically the Republic of Dagestan, the Chechen Republic, the Republic of Ingushetia, and the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic. The study's sample featured 20 families, with an equal distribution of five families from each republic. These families were categorized into five distinct types: classical multi-generational families (comprising grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, and children); nuclear families (father, mother, and children); single-parent families led by a mother with children; single-parent families led

by a father; and families with no biological parents, where children are raised by guardians, which could include a female relative or a step-mother.

3. Results and discussion

Within the scope of possibilities and limits of typological comparisons between the value map by R. Inglehart and C. Welzel and the value strategies of a North Caucasian family, we made the following findings:

1. Value attitudes are found to shift from traditional to secular with the advancement of education and enlightenment in many of the countries studied, including Russia.
2. The development of secular-rational values, i.e., beyond the values of national culture, religion, and faith in God, is not as linear in North Caucasian societies.
3. Gendered upbringing is considered as the basic ethical-normative practice in the child's daily life.
4. Families of different types (multi-generational, nuclear, single-parent (father), single-parent (mother)) show no differences by the means or motives of upbringing.
5. In the respondents' view, the predominant value resources amid socio-political instability are traditional principles and the Islamic moral and ethical imperative.

Among all the studied families in the North Caucasus republics, families from Dagestan turned out to be the most open. In formulating clearly defined value strategies of upbringing, the most notable are parents from the Chechen Republic.

A stable trend of child-centeredness is observed in families: the main concern of parents is to give their children a decent education and upbringing.

The comparative analysis reveals no variation in the types of upbringings across different types of families.

The country's civilizational identity is defined by its value strategies and its place in the system of universal basic cultural norms. Comparative analysis of the position of Russia in the system of world cultural values in the context of the World Values Survey map by Inglehart and Welzel demonstrates that Russia has come a long way from traditional to Secular-Rational values, yet stands close to the values of Survival on the scale of progression towards Self-Expression values (World Values Survey, 2023).

The conducted analysis not only shows Russia's place in the world's value system but also demonstrates that the variability of values within a single country seldom becomes a topic of specialized research (Magun & Rudnev, 2010).

What can a comparative analysis of value strategies in Russia and its regions provide? Russia is a multicultural and multiconfessional state, where some regions (for example,

the North Caucasus) are at different starting levels of values in relation to the country and have low prospects for value consolidation within it. The formation of a unified sociocultural landscape of Russian society is a key resource for its spiritual mobilization, and the study of family value strategies in national regions can partially address this problem.

On the map of the World Values Survey by Inglehart and Welzel, each country is represented by the average citizen, whose values may vary upon comparison with intracountry differences and variability (Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, n.d.-a). The substantive aspects of this heterogeneity within the country are seldom subjected to special research. The goal of our study is to partly fill this gap.

Analysis of the World Values Survey by Inglehart and Welzel suggests that there are two main dimensions of cross-cultural differences in the world:

- 1) Traditional values vs secular-rational values,
- 2) Survival values vs self-expression values.

Traditional values emphasize the importance of:

- religion,
- parent-child connections,
- respect for authority and traditional family values,
- rejection of divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide.

These societies are marked by high national pride and nationalistic views, devotion to clan roots, the power and authority of public opinion, the cult of "one's own" over the other, the power of blood and kinship relations, and commitment to one's land.

- *Secular-rational values* uphold preferences opposite to traditional values. These societies have less regard for religion, traditional values, and authority. *Survival values* emphasized economic and physical security.

- *Self-expression values* prioritize environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners and sexual minorities, e.g., gays and lesbians, and gender equality, as well as increasing demands for participation in economic and political decision-making.

✓ Traditional and *secular-rational values* and their assessment reflect a stark contrast between societies that attach great importance to religion and those that do not, but respect for the authority of God, the fatherland, and the family are closely linked (Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, n.d.-b). Given the typological characteristics of values, our analysis of the sociological survey was founded on both traditional and secular-rational values. As noted above, the guide survey provided the 12 basic values according to Rokeach's model of basic human values, asking the respondents to choose three of the most important to them:

- ✓ Success
- ✓ Equality

- ✓ Bravery
- ✓ Honesty
- ✓ Independence
- ✓ Responsibility
- ✓ Freedom
- ✓ Security
- ✓ Well-being
- ✓ Tolerance
- ✓ Respect
- ✓ Love

Most families (N = 17) named "honesty" and "responsibility" as the fundamental values, and third place was taken by "security" and "success". Parents' basic demand for the instrumental values (the conviction that some behavior on personality train is preferable in any given situation) of "honesty" and "responsibility" can be explained by the idea that in parents' subjective structure of value orientations, ethical values remain predominant over the values of communication, conformity, and self-affirmation. American psychologist K.J. Gergen (2016: 69) argues that

"Spiritual values are incredibly important in culture, yet they have been eradicated from the psychological vocabulary. Gradually we are beginning to recognize the potential of Indian manuscripts on the mind, Asian social psychology, Confucian concepts of 'self' and Mestizo concepts of person and mental health".

The pragmatic world and its set of utilitarian values are increasingly becoming a motivational resource in children's upbringing and personality development. This is evidenced by the terminal value (the conviction that the end goal of individual existence is worth striving for) of "success". This process of "cross-pollination" of values in our time is at the stage of shifting value paradigms and warrants serious reflection.

The value of "security" in Inglehart's map of values is characteristic of poor societies with insufficient legal protection. Concern for children's future and a short horizon of planning life plans shown by respondents in the interviews suggests that along with instrumental and terminal values, parents have vital values as a strategy of adaptation to the world of anxiety and unpredictability of their children's future. The list presented by Inglehart does not have the value of "faith in God", while in our survey in the context of coping strategies of adaptation, it is found to be predominant in interviews with parents. Faith in God is believed by parents to be an indicator of the child's moral boundaries and a precondition and opportunity to survive through family crises and adversities. Islam is seen not as an ideological construct but as a social test for all the problems of the child's moral, ethical, and cultural development.

Analysis of challenges in upbringing shaped by the present time was put into the first block in the questionnaire.

The present time and problems of upbringing

A common narrative in the analysis of families across all the considered regions is a low level of coping strategies for parents' adaptation to the problems of the presence of mainstream digital information in children's lives. Parents and guardians experience anxiety, concern, and sometimes confusion in the matters of influencing children to adjust their time on the Internet. The respondents argue that drastic measures (total control, strict punishment) only work in the short term. What are the difficulties arising in upbringing and socialization?

- The insufficiency of parents' skills of communication with children in digital reality owes to the fact that the old (traditional) family values become less constructive under these conditions, with no mechanisms for developing new ones. This is noted by parents from all the studied regions.

- *If you look closer, every parent suffers from a lack of knowledge and experience in upbringing, since they do not teach you this at school or university. Almost every parent is tormented by doubts about whether they are doing the right thing when raising their child, given that there is a wide variety of opinions, points of view, and perspectives about what is good and what is bad for a kid (Gozel, mother of three children, nuclear family, 28 years old, Dagestan).*

- *...there are more requirements to the exterior, material side of life. There are lots of troubles for parents nowadays created by the education system. There are many difficulties, countless even. Children receive a lot of both good and harmful information from them. Every time you need to deliver information in a way that the child will not be an outcast in society, but at the same time will be well-bred and responsible (man, father of three children, single parent, 36 years old, Dagestan).*

- *In a modern family, the upbringing of children has to start with the parents, as well as teachers and caretakers. All because they are the ones taking responsibility for instilling some qualities in the kid. Meanwhile, it is impossible to teach a child to be kind, just, generous, or polite without having these qualities yourself. After all, children are good at spotting lies, so lessons will prove pointless (woman, 35 years old, guardian of two school-age children, no biological parents, Ingushetia).*

These motives are demonstrated by most families in all the examined regions. Parents understand that the challenges of the digital world demand new pedagogical and psychological tools of upbringing, i.e., coping strategies for the adaptation of parents and children to the new reality. They are sensitive to these changes, which becomes the source of anxiety and uncertainty about their pedagogical competence at the micro and macro levels. A rescue mechanism in this respect becomes a comparison with their own parents' child-rearing models.

- *In our time, when I was little, all mothers raised their children strictly, instilling modesty. This is also right, I do not think this to be wrong, but now things are a bit different between me and my children, but not because that was wrong or because I disapprove of this. No. I simply raise my children to be more open, teach them to speak about everything. In matters where I was embarrassed in my day to share anything, I teach them to tell everything. Yes, it is difficult that children are a little different nowadays, they are wayward, they see a lot now and keep track. They have access to all the information, they see a lot of examples, see what goes on in other countries. We cannot sever this connection; it is what it is. Maybe they develop character because of this, I don't know. From an early age, they have some sort of 'Self'. They still try to stand their ground. I see this in my own kids. When my mom used to tell me what is and is not allowed, I understood it the first time. My kids, in turn, try to prove their point to me. They want it a different way. This is a different time, different children, different parents (Radima, mother of four children, divorced, 39 years old, the Chechen Republic).*

Prominent strategies of traditional parenting the parents believe to still be effective today.

- *The Stick and Carrot method has not been abolished yet, regardless of who recognizes it or not, it always works in all eras, in all generations, in all ages. That is, for example, if there is a parent in the family, there are also grandparents. The grandparents will naturally be kind, meaning that they will allow children more, give in more, punish them less for some actions. If one of the parents treats children in the same way, this is no longer upbringing but overindulgence. So they most likely have to listen most to the older people in the household, they need to be in awe of someone. (Deni, 45 years old, father of four children, single parent raising children with his parents, without the mother, Dagestan).*

Parents also recognize the issue of modern challenges in upbringing, which demand a revision of the old schemes and mechanisms.

- *Today there are some problems our parents did not face. Naturally, the values instilled in us need to be modernized.*

But while something leaves, something is added. For instance, many fundamentals in pedagogy are changing now, right? Something is subject to criticism.

We often hear the older generation say: we used to do it like that, now parents are doing this.

The problem I face is highly developed technology and devices. They have brought some health disadvantages. The child's thinking changes a little because they are increasingly subject to the effects of social media.

Part of the parents admit that social media and information technology cannot fully justify their poor pedagogical competence.

- *My task as a mother is to use it for my child's good. This is where traditional upbringing can help. That is, you cannot blame everything on social networks, if you lay*

down your values and concepts at home, then the child will be able to do just fine...children are smart nowadays, they memorize information well, and today they could well be explained what harm and good their phones bring to them (mother, 40 years old, three children, multigenerational family, Ingushetia).

The modernization of society in the world manifests in a transition from traditional to secular-rational values (according to Inglehart and Welzel's map of values). However, the North Caucasus society is experiencing the influence of dynamically changing Islamic institutions and reanimating traditional norms and values, on the one hand, and modern and post-modern values, on the other. This is a unique challenge to parents in socializing children in this region. In this respect, almost all the surveyed families point to the institutions of tradition and Islam as vital rescue mechanisms and levers in child upbringing in today's conditions.

- I believe that all our traditions and honoring our elders in Dagestani society are respectful attitude toward our parents, hospitality, i.e., welcoming guests, personal family holidays, such as birthdays, weddings, mawlid, home clean-ups, which nurture care for the home, joint recreation, such as picnics, walks – all this helps us to bring up our children (man, 36 years old, three children, raising children alone with his parents, Dagestan).

- (details of traditional upbringing) I speak about the attitude of a sister to brother and brother to sister, what all this should be like according to tradition. I tell about how a brother should treat his sister, that he should be gentle, protective because she is weak. That is, he should be her protector. I also teach that one should not judge the father and his actions. However unfairly he treats his children, they cannot be judgemental, especially judging him. I do not let them do that. If I let it slide, it is possible that they will automatically treat me like that someday. It all stems from our traditions, I was brought up in this way, and so I, in my turn, try to instill this in them. Of course, I always tell them that they must not let other people mistreat them, not everything should be tolerated, they need to stand up for themselves. Yet there needs to be respect for elders. If you see insolence, you don't tolerate it. That's what I teach them. Have your own opinion, defend your point of view. I don't teach them to fight, to sweep everything in their path, no. But if there is something that is hurting you or not satisfying you, you need to fix it. Also, you should always tell the truth. (Radima, divorced, mother of four children, the Chechen Republic).

Concerning the variability of role practices among actors in upbringing (father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother), we do observe differences in the form of upbringing but not in its essence ("Certainly, the father is always stricter with the children, I am softer, perhaps, because I interact with them more on many issues, but the father is definitely an authority to them" (nuclear family, Dagestan).

Culture as a regulating factor in upbringing

Intergenerational relationships were the focus of our attention in terms of two problems:

- the institution of grandparents and their influence on child upbringing;
- the variability of socialization styles among grandparents in contrast to children's parents. The respondents note that children raised by their grandparents are more sensitive, responsive, and kind. This argument may be wishful thinking, confirming the stereotype of traditional culture that the disintegration of large families in the face of urbanization of the population has led to the breakdown of intergenerational ties and lessened the degree of contact and emotional attachment between family members.

- First and foremost, grandparents expand the child's outlook. This is also a kind of experience speaking with other people: grandparents are an invaluable bank of knowledge for children (father, 36 years old, Dagestan).

It needs to be noted that the rise of traditionalism and the Islam factor has surprisingly revealed a trend that is not yet clearly visible but is already present in social practice. We already noted that according to the classics of the upbringing cycle, the older generation (grandparents) were the bearers of national and religious identity, role models of influence and nurturing, and the traditions and norms of traditional culture. However, the social stratum of current grandparents is a generation whose worldview formed under Soviet ideology. While part of them integrate into the overall narrative of strengthening the socio-cultural and traditional influence on grandchildren, in most of them, the attempts to nurture Islamic ethical norms in grandchildren are not very convincing. They tend to lack both knowledge and beliefs: the grandchildren are more informed about Islamic ethics and ritualistic cult. This fact is confirmed both by regional researchers (Starodubrovskaja, 2019) and our study based on Inglehart and Welzel's map of values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2011).

- We certainly insist on Islam, because it has the whole truth. How do I say, this generation knows it way better than us: they pray and fast regularly, they read the Quran, and we are often the ones asking questions (laughs) (father, 54 years old, the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic).

- Children say that we grew up under atheism, so we do not do Salah as deeply as them, and there is a lot we do wrong. "You drank, and we do not drink or smoke", our sons tell us (father, 49 years old, the Chechen Republic)

Our analysis and observations show that the restoration of ethnic normative culture and Islamic culture happened over a single generation. For part of today's grandparents, this is not so much an issue of religious faith or tradition as an issue of social testing in the context of new value strategies of upbringing.

Parents in their interviews often mention value strategies with gender differentiation in upbringing. This aspect was not our focus in the guide survey, but these considerations show the extent to which the ethical complex as a symbolic model of culture is tied in parents to the role model of masculinity and femininity. Parents see this as a predictable mechanism to ensure against the "defilement" of gender in postmodernity. Raising the

child in their biological sex with the entire normative role model of a boy or girl and man or woman, saturated with traditional and Islamic symbolism, is the most important goal of parents.

In families with the father as a single parent, there is a pronounced focus on gendered upbringing, which takes the form of concern for daughters, whereas in families where the mother is a single parent to children of different genders, there is anxiety for the maturation of boys.

- *It is harder for me to deal with the boys than the girls, because the boy is, well, in his transitional age. And he needs a man's hand, which I don't have at the moment, so that he can feel this man's hand, man's strength so that there is an authority for him as a man. My son listens more to my mother (grandmother) than to me (woman, 35 years old, divorced, single parent to two children, Dagestan).*

Parents are convinced that the lack of one parent is often a precondition for the complication of educational contact based on the adolescent's gender.

- *What becomes a problem and why it is so difficult to raise a child today. First and foremost, I'd say that it is an incomplete family. For me personally, this is a little bit hard in the sense that I am raising a son alone, so there is his gender. So, if I were raising a girl, it would be much easier. I believe that, for a boy, no matter how I try to give him all my attention and surround him with my care, he will desperately need his father's upbringing, which he misses no matter how I try to keep a hard hand on him. In any case, a man still needs a man to raise him (woman, 39 years old, single parent to one son, Dagestan).*

- *The foremost job of a father is to teach the child to work, organize leisure, and bring up such traits as the boy's fortitude, masculine strength, and dependability. The father's example is very important because children copy their fathers in many ways: they pick up his gait, his mannerisms, his gestures. He is responsible to the family for organizing the household, providing food. It's just so happened that I raise my children alone, and I realize how hard it is to bring up a healthy personality in a family without a mother. Because children also need to learn both the feminine (mostly for girls) and masculine models of behavior (father, 36 years old, single parent to four children of different genders, Dagestan).*

Thus, through the analysis of in-depth interviews of families from the North Caucasus, the study:

- sheds light on behavioral patterns in family relationships: despite the uniform sociocultural space of Caucasian families, the role and behavioral practices are not always identical in families of the same type or even region. Furthermore, intra-regional differences are not as evident as interregional ones.

- has analyzed the transgeneration of cognitive-behavioral patterns among the subjects of intergenerational relations in modern families: an increase in the number of types of nuclear families in contrast to multigenerational diminishes the influence of the institution of grandparents on their grandchildren, although there is a demand from

parents for their necessity and importance in the family. In some families, intergenerational tension is associated with the strengthening of religious and national factors across generations, where the role of amplifier is played by grandchildren rather than grandfathers.

- explored the relationship between family upbringing styles and the coping strategies of parents and children. The higher the emotional and psychological stability of the family, where both parents are present, the higher the adaptation of this family to instability and anxiety in the country and the world.

- the absence of one parent in the family leads the other parent to feel a sense of incompleteness in the upbringing of children. This factor raises anxiety for the children's future and emotional state.

- reveals a specificity in the transformation of family mentality, which consists in high social expectations from the following factors:

- reinforcement of religious upbringing;

- cultivation of the moral foundations of traditional culture as a guaranteed insurance against the threats and risks of this world.

Difficulties and problems in family socialization

A common trend in the upbringing process in North Caucasus families, as found by our sociological study, is difficulties in creating mechanisms of family adaptation to the conditions of digital reality, where the familiar, predictable, and efficient practices and means of upbringing work poorly and inconclusively and new ones, responding to the challenges of the technogenic reality, are not yet developed.

- *From an early age, they have some sort of 'Self'. They still try to stand their ground. I see this in my own kids. When my mom used to tell me what is and is not allowed, I understood it the first time. My kids, in turn, try to prove their point to me. They want it a different way. This is a different time, different children, different parents (Radima, mother to four children, divorced, 39 years old, the Chechen Republic).*

- *Today there are some problems our parents did not face. Naturally, the values instilled in us need to be modernized.*

But while something leaves, something is added. For instance, many fundamentals in pedagogy are changing now, right? Something is subject to criticism.

We often hear the older generation say: we used to do it like that, now parents are doing this.

- *The problem I face is highly developed technology and devices. They have brought some health disadvantages. The child's thinking changes a little because they are increasingly subject to the effects of social media...*

As strategies for adaptation to digital technology in upbringing, parents suggest rationally using their information potential.

...My task as a mother is to use it for my child's good. This is where traditional upbringing can help. That is, you cannot blame everything on social networks if you lay down your values and concepts at home, then the child will be able to do just fine...children are smart nowadays, they memorize information well, and today they could well be explained what harm and good their phones bring to them (mother, 40 years old, three children, multigenerational family, Ingushetia).

- I believe that all our traditions and honoring our elders in Dagestani society are respectful attitude toward our parents, hospitality, i.e., welcoming guests, personal family holidays, such as birthdays, weddings, mawlid, home clean-ups, which nurture care for the home, joint recreation, such as picnics, walks – all this helps us to bring up our children (man, 36 years old, three children, raising children with his parents, Dagestan).

What parents see as the primary resource for family upbringing in current realities is national value strategies and the moral normative ethics of Islam. The application of this resource is at the core of the problem of family adaptation (coping strategies) in the upbringing process. In this context, the issue of cultural security of the family transitions from the realm of theoretical reflection into the plane of preservation of socio-cultural capital as a strategic resource of civilizational survival.

4. Conclusions

- Based on the analysis of value orientations according to the World Values Survey based on Inglehart's maps over the past 30 years and sociological studies on the value orientations in modern North-Caucasus families, it is confirmed that intra-country values have significant variability.
- Parents in all types of families are found to be persistently anxious about child socialization concerning the large role of the Internet in children's lives.
- A stable trend of child-centeredness is observed in families: the main concern of parents is to give children a decent education and upbringing.
- No significant variability is observed across the different types of families by the method of child upbringing.
- The family's cultural security is seen by parents in preserving the norms and values of traditions and religious norms while recognizing the need to fit in the changing world.
- Of all the republics of the North Caucasus, the most open to contact are parents from Dagestan. In formulating clearly defined value strategies in upbringing, the most notable are parents from the Chechen Republic.
- The analysis of the experimental study shows that parents believe it crucial to bring up their children in the framework of national and religious identity, although the realization of this task, i.e., how to use this resource, is the core of the problem of family adaptation (coping strategies) in the upbringing process.

▪ Gendered upbringing as a method is considered important and necessary by all the surveyed families. Importantly, only a few mothers report having difficulties raising boys, while fathers, according to surveys, almost universally experience anxiety and insecurity in raising girls.

The conclusions reached in the study thus show new subject matters in the problem. This raises the need for further development and analysis of such topics as the structure of a modern family and its operation, transformation of the role of the institution of fathers, etc.

Does social transformation toward the traditional imply archaization? One thing is clear – a selective attitude to traditional culture expands the range of choices for future generations. Only the future will tell how flexible the current trends will turn out to be and what will be their reciprocal force.

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