

**GENERATIONAL VALUE SHIFT IN THE
SINEBRYCHOFF FAMILY**

A study of late-empire Russian capitalists

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ABSTRACT

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The main objective of the current research is to analyse family values that constitute the family entrepreneurship culture on the example of the Sinebrychoff family – remarkable representatives of Late-Empire Russian bourgeoisie and merchant capitalists that sustained their wealth and positions in society of Eastern and Northern Europe in the end of XVIII - first quarter of XX centuries. Our research is placed within the frames of the general value theory (Allport, 1936; etc.), the systems theories (Bertalanffy, 1949; etc.) and theories of family development (Labaki et al., 2011). Methodology is developed on the dogmas of qualitative-research culture (Denzin, 1989; Matthews, 2012), post-modernist research traditions (Chase, 2005; Gergen, 1999), and dynamic, reflective re-creation of the foregone epochs (Anderson, 1999; Shotter, 2000). Our data is represented both by the extensive set of primary historical documents and secondary analytical studies.

As for our research contribution, we develop the three-layer value cluster's model, introduce and elaborate the concept of the generational value shift, analyse value portraits of the prominent Sinebrychoff family members, and develop the inter-generational graph representation of the structural value changes calculating the relative effect of the value shift on the male and female family lines of the Sinebrychoff family.

Key words: business family; generation; Russia; value shift

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1 INTRODUCTION

The present research is undertaken to compare family values as elements of the family entrepreneurship culture and work out a value structure of the Sinebrychoff family in three consecutive generations (XVIII-XX centuries) that lived both in Russia and Finland. By introducing the concept of generational value shift, we come to a theoretical understanding of evolution of family values.

First, we shortly clarify the above-mentioned concepts that become critical in our research. By the concept of value we mean any desirable end-state outlined and successively shared by an individual (Allport et al., 1936, 1960; Allport & Ross, 1967; Rokeach, 1969, 1973; Schwartz, 1992, 2006). As for the definition of family (Holtzman, 2011), we understand it as a group of people who are tied by blood and share the common origin and a certain set of values (Min et al., 2012). The latter are labelled as family values. In order to reflect changes of family values in time and space (i.e. across generations) both quantitatively and qualitatively, we introduce the fourth concept of the generational value shift as the evolutionary intra- and inter-generational changes of values on the quantitative and qualitative scales. Finally, as the fifth concept, we define a family entrepreneurship culture as a set of continuously developing codes of conduct shared among members of the enterprising families, particularly in running, owning and succeeding their family businesses.

Shifts of the Sinebrychoff family values correspond to socio-psychological adaptation in the light of some socio-economic changes: emigration of the first generation, entrance in the family and family business of the second and third generations. Periods 'before' and 'after' in the family members' development correspond to their parental and newly-formed families. We thus study the process of hereditary changes of family values of a person when she or he assimilates in the culture of the receiving family and/or country. By the 'migration of family values' we mean that values of any person change inherently during the process of assimilation into the culture of the receiving culture.

The main emphasis is made on the value structures of only those family members who were actively involved in the family business: either directly or indirectly via their spouses. An overlay in the value portraits of three consecutive generations features the family inter-generational value structure. We should specify that all the in-law family members, either male or female, had an effect of adoption and overlay of Russian values on their native values. Such an adoption process can be called an inter-family succession of values.

We chose the following time frames for our research – 1799-1917, since the Sinebrychoff family moved from the Russian Empire to Finland in the end of XVIII century, and in the beginning of the 19th century Peter succeeded with his

own enterprise. In 1917 the last direct male heir of the Sinebrychoff family – Paul Sinebrychoff (III generation) – died. In addition to that, there was October revolution and the end of old-Russian family capitalism (Hillmann & Aven, 2011; Owen, 1981, 1983, 2005; West & Petrov, 1998): in 1917, two main live concepts were destroyed in Russia: faith and ownership (Anisimov, 2010; Vovchenko, 2012). They both were the basis, onto which Russian society stood for centuries.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Half a century before the October revolution, networks of enterprising families emerged on the basis of ethnic, religious and regional unanimity (Radaev, 1994; Owen, 2005): families relied better on informal agreements and unified interests (Hillmann & Aven, 2011). These agreements had a positive effect on the duration of partnerships inside family clans and reputation of their enterprises. On the whole, Russian families of XIX century, which belonged to the emerging bourgeois class, possessed an increased quality of congeneric continuity and future orientation (Owen, 2005). Preserving centennial traditions (Aidis et al., 2008; Djankov et al., 2006; Radaev, 1994), new identities, which had the single national and spiritual bases, were although created in the widening kindred relations (Hillmann & Aven, 2011; Vovchenko, 2012, 310). The above-mentioned advantages of entrepreneurs' inter-family networks are also supplemented by one more, and a not less significant, characteristic – an approach to competitive resources (Aldrich et al, 1987; Kets de Vries, 1996; Kets de Vries & Florent-Treacy, 2003).

Principles of management in XIX-century enterprises are inherited by the contemporary Russian entrepreneurs: though it should be explained that the concept of Russian culture has considered at all times as the key contextual factor, which contributes to the expansion of entrepreneurship (McCarthy et al., 2010, 53, 63). Cultural blocs are as though set in the frame of deep-seated values of the family's past generations (Puffer et al., 2010; Thomas & Mueller, 2000). The Sinebrychhoff family had profound ethnic, regional and religious bases in XIX-century Finland, which let it create the "relational bridges" (Barkhatova et al., 2001; Hillmann & Aven, 2011, 488) with the families-in-law such as the Nordenstamms, the Kjöllfeldts and the von Wahlbergs. Creation of relational bridges was possible since all new male members of the Sinebrychhoff family shared its Orthodox principles both in spiritual and secular life, while female members were even baptized into Orthodox Church (Gatrell, 1995, 40-43; Owen, 1981, 1983; Rogatko, 2011). In consistence with the profound statements of the above-considered relational unity of family in its past, present, and future generations, we formulate our first hypothesis in the following way:

H1: "There is a positive tendency of increasing and developing family values of the founding generation by the family members of the consequent generations."

Accordingly, we learned that Russia is a country of patriarchal traditions. However, women on equal terms with men created, renewed, and sustained family-owned enterprises in Late-imperial Russia (Lockwood, 2009; West & Petrov, 1998; Salmenniemi et al., 2011; Ulianova, 2009). The female and male lines of the family raised deep-seated family values jointly, bearing

responsibility for the emotional education of feelings of their homefolk (Plamper et al., 2010). At the present point we can make our second hypothesis:

H2: "In traditional Russian families, female members were responsible for sustaining spiritual and social values, while male members were responsible for sustaining business-related values."

Life in concert represents a characteristic of Russian people of XVII-XIX centuries, and it is generally a synonym of the Russian term "ruskost" (i.e. Russian spirit) (Saltusky & Nikolsky, 2009). In particular, collective tendencies of Russian spirit could be found in Russian art, literature, philosophy, language, and, naturally, economy (Grachev, 2009; Omeltchenka & Armitage, 2006; Vadi & Jaakson, 2011, 57). In order to study whether such Russian spirit is retained by the family members across generations, we introduce our third hypothesis:

H3: "Despite the generational differences, family members of three consecutive generations have the same core set of family values."

Genealogy of Russian families accounts for the group (i.e. cohort) type of thinking and clan relations within the ethnically and religiously homogenous communities (Lovell, 2008, 567-568). As for the traditional portrait of Russian entrepreneurs of XIX century, it has an intricate motivational picture, which includes constituents of family business (Gersick et al, 1997; Molly et al, 2012, 703), market and social status (Dushtaskiy, 1999; Radaev, 1994; Schwartz & McCann, 2007). In imperial Russia, culture embodied the concept of Russian spirit: Orthodox conscience permeated mass consciousness throughout (Gould et al., 2001, 3-4; Ryzhova, 2010, 59-63). In the view of historical time (Baltes & Schaie, 1973), family value portrait (Glick, 1955, 6-7; McGoldrick & Carter, 2003, 384) indicates on its members' prevailing cultural and subcultural structures, shared beliefs as well as ways of cognizing this world (Connidis & Campbell, 1995; Dunn, 2007). There is a need for a more holistic understanding of the family reflected in the recent socio-economic research (Beavers & Hampson, 2000; Olson & Gorall, 2003).

Taking its origins in biology (Bertalanffy, 1949, 1959) and social psychology (Rice, 1969), a systems approach has wide applications for organizational studies (Miller & Rice, 1967; Gould et al, 2001). At the family business level, family overlaps with two other systems – business and ownership (Distelberg & Sorenson, 2009; Sharma et al, 1997; Tagiuri & Davis, 1996). On the whole, functionality of the family business system strictly depends on the above-mentioned systemic triad's performance. Owning families differ depending on cultural, age and other dimensions (Sharma et al, 1997; Sharma & Nordqvist, 2008).

Within the bigger family business system, family system is responsible for transferring family values across generations and correlates these values with

non-conflictual attainment of family objectives (Carter & McGoldrick, 1998; Hatum & Pettigrew, 2003, 244). In accordance with the three-circle model (Tagiuri & Davis, 1996) and Circumplex model (Olson & Gorall, 2003, 517; Michael-Tsabari & Lavee, 2012, 110-112), business system in the first generation is of primary importance regardless of the emerging complexities due to the members' inability to react jointly to the changing environment, growing stress in the view of unpreparedness to retain leadership prior to succession etc. (Dyer, 2006; Miller et al, 2003; Sharma et al, 1997). As time passes and children grow, family system comes to the fore in the light of new in-laws and presence of several generations of family in business (Distelberg & Hillmann & Aven, 2011; Lockwood, 2009; Lovell, 2008; Sorenson, 2009). In the third and later generations, an issue of owners' loyalty to the business of their forefathers is clearly set, particularly with increased flexibility of owners' decision (Labaki et al, 2011; Zody et al, 2006). Based on the value structure of the Sinebrychhoff family, we would like to compare significance of the family system in comparison with the two other family business' systems - those of the business (Michael-Tsabari & Lavee, 2012) and the ownership (Labaki et al., 2011):

H4: "In the multigenerational family business, significance of the family system increases over generations in comparison with the business and ownership systems."

We analyse an overlay of values in the bi- and quadri-axial space: in the beginning - values of the representatives of the same generation, and later - of several consecutive generations. The original values are separated into four value orientations and twelve value clusters (Table 1; Figure 1). We build the correlation matrices to account for the power of connections between the clusters.

TABLE 1 Selected Family Values, Value Clusters and Value Orientations

Value Orientations	Value Clusters	Values Forming Value Clusters ¹
Social - Collective S(C)	1. Peaceableness	Life Satisfaction (T.), Relaxing Climate (T.), Thankfulness (T.), Conflict Resolution (T.), Power Game (i.)
	2. Rapport	Mutual Trust (T.), Joint Learning (T.), Joint Plays (T.), Open Communication (i.), Open Mindedness (i.)
	3. Unity	Belonging (T.), Cohesiveness (T.), Friendship (T.),

¹"T." and "i." indices are used to indicate whether the value is terminal or instrumental respectively (in consistence with the theory of values by Rokeach (1969, 1973) and Schwartz (1992, 2006).

Value Orientations	Value Clusters	Values Forming Value Clusters ¹
		Collaboration (T.), Mutual Help (i.)
Future Continuous F(∞)	4. Family Security Balance	Disputes (T.), Experienced Safety (T.)
	5. Family Longevity	Tradition (T.), Harmony (T.)
	6. Placidity	Consistency (T.), Stability (T.), Serenity (T.)
Social Personality S(P)	7. Appreciation	Pleasure (T.), Excitement (T.), Personal Freedom (T.), Recognition (T.)
	8. Devoutness	Faith in God (T.), Spirituality (T.), Obedience (i.), Forgiveness (i.)
	9. Decency	Inner Growth (T.), Fairness (i.), Honesty (i.), Respect (i.), Responsibility (i), Tolerance (i.)
Material Economic M(E)	10. Performance	Prosperity (T.), Austerity (i.), Aim To Become Wealthy (T.)
	11. Resourcefulness	Creativity (i.), Self-Initiative (i.), Balance between Work and Family Life (T.)
	12. Incitement	Ambition (i.), Courage (i.), Risk-Taking (i.), Need for Achievement (i.)

There is also a possibility to consider the connectedness of value clusters as a spiral. We view the spiral counter-clockwise, either inward-oriented or outward-oriented.

According to Figure 1, value clusters are represented in three layers. Every cluster contains a certain set of values (from two to six values in the cluster) grouped by the value-semantic kinship. Values were sorted out in concordance with the research of Allport (1936, 1960, 1967), Koironen (2002), Rokeach (1969, 1973), Schwarz (1992, 2006) etc. Four value orientations are located pairwise – as if they were in the plain reflection of each other. For instance, Future-Continuous orientation (F(∞)) is placed opposite to Material-Economic orientation (M(E)), while Social-Collective (S(C)) and Social-Personality (S(P)) orientations are on the horizontal axis. Prevalence of value clusters in one of the four (or in several of the four) quadrants give the unique characteristics of the given family member.

F(∞) orientation is composed of those value clusters (and values), which prevalence let the family neutralize the general stress, retain its family basis, transfer knowledge and experience from the oldest to the youngest members. This orientation includes values that are required for the intra-family continuity. In turn, M(E) orientation brings certain value clusters together that help family to put on social weight, to strengthen economic status, to generate new ideas, to become pioneers in various spheres of activities, to create stimuli for the bigger “external” growth. Therefore, the first pair of orientations (F(∞); M(E)) indicate on an ‘outward’ growth possibility of the family: in particular, it represents how family members transform their family from the particular to the common. The spiral is untwisted.

The second pair of value orientations (S(C); S(P)) shows an 'inward' growth possibilities of the family: it reflects how family changes its separate members in the process of upbringing, education, intra-family communication and routines (from the common to the particular). The spiral thus is twisted. Values that form S(C) value orientation contribute to the building of interfamily relationships, origination of the basis of family happiness even in the periods of family conflicts. These values characterize family as a single, working, coordinated organism: family members represent the parts of this organism. As a supplement to the above-mentioned values, S(P) orientation determines an internal pivot of family members, their characters and life principles. Presence or dominance of these values tells about an "internal" development of family members. These values characterize the correlation of the spiritual and the spiritless in human nature.

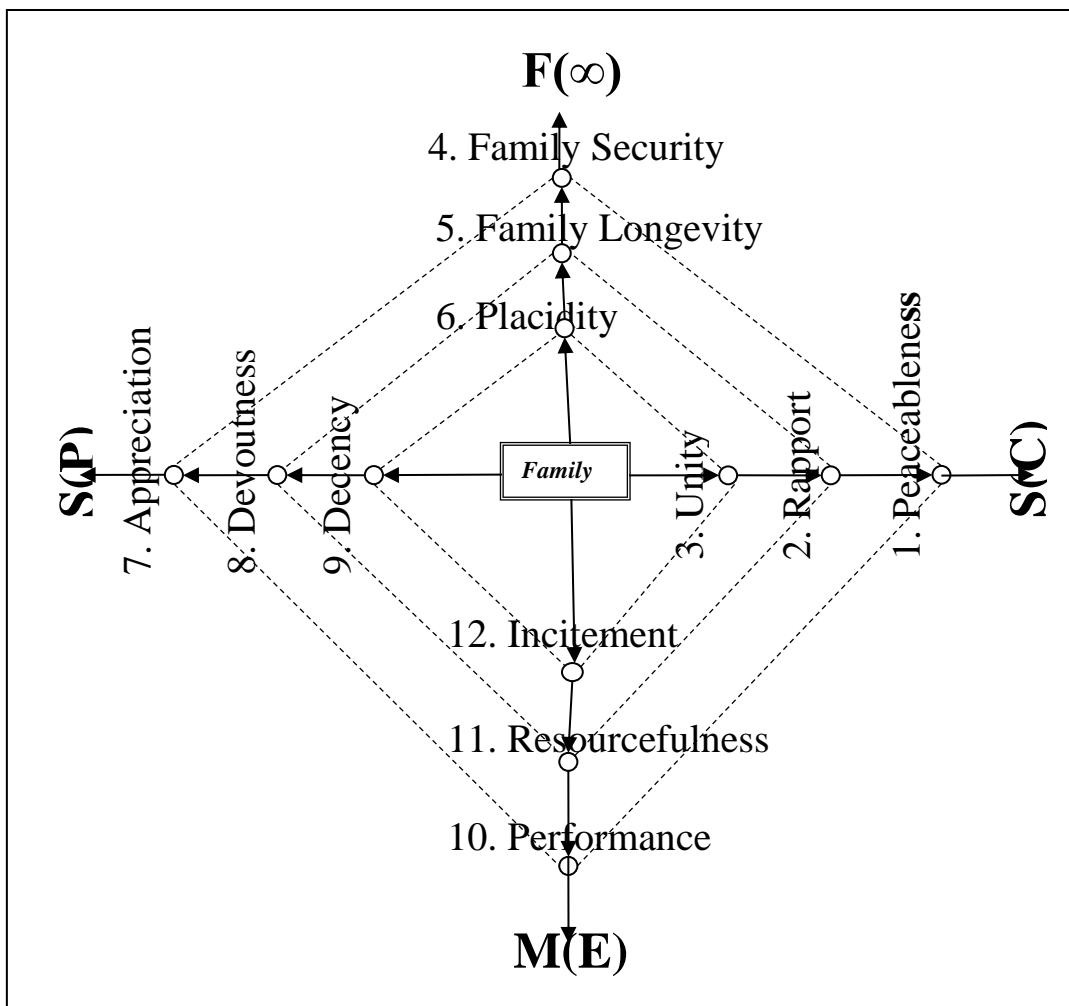


FIGURE 1 The three-layer value clusters' model

As we can see from Figure 1, there is a family, its integral value portrait in the central point of the intersection of four value orientations. Twelve clusters form three layers: each layer is interconnected with two other layers. Clusters are also interrelated with each of the four value orientations. According to the numeration of clusters (indices near to the name of the cluster), they are linked in the following sequence: (1-4-7-10) - (2-5-8-11) - (3-6-9-12). We can also view the connections between the clusters in an alternative 'holistic' way: 1-4-7-10-2-5-8-11-3-6-9-12. Division of clusters into three layers - one under another - is caused by the semantic considerations.

If S(C) and M(E) orientations dominate, Family enriches itself 'from inside' in the way of joint decisions, easiness of communication etc. When S(C) and F(∞) orientations grow, family aims at surrounding its members with a bigger care. In the third possible case, when S(P) and F(∞) orientations are pairwise at the leading stance family is growing both mentally and spiritually due to an atmosphere of openness. At last, the simultaneous prevalence of S(P) and M(E) orientation represents quite a rare situation when an internal personality growth is equally important for an individual as his external growth.

Figure 2 [a, b, c] shows how values can change. Changes of family values within one generation (Fig. 2a) usually occur due to family's participation in some distinct activities that bring personal development or deterioration of its members and establish new qualitative connections between them. Values stay stable in case of continuity of the patriarch's principles and sustaining the same way of life by the family for several generations in a row (Fig. 2b). Taking into consideration a significant influence of the new-coming members (i.e. in-laws on both male and female family lines) on the family's constitution and interpersonal relations, values may improve from generation to generation growing both in number and its positive meaning (Fig. 2c).

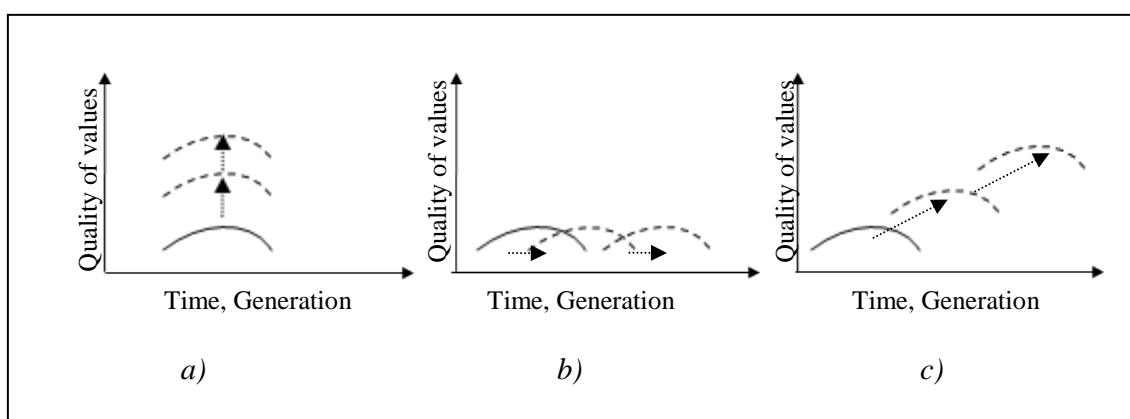


FIGURE 2 Shift of values within one generation of the family

It is necessary to give some word interpretations of the selected value clusters. In general, the first cluster Peaceableness₍₁₎ measures a sense of comfort,

cosiness of the joint life of all members. Rapport⁽²⁾ is designed to reflect communicative capabilities of the family as a joint organism. Unity⁽³⁾ evaluates, to which degree family remains a single organism. In general, a Social-Collective' orientation evaluates, how the prerequisites for an effective communication within the family are being continuously created.

Family Security⁽⁴⁾ evaluates a dual influence of conflicts and security based on the family life's experience. In turn, *Family Longevity*⁽⁵⁾ accounts for the prospects of family development in the future. *Placidity*⁽⁶⁾ is designed to analyse the state of peace in the family, an ability of having a stable outlook on family problems and achievements. Therefore a Future-Continuous orientation includes values, which measure continuity of the family, prerequisites for existence in the future generations, maintenance of the basic commandments of family life, which are stable in the family life cycle.

Appreciation⁽⁷⁾ measures an ability to feel joy and remuneration from one's own life, while *Devoutness*⁽⁸⁾ shows an internal purity of an individual, his or her ability to stay human in the family. *Decency*⁽⁹⁾ also considers integrity of family members in the external sense, which although stems from the internal devoutness. A Social-Personality orientation describes the family's internal world, personality's potential to sustain well-being internally.

Performance⁽¹⁰⁾ assesses the degree, to which an individual is effective for his or her family. *Resourcefulness*⁽¹¹⁾ accounts for an intellectual freedom, a capability of originating ideas and opinions. The final cluster, *Incitement*⁽¹²⁾ is responsible for describing factors, which lead an individual in selection of his professional activity. Altogether, a Material-Economic orientation helps to find an explanation of an individual's work behaviour through the domain of material-economic values.

3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the methodological wholeness of the present research, the main accent was made on the internal structure of qualitative-research culture (Denzin, 1989; LaRossa, 2012; Matthews, 2012). Since the central point of the our study is family in its value structure across three consecutive generation, the qualitative side of studying European families, and in particular, in Russia, was given the prior importance (Daly, 2007; Lofland et al., 2006). However, recent research of Bernardi pointed on the necessity of building a separate toolkit when analyzing transnational families (2011, 793-795). The qualitative frame of the research lets analyze processes and intra-family relationship more holistically (Lofland et al., 2006).

Reflections and interpretations of historical events in its value meaning within the theoretical structure, as noted by Gergen, aims at setting catalytic, more productive relationship (1999, 167-168, 175). A task of a researcher in this case is in formulating qualitative conclusions, which bear a more therapeutic nature regarding family's development in its socio-economic surroundings (Chase, 2005; Mendehall & Doherty, 2005; Romanoff, 2001). In consonance with the post-modernist traditions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Holzman & Morss; 2000), reflections of the objective reality involves constitutive concepts of language (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Kvale, 1995). Additionally, ways of the narrative epistemology (Bochner et al., 1997; Carr, 1998) widen notions of inter-family relationships of family members – representatives of the gone epoch. Live stories are thus considered in the dynamic, full-fledged relationships (Chase, 2005; Frank, 2000). Availability of rare historical letters and documents helps formulate a vehicle for the reflective re-creation of the dialogue of the different epochs (Anderson, 1999; Gergen, 1999; Shotter, 2000) in the collaborative understanding of the systemic family relationships.

An application of traditional approaches of family therapy (Chase, 2005; Gale, 1992; Josselson, 1996; Romanoff, 2001) also improves the systemic understanding of intra-family relationships. In particular, it contributes to the creation of orientations, motives and values of family members. These relationships are built in the system of conversation, and changes of humans' motivations start with the changes in communication (Anderson, 2007; McNamee & Gergen, 1992). In turn, principles of the dialogical narrations let built the model of the family future on the basis of the joint past experience of its members (De Haene, 2010). A researcher is being involved in the process of creation of meanings of the studied objects (Gergen & Gergen, 2002; Shotter, 2000).

We share considerations about the preservation of the results' objectivity (Bochner, 2001; Ellis, 1995). However, we also understand that creation of the new meaning is practically impossible without a contribution of the researcher

him- or herself on the basis of the created concepts or its interpretations (McNamee & Gergen, 1999, 16-18). This is the researcher's responsibility, but neutrality and indifference of a researcher cannot be interpreted as the only true version (Chase, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). A process of creation of the new scientific knowledge is participative and communicative, where relationship is built from the dialogues, emotional inputs and changeability of the meanings (Bochner, 2001; De Haene, 2010; Ellis & Berger, 2001).

The research methodology, as a result, has the "polyvocal nature" (De Haene, 2010, 8). Participation of the researcher in interpreting and elaborating the participative structure of his or her work leads to the creation of the new meanings of reality (Gergen & Gergen, 2002). However, a researcher bears responsibility for the ethical side of the scientific knowledge process (Bochner, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; LaRossa, 2012).

A multiple set of archive documents (as the primary sources) and historical research (as the secondary sources) help us orient in the Sinebrychoff family-related historical material, improves or, on the contrary, disapproves of our judgments about value constituents of each selected member across three generations. Our genealogical tree and introductory words about the past of the Sinebrychoff family were made under the impressive studies of Finnish and Swedish writers (Harju, 2010; Kajanti, 1999; Kartio, 1993; Keltanen, 2003; Mäkelä-Alitalo et al., 2009; Mårtenson, 1969; Oranen, 2008; Pettersson, 2004). In addition to that, the use of primary data was connected with the consideration of the multiple value perspectives. A value perspective of family solidarity in the Sinebrychoff family was analysed from Letter of Ivan Sinebrychoff on 8 October, 1848 concerning the funeral service of his older brother Nikolai Sinebrychoff (1848), and from the List composed by brothers Ivan and Pavel Sinebrychoffs on 26 September 1848 in Helsinki (1848).

Firstly, a value perspective of work discipline and obedience at work was viewed from the two contracts between brothers Nikolai and Pavel Sinebrychoffs with their chief brewers Gottfried Putzsher (1829) and Carl Kranz (1853) respectively. Further on, a value perspective of work contracts, employments and religious collaboration in work was elaborated from the Inventory record at Sveaborg factory (1858). Secondly, a value perspective of religious traditions, family respect, mutual trust in the interfamily relations of the first, second and third generations of the Sinebrychoff family were studied from the extensive set of eleven letters of Ivan Sinebrychoff to Pavel Sinebrychoff from: with the first letter written on 8 October 1848 and the last one - on 18 August 1865 (1848-1865). Finally, a value perspective of pious philanthropy of the second, third and fourth generation (although not directly studied due to the time frame 1799-1917 of our research) of the Sinebrychoff family was found from the Copy of the letter of Finnish Holy Direction in Vyborg to merchants Ivan and Pavel Sinebrychoffs (1849), an Emperor

Alexander the Second's direct speech in *Vedomosti Bulletin* (1859), and a Letter of gratification made by Commissar M. Manner (1928).

4 RESULTS

At the first stage of the analysis, we give the word interpretation of value portraits of three consecutive generations of the Sinebrychoff family (Mäkelä-Alitalo et al, 2009), who were engaged in building and perpetuating the family business and made a remarkable influence on Finnish and Russian culture (see Figure 3). Judgments made in the cluster analysis are received through the deliberate study of empirical data – both primary and secondary – from the Economic Archive of Finland placed in Mikkeli (Finland), National Russian Library and National Historical Archive (both St. Petersburg, Russia) over the preceding two years – 2011-2012.

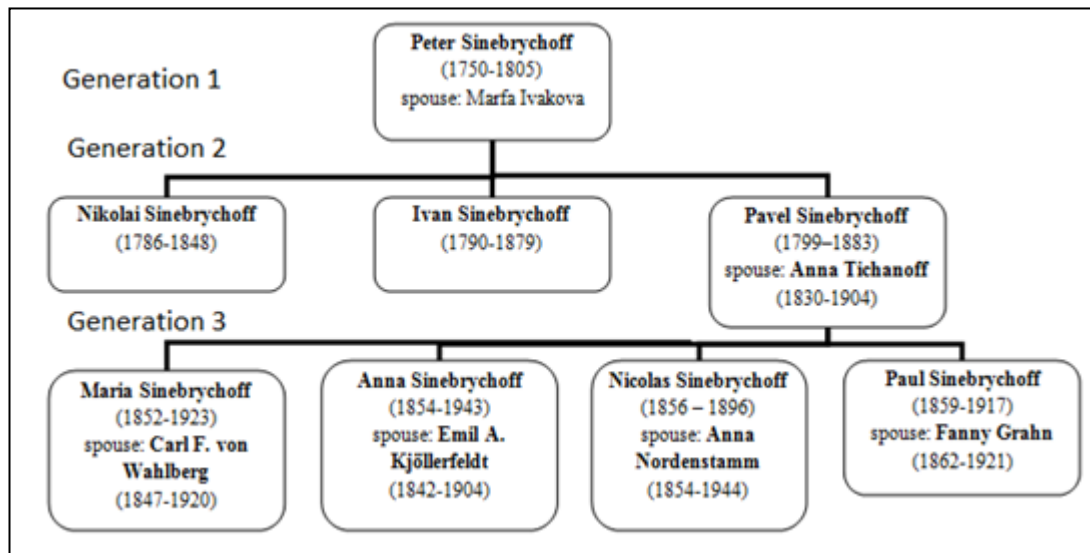


FIGURE 3 Family tree of the Sinebrychoff family – three consecutive generations (1750-1921)

In order to understand the value structure of the Sinebrychoff family, we first see its cluster-based description of the three consecutive generations, and then analyse value clusters of each member in the table format.

Generation 1. After the move from a dependent to an independent state, there was a bigger stress plus new business and social environment (Peaceableness₍₁₎; Rapport₍₂₎). Family safety was sometimes questioned by the controversies of a foreign culture (Family Security₍₄₎; Family Longevity₍₅₎) (Mäkelä-Alitalo et al., 2009). The Sinebrychoffs in 1st generation were featured by the solid internal power (i.e. steadiness of the interpersonal bonds) (Devoutness₍₈₎). Being innovative, the new business model was although created with the use of samples of other competitors who were former leaders in the niche (Resourcefulness₍₁₁₎; Incitement₍₁₂₎).

Generation 2. Parents were respected, and Nikolai, Ivan and Pavel were thankful to their parents for everyday support (Peaceableness₍₁₎). Faith in the family was a prerequisite of the faith in work (i.e. in business) (Rapport₍₂₎) (Mårtenson, 1969). Family traditions were also retained in part of the diligent attitude towards labour (Family Longevity₍₅₎). Life in the Sinebrychoff family gave ancestors a bigger understanding of the pair connection “faith – development” (Devoutness₍₈₎). Although richness served a means for the Sinebrychoffs, its significance along with the overall family status rose on the waves of the business success (Performance₍₁₀₎).

Generation 3. Paul, Emil, Carl, Fanny fostered stability in the family despite difficulties in the industry (Placidity₍₆₎). Due to an absorption into the less religious society, family slightly deviated from Orthodox traditions of the forefathers (Devoutness₍₈₎). Personal investment strategy helped Anna (nee Nordenstamm), Paul and Fanny to accumulate assets for the sake of future acquisitions despite the misfortunate undertakings of Nicolas (Performance₍₁₀₎). After the resignation of the second-generation members, Paul, Nicolas and Emil got greater opportunities for self-realization in management-ownership (Incitement₍₁₂₎). The general description of the value structure of the Sinebrychoff family are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Value portraits of the three consecutive generations of the Sinebrychoff family business leaders

	I Generation	II Generation			III Generation		
	Peter	Nikolai	Pavel	Anna T.	Nicolas	Paul	Emil K.
(1)PEACE	life adaptability	inheritance of relations	cultural tranquillity	maternal care	life enthusiasm	parental hand	work adaptation
(2)RAPPORT	work influence	work utility	family ties	family openness	social promotion	mutual trust	business liaisons
(3)UNION	family interaction	family solidarity	family's priority	family centrality	family in society	family engaged	clan system
(4)FUTURE	future change	inherited calmness	family comfort	family stability	work conflict	family equality	triple interaction
(5)FAMILY LONG	peasant heritage	future union	synergy of traditions	filter of traditions	creative change	change of traditions	formal family
(6)PEACE	social instability	family oriented	progress serenity	family wellbeing	work evaluation	work balance	family stability
(7)APPROPRIATE	labour talent	joy in work	cultural wealth	nursing mother	social goal	art in business	labour spirit

	I Generation	II Generation			III Generation		
	Peter	Nikolai	Pavel	Anna T.	Nicolas	Paul	Emil K.
(8)DEVOU	stable Orthodox	Orthodox of society	Orthodox comfort	new Orthodox	liberal Orthodox	“my” Orthodox	Orthodox spirit
(9)DE CEN	internal integrity	paternal nobleness	responsible maturity	family morality	family honesty	external integrity	business honour
(10)PE RFO	self-realization	socio-commerce	creative efficiency	socio-care	leisure life	acquisitive economy	collective growth
(11)R ESOUR	inspiration	labour energy	work cohesion	woman’s leadership	work ambitions	art as engine	triple utility
(12)IN CITEM	family health	self-motive	conscious initiative	acute initiative	social motion	art motive	growth motive

It would not be enough to compare clusters by their absolute changes. Apart from the percentage change, it is quite important to understand where the value shift was located on the value scale: within which exact score it took place. Therefore we determine the “weighting coefficient” in the period ‘after’ (i.e. values in the period ‘after’ in the shares from the maximum value of the scale “8”). An absolute change (in %) is multiplied on the weighting coefficient: as a result, we can measure the relative changes in value clusters and compare them between each other. The meaning of change in the value cluster becomes a bit smaller on average after taking a weighting coefficient. The effect of value changes (i.e. value shifts) is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3 Changes in the value structure across the generations of the Sinebrychoff family

Orientations	Value Clusters	Generation 1				Generation 2				Generation 3			
		before	after	mean after	value shift	before	after	mean after	value shift	before	after	mean after	value shift
S (C)	(1)Peaceableness	4	4	5	x	4	6	6	1,5	5	6	7	,75
	(2)Rapport	4	4		x	6	6		x	6	7		,88

Orientations	Value Clusters	Generation 1				Generation 2				Generation 3			
		Peter + Marfa				Nikolai + Ivan + (Pavel + Anna T.)				(Nicolas + Anna N.) + (Paul + Fanny G.) + (Anna + Emil K.) + (Maria + Carl W.)			
	(3)Unity	6	6		x	6	7		,88	6	7		,88
F(∞)	(4)Family Security	4	3	4	(,38)	4	6	6	1,5	5	5	6	x
	(5)Family Longevity	7	6		(,75)	6	7		,88	7	7		x
	(6)Placidity	7	4		(1,5)	6	6		x	7	7		x
S(P)	(7)Appreciation	4	5	7	,63	4	6	7	1,5	6	6	7	x
	(8)Devoutness	8	8		x	6	7		,88	7	7		x
	(9)Decency	7	7		x	5	7		1,8	6	7		,88
M(E)	(10)Performance	3	4	5	,50	4	6	5	1,5	5	5	5	x
	(11)Resourcefulness	4	5		,63	5	5		x	5	6		,75
	(12)Incitement	3	5		1,25	4	5		,63	4	5		,63

According to Table 3, we can observe that positive value shifts of in all four value orientations in the second and third generations outperformed both positive and negative changes in the first generation. Children and grandchildren of Peter and Marfa Sinebrychoff proved their competence in sustaining the uniting family values of the family's founders (i.e. confirmation of the first hypothesis (H1)). Additionally, by interpreting (Table 2) and measuring the mean values of the value orientations in each generation (Table 3), we can state that members of the Sinebrychoff family had not only preserved the core, deep-seated family values laid by the founders Peter and Marfa (Orientations S(P) and M(E)), but also increased them (Orientations F(∞) and S(C)). It proves our third hypothesis (H3).

In the graph analysis of the value shift over three consecutive generations of the Sinebrychoff family, we will illustrate possible causes of the above-mentioned individuals' leadership capabilities. Peter and Marfa represented the first-generation ownership-management in the family business. Their positive growth of M(E) orientation was negatively influenced by the downsize in F(∞) orientation due to the ambiguities of the externally foreign culture. On the whole, female members of the Sinebrychoff family were engaged in sustaining their men's positive climate in the family. Therefore, any tensions felt outside home were suppressed in an open family dialogue. It was true over the defined time frame (1799-1914). The three-generation graph analysis of the value changes is given in Figure 4.

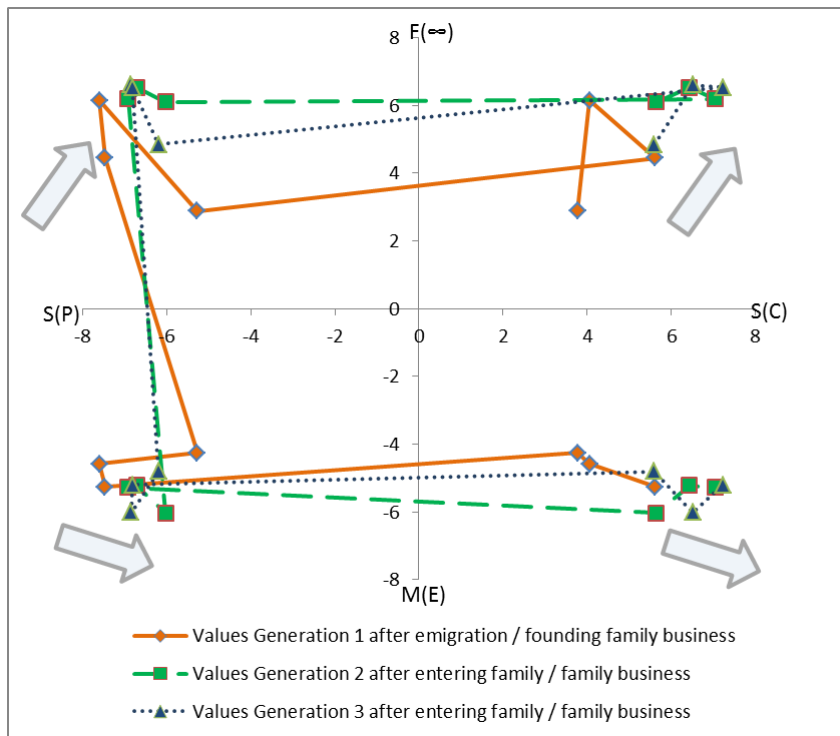


FIGURE 4 Inter-generational comparison of the Sinebrychoff family values' shifts

In the second generation, Nikolai succeeded his father Peter's values of entrepreneurial spirit and personal integrity and developed remarkably other value clusters. It is Pavel's status in business that helps him to mark up the family weight in society and simultaneously perfect himself in the spiritual sense. After entrance in the family business and a division of the spheres of influence, Ivan's values dominate over Pavel's values in the orientations $F(\infty)$ and $S(P)$. The single female business leader in the first generation, Anna, served a 'gatekeeper' of the family traditions, and therefore she has a remarkable growth and a domination of the orientation $F(\infty)$ compared to Nikolai.

As for the third-generation value structure, Nicolas gets narrow in the period 'after' (i.e. it stretches on either side). However, Anna represents quite a mighty supplement of Nicolas. Hobby in art, enthusiasm about balancing work and family life contributed to the growth of the orientations $S(C)$ and $F(\infty)$ for Paul and Fanny. A child-successor would have been a beautiful fourth-generation continuation in realization of the Sinebrychoff family values oriented on the future ($F(\infty)$) and an inner growth ($S(P)$).

The 'incoming' family members (i.e. Kjöllfeldt, Wahlberg, Nordenstamm and Grahn) strengthened the orientations $M(E)$ and $F(\infty)$, therefore value clusters grew on the vertical axis. At the same time, the 'inborn' family members contributed to the improvement in the orientations $S(P)$ and $S(C)$, and it widened the graph on the horizontal axis.

The triumvirate of Anna, Paul and Kjöllfeldt outperform other intergenerational combinations in the value sense. We should also specify that there are three points of intersection of the respective value clusters (which belong to the adjacent value orientations) in each quadrant. These points of intersection are built in the logic of the three-layer disposition of value clusters in the graph discussed above in this paper.

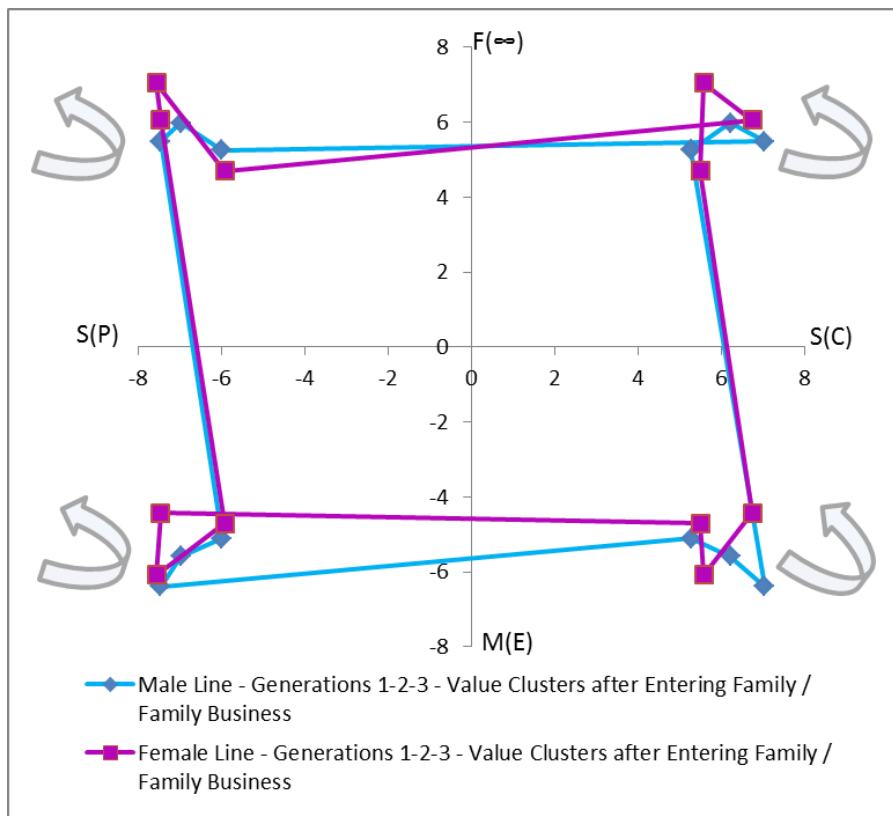


FIGURE 5 Comparison of value shifts in the inter-generational male and female family lines

As we can state from Figure 4, members of the second and third generations had higher scores in the orientation $F(\infty)$, which values are aimed at preserving and developing family system in the future. Regardless of being immersed in raising business effectiveness (increase of the $M(E)$ and $S(C)$ orientations in Figure 4, children and grandchildren of the founders Peter and Marfa were trustworthy gatekeepers of the family system's values (orientation $F(\infty)$ in Figure 4). This fact proves our fourth hypothesis (H4) to the larger extent. In an alternative way, we can compare the value contribution in terms of gender (Figure 5). The female line dominates in the upper part of the graph (an orientation $F(\infty)$), while the male line is more pronounced in the lower part of the graph (an orientation $M(E)$). The male and female family lines mutually

complement and mutually enrich each other on the horizontal axis, in the orientations S(P) and S(C) respectively.

Sources of the generational value shifts are summarized in Table 4. Despite the higher scores of the female representatives in the second [S(P);F(∞)] and third [S(P); M(E)] quadrants, we cannot fully claim about female dominance in sustaining spiritual-social values. On the contrary, as we can see from Figure 5, males are almost equal on left end of the horizontal axis [S(P)]. Therefore our second hypothesis (H2) is not confirmed.

TABLE 4 Source of the value shift for the Sinebrychoff family members

Family members	Source of the "Values' Shift"
Generation 1	
Peter Sinebrychoff	emigration to Finland and setting up a Family Business;
Marfa Sinebrychoff (Ivakova)	emigration to Finland and re-emigration to Russia;
Generation 2	
Nikolai Sinebrychoff	emigration to Finland; his father's business expansion;
Ivan Sinebrychoff	cooperation with Nikolai and operations in Poland and Russia;
Pavel Sinebrychoff	cooperation with Nikolai, operations in Finland, marriage with Anna Tichanoff;
Anna Sinebrychoff (Tichanoff)	marriage with Pavel Sinebrychoff; business partnership; widowhood; business triumvirate;
Generation 3	
Nicolas Sinebrychoff	foreign internship, marriage with Anna Nordenstamm; governance in family business; financial troubles; under the mother's guardianship;
Anna Sinebrychoff (Nordenstamm)	marriage with Nicolas; building the dialogue with Nicolas' mother Anna;
Paul Sinebrychoff	marriage with Fanny; partnership in family business; sole governance; collecting art;
Fanny Sinebrychoff (Grahm)	marriage with Paul Sinebrychoff; resignation from the theatre; collecting art; assistance in family business;
Anna Kjöllfeldt (Sinebrychoff)	marriage with Emil Kjöllfeldt; participation in family business;
Emil Kjöllfeldt	marriage with Anna Sinebrychoff; independent bank career; triumvirate governance in family business;
Maria von Wahlberg (Sinebrychoff)	marriage with Carl von Wahlberg; assistance in family business;
Carl von Wahlberg	military service; medical career; marriage with Maria Sinebrychoff; general practice in the family business;

5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

A multiple set of archive documents help us orient in the Sinebrychoff family-related historical material, improves or, on the contrary, disapproves of our judgments about value constituents of each selected member across three generations.

a) A value perspective of family and work solidarity:

First of all, we will consider values concerning family solidarity in the period of crisis. To be precise, one document about the legacy left after Nikolai Sinebrychoff's untimely demise will be viewed (Letter..., 1848). Distribution of ownership was composed by all the living siblings - members of the second generation of the Sinebrychoff family (List..., 1848).

Secondly, while the Sinebrychoffs were acknowledged masters of their business-governance-ownership and counsellors not only in commerce, but also in sustaining family longevity, brewers fulfilled the material part of production (Royal Swedish Law Court, 1795). Their experience, competences and willingness to serve social demands made the Sinebrychoff business flourishing. For instance, Nikolai's leading brewer Gottfried Putzscher was supposed "to brew the best beer from the above-mentioned malt that would match the good of the used bread" (Contract..., 1829). Pavel Sinebrychoff, in turn, gave his brewer Carl Kranz "full freedom to select workers in his brewery, and especially to select learners and arrange their future employment" (Contract..., 1853). All responsibilities of Carl Kranz had "to be in favour of his Master Sinebrychoff" (Contract..., 1853).

b) A value perspective of religious traditions and family respect:

Those people who belonged to the Church stayed with it until the last beat of their heart. In 1848, brothers Ivan and Pavel Sinebrychoff asked "obediently to pay the last honours to the deceased" and go to the Church of Holy Trinity to the liturgy and the memorial and then to the City Helsingfors Cemetery for the burial of the body - and from there to their family's house "to pay the respect of the deceased with the prayer" (Letter..., 1848).

Another remark accounts for the Sinebrychoff family's devoutness in the second generation. After the sudden death of her husband, Irina (a non-active owner a sister of Nikolai, Pavel and Ivan) went to the monastery to serve God, and she was ordained a nun. When a widowed woman had a certain estate, wealth and security of the family, and she gave herself to the Church, it might mean a lot in the religious sense. Her pious deed is a symbol of the true, genuine unity with religious and a desire to be loyal to her died husband till the end of her life. It is peculiar from the point of view that Russian laws of those times did not prohibit the second and further marriages.

Religious traditions were kept to the fullest not only by female members, and the role of God was unquestionable for male members as well. In order to shed the light onto this, a set of 10 historical letters of Ivan Sinebrychoff to his

brother Pavel Sinebrychoff and his wife Anna Sinebrychoff (Letters..., 1863-1865) is analysed in order to prove pious interfamily relations in the second generation of the Sinebrychoff family.

In order to make a bigger emphasis on Russia and its historical shift of values, the following ideas can be taken into consideration in the future research. There were foreigners at the Tsar's court in the times of Russian Empire that were architects, governesses, favourite's, wives and so on. A special attention in our future research can be devoted to the epochs of Peter I and Ekaterina II. During the first decades of XX century, traditions were changed by force due to the civil war between the Whites and the Reds. However, it is still worth researching what role they played in the transformation of Russian national culture and whether they had an imprint of the current generations of Russian people, in particular of those Russians who have their own family enterprises.

6 SUMMARY

In this particular paper, we have studied the inter-generational value shift of the successful merchant family – the Sinebrychoffs – that had its origins as in Russian Empire, Gavrilov Posad, as in the Grand Duchy of Finland. The entrepreneurial development of the Sinebrychoff family let the business and social sides of the Finnish state flourish during XIX and XX centuries. Family was innovative in opening up new directions of business, sustaining cultural well-being of their family and non-family workers as well as society in general.

The Sinebrychoff family members are worth researching in the context of their family values due to a number of remarkable family examples:

Anna Tichanoff (II generation) turned out to act in business partnership with her husband Pavel Sinebrychoff and to make the family business flourishing and Pavel – being one of the wealthiest Finnish citizens. Being already a widow, Anna rescued her son Nicolas from financial collapse taken him into personal guardianship. Carl von Wahlberg (III generation), a son of German priest, a writer, became the chair doctor of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Anna Nordenstamm stem from the influential St.-Petersburg kin: her family was in blood relations with the marshal Mannerheim family. Fanny Grahn was the prima of the Swedish theatre in Helsinki, helped her husband Paul to accumulate the greatest art collection in Scandinavia and pass it to Finnish state.

By studying the Sinebrychoff family, we have made a conceptual novice of the three-layer value cluster model that can be used as the value ECG of a family (and a non-family) business.

An emphasis on the collected primary and secondary data contributed to the formation of the qualitative and quantitative poles of analysis, where inter-generational comparisons were made and member- and gender-specific characteristics of the Sinebrychoff family were studied. Finally, sources of the inter-generational value shift in the Sinebrychoff family were studied. In general, this study represents a historical analysis of the entrepreneurial family from the value-generational perspective.

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