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FAMILY IDENTITY NEGOTIATIONS IN INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGES: RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN FAMILY CASE

Abstract: Russians and Ukrainians have common cultural and historical roots this is Kievan Rus, the Old Russian language and the Orthodox faith. Both Ukraine and Russia are suffering as a result of the ongoing conflict between the two countries. Since both nations belong to a unified ethnic group, that is, they are fraternal people, the recent dispute between them came as a huge shock. The idea for this study first focused on the distinctions between these two nations and how they perceive each other. Additionally, how the dispute's origins affect family identity as well as how family identity affects conflict. This study explored intergenerational family identity negotiations in inter-ethnic marriages between Russians and Ukrainians to achieve this goal. Through this analysis, the identity positions of the two ethnic groups were examined, and an attempt was made to comprehend their disparities. A thorough analysis of three generations was completed during the investigation. Specifically, the parents and children of mixed Russian and Ukrainian households, as well as the Russian paternal grandparents and Ukrainian maternal grandparents. The two questions below were the focus of this investigation. First, given a historical and social context, what significance does interethnic marriage have? Second, how do families in interethnic unions negotiate their relational, cultural, and family identities, and what role does their family identity play?

Key words: Inter-ethnic marriages, family, generations, family identity negotiations, Russians, Ukrainians

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Introduction

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Mixed marriages in the USSR¹ were supported both in theory and in practice, since mixed marriages contributed to the final merging of nations into a single Soviet. Inter-ethnic marriages were seen as a tool of modernization, especially in backward regions. According to Soviet theorists, mixed couples moved away from the traditional way of life. They accepted a modern, typically Soviet way of life, creating an example to follow in their republics (Hirsch, 2005).

Russian was considered as the language of interethnic communication in the USSR. Therefore, the existence of a common language contributed to the conclusion of interethnic marriages, and in such families the primary language of communication was Russian. Even today, the approach to interethnic marriage in Russia remains unchanged, as in USSR times, when they valued friendship between people and considered multinationalism as a national force, emphasizing the integration of ethnic relations. (Adrienne, 2022).

In Russia, according to statistics for 2019, there lived about 3 million people with a Ukrainian surname, Ukrainian roots, or even Ukrainian identity (Биятов, 2019). On the other hand, in 2021, 3.7 million Russians lived in Ukraine (Водяний, 2022). This could have a significant impact on the process of identity formation not only in Ukraine, but also in Russia. And although there are similarities in the people and cultures of the two countries, there are also differences. Therefore, a more thorough study of the ways of their communication is required in intercultural and interethnic relations between Russians and Ukrainians. This is related to fact, that cultural background impacts contact, and the communication process is a way of expressing culture (Saunders, 1999).

Russians and Ukrainians belong to East Slavic nations and both have similar ethnic and cultural roots. Also, as one unified ethnic group, as fraternal people, and as heirs of Kievan Rus, they consider like a family. In Soviet times, Russians and Ukrainians were perceived as brothers, and the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the formation of independent states of Russia and Ukraine with their national interests, foreign and domestic policies. The political divorce of Ukraine from Russia was one of the most painful perceptions in the Russian public consciousness. Meanwhile, the wall that has emerged in recent years between the historical and spiritual space, created by Russians and Ukrainians, is perceived as tremendous common misfortune and tragedy (Путин, 2021).

The sudden conflict between Ukraine and Russia drew the attention of researchers to the identity of the two countries. In addition, a discussion has begun

about whether Russians and Ukrainians are one and what it means (Miller, 2022). Meanwhile, much more time has been devoted to studying the impact of identity on the conflict's genesis than looking at the influence of competition on identity (Alexeev, 2015). However, researchers in their scientific works did not pay much attention to the issues of interethnic relations and the coordination of cultural identities. What is so controversial about Ukrainian issues is about Ukrainian identity, because it has to do with Russia.

In ethnic conflicts, the most important things are constant interactions, dialogue and discussion of the nature of the relationship between 2 sides of the competition. Cultural identity impacts communication because it is expressed cultural identity in different forms of communication and can be the same or different from the interlocutor (Collier, 2005). The great interest is how identities are negotiated, created, maintained, transformed and strengthened through interaction with family members. This study, titled "Family Identity Negotiations", will explain the cultural differences between the two ethnic groups and providing a deeper understanding of multicultural families' complex nature and characteristics.

This study focuses on understanding of the differences between Russians and Ukrainians by examining the role played by family identity between two ethnicities through intergenerational family identity negotiation in interethnic marriages. The two questions below were the focus of this investigation. First, given a historical and social context, what significance does interethnic marriage have? Second, how do families in interethnic unions negotiate their relational, cultural, and family identities, and what role does their family identity play?

II. Identity negotiation concept and analysis framework

In identity negotiations, the term identity is defined as a multifaceted individual personality, depending on the structure of society and personal relationship to cultural, ethnic, religious, social class, gender, sexual orientation, professional development, family role and kinship ties in the community. The term "negotiation" also refers to exchanging verbal and non-verbal messages between two or more communicators, depending on different sociocultural groups, to maintain, threaten or reinforce each other's unique individual identities.

Identities differ depending on the cultural context. In identity negotiations, a particular identity influences everyday interactions with another person. Thus, studying the process of identity coordination between ethnic families, it seems necessary to check

¹ The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Soviet Union was a state in Eurasia that existed from 1922 to 1991. It was a federal union of 15 national republics: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), Ukrainian SSR, Byelorussian SSR, Uzbek SSR,

Kazakh SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, Turkmen SSR, Estonian SSR).

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not only the problem of individual identity, but also the problem of intergenerational family identity. Significantly it can help to understand better the role of identity negotiations in intercultural communication.

This study considers the negotiation of cultural identity from four perspectives. First, it is a prominent role of cultural identity. The expressiveness of cultural identity indicates the strength of belonging to a particular cultural group (Ting-Toomey, 2005). The second dimension is the difference between ascribed and recognized cultural identity. Cultural identity often results in strained or conflicting relationships between group members, where the individual's assigned and assumed identity do not match (Collier, 2009). The third dimension is the dialectical approach to cultural identity. The dialectical approach implies that multiple identities are reconciled through contradictions and identity of self-definition (Martin, Nakayama 1999). This is important and relevant for explaining the complexities of interethnic family identity. The fourth dimension is the intersection of multicultural identities. The role of cultural identity also depends on contextual constraints such as social and historical context (Collier, 2009). In other words, it is necessary to consider the meaning of marriage between two peoples in the historical and social context of the times of the USSR.

In particular, the identity of family relationships is considered in terms of such concepts as family decisions, shared values, eating and drinking habits, gender roles, attitudes towards time, religion, and stress. Decision-making by couples is not mutual and rational and may differ under the influence of various emotions, such as fear, disappointment, fatigue, loneliness, happiness, etc. (Adams, 2004; Martin & Nakayama, 2007; Romano, 1997).

In parenting, the process can be described as each spouse's cultural and kinship identity and the negotiation of child restraints. Parenting is an essential topic for inter-ethnic couples, as different parents may have different cultural backgrounds and expectations towards their children. When raising children, paying attention to the dialectical negotiations between parents is necessary (Ho, 1990).

III. History and social context of interethnic marriage

1. Resettlement migration of Ukrainians to Russia and interethnic marriages.

In USSR times, people of different nations could freely move to a new residence. Resettlement was a form of migration. Planned resettlement was carried

out as a voluntary relocation of peasants for permanent residence from agrarian-overpopulated land to poor regions of the USSR to special resettlement land funds allocated by the state with the permission of local land authorities (Постановление Совета Министров СССР). Maternal grandfather met a young 16-year-old maternal grandmother in 1948, the marriage was not registered officially but was concluded in the village according to Ukrainian tradition. They had six children, the first and second daughters were born in the Ukrainian SSR and were recorded under the father's surname, and the rest of the children were recorded under mother surname, so the family retained two surnames. It is confirmed that the birth certificate was written in two languages, Ukrainian and Russian (Главбух)², (Управление ЗАГС).³

Then, in 1953, the maternal grandfather with his grandmother, two children, mother and brother, emigrated by train from the Ukrainian SSR to the RSFSR, namely to the Chkalovskoye village in the Primorsky region. In the service book of the maternal grandmother, there is an entry about the termination of her labor activity in the Ukrainian SSR in connection with the planned resettlement in the RSFSR. Upon arrival, the maternal grandmother worked at the state farm, and the maternal grandfather became a laborer in the fields. They had very little money, lived in poverty, and to feed their families, they had to farm and grow vegetables. They had 50 acres of land; the whole family was engaged in animal husbandry, breeding cattle, pigs, chickens and geese. In the Chkalovskoye village, the maternal grandparents had four more children (two sons and two daughters).

In Soviet times, such a migration policy was one of the primary forms of labor supply and land settlement. It was planned to boost the Soviet economy and agriculture in Siberia and the Far East Region. When determining the places for the recruitment of resettlement families, the main criteria was the reserve of labor resources available there. During the resettlement, the similarity of the natural and climatic conditions of the exit areas and the areas of settlement, organizational and economic motives (preservation of traditional agricultural skills, the use of new settlers in their regular jobs), and the compactness of the settlement of representatives of one nationality were considered. Reception plans considered the prospects for further development of the economy, and the possibility of providing new settlers with houses, livestock, household plots, and

² From December 9, 1934, in accordance with the Decree on the procedure for registering acts of civil status, birth registration became mandatory, and children born in an unregistered marriage of parents must be registered on an equal basis with children born in a registered marriage. And by agreement of the parents, the children are assigned the surname of the father or mother.

³ According to the Decree of the People's Commissariat of RSFSR No. 15 adopted in 1946 on streamlining the registration of acts of civil status, all certificates of acts of civil status were written in two languages, 1st in Russian and in the corresponding language of the autonomous republic.

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food. (Большая Российская энциклопедия, 2015).

2. Historical and social context of interethnic marriage. An interethnic marriage is between spouses belonging to different ethnic, religious or sociocultural groups. Marriage between ethnic groups becomes more difficult as the distance between ethnic groups increases. People are more likely to have inter-ethnic marriages if they live in a different ethnic group for a long period of time (Соболевская, 2015).

In 2010, among inter-ethnic marriages in Moscow, 35.4% were Russian-Ukrainian marriages, 9.6% were Russian-Moldovan, 8.5% were Russian-Armenian, the following marriages are marriages with Belarusians, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis, Georgians and Tajiks (Муниципальный совет, 2020). Thus, Ukrainian was the most preferred nationality in the formation of married couples in Russia.

In the Soviet Union, during the first decades of Soviet management, the concept of race was virtually absent from Soviet discourse. The state distributed citizens according to "nations" or "nationalities", and not according to racial characteristics. Moreover, these categories were perceived mainly in cultural and historical terms, and not in biological or genetic terms. Each citizen of the USSR had only one citizenship, but a different nationality was recorded in the passport. When receiving a passport at the age of 16, a person of mixed origin had to choose the nationality of the father or mother. So many people have separated from one person in choosing one of two parents.

In the Brezhnev time, scientific publications tried to demonstrate the growth in the number of interethnic marriages throughout the Soviet Union, since this was supposed to confirm the hypothesis of the inevitable "merging" of Soviet people. Within the framework of Soviet national policy, language was considered one of the most critical components of national identity. Each national republic in the USSR had its own "national language", the study of which was officially encouraged through the creation of schools teaching in the native language, the publication of textbooks and newspapers, and the creation of national elites. Russian was the language of international communication throughout the country, and in every national school without exception, it was taught as a second language. However, in the republics, people strove to master the

Russian language perfectly, as this made it possible to receive higher education; and career building. Thus, the existence of a common language of communication contributed to the conclusion of interethnic marriages (Adrienne, 2022).

IV. Intergenerational Family Identity Negotiation in Interethnic Marriages

1. Research methods and subjects. The research method applied in this study was Qualitative approach and for data collection were used literature review analysis and the interviews performed by in-depth session of families. The interviews focused on three generations, namely paternal and maternal grandparents, parents, and grandchildren. Paternal grandparents are Russians, the maternal grandparents are Ukrainians, the father is Russian, the mother is Ukrainian, and grandchildren are mixed Russian and Ukrainian origins.

Since all members of the first generation has passed away, the study of paternal and maternal grandparents was reconstructed from the memories of family members of the second and third generations. In particular, parents and grandchildren actively participated in the interview to recall the first-generation identity negotiations. And also described the process of raising their children, forming a family identity and reconciling different identities. The reason the first generation was included was because it had a significant influence on the second generation and subsequently on the third generation as well.

The interviews were conducted between September 5 - October 10, 2022 with, second-generation parents and third-generation grandchildren residing in Primorsky Region, Russian Federation. The grandchildren interviewed the second-generation family members several times during the research period, and the responses were recorded, organized and framed in a standard way. The average time of an interview did not exceed 1 hour. The interviews were done with pre-prepared questions. The language used during the interview was Russian, so the participants were able to freely express their thoughts, feelings and emotions. To ensure confidentiality, the names and other information of the interviewees were omitted and replaced by the names of the degrees of relationship of kinship ties.

Table 1. Basic information of interviewees

Relation	Ethnicity	Country of birth	Year of birth	Age of marriage	Marital period	Education	Occupation	
Paternal grandfather 1	A	Russian	RSFSR (Saratov)	1926	25	45	Elementary school	Driver
Paternal grandmother 2		Russian	RSFSR (Penza)	1929	23	45	College	Head nurse
Maternal	B	Ukrainian	Ukrainian SSR	1923	25	28	Elementary	Laborer in the

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grandfather1			(Chernigov)				school	fields
Maternal grandmother2		Ukrainian	Ukrainian SSR (Chernigov)	1932	16	28	Elementary school	Laborer in the fields
Father 1	C	Russian	RSFSR (Primorsky Region)	1952	30	40	College	Welder
Mother 2		Ukrainian	RSFSR (Primorsky Region)	1955	27	40	Secondary school	Junior nurse
Granddaughter1	D	mixed Russian and Ukrainian origins	Russian Federation (Primorsky Region)	1983	Unmarried	Single	University	Unemployed
Granddaughter2		mixed Russian and Ukrainian origins	Russian Federation (Primorsky Region)	1984	Unmarried	Single	University	Office worker

1.1 First-generation. The paternal grandfather (A1) is Russian and was born in 1926 in a family of workers in the city of Saratov, RSFSR. He graduated from elementary school and later went to serve in the army in the Far East in 1943. After serving in the army, he decided to live constantly in the Primorsky Region. In 1950, he met his future wife through matchmaking, got married, and in 1952 they had a son. The paternal grandmother (A2) is also a Russian, she was born in 1929 in the Penza region, RSFSR. When she was 7 years old, her parents with her younger brother voluntarily moved to the Russian Far East. The maternal grandfather (B1) was Ukrainian and was born in 1923 in Chernigov, Ukrainian SSR. The maternal grandmother (B2) was also Ukrainian and was born in 1932 in the same place as well. In 1953 they moved to the Far East under a planned agricultural resettlement program.

1.2 Second-generation. The father (C1) was born in 1952 in Primorsky Region in the Russian family. The mother (C2) was born in 1955 in Primorsky Region in the Ukrainian family. Both of them got married in 1982.

1.3 Third-Generation. The grandchildren (D) were born in Primorsky Region, Russia. Both of them are Russian by nationality, (D1) is unemployed, whereas the other (D2) is an office worker, and both of them are single.

2. Cultural identity's negotiations. According to the interview participants' observations, and points of view, several factors were identified to confirm the content of the study about the discussion of cultural and relational identity. In particular, religion and baptism were considered in the negotiations of cultural identity.

2.1 Religion has a decisive influence on the formation of a person's worldview, determines the deep meaning of behavior, and forms motivation. The religious behavior of family members deferred depending on individual values systems, and certain

conflicts can be explained by the differences in beliefs and attitudes.

Namely, the A family had a neutral attitude towards religion and did not follow religious traditions, such as attending church or celebrating religious holidays. Therefore, they just buy Easter bread on Easter. The B family adhered most strictly to traditional Orthodox beliefs and followed Ukrainian traditions. In particular, B2 kept a strict fast before Christmas, prayed regularly and she visited a church in the major holidays. Thus, she prepared a wide variety of dishes to celebrate Christmas and Easter. However, her children had the freedom to choose whether or not to follow a religion and attended church but did not follow a strict fast.

C1 is a non-religious person and has a neutral attitude toward religion, accordingly, he assumed religious holidays as ordinary holidays similar to A2. Therefore, C1 did not set a festive table, neither than invite friends or relatives to his home for Christmas or Easter. C2 is the opposite, a strong Orthodox believer who always follows religion and Ukrainian traditions as B2. In particular, to meet Easter or Christmas, it was necessary to prepare holiday dishes in advance, and this process took extra time. This was the reason for conflicts in the C family because every day dishes were not always fully prepared.

D1 and D2 attend church regularly on Christmas and Easter, but do not follow the Great Lent. They believe that it is impossible to live without faith and they want to follow the culture and traditions transmitted to them from C2.

2.2 Baptism is an equally important and solemn event and rite in the life of the Orthodox, therefore, the traditions and customs of baptism are the same for both Ukrainians and Russians. People believed that if baptism was celebrated at a joyous, well-laid table, the baptized child's life would pass in joy and prosperity.

A2 objected to the grandchildren's baptism, but C2 was trying to find a way to baptize Ds. Thus, she

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secretly baptized them in her village's small Orthodox church. D1 and D2 received Orthodox names to avoid difficulties in life. C1 has always lived as an atheist, but one day, at the workplace, when he was cutting metal, a piece of metal flew into his head. Fortunately, he had goggles on his face that saved him from a skull fracture and death. After this near-fatal accident, C1 decided to accept Christianity at the age of 60 and was baptized.

3. Family relationships identity's negotiations. In this part, factors such as family decision-making, gender roles, relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, parenting, and family name changes have been reviewed.

3.1 Family decision-making can be one-sided, i.e. a male-dictated decision as well as decisions resulting from the spouse's rational dialogue. Also, in the decision-making process, different emotions or tensions can be present or conflicts may arise. In this family, decisions were predominantly made by males, but this had nothing to do with ethnicity or discrimination.

A1 was the head of the family, made all the decisions, and conveyed them to C1, thus having a strong influence on his family. For the B family, decisions were made through gatherings and discussions, sometimes it was in very emotionally charged environments, with disputes and disagreements arising. C1 was the head of the family but consulted with A1, and then made the decision. C2 was from a village and did not receive a higher education, so it was believed that she lacked judgment, so her opinion was not taken at all. Both D1 and D2 are of the opinion that a person should be independent and take responsibility for own life without the advice of A's and C's families. All decisions must be made by the spouses together.

3.2 Gender roles. It is important to note that cultural identity negotiations can be gender-specific. Within gender roles, it can be observed how these negotiations impact the husband and wife's relationship. In the case of this family, the identity of generations can be analyzed by examining the relationship and of gender equality and gender roles. In regards to the first-generation's double-income couple, there can be seen the influence of the social and historical setting of the Soviet era. In addition, gender roles are inherited like family identities. In the context of two ethnic cultures, things like gender ideology can affect a couple's relationship.

The A family was a working couple, so the gender roles of the couple were the same. A1 worked and cooked food, A2 worked and rarely cooked at home, and could do only cleaning. B1 earned money and was the authority in the family. B2 took care of the house and raised the children. The elder children took care of the younger ones. C1 only worked and did not know how to do housework, C2 basically did all the housework. A2 also criticized C2 for not being

able to cook well because she was not well educated. In Ds opinion, the wife has to do housework plus educate and take care of the children. The husband just has to earn money, take care of the family and ensure its safety.

3.3 Relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. A2 did not love C2 because she was irritated by C2's Ukrainian food, her lifestyle and the way of raising D1 and D2, and the imposition of church traditions. C2 did not belong to a Russian family and A2 would often comment that Ds were also non-Russian "breeds" and wanted them to study more than visit church. Due to this behavior, from an early age Ds felt like some strangers in the family, particularly with A2 and disliked her. However, as A2 had tremendous impact on C1, he spent more time at A2's home than with his own family, so they rarely traveled together and took very few pictures. From childhood, A2 made Ds to sweep the floor or wash the dishes, do a lot of housework, especially D1 did the dirtiest work. Ds often came to visit A2 with C1, but she would exclaim that Ds' visit was a complete surprise, she was rude and liked to repeat that she did not expect Ds. There was no food on the table, A2 always gave stale bread, sometimes with mold and old cookies.

3.4 Parenting can be an important topic when discussing identity in normal family relationships. In raising children, multiple identities are revealed, distinguished, and crossed through cultural differences, personal identities, and ongoing negotiation. However, in this family, parents rarely participated in the upbringing of children. This is due to the fact that in the socialist system of the Soviet Union, the state provided the basis for the safety and socialization of children. Thus, the parenting of children does not intersect with religious, cultural, and personal complexities. There is no dialectical tension between traditional cultural education or the interactive way, between tradition and modernity.

The A family believed that education is very important, so more the books is better. They did not like to play with their grandchildren and considered having many children a very expensive decision. The B family had many children, so they worked hard to earn money and feed the whole family. Education was considered important but optional. Children should be hardworking, honest, respectful to others and live fairly. For parenting children, they first used dialogue, that's why the children respected their parents, but if they were found guilty, then they were beaten with a belt. B family's children were forced to do manual labor by growing vegetables and animals. C1's belief is that education is important and children should not play. C2 allowed the children to play, and emphasized that friendship and social connections are more important than education, the main thing is to meet a good person and start a family. Parents rarely participated in raising Ds. Therefore, it was very

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difficult for Ds to study in elementary school, because they did not receive any preschool preparation and their parents did not help with their studies. Instead, Ds stayed at school until late in the evening to get more knowledge. Due to the lack of knowledge at school, they faced discrimination from teachers. They had very few friends, they felt lonely, isolated, and misunderstood, and they led a secluded life. In the future, Ds prefers the traditional way of raising children.

3.5 Change of surname. Differences in cultural identity, as a rule, appears more frequently in interethnic marriages. Personal life, relationships, and communication with people largely depend on the difference in cultural attitudes, value systems, positions, and behavior in society. Therefore, interethnic marriages are more likely to face problems and difficulties in the course of everyday exchanges. Culture, which influences the development and formation of personality, is the tendency of each person to look at the world from their own point of view, based on personal experience, and upbringing which is unique to a particular ethnic group.

The change in D's surname can also be called an individual trend. At the age of 14, Ds were legally recognized as Russians, but since they lived all their life adhering to Ukrainian traditions, they actually led a Ukrainian way of life. And due to the bad attitude of A1, Ds had a desire to give up their father's surname. In Russia, historically, changing a surname was not so easy, it required the re-issuance of all available documents, so this was considered possible only due to marriage. But in 2010, D2 paid the tax and changed the surname taken from Ukrainian relatives from the maternal side.

A2 found out about this change in the act of the changes in 2012, perceived it as a betrayal and abandonment of the family and a break in relations, and criticized the choice of a Ukrainian relative's surname. C1 also took the news very negatively, but over time, the situation in family relations returned to normal, but he remembered this as a negative event in his life. A2 didn't love Ds, including C2, and claimed that C2 was a bad wife and did not raise her children well and she influenced D's decision to change surname, but this is not true. After changing their surname, Ds rarely visited A2's grandmother's home and only started talking again in 2014.

Documents, such as the birth certificate, remain connected by origin, but based on D2's words before the change of name, she was under pressure in her heart, but now she feels free and thinks the era of pressure and humiliation has ended. According to D1's words, she felt her life will not remain as before. Ds convince that C1 and A2 will not be able to manage their lives anymore.

V. Conclusion

This study examined identity negotiations in

interethnic marriages between Russians and Ukrainians. The results of the intergenerational family identity negotiations of interethnic marriages are as follows.

1. A prominent role of cultural identity. From one point of view, the grandchildren consider themselves Russians because they were born and live in Russia. On the other hand, they follow the way of life and traditions of both cultures, resulting in their bicultural identity. The grandchildren do not and have never had negative feelings about Russia as a country. They said that since Russia is a multinational country, they never really thought about who they are and what ethnic group they belong to. But they had negative feelings towards their paternal grandparents and father, who are Russians. On the other hand, they have a positive and respectful attitude towards the cultural identity of their maternal grandparents and mother. Thus, it can be said that personal relationships, and not ethnicity, hurt the stability and reliability of dual-ethnic unions. The grandchildren insist that one should not confuse the political situation and the ethnic issue in relations between people, because these are entirely different concepts.

2. The difference between ascribed and recognized cultural identity. Regardless of whether grandchildren recognize their identity, the idea of themselves and relationships in some way impact everyday behavior. When identities do not match, tension or contradiction arises, demonstrating the vital role of identity negotiation in the context of intercultural communication skills.

The identities attributed to grandchildren are Russian and Ukrainian. However, the identities attributed to paternal and maternal grandparents and parents in everyday life were separated. Therefore, the identities of the grandchildren were not integrated into one whole, but, on the contrary, were reduced to one identity, that is, the grandchildren had to choose their cultural identity. It can be said that tensions and contradictions manifest in the form of the dominance of Russian cultural relations over Ukrainian culture in formatting family identity. Ultimately, the grandchildren had to leave this situation and choose a new cultural identity.

3. The dialectical approach to cultural identity. The cultural identity of grandchildren shows a dialectical tension between individual and cultural identity. They disagree that their parents want them to have a unique identity and how they define their own identity. Grandchildren focus on individual and family behavior and change their attitudes and beliefs based on cultural stereotypes and family relationships. This happens because grandchildren find their identity marginalized and questioned from one side or the other. They try to find their own identity by separating themselves from the group they belong to. The grandchildren were undergoing a self-transformation, and the change of surname can be seen as an

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agreement on a relational identity. This is not a change of cultural identity, but a change of identity by a dialectical approach in a difficult situation. Changing last name by grandchildren, the paternal grandmother took as a betrayal and abandonment of the family, so the grandchildren rarely visited their grandmother's house. Still later they resumed communication with each other. This can be seen as the negotiation of relational identities through interactions.

4. The intersection of multicultural identities

It can be said that in gender roles cultural identity manifests itself as the intersection of multicultural identities. Regarding gender roles, grandparents showed that trends in gender equality were sustainable. Their gender roles show behavior relevant to gender equality in the socialist system of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the parents guide

the social context of the post-Soviet period. Therefore, it can be said that intergenerational family identity in gender roles is based on historical and social context or relationships rather than age and gender.

Looking at this family, we can see that the reliability and stability of marriage are influenced by the couple's relationship and preparation for family life, and not by the ethnicity of the spouses. Intergenerational communication, lifestyle, parenting and family roles of two ethnically different partners may differ, often leading to conflicting requirements. The most significant thing in this matter is specific personal characteristics, and the feeling of belonging to a particular country is a secondary factor. Therefore, in order to form the desired family identity, first it's necessary to understand and respect each other's identity.

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