

## Intergenerational Transmission of Values and Attitudes as Perceived by Students in Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland

Międzypokoleniowa transmisja wartości i postaw w percepcji młodzieży studiującej w zachodniej Ukrainie i wschodniej Polsce

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**Abstract:** The empirical base of the article is the result of surveys conducted among students in the years 2018-2010. The purpose of the analysis is to learn the opinions of students in the cities of Lviv and Rzeszów with respect to the intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes. The formulation of the research problem: how do students in Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine perceive intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes? While conducting the research, both survey method and survey technique were used. Purposive sampling was determined by the following criteria: nationality, age, gender, and field of study.

The foremost value which students internalised, and passed on to them by their mothers, is love. Assisting others and caring for loved ones were also apparent. The mothers of Polish students shaped the respondents' attitudes regarding respect for others, while Ukrainian students internalised the following values passed on to them by their mothers: justice, patriotism, and freedom; in contrast to Polish students, for whom these values and attitudes appeared to be the least important. The fathers of the students shaped: industriousness and a prosperous life. The context of carrying out economic functions was lauded. According to Polish students, fathers passing on values such as respect for others, love, and honesty were also important; similar to what Lviv students thought were important. Ukrainian respondents emphasised that their fathers had shaped their broad intellectual horizons. For these students, honesty and justice were equally important. Students who had been educated in Lviv reported religiosity as the least important. This was most often instilled by their mothers (somewhat more often Ukrainian) rather than by their fathers (somewhat more often Polish). The results demonstrated differences in the assessment of the transmission of values and attitudes of Ukrainian and Polish mothers and fathers.

**Keywords:** family, transmission of values, attitude, sociology of the family, social pedagogy, Poland, Ukraine

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**Abstrakt:** Podstawą empiryczną artykułu są wyniki badań przeprowadzonych wśród studentów w latach 2018-2019. Celem analizy jest poznanie opinii młodzieży studiującej we Lwowie i w Rzeszowie na temat międzypokoleniowej transmisji wartości i postaw. Sformułowany został problem badawczy: jak młodzież studiująca we wschodniej Polsce i w zachodniej Ukrainie postrzega międzypokoleniowy przekaz wartości i postaw? Podczas prowadzenia badań zastosowano metodę sondażową, technikę ankiety. Dobór celowy wyznaczały kryteria: narodowość, wiek, płeć, kierunek studiów. Pierwszoplanową wartością, którą zinternalizowali studenci z przekazu matek jest miłość, uwidocznili się też: pomaganie innym osobom, troska o bliskich. Matki polskich studentów ukształtowały u badanych postawę szacunku dla innych. Ukraińscy studenci uwewnętrzniili przekazane przez matki: sprawiedliwość, patriotyzm i wolność, w odróżnieniu od polskich studentów, dla których te wartości i postawy okazały się w



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tym przekazuje najmniej istotne. Ojcowie studentów formowali: pracowitość i dostatnie życie. Wybrzmiał kontekst realizowania funkcji ekonomicznej. W ojcowskiej transmisji ważnymi wartościami zdaniem polskich studentów były również: szacunek dla innych, miłość i uczciwość, która okazała się istotna również dla studentów ze Lwowa. Ukraińscy badani podkreślili, że ojcowie kształtowali ich szerokie horyzonty umysłowe. Dla tych studentów równie istotne były: uczciwość i sprawiedliwość. Studenci kształcący się we Lwowie jako najmniej doniosłą zgłosili religijność. Była ona częściej wpajana przez matki (nieco częściej ukraińskie) niż przez ojców (nieco częściej polskich). Otrzymane wyniki pokazują różnice w ocenie przekazu wartości i postaw ukraińskich oraz polskich matek i ojców.

**Słowa kluczowe:** rodzina, transmisja wartości, postawa, socjologia rodziny, pedagogika społeczna, Polska, Ukraina

## INTRODUCTION – INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Ongoing globalisation processes are constantly shaping macro-and micro-economic changes, resulting in the modification of the structure of societies as well as families. The concept of family encompasses – in the belief of Ryszard Skrzypniak (2001, 150) – “a cluster of processes,” which endures throughout the lives of its members. Throughout their existence, a system of values and norms, rules and behaviour for family members is formed. The formation of a system of values and attitudes is an important issue in the process of raising children and adolescents, creating conditions for their proper development. Family in the process of nurturing: introduces the individual to the world of material-technical and symbolic cultural work, the recognition of objects, their meanings, as well as their role and purpose; formulates basic values, ideas that should be the object of pursuits and aspirations; shapes attitudes towards certain objects, prioritises their hierarchy, selection, evaluations, as well as preferences, teaches attitudes towards the environment; reveals and instills patterns of behaviour: actual, normative, doctrinally substantiated, environmentally or ideologically justified (Turowski 1998, 15-16). Intergenerational transmission within the family is therefore inherent in the socialisation process. It is a mechanism that demonstrates generational continuity in the values manifested. It relies on the transmission of values that are essential for parents, through specific contact with children. Participating in it (parents creating role models for children), observing how they implement the values, encouraging their internalisation, making it possible for children to adopt them as their own based on internalisation. Through

intergenerational transmission, an individual has the opportunity of getting to know and choosing the appropriate age of the values and moral norms that are treasured by them and by the social group they identify with (Elżanowska 2012, 107, 109-110).

Building and forging a proper and sustainable hierarchy of values provides capital for the future. It establishes the foundation for making life choices, as well as adopting certain behaviours. Parenting should be referred to as the preparation of children and young people for social roles – being a child, mother, wife, father, husband, student, employee, etc. After all, each person performs many roles (a conglomerate of social roles) over the course of their lives. These roles are formulated in the form of expectations and thus specific requirements for the individual (Szczutowska 1993, 14-21; Ryś 1997, 125-134). Accordingly, older individuals prepare younger ones to enter various social roles, including parental roles, passing on the value of starting their own family and children. For example, they educate the younger generation on how to run a household. Bogdan de Barbaro (*Wprowadzenie* 1999) emphasised, that in systems theory, the value system that one holds influences interpersonal relationships in various subsystems, starting with the family of origin, through relationships with a partner in a personal relationship, to extra-familial relationships. During the cultural education of the younger generation – as interpreted by Jerzy Szacki (2004, 491) – there is also the transmission of traditions, habits, and also customs. It is not a matter of passing on the entire national heritage within a family, but of intergenerational transmission; in other words the process of transmitting cultural elements that are vital to the memory of members of a particular collective.

The results of Polish and Ukrainian research confirm that some changes are perceived to be taking place in the value system of individuals (Bakiera 2006, 101-115; Левковська 2006, 85-93; Сокурянская 2006; Szlendak 2010, 252-262; Сокурянская 2016, 213-221; Хрипко and Овсянкіна 2017, 175-183; Mariański 2017, 178-191). Traditional family values continue to be emphasised and endorsed in Ukrainian society. Over a dozen or so years, it was noted that some western global values had begun to take root (Буковинський 2011, 228). Research has confirmed (Балакірева 2002, 21-32) that personal priorities prevail, as well as a preference for individualism. This is a trend that characterises change in the value hierarchy of young people. Previously such values as: “respect for others,” “good team

relationships,” found themselves in second or third place in the hierarchy of values, but now the situation is completely different. In Ulrich Beck’s view, the process of individualisation means that: the biography of a person liberated from established relationships, open and dependent on one’s own decisions, is delegated to an individual as a task to be carried out through their actions. While the proportion of life choices that are essentially closed for decisions is decreasing, the areas open to them, as well as the biographies to be created, are increasing. The individualisation of attitudes and lifelong careers therefore means that biographies become “self-reflective.” They are being transformed from the biographies determined by society into the biographies created by individuals. Decisions about education, occupation, job position, place of residence, spouse, number of children, etc., as well as decisions of lesser importance not only can, but must be made (Beck 2002, 202). Highly valued, therefore, is that which is directly related to the person in question, illustrating a clear orientation toward individualism.

In Anna Blasiak’s view (2017, 40), “getting to know the trends of change in the quality of modern parenting as well as the upbringing of the youngest generation indicates that the parents of today require preventive measures and support (...) new patterns of motherhood and fatherhood have not been fully formed and rooted in everyday life, as the patterns developed by previous generations are still present, and this causes difficulties and problems in being a parent.” Ukrainian researchers (Ярошинська 2006, 127), referring to the aforementioned preventive measures, take a convergent position. They propose meticulously carrying out the preparation of young people for social life to perform the functions of a husband, wife, father and mother.

## 1. ASSUMPTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

In the 1990s, political and social transformation in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe brought about demographic changes. In Northern and Western European countries, these changes took place as early as the 1960s. According to a United Nations report (2003) on major trends affecting the family, the average size of families and households has declined, while there has been an increase in the number of elderly families and the widowed. The phenomenon of mass external migration has also appeared. The overall processes of change was related to and concerned with values and social norms, including those related to family life.

The issue in the present research is to learn about the perception of parental interactions by students. The respondents were subjected to the process of socialisation under conditions already transformed (social, cultural or religious). The purpose of the conducted analysis is to ascertain the opinions of students in Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine on the intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes. The topic addressed is particularly relevant in the context of globalisation. The article attempts to compare the intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes as perceived by young students living in the borderland. A research problem was formulated: how do students in Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine perceive the intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes? Specific problems were posed: what the most important values and attitudes were passed on to the respondents by their mothers, what the most important values and attitudes were passed on to them by their fathers, and what values guided the respondents in their lives.

The material presented herein is an excerpt from a broader study conducted from 2018 to 2019 among Ukrainian and Polish state university students (in-person). Purposive sampling (arbitrary, non-probabilistic) was determined by the following criteria: nationality, age (20-23 years old, resulting from Ukrainian youth entering studies earlier), gender (women and men with an assumption of similar numbers of each gender), and field of study. The research was carried out among students in such majors as economics, physics, geology, history, cultural studies, mathematics, political science and administration. The following majors were eliminated: pedagogy, psychology, sociology, family science, and social work – since students studying in these fields obtain “family knowledge” from their syllabus. Research was conducted at the following educational institutions: the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv and the University of Rzeszów<sup>1</sup>. The research, which was quantitative in nature, was conducted in each country based on an auditorium survey developed for the study, including questions with categories to choose from (this was possible as the research was conducted before the Covid-19 virus pandemic and the outbreak of war in Ukraine). The questionnaire, developed in Poland, was translated into the Ukrainian language.

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<sup>1</sup> The research was conducted within the framework of a research project carried out based on a bilateral agreement between Polish and Ukrainian universities. The authors held several research internships at the universities where this research was conducted.

## 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY GROUP

Amongst the students (N=320) participating in the survey, there were slightly more women (57,81%) than men (42,19%). There was a slightly higher percentage of women (51,72%) than men (48,28%) in Ukraine, and the same was true in Poland, with 37,14% more men and 62,86% more women. The respondents were students between the ages of 20-23, of which 45,63% were aged 20-21, and more than half, 54,37%, were aged 22-23. They were more likely to be studying for a master's degree (67,19%) than a bachelor's degree (32,81%).

Almost half of the total respondents (43,13%) lived in rural areas. Living in a large city (200,000+ residents) were 34,48% of the Ukrainian students and only 2,86% of the Polish students. During their studies, 27,81% of the total respondents lived together with one parent or both parents. Most often, students grew up in families with both parents (84,38%). Less often (11,56%), the families of the respondents were incomplete, as a result of: divorce of their parents, death of a parent, or single motherhood. The lower rate of incompleteness of the family due to divorce was in Poland (3,43%), while the higher rate was in Ukraine (10,34%). More than three-quarters of all respondents (81,56%) had siblings. This was more often the case for Polish students – 88,57%, and slightly less often for Ukrainian students – 73,10%.

The families of the Ukrainian and Polish students surveyed were essentially ethnically homogeneous (over 97%). The nationality diversity of Ukrainian students' parents was slightly greater – in the case of fathers, the respondents identified: 2 Poles, 1 Belarusian and 1 Moldovan. The Polish respondents indicated that 3 mothers and 3 fathers were from Ukraine. The parents of the students had different levels of education, with the most common being higher education (overall, almost half of the mothers – 42,50% and less, 33,13% of the fathers). There was a similarity between Poland (34,88%) and Ukraine (51,72%) when it came to specifying, as the most prevalent, the higher level of education of the mothers. In contrast, there was a difference in the predominant levels of secondary education of Polish mothers (33,14%) and the vocational education of Ukrainian mothers (30,34%). The education of fathers in these countries also varied – the fathers of Ukrainian students most often had higher education (45,52%) and vocational education (40%); while fathers of Polish respondents had vocational education (47,43%) and secondary education (25,71%).

In summation, given the selection criteria adopted, the respondents were students between the ages of 20 and 23; with more of them pursuing their second level of study than their first. The students were most often raised in complete families. More than three-quarters of the total respondents had siblings. Families in the two countries were ethnically homogeneous. The mothers and fathers of the respondents most often had higher education. Certain disparities between respondents are therefore evident from the countries being compared.

### 3. PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH RESULTS

In the past, it was more common to attribute economic value to a child (including supporting the household budget through gainful employment, assisting with household chores, caring for siblings or ageing parents). Nowadays, the emotional value of a child has been highlighted, involving the formation of satisfying relationships and family ties, which, along with intergenerational transmission, “form a hierarchy of values that will henceforth provide an alternative for evaluating the social, political and religious situations encountered.” (Kądziołka 2012, 194). The high value of a child translates into the method of providing care and upbringing. Parents endeavour to lay out an “ideal” childhood for their children, which carry with it certain repercussions (Szymanik-Kostrzewska 2016, 7-8). The attitude towards the child determines the manner of being a parent, while parenthood – which is a social construct constituting an expression of adult choice – enriches life, becoming an important activity. In A. Błasiak’s view, parental involvement can be illustrated by identifying several elements: acceptance of the role, interest in the developing child; cooperation; responsiveness of the parent; balance between closeness and the autonomy of the child; modifying the parent’s activity towards the child according to the child’s needs and developmental capabilities; caring for the child; and active participation in creating an appropriate developmental environment (Błasiak 2017, 32).

In accordance with the assumptions, during scrutiny of values and attitudes passed on to the respondents by their mother and father, sub-indications were distinguished, which included love, caring for loved ones, diligence, assisting others, respect for others, religiosity, prosperous life, honesty, joie de vivre, broad-mindedness, loyalty, friendship, knowledge, justice, patriotism, tolerance and freedom. The percentage and numerical distribution of the survey results are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

For most respondents (Lviv 68,75%, Rzeszów 65,7%), the most important value passed on to them by their mothers (Table 1) was love, which as a result should be reflected in the individual's behaviour, development, and construction of their own identity. Mothers are the most important figure in an individual's life, the prototype of relationships and beliefs about themselves and others. They endowed the respondents with emotional capital, satisfying their desire to be needed and loved.

In contrast, far fewer respondents indicated that they cared for and/or assisted loved ones (Lviv 33,33%) (Rzeszów 30,23%). Polish students were slightly more likely to fancy helping others (27,91%) than Ukrainian students (18,06%). The mothers of Polish respondents (Rzeszów 29,07%) formed in their children an attitude of respect for others. Ukrainian youth placed this attitude only fifth (18,06%). Assisting loved ones and respects for others were more often passed on to children by Polish mothers, and less often by Ukrainian mothers. Respondents also adopted industriousness from their mothers (Rzeszów 34,88% and Lviv 29,86%). It can be assumed that the internalisation of these values by Polish youth became apparent in their respect for them when providing assistance, support and caring, after the outbreak of war in Ukraine and the intensification of the migration process to Poland. Young people from the borderland, including the Subcarpathian region, engaged in volunteer activities at border crossings and in various towns and villages throughout this voivodeship.

Some Ukrainian students internalised the values and attitudes passed on by their mothers: justice (9,72%), patriotism (5,5%) and freedom (4,86%); unlike Polish students, for whom these values and attitudes were least important: justice (2,91%), freedom (2,91%) and patriotism (0,58%). There was a small percentage of indications from Ukrainian respondents and an even smaller percentage from Polish respondents. Thus, the difference between the respondents from each country is evident. One can presume that the respondents are aware of Ukraine's unfavourable geopolitical position. Moreover, since 2014, they have been continuously observing the conflict in the eastern part of their country but have not directly experienced it. A study was conducted (Христенко 2022, 100-103) on Ukrainian youth's values during the ongoing war. The results of the survey demonstrated that family and national values, as well as: peace, faith, freedom, dignity, unity, kindness, are prioritised by the students, as basic values that are particularly important under the conditions of modern military realities. Almost all respondents cited

national unity as the most important value and condition for victory in the war. The results of the survey illustrate the value-oriented attitude of Ukrainian youth to such institutions as the state, nation and family, as well as to language, faith, history and culture.

Table 1. *The most important attitudes and values of the respondents that their mothers passed on to them*

Attitudes and Values passed on from Mothers:	City			
	Lviv		Rzeszów	
	Number	%	Number	%
love	99	68,75	113	65,70
caring for loved ones	48	33,33	52	30,23
diligence	43	29,86	60	34,88
assisting others	26	18,06	48	27,91
respect for others	26	18,06	50	29,07
religiosity	33	22,92	33	19,19
prosperous life	20	13,89	23	13,37
honesty	23	15,97	20	11,63
joie de vivre	17	11,81	18	10,47
broad-mindedness	20	13,89	16	9,30
loyalty	11	7,64	15	8,72
friendship	11	7,64	19	11,05
knowledge	10	6,94	18	10,47
justice	14	9,72	5	2,91
patriotism	8	5,50	1	0,58
tolerance	8	5,56	11	6,40
freedom	7	4,86	5	2,91

\* The data do not total 100%, as the respondents could choose more than 1 answer

The data collected in Table 2 allows one to see that for most of the respondents, the important values and attitudes passed on to them by their father were industriousness (Rzeszów 50%, Lviv 37.40%) and a prosperous life (Lviv 38.93%, Rzeszów 31.71%). From paternal transmission, Polish respondents in particular, and Ukrainian students to a lesser extent, were reading a pattern of realisation of the economic function in the family. Thus, the economic context combined with the performance of the father's role, expressed primarily in the professional duties performed, resounded. In both countries, however,

there is a noticeable gradual spread of the so-called partnership model, in which gainful employment is undertaken by both men and women, and partners are jointly responsible for the process of raising children (Кравченко 2006, 43-48; Marczak 2013, 105-106). Hence, it is not only men who are responsible for carrying out the economic function in the family.

From paternal transmission, Polish youth also internalised respect for others (23,78%), love (22,56%) and honesty (22,56%), which also proved important to Lviv students (25,19%). For Lviv respondents, honesty and justice were equally important (25.19% each). Ukrainian students further recognised that their fathers shaped their broad intellectual horizons (22,14%). The results of the analysis (Marzec-Tarasińska 2016, 257-258) confirm the balance in the father's display of affection, who makes demands and prepares the child to overcome life's difficulties. He acts with consistency, which is crucial in terms of the effectiveness of influence. The father's firmness towards the child is a condition for ensuring emotional balance

Tolerance appeared to be the least important in paternal transmission to the respondents (Lviv 5,34% and Rzeszów 6,10%). For those mentioned in the former were also friendship and freedom (8,40%), and for the latter also friendship (7,32%) and loyalty (8,54%). In contrast, students studying in Lviv selected religiosity (4,58%) as the least important. The results of the study (Boguszewski and Bożewicz 2019, 33, 49-50) confirm that religiosity is transforming, as well as its forms, impact, its influence on the sphere of norms and values. The religion of young people is weakening, and changes in religiosity, as well as in the morality of young people, are proceeding in the direction of increasing individualisation (privatisation) and deinstitutionalisation.

Table 2. *The most important attitudes and values of the respondents that their fathers passed on to them*

Attitudes and Values passed on from Fathers:	City			
	Lviv		Rzeszów	
	Number	%	Number	%
industriousness	49	37,40	82	50,00
prosperous life	51	38,93	52	31,71
love	25	19,08	37	22,56
honesty	33	25,19	37	22,56

patriotism	24	18,32	29	17,68
broad-mindedness	29	22,14	16	9,76
justice	33	25,19	27	16,46
assisting others	24	18,32	21	12,80
respect for others	14	10,69	39	23,78
loyalty	13	9,92	14	8,54
joie de vivre	16	12,21	18	10,98
knowledge	20	15,27	22	13,41
caring for loved ones	17	12,98	23	14,02
friendship	11	8,40	12	7,32
freedom	11	8,40	18	10,98
religiosity	6	4,58	19	11,59
tolerance	7	5,34	10	6,10

\* The data do not total 100%, as the respondents could choose more than 1 answer

The students were also asked the question: what values guide them in their lives? The data collected in Table 3 allows us to note that an important value that the respondents are guided by in their lives is love (Rzeszów 50,57%, Lviv 39,31%). For Polish (Rzeszów 27,01%) students, respect towards other people turned out to be important. Among the important values the respondents mentioned: industriousness (Rzeszów 32,18%), a prosperous life (Lviv 28,97%), and justice (Lviv 26,21%). The respondents' indications reflect the values and attitudes most important to them, which they have internalised from their paternal and maternal transmissions in the family.

The least important values that Ukrainian respondents are guided by in their lives turned out to be patriotism (5,52%) and loyalty (3,45%). For students studying in Ukraine, religiosity was also not the dominant value that guided their lives (8,28%). Slightly more indications were given to the aforementioned religiosity in the survey of Polish students (9,77%). Contrastingly, for respondents studying in Rzeszów, tolerance (5,75%) was the value, along with patriotism (5,75%), that guided their lives the least. Thus, the students' indications reflect what was least important in their view of their paternal and maternal transmissions.

Table 3. *Values that guide respondents in their lives*

Values:	City			
	Lviv		Rzeszów	
	Number	%	Nubmer	%
love	57	39,31	88	50,57
industriousness	30	20,69	56	32,18
joie de vivre	30	20,69	38	21,84
respect for others	21	14,48	47	27,01
friendship	27	18,62	36	20,69
Caring for love ones	33	22,76	39	22,41
Broad-mindedness	36	24,83	18	10,34
Prosperous life	42	28,97	25	14,37
honesty	30	20,69	34	19,54
justice	38	26,21	17	9,77
Assisting others	18	12,41	24	13,79
freedom	12	8,28	12	6,90
knowledge	15	10,34	26	14,94
tolerance	15	10,34	10	5,75
loyalty	5	3,45	19	10,92
religiosity	12	8,28	17	9,77
patriotism	8	5,52	10	5,75

\* The data do not total 100%, as the respondents could choose more than 1 answer

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that parenting is: “an area of human activity that signifies the fulfilment of the role of mother or father, which includes the entirety of behaviour undertaken in the relationship with a child. The form in which the parent’s role is carried out is a function of the social expectations formulated for the parent and the parent’s understanding of those expectations.” (Szymanik-Kostrzewska 2016, 9-10). Present-day parenting, therefore, is a spectrum of adult activity aimed at forming a close relationship with the child and creating a favourable environment for the child’s development. Research conducted by Piotr Brzozowski (1988, 190-199) has established that parents’ values correlate with some of their children’s values, and that the children resemble their parents more closely with their

preferences than with adults who are strangers to them. The analyses conducted demonstrated that children's values are primarily related to the value systems of their mothers than those of their fathers. Ukrainian research (Георгадзе 2018, 47) has indicated the important protective role played by the value of family obligations and suggests that Ukrainian adolescents can consciously make decisions about their future lives through the prism of their sense of duty to their families.

The results of the study make it possible to comprehend that the primary value internalised by the students from their mothers' transmission is love. In addition, assisting others, as well as caring for loved ones, became apparent to both Polish and Ukrainian respondents. The mothers of Polish students shaped in the respondents an attitude of respect for others. Ukrainian students, on the other hand, internalised the values passed on by their mothers: justice, patriotism and freedom, in contrast to Polish students, for whom these values and attitudes appeared to be the least essential in this transmission.

The important values and attitudes conveyed and shaped by the father of the students surveyed were industriousness and a prosperous life. Thus, the context of realising an economic function resounded. In the paternal transmission, important values according to the Polish students were also respect for others, love and honesty, which turned out to also be important for the students from Lviv. Ukrainian respondents stressed that their fathers shaped their broad intellectual horizons. Honesty and justice were equally important to these students. Students educated in Lviv reported religiosity as the least important. In contrast, the results indicated that religiosity was more often instilled in children by mothers (slightly more often Ukrainian) than by fathers (slightly more often Polish).

The fundamental value that guided all students in their lives is love, that is, the value that is most important in maternal intergenerational transmission, and also evident in paternal transmission. In Henry Cudak's conviction, the mother in particular bestows and transmits to the child: "love, acceptance, caring, attention to biological and psychological development. The child's survival in life and its emotional and social development depends on the maternal role understood, the parental function performed, the love expressed and stable feelings by the parents – especially the mother" (Cudak 2012, 22-23). This was confirmed by respondents in both countries surveyed.

Respect for other people was a guiding value shaped by their mothers for Polish respondents. Among the key ones, the students noted: industriousness (Rzeszów) and a prosperous life (Lviv), which dominated the paternal transmission, as well as justice (Lviv). Even more than twenty years ago, Franciszek Adamski (2002, 36), characterising the economic function of the family, noted that labour provides the family with material goods. Krystyna Slany (2002, 60), on the other hand, noted that women's economic autonomy transforms the position of men in the household, resulting in a lessening of their authority. Indeed, today men define the role of the father in the overall functioning of family life.

Religiosity was also not the dominant value guiding the lives of Ukrainian students, yet it received slightly more indications in the responses of Polish students. Contrastingly, a small percentage of Ukrainian respondents singled out loyalty. For respondents studying in Rzeszów, tolerance was the value that, along with patriotism, guided their lives the least often. Patriotism, which is evident in paternal transmission, was respected to a scant extent in the life of the students.

The aforementioned patriotism can be included among the least important values that respondents abided by in their lives (Ukraine, Poland). The internalisation of this value was exemplified by Hanna Elżanowska, “patriotism is not a value that can be conveyed only through words (“terrible things are happening in our country”) or through a single behaviour (going to the ballot box during an election), but only in the whole history of interaction in which the parent demonstrates, what a given value is and then encouraging the pursuit of that value (patriotism shows love for the homeland, which manifests itself through the way one relates to one's country, i.e. taking part in elections and referendums, participating in various civic initiatives and undertakings, getting involved in local affairs)” (Elżanowska 2012, 101). Patriotic attitudes are therefore constructed in the field of formal education, such as education for security (in Poland), as well as non-formal education in church institutions or non-governmental organisations, and above all precisely in the family or in a war situation. Nowadays, patriotism is perceived differently, which arouses reflection on how young people understand love of their homeland and belonging to a country and its culture.

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