

Research article

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## Dynamics of Attitudes towards Tolerance Formation in the Family of Various Social Groups Representatives

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**Abstract: Introduction.** Tolerance, as the basis of a personality that develops constructive relationships with other people, in modern conditions is associated with the development of civil society, political and social events. Therefore, much attention is paid to the development of tolerance in educational institutions. There are practically no works aimed at studying the significance of its formation in the family, which plays a decisive role in the development of various personality traits of the child. The article analyzes the tolerance formation attitudes in the family among respondents of various groups for the first time over a long period of time. **Methods.** Object of study: tolerance as a psychological phenomenon. The study used the World Values Survey (WVS) database with the participation of Russia since the end of the 20th century until 2017. The total sample consisted of 10344 people. Statistical methods used for data processing: correlation analysis, Kruskal–Wallis test, Conover test, confidence interval method, logistic regression. All calculations were performed using the “R” programming language on the interface of the “RStudio” program. **Results.** A downward trend has been established in the number of respondents who consider tolerance to be the most important quality formed in the family. Differences were identified in the groups of respondents with different attitudes towards the development of tolerance. For older people with higher education, its formation is more significant. In 2017, the level of education and social class of those who think so is declining. **Discussion.** Tolerance is one of the most important qualities that are formed in the family, but the number of respondents who think so is decreasing over time. We found that a tendency to increase the importance of the formation of tolerance in the family depends on the older age, level of education and social class of the respondents.

**Keywords:** tolerance, formation of tolerance, family, socio-demographic characteristics, age, gender, education, immigrants, refugees, logistic regression

### Highlights:

► The dynamics of attitudes towards the tolerance formation in the family among representatives of various social groups in the period from 1990 to 2017 were analyzed.

- Despite the importance of the formation of tolerance in the family noted by the respondents, a tendency to reduce its importance among other formed psychological qualities was identified.
- Attitudes towards the formation of tolerance in the family differ among individuals with various socio-demographic characteristics (age, education, social class).
- Respondents who consider and do not consider it important to develop tolerance in the family show significant differences in age, education, and social class.

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## Introduction

More than 20 years have passed since the implementation of the Federal Targeted Programme "Development of tolerant attitudes and extremism prevention in Russian society". The need for its implementation was determined, first of all, by the need to harmonize relations in the Russian multi-ethnic state. Was this programme effective? Probably "yes", if for no other reason than the issue of tolerant behavior and attitudes in Russian society was raised, tolerance was defined as respect and recognition of equality with Others, and ways of approaching the future studies in this area were outlined (Asmolov & Soldatova, 2001). Over the next two decades, this issue did not lose its relevance, but, on the contrary, the concept of tolerance turned out to be universal and in demand by representatives of various sciences. It has become a kind of continuity in the studies of interethnic and interfaith interaction. Despite the fact that in the future the targeted programme initiators shift away in their works from the social analysis of tolerance and turn to its psychological and pedagogical aspects, the number of studies of tolerance as a social and even political phenomenon is increasing (Medushevsky & Gordeeva, 2017). At the same time, tolerance often began to be associated with an ideological superstructure, patriotism, protecting the interests of society, defending its interests (Beregovaya & Karlova, 2020; Ivanov, 2018).

Despite the importance of the theoretical and methodological understanding of tolerance, it can be noted that these works did not always end with the possibility of their practical application. While the new political and social realities – terrorism and emergence of a large number of immigrants and refugees from the former Soviet republics – required the scientific intervention of scientists.

In this regard, one can distinguish a group of researchers who study the issues of integration of immigrants and refugees into Russian society, the attitude of Russians towards them (Shcherbak & Tryapkin, 2019; Demidova, 2021; Monusova, 2021) taking into account the demographic characteristics of the respondents (Prokhoda, 2021; Mukomel, 2017). The growth of terrorist and extremist activity has led to the studies of a new topic for Russian psychologists – prevention and counteraction to it, especially among young people (Muftakhova & Gilyazeva, 2019). There are studies of tolerant attitudes among young people (Kustova et al., 2018; Merkulov et al., 2017), the search for the causes of xenophobic attitudes among them (Mukomel, 2017). However, it soon became clear that it is necessary to develop tolerance well before.

This naturally led to an increase in the number of pedagogical studies. One can agree with Medushevsky, Gordeeva (2017) that in Russian science they take up at least 40 % of the total number of publications devoted to tolerance. He explains this by the diversity of pedagogical practices existing on the territory of Russia and the instability of the Russian educational system, which since the 1990s. has been reformed manifold. In addition, there is a "state order" to overcome ethnic and religious separatism through the development of "correct values" (Medushevsky & Gordeeva, 2017, p. 3). Drawing attention to tolerance coincided with the discussion of the education humanization (Ryumshina, 2014), the search for new ways of communication between teachers and students (Ryumshina et al., 2022; Dainova et al., 2018), especially in relation to the issue of attitudes towards people with special needs, which has not yet been resolved in Russia (Beregovaya & Karlova, 2020).

It is proposed to study tolerance at various stages of education, and its formation should begin from preschool age by means of art, the development of aesthetic taste, in the process of project-based learning. Much attention is paid to the civil and patriotic education of students (Ruban, 2017). Since the main means of developing the tolerance in society, according to scientists, is educational activity, attention is paid to the training of educators capable of developing tolerance in younger generation (Smolyaninova et al., 2017) and leaders of educational organizations focused on solving the issue of social justice, able to create the necessary conditions for the development of the child's personality in a new socio-cultural environment is also noted (Shestakova et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, despite the growth of such works, the studies of G. U. Soldatova and A. G. Asmolov, directly devoted to the development of attitudes of tolerant consciousness, where the individual is the starting point in the development of tolerance, which involves protecting the right of the individual to the possibility of a different vision of reality (Asmolov, 1998; Asmolov et al., 2001) can still be considered the most significant publications of a pedagogical orientation.

Therefore, it is extremely important to foster tolerance among the younger generation not only in educational institutions, but also in the family. None of the scientists denies this, as well as the fact that the values formed by parents, their parenting style reproduce in the development of various personal traits of the child (Sobkin & Halutina, 2017). However, probably due to the complexity of studying family education, there are very few empirical studies devoted to the peculiarities of the formation of tolerance in the family. It is significant that since 2000 of the 21268 works in Elibrary devoted to the problem of tolerance, only 54 directly relate to the upbringing and formation of tolerance in the family.

Such a small quantity of works related to the family education of tolerance is also characteristic of foreign studies, where the number of its studies has been steadily growing lately.

Modern Western scientists historically associate tolerance with pluralism, a quality that is considered inherent in all modern European nations (Beregovaya & Karlova, 2020), tolerance is related to prejudices, stereotypes, and ethnocentrism (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Since Europe is also facing an increase in terrorist activity and an immigration flow, the issues of terrorism are being discussed there as well as in Russian psychology (Fischer-Preßler et al., 2019). A large group of studies is devoted to the search for mutual understanding between representatives of different religions (Eskelinen et al., 2022; Husain, 2020; Edwards, 2018; Mansouri & Vergani, 2018) and the integration of refugees and asylum seekers, therefore volunteering is also studied (Albanesi et al., 2019). The issue of immigration is included in the social context (Akbarzadeh & Roose, 2011),

in this regard, differences in cultural values, the issue of national identity are analyzed (van der Werf et al., 2022).

Particular attention is paid to the factors that contribute to tolerance: democracy, population's standard of living (Cvetkovska, 2020), people's satisfaction with life (Tenenbaum et al., 2018), openness to experiences and identification with all of humanity (Shrira et al., 2018), a sense of security that provides a reliable basis of tolerance.

Along with the analysis of the gender aspect and the issue of sexual minorities (Simon et al., 2019), as in Russian psychology, a large number of studies is devoted to the formation of tolerance, but these are specific studies rather than the development of various theoretical and methodological approaches. Thus, the authors from the Netherlands build age-specific response patterns to diversity tolerance and conclude that tolerance/intolerance can manifest itself at any age and depends on what, how, why and when people are asked to tolerate differences in beliefs and dissent (Verkuyten & Killen, 2021). At the same time, the intolerant behavior of students in various state institutions (Kyerere et al., 2020), the impact of teachers on anti-immigrant attitudes of students (Miklikowska, 2019; Sandoval-Hernandez et al., 2018; Vedder et al., 2016) is analyzed. The influence of the environment of family communication and upbringing on the development of tolerance is also being studied (Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Walters, 2020), but such works are clearly insufficient to understand the causes of students' intolerant behavior.

Thus, the study of tolerance turned out to be more relevant than ever, both for Russia and foreign countries; the phenomenon has acquired the status of one of the existential problems, closely woven into the development of civil society, political and social events. The importance of forming tolerance not only towards representatives of other ethnic groups living nearby in a multinational state, but also to immigrants, and then a little later to refugees, emerged.

We can agree with a number of scientists that there are differences in foreign and Russian studies of tolerance. In our opinion, they refer to the approaches to the study of this phenomenon rather than the role of tolerance in human life. Foreign scientists, when analyzing tolerance as patience and respect, proceed from democratic principles, recognition of the rights of others, and are more focused on finding specific factors that influence the formation of tolerance and its implementation. Russian scientists – on the theoretical and methodological foundations of tolerance. However, over twenty years of increased interest in tolerance, Russian psychologists have not developed a unified approach to this phenomenon, but they, like foreign scientists, believe that the issues of tolerant/intolerant behavior begin with the individual, therefore it is extremely important to form a tolerant attitude among the younger generations, who then will build a tolerant society as a society of equal opportunities for its members. At the same time, the main attention is paid to the means of forming tolerance in educational institutions. There are very few studies that would reveal the significance and features of the formation of tolerance in the family, both in Russian and foreign science. However, the fact that this is an actual world problem is evidenced by various surveys of an international nature. For example, in the World Values Survey (WVS) conducted every four years, the analysis of attitudes to the formation of tolerance in the family becomes part of a global study.

## Methods

The *aim* of the study was to analyze the dynamics of attitudes in the formation of tolerance among Russians in the period from 1990 to 2017, depending on their age, gender, social class and education.

The work uses the WVS database with the participation of Russia in the following waves: second (1990, 1961 people), third (1995, 2040 people), fifth (2006, 2033 people), sixth (2011, 2500 people), seventh (2017, 1810 people). The total sample includes 10344 people. In accordance with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents presented in the database, the following were taken into account: gender (male, female), age (under 29, 30–49, over 50), level of education (no education, primary, secondary, higher), social class (lower, working, lower middle, upper middle, higher).

To achieve this goal, the answers of Russian respondents to the question concerning the importance of “tolerance and respect for other people” in the upbringing of children were analyzed. The question is as follows: “On the card in front of you there is a list of qualities that can be brought up in children in the family. Which of them, if any, are, in your opinion, the most important?”

The following statistical analysis methods were used for data processing: correlation analysis, Kruskal–Wallis test, Conover test, confidence interval method, logistic regression. All calculations were performed using the programming language “R” on the interface of “RStudio” program.

## Results

Answering the question about the significance of the formation of various qualities in children, the respondents could choose 5 qualities out of 10. Based on the analysis of their answers, the following data were obtained (Table 1, Fig. 1.).

**Table 1**

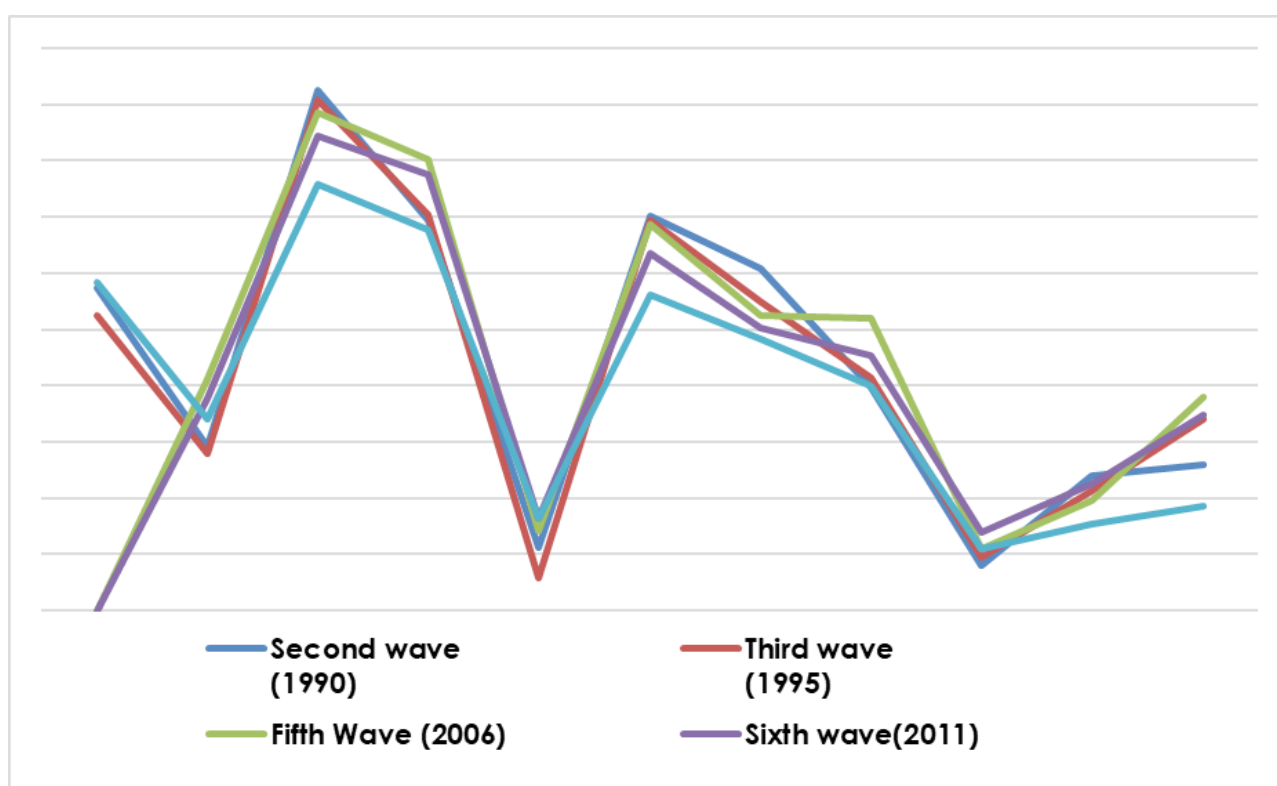
*Significant qualities for upbringing (in %)*

Qualities	Second wave (1990)	Third wave (1995)	Fifth wave (2006)	Sixth wave (2011)	Seventh wave (2017)
Good manners	57.3	52.4	0	0	58.4
Independence	29.2	27.8	41.3	37.8	34.1
Diligence	92.6	90.7	88.6	84.5	75.8
Responsibility	69.5	70.4	80.2	77.5	67.6
Imagination	11.3	5.9	14.2	16.5	16.5
Tolerance	70.2	69.5	68.6	63.5	56.2
Thrift	60.9	55	52.5	50.3	48.2
Decisiveness, perseverance	39.7	41.4	52	45.4	39.9
Religious commitment	8	9.4	11	13.9	11
Unselfishness	24	21.3	19.6	22.6	15.5
Obedience	25.9	34	37.9	34.8	18.5

The number of respondents who consider tolerance an important quality that should be developed is 65.6 % of the total number of respondents in all five waves, or 6,791 out of 10,344 people. Thus, according to Russians, the development of tolerance among the younger generation is quite important.

**Figure 1**

*Assessment dynamics of the significance of qualities necessary for upbringing in a family*



However, as one can see, the importance of tolerance, along with such qualities as diligence, thrift, unselfishness and obedience, decreases from the second to the seventh wave.

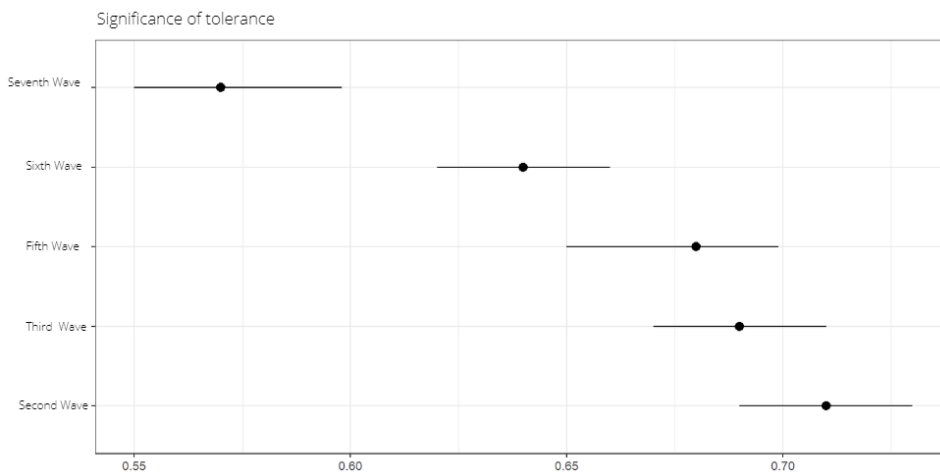
In order to statistically verify the changes in the significance of tolerance we carried out an analysis of the total sample (N = 10344) on the "tolerance" parameter using the Kruskal–Wallis one-way analysis of variance, which showed the following: the significance of tolerance is statistically valid (84.607, df = 4, p-value < 2.2e–16, p < 0.001) and it differs in various waves of the study with a weak effect size (0.00913).

The confidence interval method was used to clarify the direction of these differences (Fig. 2).

Thus, there is a statistically established trend towards a decrease in the importance of tolerance development from 1990 to 2017.

**Figure 2**

*Dynamics of the tolerance significance by waves*



All graphs are made with "RStudio".

Upon further analysis of the survey results, the respondents were divided into two groups depending on whether they considered it important to develop tolerance and respect for other people in the family: the group of respondents considering it important is labeled by us as "FT", and the group that did not think so – "NFT".

6791 people were attributed to the FT group, and 3553 people to the NFT group. The results of the comparison of their socio-demographic characteristics are given in Table 2.

**Table 2**

*Differences between FT and NFT groups*

Question number	Variable	Kruskal–Wallis chi-squared	df	p-value	eta.squared
A-WAVE	Wave (year of study)	74.753	1	< 2.2e–16	0.00835
Q260	Gender	40.792	1	1.693e–10	0.00451
Q262	Age	72.167	1	< 2.2e–16	0.00806
Q275	Level of education	7.8442	1	0.005098	0.000775
Q287	Social class	9.7623	1	0.001781	0.000992

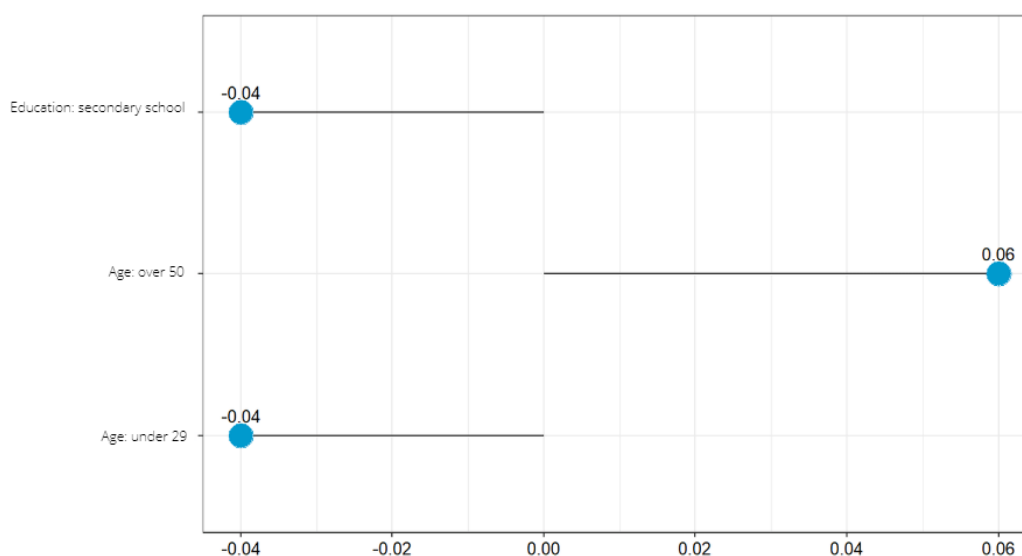
Note: Previously, all question numbers were corrected to a single sample. The numbers are given from the 7th wave questionnaire.

As follows from Table 2, all variables show a high level of differences significance with a small effect size. Correlation analysis of binary variables using the contingency phi-coefficient showed that there is a statistically significant, albeit weak, negative interrelation between male sex and tolerance ( $r = -0.08$  at  $p = 0.0004475411$ ), which suggests that tolerance in raising children is more significant for women than for men.

To identify the probability of a respondent of a certain age and level of education entering the FT group, the method of logistic regression was applied. People with higher education were selected as a reference group by the level of education, people aged 30–49 were selected as a reference group by age. All other socio-demographic characteristics were compared with the reference groups indicating by what percentage they are more or less likely to enter the FT group rather than the reference group (Fig. 3).

**Figure 3**

*Logistic regression of the 2nd wave, 3rd wave, 5th wave, 6th wave, 7th wave in “age” and “level of education” parameters*



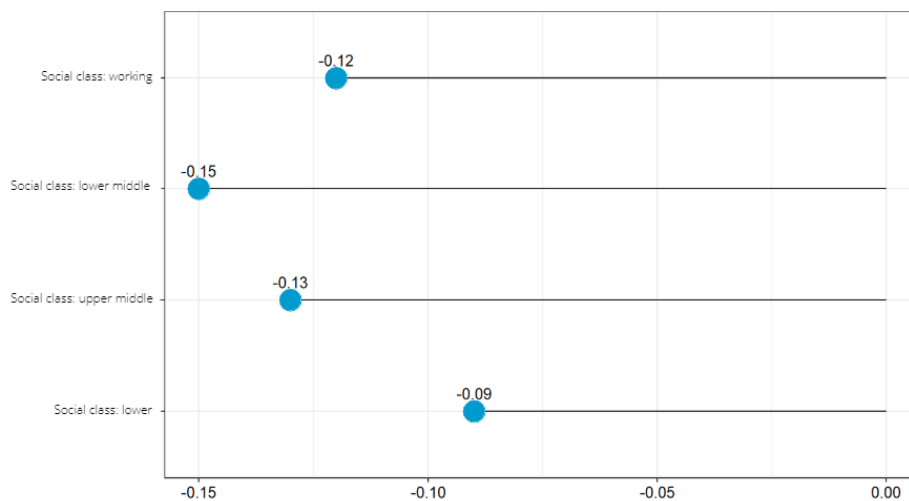
As can be noted, compared to people with higher education, people who have graduated only secondary school are 4 % less likely to be in the FT group. The same can be said about people under the age of 29 compared to the reference group, and people aged over 50, on the contrary, will be included in the FT group with a 6 % higher probability.

Upper-class people are most likely to be in the FT group: upper-middle and lower-middle class people have 13 % and 15 % lower probability, respectively, working-class people have 12 % lower probability, and lower-class people have 9 % lower probability (Fig. 4).



**Figure 4**

*Logistic regression of the 2nd wave, 3rd wave, 5th wave, 6th wave, 7th wave in “social class” parameters*



Thus, an interrelation was established between the significance of tolerance, on the one hand, and age, education level, and social class, on the other. A tendency that the importance of tolerance increases with age, in connection with higher education and belonging to the upper class, has been identified.

The results of the analysis of socio-demographic characteristics in the FT group for the period 1990–2017 are shown in Table 3.

**Table 3**

*Differences in socio-demographic characteristics in the FT group depending on the year of the study*

Question number	Variable	Kruskal–Wallis chi-squared	df	p-value	eta.squared
Q260	Gender	13.308	4	0.009865	0.00159
Q262	Age	108.94	4	< 2.2e–16	0.018
Q275	Level of education	3380.2	4	< 2.2e–16	0.578
Q287	Social class	4775.8	4	< 2.2e–16	0.818

As follows from the table, the differences are significant ( $p < 0.001$ ), the effect size for gender has an insignificant effect, for age it is weak, while for the level of education it is strong, and for social class it is very strong.

In order to find differences between the years of research (waves), the Conover criterion was applied. Table 4 shows the results, excluding incorrect data due to their absence in some waves.

**Table 4**

*Comparative analysis of socio-demographic characteristics in the FT group (paired comparisons depending on the wave)*

Question number	Variable	Paired comparisons	mean.rank.diff	p-value
Q260	Gender	3–2	–34.79241	1.0000
		5–2	132.44497	0.1798
		6–2	73.07554	0.9965
		7–2	–58.83747	1.0000
		5–3	167.23737	0.0363 *
		6–3	107.86794	0.3520
		7–3	–24.04506	1.0000
		6–5	–59.36943	1.0000
		7–5	–191.28243	0.0332 *
Q262	Age	7–6	–131.91300	0.2785
		3–2	400.09424	6.2e–09 ***
		5–2	–88.70316	0.5676
		6–2	483.53188	3.0e–12 ***
		7–2	326.35368	4.7e–05 ***
		5–3	–488.79741	4.6e–12 ***
		6–3	83.43764	0.5676
		7–3	–73.74057	0.5676
		6–5	572.23504	1.0e–15 ***
7–5	415.05684	2.7e–07 ***		
		7–6	–157.17821	0.1415

Question number	Variable	Paired comparisons	mean.rank.diff	p-value
Q275	Level of education	5–3	301.29173	9.5e–12 ***
		6–3	392.14778	< 2e–16 ***
		7–3	–639.27643	< 2e–16 ***
		6–5	90.85605	0.0397 *
		7–5	–940.56817	< 2e–16 ***
		7–6	–1031.42421	< 2e–16 ***
Q287	Social class	6–3	–19.54155	0.4854
		7–3	–223.76284	2.1e–12 ***
		7–6	204.22129	1.9e–10 ***

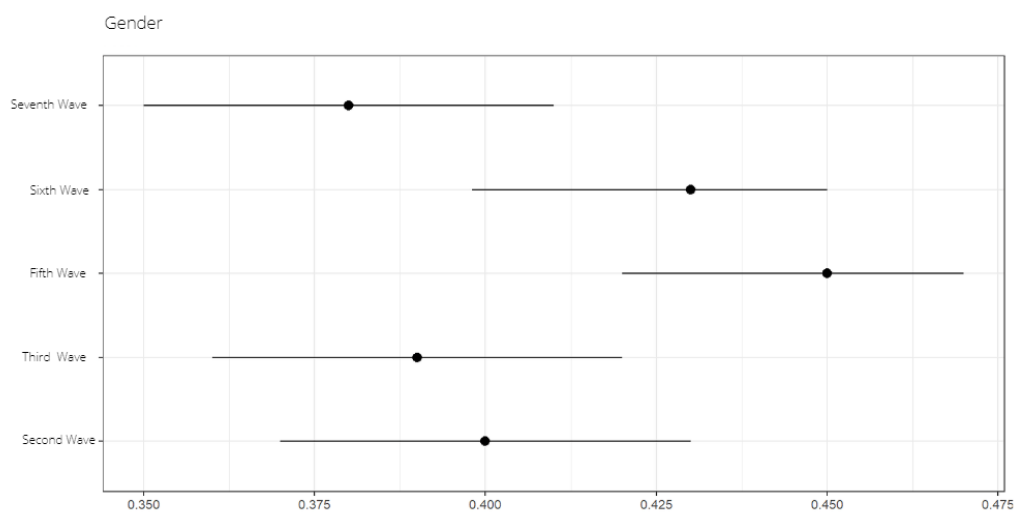
Note: Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1.

Significant differences between socio-demographic data in the FT group, presented in different waves, were found in the following parameters: by gender – in two comparisons, by level of education – in all comparisons, by social class – in two comparisons.

The method of confidence intervals was used in order to determine the direction of differences (Fig. 5, Fig. 6, Fig. 7, Fig. 8).

**Figure 5**

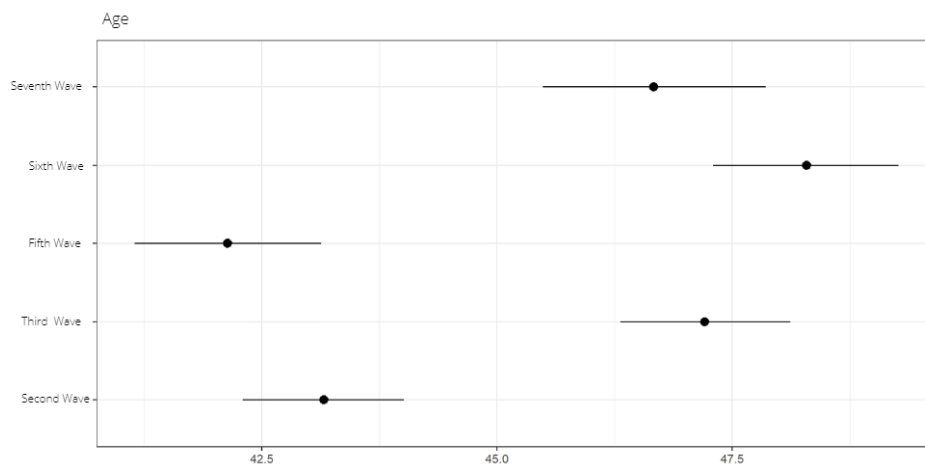
*Differences by gender in the FT group in different years of the study*



Women predominate in the group of respondents who consider it important to develop tolerance in the family, at the same time, the largest number of men for whom this is important was observed in the fifth wave (2006).

**Figure 6**

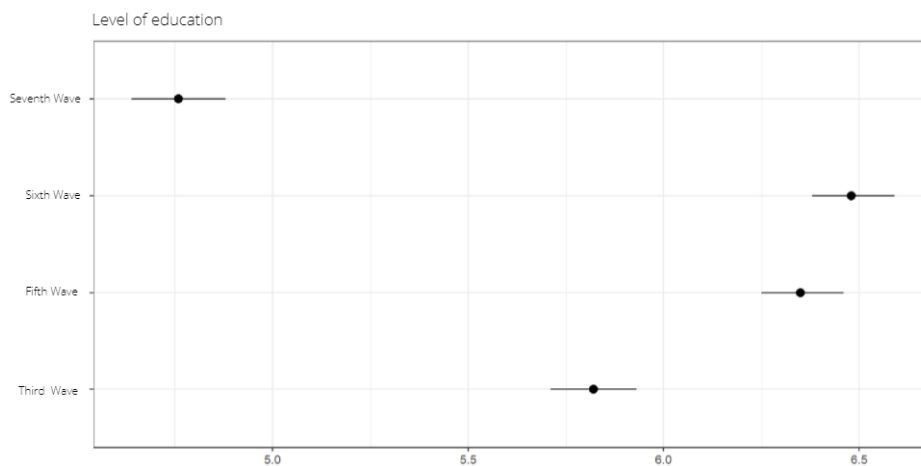
*Differences by age in the FT group in different years of the study*



As can be noted, in the second and fifth waves, the age indicator of respondents is lower than in the rest.

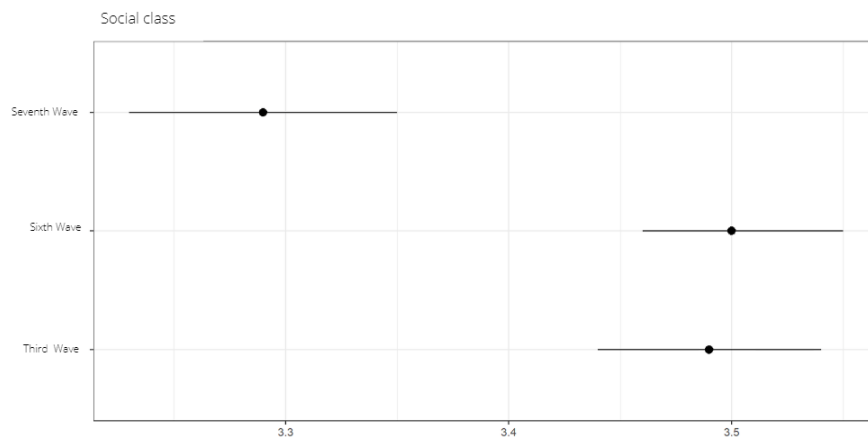
**Figure 7**

*Differences by the level of education in the FT group in different years of the study*



**Figure 8**

*Differences by social class in the FT group in different years of the study*



Based on the figure, it becomes clear that the level of education of respondents in the FT group consistently increases until the sixth wave, and then decreases in 2017.

We would especially like to draw attention to the fact that, as in the analysis of the level of education, in the seventh wave (2017) there is also a decrease in the indicator of the social class of the respondents of the FT group.

## Discussion

Let's see how much the data obtained correspond to the results of other sociological and psychological studies that, to one degree or another, reveal the characteristics of Russian tolerance. They mainly concern ethnic tolerance.

Thus, according to the results of processing of some data from the European Social Survey (ESS) project (Dontsov et al., 2019), there has been a steady increase in ethnic intolerance among Russians from 2014 to 2016. This coincides with the conclusions of Shcherbak & Tryapkin (2019) that in 2016 the attitude towards migrants in Russia worsened compared to 2010. In 2004, 70% of the youth and 50 % of the adult population of Kursk assessed migration to the region as a negative phenomenon (Antsiferova, 2007). The results of studies of tolerance among the youth of the Oryol region in 2015 show that 45.5 % of the respondents have a negative attitude towards migration from neighboring countries, and 46.7 % of young people tend to consider themselves nationalists (Merkulov et al., 2017). The data of the authors' study on the manifestation of tolerance among the young people from the city of Togliatti, conducted in 2016, despite more positive results, is also not encouraging: only 7 % of respondents consider tolerance to be the basis for reasonable conflict resolution (Kustova et al., 2018).

This is also confirmed by the studies of Mukomel (2017): among Russians showing tolerant attitudes, older ages are more represented, while respondents of younger and middle age are more often among those who are hyper in tolerant. The author explains this trend by the fact that Russians who grew up in the Soviet era are nostalgic about international friendship. However,

according to the research data of Prokhoda (2021), based on the results of the seventh wave of the European Social Survey (ESS), a cross-country sociological survey conducted in 2014, young people perceive migrants more positively. Most likely, the author believes, the most tolerant are young people and the older generation. Demidova (2021) also comes to this conclusion, noting that young people and representatives of the oldest generation have the most positive attitude towards immigrants. At the same time, financial security (Monusova, 2021) and education (Demidova, 2021; Mukomel, 2017; Carvacho et al., 2013) increase the degree of tolerance.

In general, the analyzed works confirm the results of our research, although they indicate socio-demographic differences in interethnic tolerance and do not reveal the main reason leading to this – the peculiarities of tolerance education in the family. In this regard, a study by Moscow scientists (Sobkin & Halutina, 2017), consonant with ours, is of particular interest, analyzing the structure of attitudes of parents of preschool children over the past twenty years. It generally remains invariant, although it depends on the socio-role positions of the respondents (their education, financial situation, social role). Parents believe that it is necessary to form in children, first of all, a moral and ethical sphere (kindness, responsiveness, respect for elders). As for the importance of the formation of tolerance, this is more typical for parents with a high financial situation. However, the authors note that over the past 20 years there has been a decline in the trend towards a “democratic style” of education (Sobkin & Halutina, 2017, p. 14). They explain this by changes in the socio-political situation in the life of Russians. It is likely that this is one of the reasons for the decline in attitudes of tolerance formation in the family, found in our research. In general, the analyzed works confirm the results of our research, although they indicate socio-demographic differences in interethnic tolerance and do not reveal the main reason leading to this – the peculiarities of tolerance education in the family. In this regard, a study by Moscow scientists (Sobkin & Halutina, 2017), consonant with ours, is of particular interest, analyzing the structure of attitudes of parents of preschool children over the past twenty years. It generally remains invariant, although it depends on the socio-role positions of the respondents (their education, financial situation, social role). Parents believe that it is necessary to form in children, first of all, a moral and ethical sphere (kindness, responsiveness, respect for elders). As for the importance of the formation of tolerance, this is more typical for parents with a high financial situation. However, the authors note that over the past 20 years there has been a decline in the trend towards a “democratic style” of education (Sobkin & Halutina, 2017, p. 14). They explain this by changes in the socio-political situation in the life of Russians. It is likely that this is one of the reasons for the decline in attitudes of tolerance formation in the family, found in our research.

### **Conclusion**

Time has set its priorities and, despite the desire of psychologists at the beginning of the century to consolidate the inhabitants of the multi-ethnic regions of Russia, most of the studies of recent years are devoted to tolerance towards migrants and refugees. Unfortunately, the reduction of this phenomenon only to ethnic tolerance simplifies it. Tolerance begins in a person with the recognition of the right of another person, who may be a representative of one's own culture, to be different, to have a different point of view, etc.

A positive point can be considered that, according to the Russians, tolerance is one of the important qualities that need to be formed in the family. However, a weak but significant trend towards a decrease in its significance was statistically established. At the same time, supporters

and opponents of this point of view differ in all socio-demographic characteristics.

The older generation (50 years and over) is more tolerant – most of them consider it necessary to form tolerant attitudes in the younger generation. Perhaps this is really connected with nostalgia for the international friendship in the Soviet era, but it cannot be ruled out that this is a consequence of the acquired life experience, understanding of the diversity of the human world, rejection of ethnocentrism, etc.

We cannot unequivocally state who, men or women, are bigger supporters of the formation of tolerance, but according to the data obtained, there is a tendency for it to be more manifested among women. Interestingly, for men and young people, the same trend is observed only in 2006, during the period of economic growth in the country, and since 2014 it has been falling.

People with higher education are more likely to be in the group of respondents for whom it is important to form a tolerant attitude towards other people than those with secondary education. However, in 2017, the level of education among supporters of the formation of tolerance in the family, which had previously increased, is decreasing. Their social class level is also going down this year. However, it should be noted that the respondent's assignment of oneself to a certain class has a greater degree of subjectivity than other socio-demographic characteristics.

If you try to describe a person for whom tolerance in raising children is most important, then it will most likely be over 50 women with a higher education, belonging to the upper class.

We would also like to note the following. Conspicuously, this is not the first attempt by Russian scientists to take into account the results of sociological studies conducted on a large group of people (Artemov & Pinkevich, 2020; Dontsov et al., 2019; Avanesian et al., 2021), including World Values Survey.

For psychologists, the value of such work lies in the fact that it “brings psychology to life”, allowing us to take into account not only the opinion of people obtained in the laboratory, but also the real attitude of respondents to psychological phenomena. In this regard, based on the analysis, the following discrepancy is alarming: over the past twenty years, the number of publications on tolerance, the significance of its development, indicating specific technologies for each age, etc., has significantly increased, while for the Russians the significance of the formation of tolerance towards other people is falling.

### **Restrictions**

The analysis carried out does not fully reveal the motives behind the tolerant/intolerant behavior of Russians. It shows attitudes towards the significance of the formation of tolerance towards Others, including another ethnic group, among the younger generation. This aspect of the study of tolerance is extremely important. Unfortunately, we were not able to trace the differences in attitudes towards the formation of tolerance between those who are and are not citizens of Russia, who were born in this country, and those who moved from another country, i.e. immigrants themselves. This is due to the fact that almost all respondents are Russian citizens born in Russia. However, in our opinion, this increases the significance of the study, since it shows the attitudes of Russians towards how they would like to see the society of the future.

These attitudes are limited by social conditions and cannot characterize Russian culture as a whole. The change of social conditions can also change attitudes. This is reflected in the World Values Survey: as society develops, so do values.

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**E. V. Zinchenko** reviewed the literature on the topic of the article, participated in the collection and processing of the material, analyzed the obtained data, participated in the article's writing.

**A. A. Chernova** organized the empirical research, participated in the processing of the material, interpreted the obtained data, participated in the article's writing.

**Ju. V. Berdyanskaya** participated in the processing of the material, participated in writing and editing the article and conclusion, designed the final version of the article.

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#### **Conflict of Interest Information**

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.