



Research Article

The Differences in the Importance of Upbringing Tolerance in a Chinese Family Across Generations

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ABSTRACT

The article uses China as an example to demonstrate the importance and possibility of taking big data into account when studying intergenerational relationships during a period of great change. The aims of the study were to examine the importance of nurturing tolerance in children in Chinese families. To ensure representativeness, different generations of adults who live in diverse socio-economic conditions were included in the study. The study used the World Values Survey (WVS) database (China's participation from 1990 to 2018), and the sample included 14,489 respondents. According to the results of the frequency analysis, tolerance ranks 2-5 (depending on the year of the study) among the qualities important for nurturing in a Chinese family. The qualities that Chinese respondents rate as more important for raising children than tolerance include independence and diligence. The highest value for the importance of nurturing tolerance in the family was recorded in 2001, but since 2007, a statistically significant downward trend has been established. Respondents under 29 often rate tolerance higher than respondents aged 30-49 and over 50.

Keywords: tolerance, collectivistic cultures, family upbringing, generations

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Introduction

Tolerance is one of the most relevant and complex concepts of our time and is studied from the standpoint of various sciences. Tolerance is a consequence of living in conditions of diversity, which is an essential attribute of human existence. However, tolerance does not involve appreciating this diversity but rather recognizing the right of "others" (e.g., cultures, countries, and people who differ in religion, values, opinions, and behavior) to exist in the world. It is the right of other people to have different beliefs and customs as long as they do not violate common moral values, which may vary across cultures and societies. A significant number of works has been devoted to the connection between morality and tolerance (Armstrong & Wronski, 2019; Song, 2018), as well as the dependence of the latter on the norms of human existence (universal values; Hamer et al., 2019; Verkuyten & Killen, 2021).

Currently, interethnic tolerance is being studied the most (Park et al., 2022). Such an interest in this type of tolerance is due to globalization, which caused migration in the modern world, as well as the aggravation of the issue of terrorism and the increase in the number of refugees – also relevant at present. However, tolerance as a social phenomenon is an integral part of any human communication. At all its levels (intergroup and interpersonal), it affects how communication proceeds and how it ends: with understanding and acceptance or conflict.

In a social context, tolerance is a person's willingness to allow other people to choose their own lifestyle and behavior in the absence of negative (aggressive and violent) manifestations. Social tolerance is a non-violent, respectful relationship between different social groups (i.e., groups of people of different ages, financial situations, social statuses, subcultures, etc.). Tolerance in interpersonal relationships is a conscious, tolerant attitude toward a communication partner, which implies the recognition and respect of their right to manifest individuality. Thus, the manifestation of a tolerant attitude towards another person contributes to a free and open dialogue, often leading to agreement.

As it becomes clear, tolerance is a value necessary for constructive interaction in the human realm. Therefore, it is no coincidence that scientists

in all countries pay so much attention to its formation. The literature review showed that the development of tolerance was considered in numerous studies. Most of these studies examined the development of tolerance in public institutions (Miklikowska, Bohman & Titzmann, 2019): factors and conditions that help schools and teachers promote mutual understanding (Ryumshina, 2000; Ryumshina, Berdyanskaya et al., 2022; Shestakova et al., 2022) and tolerance in a globalized world (Bayram Özdemir & Özdemir, 2020; Brenik et al., 2019; Sandoval-Hernandez et al., 2018; Taft et al., 2020). Therefore, most studies focus on students (58.25%), teachers (25.24%), employees (8.74%), and believers of different religions (7.77%; Sakallı et al., 2021).

However, tolerance/intolerance, as a personality trait, can manifest itself as early as the age of 4, so its development depends primarily on family upbringing (Miklikowska, Thijs & Hjerem, 2019; Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Verkuyten & Killen, 2021). Since one's life and familiarity with diversity begin in the family, one should note the importance of tolerance for mutual understanding between close relatives, especially in parent-child relationships. Family upbringing is crucial for the formation of tolerance in children, who, once they become parents themselves, could teach it to their children. However, the nurturing of tolerance in children (within their families) is poorly studied.

Tolerance in parent-child relationships is of particular importance in collectivistic cultures, where awareness of oneself as “we” and maintaining relationships with loved ones, primarily family, is extremely important, as it forms the basis of a person's emotional and personal well-being. Many psychological phenomena are associated with this dimension of culture. Collectivism-individualism affects the experiences of representatives of these cultures (Namcoong et al., 2021), and there is evidence of neurophysiological differences in the perception of reality among collectivists and individualists (Ng et al., 2010).

Thus, increased attention to cross-cultural research can expand the possibilities of social psychology (Triandis, 1983) and become the key to the success of the development and implementation of psychological, socio-psychological, and pedagogical programs for the formation of tolerance,

taking into account its significance for different generations, different social, gender and other groups.

In order to identify the significance of tolerance in parent-child relationships and between social groups within the same culture, the article uses the analysis of large international data which has become widespread not only in sociology but also in other sciences (Develennes & Loveless, 2022; Hildebrandt et al., 2018; Ryumshina, Zinchenko et al., 2022). The advantages of such an analysis lie in the fact that it allows taking into account the representations of a particular psychological phenomenon by a large number of respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics, as well as identifying differences between them, including sociocultural ones. Thus, the conducted study is interdisciplinary in nature, combining the ideas of psychological science with rigorous methods of quantitative comparative analysis.

China in an era of change

China may be the most convenient model for analyzing this topic because, although it has regional differences in collectivism (Ren et al., 2021), it is a type of collectivist culture characteristic of many Asian (e.g., Japan, Korea, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan) and non-Asian countries (e.g., Russia).

The culture of Chinese society is family-oriented (Yang & Zhang, 2020). At the same time, the formation of the Chinese social structure is significantly influenced by Confucian culture, where the family is seen as the ideal embodiment of social relations, and the emotional interaction between its members contributes to harmony and well-being within it (Chuang, 2005). Relationships between parents and children are more significant than the relationships between husband and wife and between brothers and sisters, and intergenerational relationships are of great importance as well (Goh & Kuczynski, 2009; Yang et al., 2020).

As in many other collectivist cultures, Chinese children, growing up, are still functionally dependent on their parents. Thus, family members at all stages of life play a special role in the life of the Chinese. Various studies indicate the importance of parental support for the younger generation (Yang et al., 2020). For example, adolescents' anxiety, when they find themselves

faced with serious stressful situations, decreases if their relationship with their parents is close and increases if it is not (Yang & Yeh, 2006).

The second important reason for choosing China for the analysis of the stated topic is related to the fact that China has experienced significant economic growth associated with industrialization, urbanization, and globalization over the past few decades. Naturally, this led to serious social changes, which were also facilitated by the "one child" policy, the expansion of education, and the widespread use of the Internet (Li, 2020). The gap in socio-economic conditions led to the emergence of generations of the 80s, 90s, and 2000s, whose personal characteristics were formed in a different social environment; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that their views, values, interests, behavior, etc., differ from previous generations, which reasonably causes concern for scientists (Li, 2020).

The "one child" policy has led to increased focus on children. They became so valuable that the older members of the family began to subordinate their own interests, aspirations, and desires to the only child. Thus, the children began to exert a dominant position between generations (Yang et al., 2020), and, at the same time, the authority of the elder in the family was called into question (Zhou, 2001). The styles of upbringing in Chinese families and traditional family relations between generations have changed - from respect for the elderly to care for the youth (Yang et al., 2020).

The new generation grew up in a more comfortable economic climate and a more tolerant and liberal social environment. It is more open, characterized by independent views, self-confidence, and greater willingness to participate in public and political affairs compared to previous generations, and it becomes the main force that plays an important role in the main social transformations of the country (Li, 2020; Zhou, 2016). However, the new generation is not homogeneous; its socio-economic stratification is observed in various aspects of public life, and there is a significant difference between urban and rural youth of the second generation (Zhang et al., 2003). According to a number of researchers, this intragenerational stratification is no less significant than the stratification between generations (Li, 2020).

According to some researchers, relationships between generations are becoming more equal and close, and relationships between parents and children are more democratic (Xiao, 2016; Yang et al., 2020). However, it

should be noted that, due to cultural traditions, a different educational environment is created for boys and girls in Chinese families. The upbringing of a boy takes place in conditions of rigorous requirements for behavior, as he is the bearer of the family name, traditions, and customs. Girls are the home keepers. Therefore, parents pay more attention to their psychological education. A girl should be tolerant, respectful, and sociable. At the same time, filial piety, the central concept of Confucianism, is deeply rooted in Chinese culture and the subjective consciousness of the Chinese, giving them a sense of subjective security and belonging to their culture (Zheng & Li, 2022). Thus, mutual filial piety, as a high-quality interaction between children and parents, can enhance young people's ability to control and use their emotions, which, in turn, increases their life satisfaction (Chen et al., 2018) and reduces psychological stress (Wu & Chen, 2020). In other words, filial piety is still central to intergenerational bonds and commitments and continues to be an important cultural ideal that defines intergenerational caregiving responsibilities for many Chinese families.

At the same time, we can talk about the contradictory conclusions of scientists regarding whether filial piety is useful or harmful for individual development (Yeh & Bedford, 2003), and some studies show that faith in filial piety is weakening (Zhang et al., 2019). In order to prevent conflicts between parents and the younger generation and gain an understanding of how beliefs in filial piety affect the life satisfaction of young people and the loneliness of their parents (Chen et al., 2018), a more thorough study of this aspect of relationships in Chinese families is necessary (Zhang et al., 2019).

Thus, the combination of tradition, modernization, and the infiltration of Western individualism has resulted in a complex social psychology of Chinese youth. Although youth have become more individualistic, collectivism is still a stronger predictor of their values (Weng et al., 2021). In any case, interpersonal tolerance is extremely important for the mutual understanding between generations whose personal characteristics were formed under the influence of various social values. A rather revealing study in this respect, conducted in 2019 (Cheung et al., 2019), showed that adolescents and their parents and the parents of their parents all have different ideas of harmony in relationships with each other.

According to the World Values Survey, organized by Inglehart on the basis of his theory of socio-cultural changes in the conditions of modernization, we can talk about two post-modernization shifts: from traditional to industrial and from industrial to post-industrial (Inglehart, 1997). These shifts often lead to dramatic conflicts between generations of people who have been socialized in different social settings (traditional and transitional societies). The industrialization of society, which gives more opportunities to meet basic needs, leads to the formation of secular-rational values, in connection with which authority, order, and security are highly valued. The post-modernization shift in values led to the formation of post-materialistic values, such as tolerance, self-knowledge, self-expression, and increased civic activity. In Inglehart's theory, along with a change of generations and changes in values, the degree of tolerance in a society serves as an important indicator for measuring the transition from a traditional value system to a modern one (Inglehart, 1997). Thus, social tolerance (i.e., tolerance to certain social phenomena, such as behaviors and lifestyles of other individuals and groups that are legal and do not harm the interests of other people) is a kind of criterion for this transition.

Will the values of generations that grew up in China in different socio-economic conditions coincide? What place will tolerance take among these values, and for which social groups is it more important? Will the importance of tolerance for new generations grow with globalization, the growth of economic well-being, and internationalization, taking into account their socio-economic stratification? These are the questions that this empirical study aims to answer.

Thus, the aim of the present study was to examine the importance of nurturing tolerance in children within Chinese families. To ensure representativeness, we studied the views of adult respondents, who belong to different generations and live in different socio-economic conditions.

Method

The study used big data from the World Values Survey. The World Values Survey (WVS) questionnaire includes questions on various aspects of human life (religion, politics, participation in public organizations, gender relations, subjective well-being, etc.), as well as an extensive survey related

to socio-demographic data. Depending on the global geopolitical situation, different waves of data collection may include some additional questions. However, some questions are constant across waves, for example, questions about family and family upbringing.

The study used statistical analysis of data from the World Values Survey, in which China participated six times: in 1990 (second wave), 1995 (third wave), 2001 (fourth wave), 2007 (fifth wave), 2012/13 (sixth wave), 2018 (seventh wave) (Inglehart et al., 1990, 1995, 2001, 2007, 2012/13, 2018). As for the number of respondents, 1000 people took part in the second wave, 1500 in the third, 1000 in the fourth, 1991 in the fifth, 2299 in the sixth, and 6699 in the seventh. Thus, our sample included 14489 people with different educational backgrounds and social classes, aged 16 to 50 and over.

The following statistical methods were used for data analysis: frequency analysis, logistic regression, Kruskal-Wallis test, Conover test, and confidence intervals. All calculations were performed using the R programming language R within RStudio interface (Kupriyanov & Yavna, 2016).

Results

To address our research aim, we selected the answers of Chinese respondents from various social groups regarding the significance of nurturing certain personal qualities within the family. The question was formulated as follows: "In front of you on the card, there is a list of qualities that can be nurtured in children in the family. Which of them, if any, do you think are the most important?". Answering this question, respondents could choose 5 qualities out of 11, including tolerance (Table 1).

Table 1

Important Qualities for Upbringing in the Family (%)

Qualities	2 nd wave (1990)	3 rd wave (1995)	4 th wave (2001)	5 th wave (2006)	6 th wave (2011)	7 th wave (2017)
Good manners	47.3	66.8	NA	NA	NA	83.7
Independence	84.0	50.1	74.1	69.8	69.7	78.2

Diligence	64.6	72.7	85.8	83.4	75.3	70.4
Responsibility	66.9	34.5	63.6	67.2	65.9	78.4
Imagination	26.7	22.1	35.3	25.3	17.0	21.6
Tolerance	61.7	43.0	72.6	64.7	52.2	60.5
Thrift	55.6	62.2	57.2	61.6	50.7	40.3
Determination, perseverance	45.0	36.3	16.0	24.0	26.0	20.5
Religious faith	1.2	3.3	NA	2.4	1.2	1.1
Unselfishness	30.9	28.2	37.0	30.8	29.2	28.7
Obedience	8.5	29.3	14.8	13.8	7.5	5.7

As one can see, among the distinguished qualities important for family upbringing, tolerance is a fairly significant quality, taking the 2nd-5th rank, depending on the wave (i.e., year). The qualities consistently assessed as more significant for the upbringing of the younger generation than tolerance are independence, diligence, and, possibly, good manners (data on good manners are not available in all waves, preventing us from drawing any definitive conclusions).

When looking into the significance of nurturing tolerance within each wave separately, the wave in which the highest percentage of respondents ranked confidence as important was the fourth (2001); in the third wave (1995), the lowest percentage ranked it as important (Table 2).

Table 2
The Significance Tolerance across Waves (%)

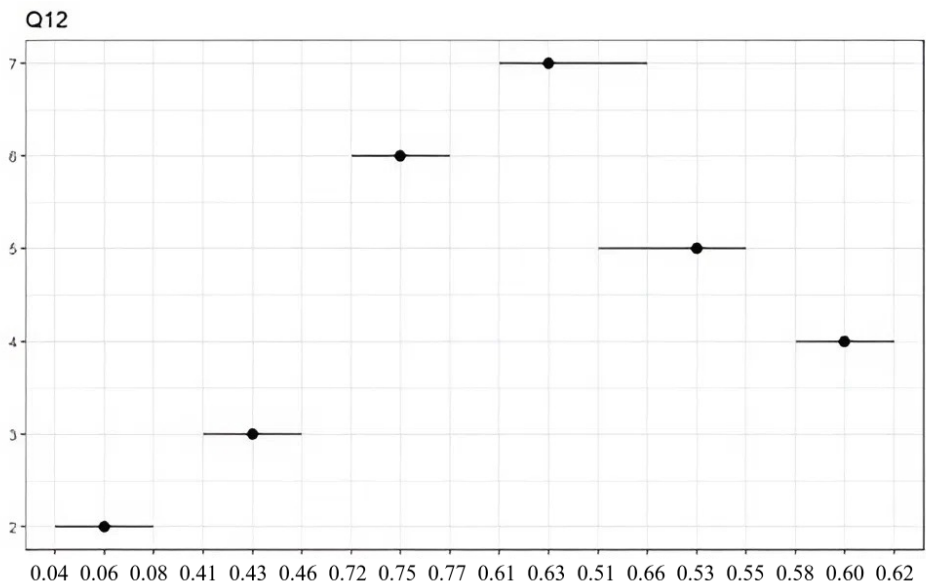
Wave	Important child qualities: tolerance and respect for other people	
	Important	Not mentioned
The seventh wave, 2018	60.5%	39.0%
The sixth wave, 2012/13	52.2%	47.8%
The fifth wave, 2007	64.7%	35.3%

The fourth wave, 2001	72.6%	27.03%
The third wave, 1995	43.0%	57.0%
The second wave, 1990	61.7%	38.3%

The results of the logistic regression confirm the previously presented data (Figure 1).

Figure 1

The Dynamics of Tolerance Across Waves (Logistic Regression)

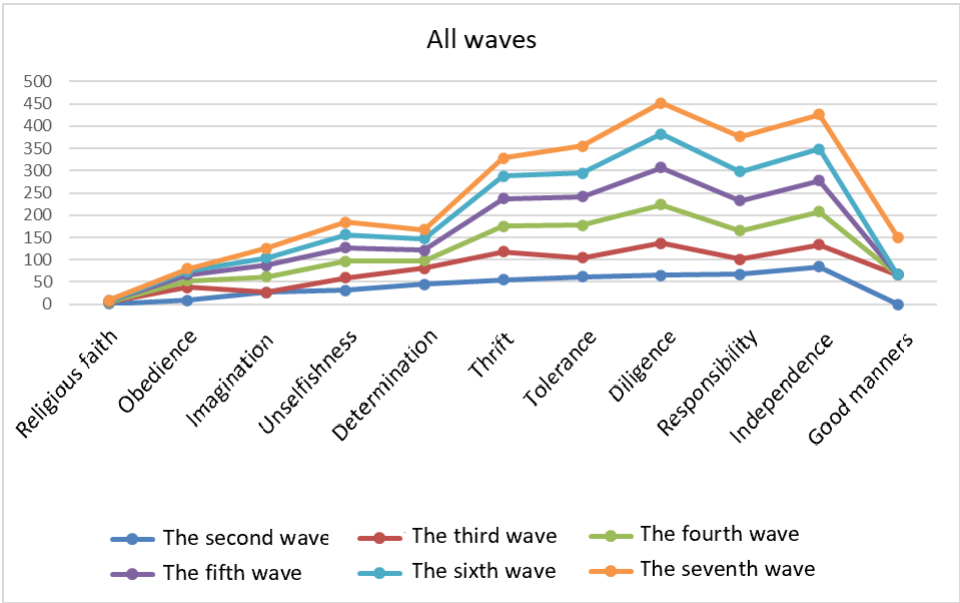


A comparative analysis of the sample ($N = 10827$) was conducted using the Kruskal-Wallis test. Six waves act as independent samples; the wave of the study, which allowed us to identify year-to-year changes in variables (i.e., tolerance, gender, age, level of education, social class), was chosen as a grouping variable. According to the results, most variables show a high level of reliability of changes ($p < 0.001$) with an insignificant effect size. Then, using the Conover test, the direction of changes was determined, and a tendency towards a decrease in the level of tolerance was identified ($p < 0.001$). We note that, in 1995, there was a sharp decrease in the significance

of the development of several qualities that were important for respondents who took the survey in other years.. In addition to tolerance, these qualities include responsibility, independence, and unselfishness. At the same time, the significance of not only religious devoutness, but also obedience, frugality, and diligence sharply increased (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Qualities Important to be Developed within a Family (Waves 2-7)



The distribution of the significance of qualities important for development in different age groups is presented in Table 3. Respondents under the age of 29 in the second wave had the highest endorsement of independence (89.8%) - higher than the endorsement of this quality in other age groups and higher than the endorsement of any other qualities in any other wave. Diligence was found important to participants in all waves and age groups and most important for respondents in the fourth wave, particularly those aged 30-49. Responsibility (78.9%) was particularly highly endorsed by respondents in the seventh wave – relatively equally across age groups The highest value of tolerance was observed in the fourth wave,

among respondents under the age of 29 and respondents aged 30 to 49. If we look at the younger generation, it was only in the second wave that they appreciated tolerance to a somewhat lesser extent than older age groups. From the third wave onwards, the importance of tolerance development for respondents under 30 exceeded its importance for older generations. As for the respondents aged 30–49, starting from the fourth wave, the significance of tolerance either exceeded or was equal to its significance among persons aged 50 and over.

Table 3*The Importance of Particular Qualities across Age Groups*

Qualities		2 nd wave (1990)	3 rd wave (1995)	4 th wave (2001)	5 th wave (2006)	6 th wave (2011)	7 th wave (2017)
Independence	up to 29 y.o.	89.8% (N = 303)	53.2% (N = 432)	78.4% (N = 194)	76.8% (N = 564)	75.1% (N = 501)	84.1% (N = 679)
	30–49 y.o.	83.1% (N = 443)	49.4% (N = 755)	77.1% (N = 572)	72.8% (N = 895)	71.3% (N = 1,063)	81.0% (N = 1,348)
	50 y.o. and more	78.7% (N = 254)	47.6% (N = 313)	63.2% (N = 234)	57.3% (N = 532)	63.8% (N = 735)	70.6% (N = 1,010)
Diligence	up to 29 y.o.	51.2% (N = 303)	67.6% (N = 432)	80.9% (N = 194)	80.9% (N = 564)	68.8% (N = 501)	62.1% (N = 679)
	30–49 y.o.	65.2% (N = 443)	74.7% (N = 755)	89.2% (N = 572)	86.8% (N = 895)	77.3% (N = 1,063)	71.1% (N = 1,348)
	50 y.o. and more	79.5% (N = 254)	74.8% (N = 313)	81.6% (N = 234)	80.4% (N = 532)	76.8% (N = 735)	75.1% (N = 1,010)
Responsibility	up to 29 y.o.	67.0% (N = 303)	32.6% (N = 432)	72.2% (N = 194)	73.7% (N = 564)	66.0% (N = 501)	78.9% (N = 679)
	30–49 y.o.	65.5% (N = 443)	33.9% (N = 755)	62.6% (N = 572)	67.9% (N = 895)	65.8% (N = 1,063)	79.7% (N = 1,348)
	50 y.o. and more	69.3% (N = 254)	38.3% (N = 313)	59.0% (N = 234)	58.9% (N = 532)	66.0% (N = 735)	76.3% (N = 1,010)
Tolerance	up to 29 y.o.	58.4% (N = 303)	49.1% (N = 432)	74.7% (N = 194)	73.7% (N = 564)	56.3% (N = 501)	65.6% (N = 679)

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30-49 y.o.	63.2% (N = 443)	39.9% (N = 755)	74.3% (N = 572)	65.5% (N = 895)	51.0% (N = 1,063)	63.3% (N = 1,348)
50 y.o. and more	63.0% (N = 254)	42.2% (N = 313)	66.7% (N = 234)	53.8% (N = 532)	51.1% (N = 735)	53.4% (N = 1,010)

Note. *N* is the total number of respondents of a particular age, participating in a particular wave.

According to logistic regression data, in the third wave (1995), the group under 29 had a higher tolerance than those aged 30–49, and they did not differ significantly from those aged 50 and over (Figure 3). There were no significant differences between age groups in terms of the significance of nurturing tolerance in the fourth wave (Figure 4).

Figure 3

Differences in the Importance of Tolerance among Different Age Groups in the 3rd Wave (1995)

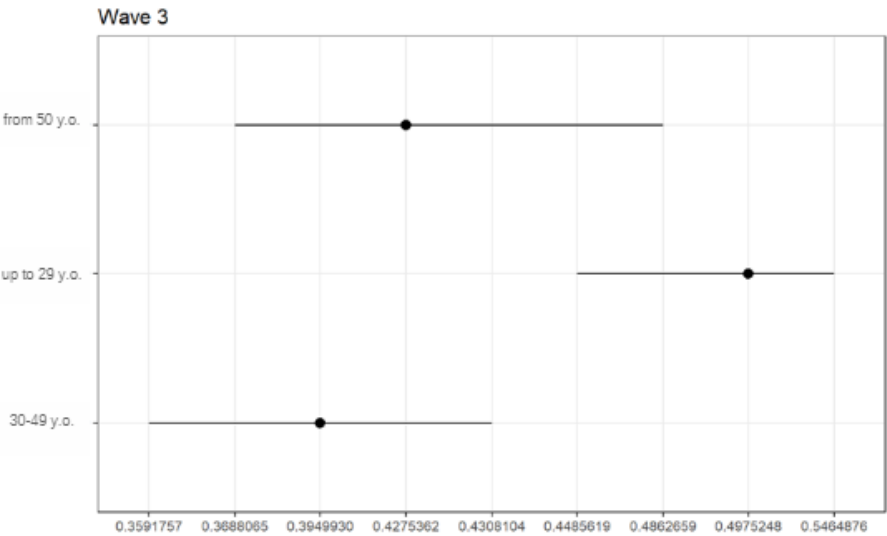
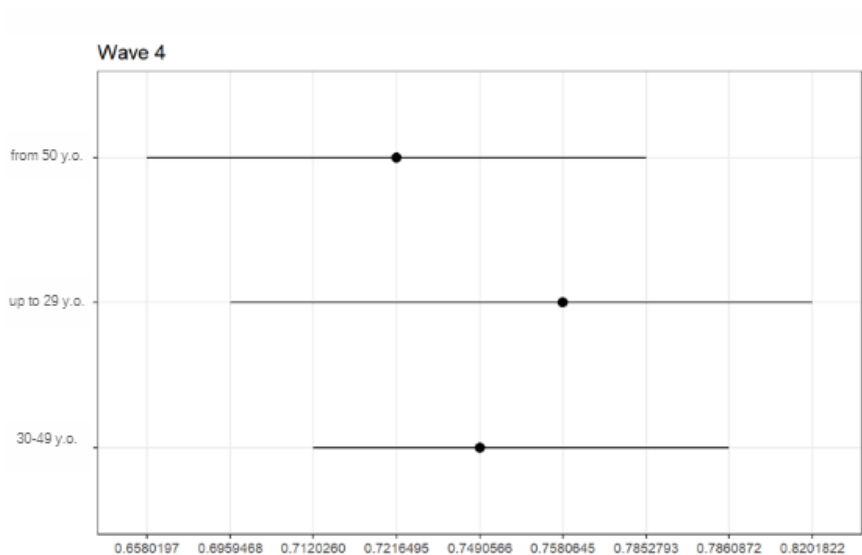


Figure 4

Differences in the Importance of Tolerance among Different Age Groups in the 4th Wave (2001)



In the fifth wave, tolerance was most significant among those under 29, followed by the group aged 30-49; it was the least significant in the group aged 50 and over (Figure 5). In the sixth wave, no significant differences were found (Figure 6).

Figure 5

Differences in the Importance of Tolerance among Different Age Groups in the 5th Wave (2007)

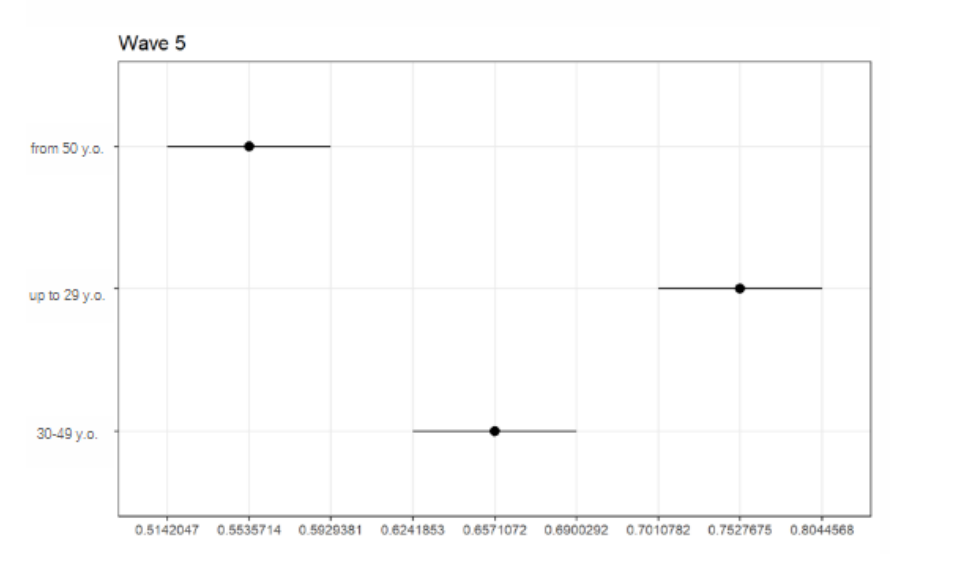
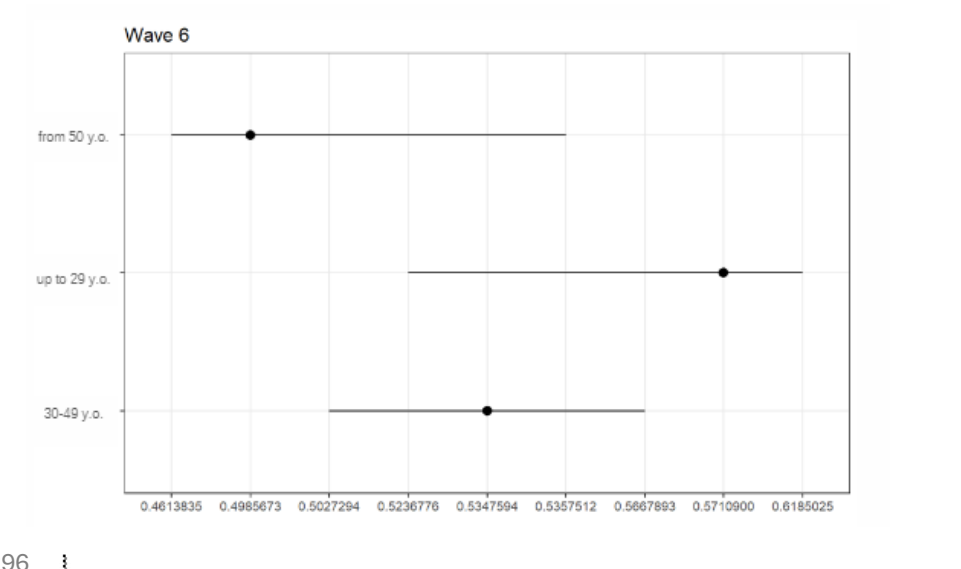


Figure 6

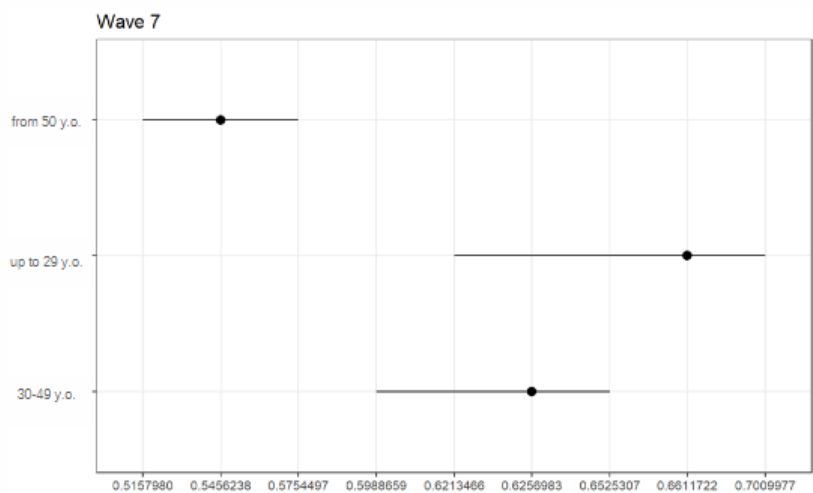
Differences in the Importance of Tolerance among Different Age Groups in the 6th Wave (2012/13)



In the seventh wave, there were no significant differences between the groups under 29 and aged 30-49; respondents aged 50 and over had the lowest significance of tolerance (Figure 7).

Figure 7

Differences in the Importance of Tolerance among Different Age Groups in the 7th Wave (2018)

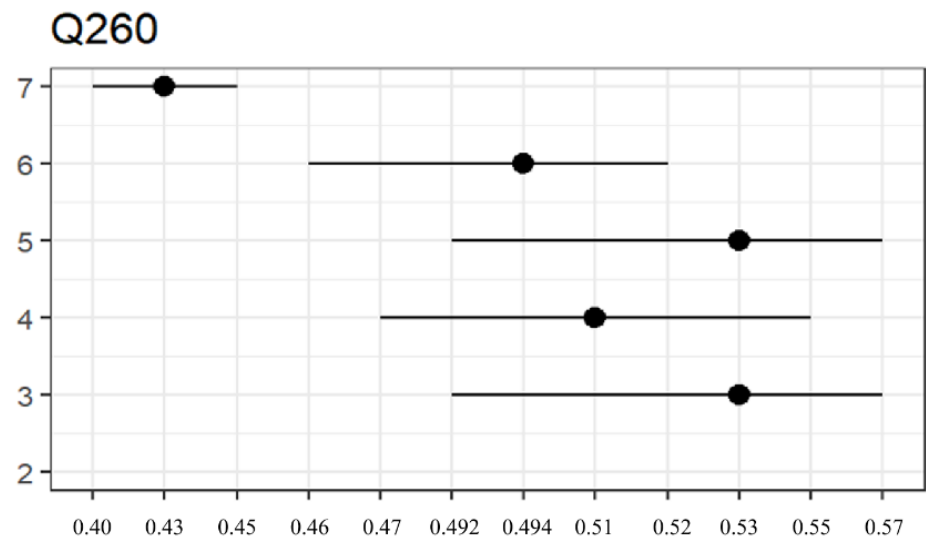


The work also reviewed statistically (using the confidence interval) the issue of socio-demographic indicators of respondents who consider it important to develop tolerance in the family. All waves were used, except for the second (1990), for which there were no accurate data.

The number of men from the third to the sixth waves (1995, 2001, 2007, 2012/13) fluctuated statistically insignificantly; in the seventh wave (2018), it decreased (Figure 8).

Figure 8

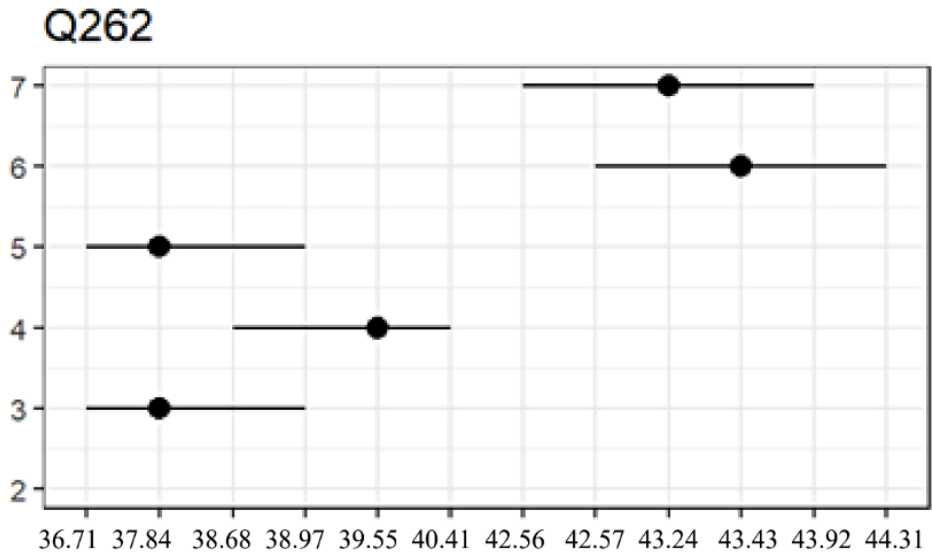
Gender Differences among Respondents in 1995 (Third Wave), 2001 (Fourth Wave), 2007 (Fifth Wave), 2012/13 (Sixth Wave), 2018 (Seventh Wave)



In the group of respondents aged 30-49, from the third to the fifth wave (from 1995 to 2007), there were statistically insignificant variations (37.8-39.5 when rounded, aged 38-40); in the sixth (2012/13) and the seventh wave (2018), the age of respondents increased (43 years old; Figure 9).

Figure 9

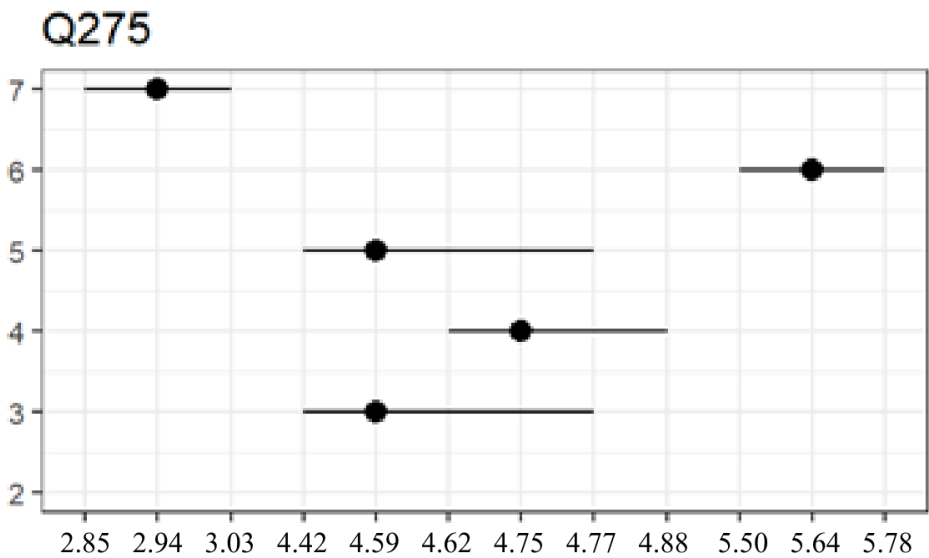
Age Differences Among Respondents in 1995 (Third Wave), 2001 (Fourth Wave), 2007 (Fifth Wave), 2012/13 (Sixth Wave), 2018 (Seventh Wave)



The level of education of respondents also did not change significantly from the third to the fifth wave; in the sixth (2012/13), it increased; in the seventh (2018), it became lower than it had been in the earlier waves. Thus, the level of education among respondents who considered it important to develop tolerance has become lower (Figure 10).

Figure 10

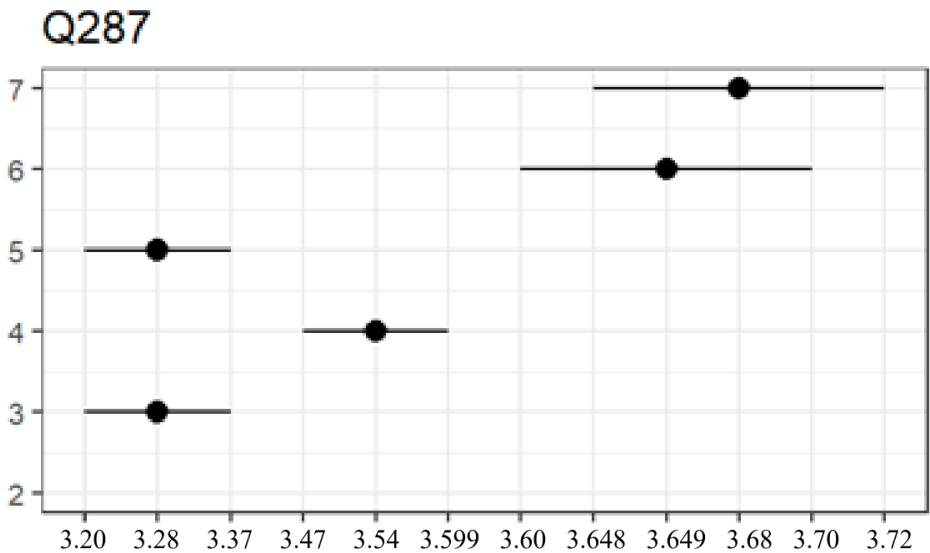
Differences in the Level of Education among Respondents in 1995 (Third Wave), 2001 (Fourth Wave), 2007 (Fifth Wave), 2012/13 (Sixth Wave), 2018 (Seventh Wave)



The indicator of the social class of respondents in the fourth wave (2001) increased compared to the third (1995); in the fifth (2007), it returned to its previous level. However, in the sixth (2012/13) and seventh (2018) waves, it increased significantly (Figure 11).

Figure 11

Differences in Social Class among Respondents in 1995 (Third Wave), 2001 (Fourth Wave), 2007 (Fifth Wave), 2012/13 (Sixth Wave), 2018 (Seventh Wave)



Discussion

As Hofstede wrote, a researcher who analyzes cultural dimensions, to a certain extent, acts as a representative of his culture (Hofstede, 2007). Agreeing with this, we note that the purpose of the article was not a thorough analysis of the relationship between Chinese parents and children, as well as generations. Using the example of this unique ancient culture, the authors wanted to show the possibility and significance of using big data while analyzing and forecasting intergenerational relationships in a period of great change.

The inclusion of tolerance in the list of important qualities for the younger generations indicates that it is of great value (Devellennes & Loveless, 2022; Inglehart, 1997). At present, for many collectivist cultures in the East (e.g., countries that used to be part of the USSR), experiencing a

rapid economic and political boom, it is important to study tolerance between parents and children, as well as generations that grew up in the context of different social values more generally. Some researchers studying tolerance take into account not only age, social status, education, and place of birth, but also the number of children and the order of birth (Abidova, 2016).

Is tolerance considered important in modern China? According to the opinion of Chinese respondents in our study, the younger generation needs to develop, first of all, diligence, and independence. "Diligence" - the most significant quality since 1995- lost its first place by the seventh wave, giving way to "independence" and "responsibility." Nevertheless, it must be assumed that "independence" and "diligence" (rather than tolerance) are the "cementing" values of generations, which is consistent with studies of Chinese proverbs, in which a large place is given to "diligence," "free spirit" (Weng et al., 2021), and dedication (Yue & Ng, 1999). Unfortunately, not all the waves had data on the significance of the development of "good manners." Therefore, one can only assume that this quality is also considered important, as it was in the seventh wave, where it came to the fore. Tolerance, which can promote mutual understanding in parent-child relationships and relationships between generations, was also important for respondents, although not as important as diligence and independence. Of greatest interest are the respondents participating in the survey after 2001 (waves 5-7), who represent the new generations of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. Our results showed that tolerance is indeed highly valued by these generations (especially those born in the 1980s), which is in line with a number of previous studies and the CSS data (Li, 2020).

Of course, the socio-economic environment affects the importance of developing tolerance in the family (Li, 2020; Zhang et al., 2003; Zhou, 2016). This can explain the surge in its significance in the wave of 2001, where the highest indicator of the significance of tolerance was recorded among respondents under 29. However, starting from 1995 and on, the importance of tolerance development for young respondents (under 30), although not a leading value, exceeded the importance of this quality for older generations. Importance of tolerance may also be related to age (i.e., young people are usually more tolerant than older generations). Moreover, the respondents

who took part in the survey in 1990 reported approximately the same importance of developing tolerance within the family as those who participated in the seventh wave (2018) - a finding that requires additional research. Similarly, while remaining a fairly important quality, in 2011, the significance of tolerance decreased.

By 2018, the social class among respondents who consider it important to develop tolerance in the family significantly increased, but their level of education became lower. Perhaps this can be explained by the number of men among the respondents in this wave (which has decreased), as women are less educated than men. The question of filial piety also remains open, although the fears of some Chinese scholars about its change, in our opinion, are not groundless.

Limitations and future directions

The lack of data on the place of residence prevented us from considering regional variations and potential differences in the significance of nurturing tolerance between rural and urban residents. Due to incorrect socio-demographic characteristics in the second wave and the lack of data on gender and the importance of nurturing good manners and piety, it was not possible to fully compare the importance of nurturing these qualities versus nurturing tolerance within the family. Thus, these limitations of the present study may serve as prospects for future research. Further research may also assess whether and how a broader set of socio-economic and socio-psychological factors influence the importance of nurturing tolerance within the family.

Conclusion

According to the results, tolerance is quite important for Chinese respondents; still, its significance varied depending on the time the survey was administered (i.e., the wave) and was lower than the significance of "diligence" and "independence." The increasing importance of nurturing "independence," "responsibility," and "good manners" in the family by 2018 is the most striking manifestation of the influence of the new socio-economic situation on the representation of the qualities that the younger generations should possess. In line with this is that there were more respondents who

considered it important to form tolerance in the family in the generation of the 1980s than among other generations. The highest indicator of the significance of tolerance was recorded in 2001 among respondents under 29. Thus, the obtained results allow us to conclude that the importance of nurturing tolerance in the family will differ depending on the age of the respondents. New socio-economic conditions have led to the formation of a more tolerant generation.

Among other socio-demographic characteristics, one can note the influence of social class on the assessment of the significance of nurturing tolerance within the family (the higher the social class, the more significant the tolerance is) and the level of education of the respondents. The level of education is lower in 2018 compared to earlier years. Finally, several questions require further research, including whether there are gender differences in the significance of tolerance for Chinese respondents.

Conflict of interest

We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Data availability statement

The data used for this study are available from the World Values Survey (WVS) at <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>

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