

The Institute of Socio-Economic Studies of Population
of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ISESP RAS)

Laboratory for Gender Studies



STATE OF RUSSIA'S FATHERS



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**Moscow
2016**

УДК 316
ББК 74.9

State of Russia's Fathers. — Moscow, 2016. — 110 p.

Featured Photo: *Nickolay Eremin*

ISBN 978-5-94101-314-2
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Foreword

The report on the state of Russia's fathers is based on gender approach to the study of social processes. This approach is not just a linguistic innovation. It marks the beginning of shift of the scientific paradigm in the analysis of social phenomena.

Introduction of a concept of gender meant a towering achievement in contemporary sociology. Determinacy of gender relations tint all aspects of daily living activity and well-being of people via introduction of certain differences between the categories of sex and gender.

Division of role functions by women and men leads to gender misbalance in the life of society accompanied with a whole range of negative effects and social challenges of modern era among which are:

- discriminatory practices in the world of work which lead to “glass ceiling” and horizontal segregation (“glass walls”);
- lower wages for women and hence their discrimination in pension provision shape a “women’s face” of poverty and therefore it leads to the direct conflict with a social state concept in Russia enshrined in the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation;
- displacement of women from the sphere of production and deterioration of material security contribute to gender misbalance in the households which brings added strain to family relations and undermine them;
- the most severe consequence of “victory” of gender patriarchal stereotypes turned out to be deterioration of physical, mental and social health that determine social standard and quality of living in the country.

Long-time developments show that today it would be wrong to associate the current situation in the country with profound crisis of families. Preference should be given to transformation of family structures that are subject to regular change with respect to time rather than a family crisis. In our opinion, today three main social and

demographic family models exist, namely: (a) patriarchal / traditional family; (b) child-centred / modern family; (c) spousal / postmodern family. They co-exist in the society in various proportions (50 per cent, 40 per cent and 10 per cent). The first model is gradually losing momentum; on the contrary, the third one is taking up positions. Sweeping changes in family functions and roles, as well as in the family life cycles and intra-familial relations, have taken place due to social and economic transformations.

This report has been prepared due to the international cooperation of the ISESP RAS with the following organizations:

- Men for Gender Equality, Sweden;
- Promundo Institute, the USA;
- MenEngage Global Alliance;
- MenCare Campaign.

The empirical data presented in the report resulted from three studies funded by Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, SIDA and conducted in the Republic of Karelia, Russian Federation in 2015–2016.

Staff members of the following institutions and agencies have been involved in the survey based on the Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Centre of RAS:

- Administration of the municipal unit Medvezhiegorsk municipal district;
- Administration of Sortavala municipal district;
- Municipal State-Funded Institution “Integrated Social Service Center “Nadezhda”;
- Sortavala Municipal District Interregional Public Organization “Women’s Council “Nadezhda”;
- Women’s Council “Nadezhda” (Sortavala);
- Ministry of Social Welfare, Labour and Employment of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk;
- LLC “INVITRO SPB”, Petrozavodsk;
- Petrozavodsk State University;
- The Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Centre of RAS.

The first survey conducted in 2015 was based on the questionnaire constructed by Promundo Institute within the framework of IMAGES (The International Men & Gender Equality Survey) and

adjusted to a national context by the Russian study team. The key issue of the survey has been the quality of relations between women and men in registered or unregistered marriages. A representative sample was designed that included 789 men and 417 women (total number of respondents is 1,206) aged 18–49 years. 85.6 per cent of respondents are Russian, 7.4 per cent are the Karelians and 7 per cent are representatives of different nationalities. In addition, the qualitative examination was conducted. Ten in-depth interviews with men of various ages and marital statuses were conducted within the framework of qualitative examination.

The second survey focused on the issues of intergenerational relations within families and interiorization of parents' models of behaviour was conducted in 2015. 1,005 respondents were interviewed, among which 360 men and 645 women aged 18–49 years. The questionnaire was designed by a team of scholars of the ISESP RAS.

The third survey focused on a father's role in Russian families was conducted in May–July, 2016. A representative sample included 1,000 fathers aged 18–49 years. 88 per cent of respondents are Russian, 9.2 per cent are the Karelians, Belarusians and the Ukrainians. 2.8 per cent of respondents represent other nationalities. The survey was conducted in urban and rural areas. The questionnaire was designed by a team of scholars of ISESP RAS.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official views of any of its affiliated organizations.

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Introduction

It is our understanding that the role of fathers in child rearing has been underrated and not been properly recognised particularly in terms of the early childhood. Needless to say that the key role of fathers in gender equality and the empowerment of women is neglected. We endorse the view that equitable fathers will likely transmit these values to their children, families and society.

We hope that this study will fill the gap in the research on men's role in child rearing and on men's involvement in family life in Russia. The data included in this research show conclusively that major changes aimed at the formation of involved fatherhood and at encouraging fathers to contributing to personal fulfillment of next generations are to be introduced in the society. Our particular expectations deal with the impact of the report including results of the survey on awareness of an essential function of fathers in terms of improving life quality of men and attainment of life purpose. Men who are involved in daily care work and who report close emotional connections with their children live longer, are less likely to abuse drugs, are more likely to live a healthy lifestyle. Men's participation as fathers positively affects the lives of men, prevent them from risky and asocial behaviours and makes their life happy and meaningful. In Russia, it is crucial to be aware of this relationship as there is a wide gender gap in the indicators of life expectancy at birth caused by weakened vitality of men in the country. Women live 10–12 years longer than men; mortality rate is still higher among working-age male population.

In October, 2016 the National Strategy of Action for Women 2017–2022 was adopted. The Strategy is aimed at realization of equal rights and freedoms, providing equal opportunities for women in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, as well as international obligations of the Russian Federation under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The Strategy has also been based on fundamental provisions of the Beijing Platform for Action. According to the Strategy, in contemporary Russian society people do not have the attitudes

based on patriarchal stereotyped images of a man as head of household and a woman as a housewife; the issues of men's involvement in care work and child rearing are considered in the society. The document also emphasizes that formation of new values will not immediately lead to a more equal division of responsibilities. In addition, the Strategy also emphasizes the importance of promoting measures on combining professional and family duties. According to the document, there is a demand in state policy-making in the social area focused on families and family lifestyle, as well as on the enhancement of a role of men as fathers and caregivers.

A section on combating stereotypes regarding social roles of men and women has been introduced into the National Strategy of Action for Women. The action in this area will seek to promote gender equality awareness; create favourable conditions for eliminating discriminatory barriers in various spheres of life, etc.

The mechanisms of the strategy implementation will include regular monitoring of the situation in the area of equal rights of women and men, adjustment of policies in the field of women's human rights and the advancement of scientific research in the area of promoting equality between women and men (gender studies).

Chapter 1

Gender Relations and State of Russia's Families

Today traditional family models based on various forms of gender hierarchy are being destroyed all over the world. In different countries this process occurs at different pace with various effects. Patriarchy family has been replaced by modern family where mutual obligations of spouses are close to parity, with relaxed gender control. Family structure consists of relations between a husband and a wife, and relations between parents and children upon reaching their age of majority and separation from parents. Gender relations within families can be based either on a traditional pattern when a husband is a breadwinner and a wife stays at home and takes care of the household or on patterns of “a household with two salaries” / “a partnership family”. As more women obtain employment and reach a higher position in different areas of public life, family as a public institution is getting less analogous to traditional models.

Russia is one of relatively few countries where modernization processes of the family institution are one hundred years old. Crash of hierarchical structures caused by socialist transformations could not but make an impact on family. However, a major goal of liberation of women from power of men, be it a father or a husband, within the institution of the family was the need in labour force for industrialization and other purposes of construction of socialism. Nevertheless, these factors did not liberate women from household duties related to child birth, as well as housekeeping and care work. Ultimately, “a working mother’s contract” was introduced. It involved a double burden of employment outside the home, unpaid household labour and childbirth. When entering into a marriage, young women and men continued to consider family and child birth to be a top priority issue as in the public spotlight of the Soviet period they were still viewed as “a woman’s natural mission” and her social duty to the country.

Today the previous paradigm is still making an impact on women and men though it was filed as a history after collapse of the Soviet regime. A choice between employment and child birth became a space for individual strategy.

A growing number of scholars draw the conclusion that nature of various sociodemographic processes can be investigated at the level of family viewed as a holistic organism related by blood ties as well as by other life manifestations.

Today one cannot indicate a single normative model of a family. In recent decades in Russia, a universal Soviet family model (“a working mother”) was replaced by a set of family models. Young people seem to be more open to experimentation in private life.

In today’s society, marriage and family are illustrative of variable-based characteristics of gender interaction. Evolving gender relations in the direction of equality contributes to the rise of similar tendencies in transformation of the family institution. In the present context, the phenomenon taken for family crisis is in fact a transformation of the traditional patriarchal model. Despite the contradictory process of its withering-away, the institution of family is developing under the circumstances of formation of gender partnership and tolerance that can be a prerequisite to building of harmonious society where all persons are endowed with equal rights and equal opportunities regardless of their gender.

According to Dr. Rimashevskaya, family is a junctional cell of a social organism and fundamental socio-economic group unit of society. Along with procreation, i.e. physical and social reproduction of population, family determines life quality and characteristics of each citizen including her or his health potential, educational background, standard living conditions, balanced diet, as well as justice, gender equality, public activity, dignity and security [1]. It stands to reason that it is the structure of primary socialization within family determines norms, values and models of behaviour of a person in society that are replicated from parental families to reproductive families and social relations in general. They are included in the structure of collective memory and passed on across the generations. A view of family life can be considered and reproduced in different ways. It depends largely upon the cultural and political contexts. The family is subject to external impact and to changes over time caused by societal trends, particularly in terms of gender relations, historical per-

spective, religious views, short-term political priorities, cultural characteristics, and individual preferences.

In due time in his theoretical works a well-known Russian scholar and civic leader Maxim Kovalevsky, husband of Sofia Kovalev-skaya, adhered to a principle of genetic sociology, a science focused on the issues of formation of social life and social institutions, namely family, property, religion, state, the moral (morality), and right. Taking the cue from Morgan and Engels, he recognized the existence of matriarchate, or more precisely a matriarchal family that preceded the patriarchal and individual form of family.

Thus, in the course of discussion with his former mentor Henry Maine [2] as to whether patriarchal family relations prevailed in the Ancient Russia (Rus), in his famous work “Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia” [3], Kovalevsky stated that the East Slavs’ community lacked a family model based on marriage between a husband and a wife. Even within the framework of matriarchate, women did not occupy a dominant position in the family and the society, and they did not enjoy equal rights with men. Clear indicators of fatherhood were not determined and therefore a maternal brother or an uncle headed the family but not the husband and the father. Nevertheless, according to Kovalevsky, it did not prevent women from possessing a certain independence. In Ancient Russia, many women that were called “Russian Amazons” by the researcher had a right to choose husband. Later on, as the model of family relations was evolving into an established couple, as well as in the course of property acquisition, the family model was transforming into a patriarchal family. When transition from hunting life to agricultural ended, movable property considered family property if the object was not personal. Private property could be established only in relation to the objects, whose production was a result of personal efforts of individuals. It developed very slowly as the “most primitive communism” was disappearing.

According to Kovalevsky, the period of formation of family property coincides with the emergence of the patriarchal family. That started at a time when “only land remains undivided of all nature objects”. Thus, Kovalevsky also declared transition from matriarchal family to the patriarchal family model as the process determined by emerge of private property.

According to Kovalevsky, the third model of the family is an individual family that replaced the patriarchal model in the course of his-

torical development. That was a voluntary union where the members were closely linked, and had their obligations. Relations between a husband and a wife tended to a certain degree of equality; all families were subject to control of the state and the judiciary.

The scientist argued that modern family is a result of progressive movement of family for a number of centuries from arbitrary power of father and husband expressed in replacement of the concept of unlimited power and absolute right to the mutual agreement on the reciprocity of rights and responsibilities of spouses. Kovalevsky also stated that the expansion of wife's rights and interests of children, as well as limiting arbitrary power of husband did not lead to death of the family. It only increased its moral level.

A civilized structure of modern family provided both spouses with the opportunities for full development of abilities and a new impetus was based on mutual respect, daily cooperation, and moral support. Such family became the best school for children, because it had a gift to teach by example and thus developed both mental qualities and mental abilities. "The family becomes a great school of altruism, which will revolutionize the world" [3]. As is evident from the quotation, when describing individual family Kovalevsky based himself on the idealized concept of personal relationships still remaining an exception among those living under common patriarchal rules which used to guide most of families living in the XVIIIth — early XXth centuries.

According to Kovalevsky, violence against women and their subordinate status in the family are characteristics of the societies where marriages are based on "purchase and sell" and trafficking in women, and in other societies natural gender equality prevails. Idealization of the family structure that was developed in the period after the primitive-communal system did not slip the critics' attention. For instance, M. Kosven criticized Kovalevsky's idealization of the patriarchal and bourgeois family though equality in terms of the right to property or other human rights had not been established within this family structure.

Thus, historical analysis brings us to the conclusion that, on one hand, patriarchal views held by many scientists were common for that period. On the other hand, new conceptual approaches to determination of the role and status of such a crucial social group as women were emerging. It is also possible to observe how domestic violence supported by patriarchal concepts was embodied in the

social norms, for instance in *Domostroi* (Domestic Order), a XVIth-century Russian set of household rules, or a “rule of thumb” law in England that limited the maximum thickness of a stick with which it was permissible for a man to beat his wife [4].

Evolving family relationship caused by changes in societal attitudes towards the roles of women and men in family and society resulted in transformation of social norms. Contemporary Russian scholars identify three main forms of monogamous families: patriarchal (traditional) family, child-centered (modern) family and spousal (postmodern) family. Today these forms are co-existing. Patriarchal family as the most archaic model is marked by the domination of man. This family structure is based on the rigid age and gender-based hierarchy. Evolving women’s activism and women’s movement in different countries led to liberation of women and hence to the emergence of a trend of egalitarian relations in the family. Along with that, the process of social emancipation of children could be observed that resulted in the emergence of a child-centered family structure. The main task of such family is ensuring favorable conditions for raising children and the best possible opportunities for education of children, as well as family preservation for the sake of children. These factors caused the new type of relations between genders and different generations.

According to social scientist S. Golod, family can be represented in three ways: authoritarian, ambivalent, and quasi-autonomous [5]. The authoritarian type of family is marked by domination of the older generation; children are means for the parents’ self-actualization in authoritarian families while in ambivalent families children experience waves of warmth and cold on the part of parents. The quasi-autonomous family is a transitional structure from the child-centered model to the autonomous child development.

According to social scientist A. Kharchev, family is a “historically specific system of relationships between spouses, between parents and children; it is a small group, whose members are related by marriage, family relations, common household and mutual moral responsibility the social need for which is due to the need of society in physical and spiritual reproduction of population” [6]. This definition is considered the nearest neighbor concept of the family in modern sociology.

Evolving models of family relationships would presume transition from authoritarian family structures to the models of cooperation

within families. In the modern world women and men have rights and duties towards previous generations which bring about changes in role division and family relations. For instance, in modern families, particularly in younger families, both spouses often have to work in order to fulfill all their needs. Thus, imposing the responsibility for well-being of family solely on a man may be in a sense considered a legacy from the traditional patriarchal family structure and hence might cause men's social frustration in case they are unable to meet such expectations.

Men who follow this model will try to overwork under the circumstances of steady stress. That will subject their health to risk and deprive them of a major emotional experience related to the involved fatherhood and father-child relationship at all stages of a child's life. On the other hand, view of women's gender role based on their reproductive function and performing household work deprive women of personal fulfilment in the labour market as well as in the community as a whole and that may cause depression and other problems.

Chapter 2

Methodological Approach and Empirical Data Related to Research on Fatherhood Issues in Russia

*Becoming a father is quite easy. Being a
father, on the other hand, it is difficult.*

Wilhelm Busch,
German poet

Family studies fall into the category of sociodemographic issues that are still relevant to this day. Furthermore, in recent years state and society put more focus on them. Researchers from different branches of science such as demography, economics, sociology, psychology, etc., show an increased interest in household and family studies and it results in exploring specific aspects of the development and functioning of the family.

According to Dr. Rimashevskaya, family still remains an undeniable universal human value, a translator of cultural heritage, national traditions and ethical norms the significance of which is increasing today in terms of an individual person as well as the entire country [16].

Fatherhood is a problem of a holistic nature and its understanding is closely connected with the issues of the family, family values, traditions, upbringing and cultural education of the younger generation. A specific characteristic of a family concept is involved in an opportunity of presenting its holistic nature based on harmony of male and female principles.

Regarding the origin of State, in his work “Politics” a IVth-century BC Greek philosopher Aristotle noted that patriarchal

family was a primal form of human community with the absolute power of father over his wives, children and slaves. Settlements consisted of families and states consisted of settlements. According to Aristotle, fathers were teaching, mothers were raising children and hence the author attributed the crucial role in the formation of a child's personality to the father. Daily emotional communication with children was a duty of women [17]. In the course of family research the Western historians and social scientists came to the conclusion that in the recent century fatherhood regulations and practices were exposed to continuous change as fathers were increasingly involving in child rearing and care work.

In the first half of the XXth century father was, above all, earner (breadwinner), which in terms of Parsons was attributed to instrumental function to provide children financially and to control their behaviour, while mothers were responsible for child rearing and managing a household [18].

In the 1960-s scholars also assigned educational functions to the father who is an expressive author of the private sphere focused on social and emotional needs of his children. Being an "instrumental leader", the father was involved in daily life of his children.

According to T.A. Gurko, parenting stereotypes due to which women are in a less advantageous position compared to men in terms of their status in society, power and access to resources, are more persistent in society. However, these stereotypes while causing problems in women's professional life also bring about obstacles to men in taking on the role of husband and father [19].

Women have certain advantages in terms of parental feelings as they bear a child for nine months, then they deliver a baby and summon up all their spiritual strength for it. For this reason, to women childbirth is a special landmark that changes their consciousness and self-awareness. Parenting feelings are difficult to many modern men as they work hard coming back home late and always have important things to deal with. Fathers rarely see their children and therefore formation of a fatherly bond is overdue.

At the present stage of social development, transformations in all spheres of society are based on modernization of social pattern for which reason the family institution is in the search for the best possible forms of existence under new conditions. Society puts forward new demands in accordance with the realities of modern world

among which are high level of education, joint budgeting in family and performance of family duties by both spouses.

It results mainly in rapprochement of the men's and women's roles in family and society [20]. Traditional division of "fatherhood" and "motherhood" in modern family undergo dramatic transformations caused by economic, social and psychological reasons. Various models of parenting and spousal/partner relationships reveal new trends and become subjects of research for modern scientific organizations. In the 1960–1980-s in American and European scientific communities, a tendency to men's / fatherhood studies emerged. Shift in traditional gender norms and stereotypes in modern Russian society resulted in the interest to these issues.

The dominant approach to studying gender differences in family and society is the analysis or registration of some known good psychological and biological characteristics of women and men. However, social developments challenge traditional values and stereotypes, which result in emerging new types of relations between women and men, particularly within the family. The family is a natural environment for personal socialization and it is subject to the impact of an emerging new gender order. According to Igor Kon, breaking traditional gender order is natural and irreversible. It is caused not by feminism but by new technologies that make natural sex differences less important than before [21].

Until recently, traditional fathering model was prevailing. In this model, father is a breadwinner, personification of power, the supreme disciplinary authority, as well as a role model and an advisor in social life. In traditional society, the work of fathers is always in the public eye and the foundation of father's authority. Father was head of the family and a person who made all important decisions because he was the most experienced and competent family member. This fathering model, in one form or another, is common for societies where traditional economic activities still exist.

Transformations regarding fatherhood emerged in the 1960-s when the level of women's employment dramatically increased that caused changes in their life strategies and position in the family. In the former times, women were economically dependent upon their husbands, heads of the family and breadwinners, but in the 1960-s they started to take on responsibility for material security of the family.

Just within half a century women's traditional involvement in family duties and childrearing was combining with employment. Different scientists hold converse opinions on the nature of these changes in terms of transformation of the family institution.

A. Antonov, A. Borisov, V. Medkov and other scientists view changes in life cycle of the family as an expression of global crisis of family life style and the decline in the family as a social institution. Along with that, negative phenomena related to the failure to perform basic family duties are interpreted as mostly the expression of value crisis of the entire society but not just a crisis of a single institution.

Many scientists, namely N. Rimashevskaya, S. Golod, A. Vish-nevsky, and others, view transformation of the institution of family mainly as a positive process of "pluralistic" forms of family. According to Dr. Rimashevskaya, today in Russia, family situation is not devastating; it is changing and developing.

The concept of modernization in regards to family as a social institution came into use relatively recently. Despite that, today changes in the family and family relations are becoming a mass phenomenon. However, one cannot state in no uncertain terms that our society is modern or purely traditional. Women and men cease to be guided by patriarchal subordination and their emotional needs and personal endeavours are brought to the forefront [22].

Data of Russian research prove that a growing number of men focus on the egalitarian type of division of family roles. While trying to ensure financial stability for their families, with increasing frequency they are getting involved as fathers and caregivers providing their children with emotional support. Some men attend special training workshops together with their wives in order to learn how to behave during delivery. They try to find a maternity clinic that is friendly to fathers and comfortable for being with mother and baby in the first hours of the baby's life [23].

Caring father in the family is a warrant of its healthy performance. G. Andreyeva has aptly noted that, along with the current social transformations, a crucial meaning of fatherhood as a socially developed construct should be considered as well in terms of its historical, cultural and social components [24].

Exploring a phenomenon of fatherhood, I. Kletsina describes it as a social institution, with the system of rights, duties, social expectations, and requirements to a man as a parent, and rooted in culture

of regulatory system and family structure. Fatherhood, as well as motherhood, can be considered from two points of view: first, as a set of duties regarding a child's development, and as a part of personal fulfilment of men. These approaches are interrelated. They view this phenomenon in terms of its two functions. From the first point of view, it emphasizes the influence of father on child development and analysis of personal qualities of father. The main function is analysis of fatherhood in terms of personal fulfilment [25]. Due to its specific structure, fatherhood is related to performing certain function and therefore it is a systemic unit [26]. T. Arkhireeva also shares the view of systemic fathering and states that it is an open system that develops due to the interaction with environment [27]. Sevastyanova describes fatherhood as a system of relations between a man and a child that contributes to personal development and emotional well-being of both [28]. According to Tokareva, fatherhood is a psychological and educational activity of men regarding introduction of a child to social norms and demands [29].

The most comprehensive analysis of fathering in terms of personality psychology was conducted by Borisenko. According to the author, fatherhood is an individual, social and integral category of personality psychology. This characteristic is manifested in all spheres of human life and activity, and reflects stages of personal development. Each stage is related to evaluation and performance of the certain functions, namely functions of protection, discipline and socialization [30].

Fatherhood is the highest developmental level of a man; it is a set of practices related to child rearing.

In June 2015 a global campaign, MenCare published the report "State of the World's Fathers". The campaign was founded to engage men in positive parenting, equitable caregiving, violence prevention, and in maternal, new-born, and child health.

As a result of the research, the following conclusions were made:

- As men take on more caregiving, fathers' involvement affects children in much the same ways that mothers' involvement does. Fathers' involvement has been linked to the higher cognitive development and school achievement, better mental health for children.

- Involved fatherhood allows women and girls to achieve their full potential. By sharing the caregiving and domestic work, men support women's participation in the workforce and women's equality overall — now and in future generations.
- Involved fatherhood makes men happier and healthier. Men who are involved in meaningful ways with their children report this relationship to be one of their most important sources of well-being and happiness.
- Men's involvement in caregiving is increasing in some parts of the world, but nowhere does it equal that of women. Women now make up 40 percent of the global formal workforce, yet they also continue to perform two to 10 times more caregiving and domestic work than men do.
- Fathers want to spend more time with their children. Many fathers around the world say they want to be more involved in the lives of their children. In the United States, 46 percent of fathers said they were not spending enough time with their children, compared with 23 percent of mothers.
- Men's participation is needed in order to ensure that all children are wanted children.
- Globally, about 85 million pregnancies were unintended in 2012, representing 40 percent of all pregnancies.
- Engaging men early on in pre-natal visits, in childbirth, and immediately after the birth of a child can bring lasting benefits.

Studies find that fathers who are more involved in child care tend to have close connections with the community, and hence are less likely to abuse drugs and perpetrate domestic violence.

Fatherhood is analysed on the ground of the universal and equally the most changeable aspect of masculinity. It regards to a social institution (fatherhood) and specific practices (fathering) as well as male identity including a self-concept.

Fatherhood is a social institution that incorporates norms, values, societal interpretation and discourses regarding being a father. It affects rights, duties and the responsibility assigned to the status of father based on legislation and informal regulations regarding child custody, child support, etc. Performance of fatherly duties, i.e. actual conduct of fathers, include their interaction with partners and children, for example, the involvement of fathers in pre-natal visits (ultrasound scanning), child care, upbringing and filing a paternity

leave application. Legal framework for fatherhood is provided for by Russian legislation. In particular, according to Article 256, Chapter 41 of the Labour Code of the Russian Federation dated 30.12.2001 (The Labour Code of the Russian Federation, 2001) and Article 6.5 of the Federal Law “On Compulsory Social Insurance Against Temporary Disability and Maternity” from 29.12.2006 (N 255-FZ), the father has the right to paid paternity leave, as well as the right to “social benefits in case of temporary incapacity for work and care for a sick family member.” [31].

Fatherhood and fatherly practice are closely intertwined. There is no doubt that fathering culture make an impact on fathers’ view of their roles and their interaction with their children, i.e. fulfilling of their fatherly functions. However, norms, values and attitudes do not always comply with the behaviour. Studies show that fathering, i.e. involvement of men in child rearing and care work have changed less than attitudes and norms excluding a number of fathers from the educated middle class and Nordic countries, for instance [32]. Real fathering does not necessarily coincide with ruling ideology or public discussions on fatherhood.

I.S. Kletisna [33] has identified the following models of the fathers’ role behaviour:

- traditional father of the “old times” who takes care of his family as a leader;
- “absent father” (that is missing, particularly in psychological terms, he can be physically present, but is not associated with paternity).

Models of paternal behaviour within the new model of masculinity:

- “Responsible father” is actively engaged in the process of caring for children and their upbringing, however, the contribution of fathers in children is not as significant as those of mothers;
- “New father” as an evolving type of men (“new father”), who not only takes on the responsibility for his family, but shares household and child care duties in regards to their development and education on equal terms with his wife.

I. Kon noted that fatherhood as an indicator of masculinity is not only universal but also a most changeable [34].

Masculinity is a set of genetically predetermined mental characteristics that are formed under the influence of socially acceptable norms. Masculinity can be defined as the stable standardized set of patterns of maleness established by a certain entity as a norm [35].

There are several approaches toward the analysis of interrelationship and interference of fatherhood and masculinity. Masculinity is differentiated as a male gender status. Status of the father means being a biological father, a stepfather, adoptive or foster father, legal guardian, or a man having some connection to children — as teachers, coaches, or priests. Male gender status is related to biological differences between women and men and defined as a social status of men in specific societies, as well as his functions, privileges and duties [36].

An Australian sociologist, a masculinity researcher R.W. Connell, recognizes multiple masculinities that vary across time and culture, which include hegemonic masculinity [37]. Conceptually, hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice that allowed men's dominance over women and subordinate men. It suggested a number of characteristics that include: men's dominance over women, violence and aggression, emotional restraint, courage, toughness, risk-taking, adventure and thrill-seeking, and competitiveness [38].

E. Meshcherkina believes that a set of archetypal roles for men is actually invariable for many cultures; they are a warrior, a pioneer, expert, master, and breadwinner [39]. Scenarios of realization of these roles are not always completed successfully and scientists identified them by the term “failed masculinity” [40].

Psychologist J.H. Pleck identified six indicators of relations between masculinity and fatherhood, namely: (1) gender differences in upbringing; (2) relationship between presence of father and child development; (3) role of father's involvement in child's life in terms of child personality development; (4) impact of parenting on self-assessment of one's masculinity; (5) uniqueness of the father's contribution to child development; (6) relationship between a type of father's masculinity and child personality development. Six issues described above have been presented in academic papers in different ways. Sometimes scholars, American scholars in particular, reduce all problems of teenagers to the lack of father in the family. Thus, male gender status determines fathering practices directly and

indirectly via formation of fatherhood concept and potential fatherly status in society [41].

As one of the first American masculinity researchers Goldberg notes, traditional masculinity is rather a psychological defence action than a natural process.

Masculinity studies in the former Soviet Union became possible as late as in the 1990-s after the launch of institutionalization of gender studies. Sociologist N. Tartakovskaya conducted one of the first research on masculinity and found that “the Soviet type of masculinity was formed under the strong influence of the hyper-masculinity military state, aimed at self-realization of men in terms of serving their country which implied the unconditional and selfless participation in the implementation of all national projects” [42].

A major and fundamental characteristic of a “real man” implied permanent willingness to sacrifice his life for his country or the values supported by official ideology. Male role models depicted on pages of Russian newspapers in the 1990-s were the men who were perished, doomed or ready to sacrifice their lives [43].

Studies show that alcohol abuse is a crucial component of the Russian male gender culture which is common for the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Scientists presented a range of scenarios that tend to lead men to alcoholism, among which are life style, impact of cultural environment and personal qualities [44].

I. Tartakovskaya emphasizes that excessive drinking reinforces the image of “authentic masculinity” for as long as it affects their careers and private lives which is depicted in some popular Soviet and Russian movies, for instance, “The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath”, or “Peculiarities of the National Hunt”, etc.

R. Brannon [45] was one of the first to put forward four main components of male roles, i.e, the socially prescribed conditions of “actualized masculinity”: (1) the need to be different from women; (2) the need to be better than others; 3) the need to be independent and self-contained; 4) the need to have power over others.

According to Tartakovskaya, these factors contain characteristics of hegemonic masculinity and that is different from dominant masculinity in the Slavic society. The post-Soviet version of the failed masculinity mostly relates to the lack of positive versions of a legitimate masculinity scenario.

Traditional criteria of a “real man” have been considerably undermined by the Soviet and late Soviet experience when the state deprived citizens of an opportunity of being independent and autonomous. The ideology of collectivism frequently resisted personal ambitions and the need in leadership. The main criterion of masculinity for these men is difference from women and this “remaining” masculinity is determined rather via denial (“a man is not a woman”) than via availability of necessary intrinsic characteristics.

Transformation in the sphere of gender relations that has been taking place in recent decades contribute to formation of the model of new masculinity including features of advanced masculinity. The new model is not as distinct and specific as the traditional model while it contains more variations and peculiarities. The main characteristic of the new model is encouraging men to self-realization in profession and family [46].

Igor Kon asserted that children raised by caring fathers tend to be more emotionally stable. These children adapt better to the outside world and get along well with their peers. Men of this type were able to overcome the attitude claiming that involved fatherhood is incompatible with masculinity [46].

In recent years Russian social scientists and experts in gender studies have thoroughly studied fatherhood in terms of masculinity, among them: T. Gurko, M. Malysheva, Zh. Chernova, E. Vovk, N. Zorkaya, O. Presnyakova, I. Rybalko, T. Avdeeva, O. Bezrukova, E. Chikalova, O. Kuchmayeva, A. Kuramshev, A. Temkina, A. Kletsina, A. Zvonareva, M. Eremin, S. Zakharov, etc. Kon emphasized that “a “real man” today is not only the “silovik”, but also a scientist, engineer, artist, poet, lyricist, and a tender father, and different activities involve unequal psychological characteristics” [47].

Most scholars believe that it is the birth of a child and relations with the child that give men a chance to self-enhancement and further socialization [48]. A specific example of emergence of caring fathers in Russia is the expansion of Papa Schools in the North-Western Federal District of the Russian Federation, mainly in St. Petersburg, Novgorod and Petrozavodsk. Papa School as a form of social work with fathers in terms of training them on conscious parenting arouses much interest. [49]. Papa Schools were founded in Sweden and then the idea of teaching men to be fathers gained traction in other countries. Papa Groups or Papa Schools is a new

phenomenon in our country. For instance, in St. Petersburg Papa Schools were launched nine years ago.

© Sergey Zakharov



Papa School Workshop in St. Petersburg Jewish Welfare Center Hesed Avraham.

According to S. Zakharov, development of the idea of involved fatherhood helped to create a unique mode of work with men, future and young fathers. Papa School activities are based on the principles of simplicity and on increased information value. A specific topic is usually picked up for each session of papa schools. It helps participants to facilitate discussion, and a facilitator is able to respond to the needs of the entire group and each participant.

Papa group is a voluntary association of men that get together in order to discuss their problems in regards to expecting a baby or dealing with new-borns. Authors of this work with fathers state several motives encouraging fathers to attend group sessions that are the inability to share their fears and doubts regarding child birth, or the ideas related to “proper” behaviour of fathers in interaction with a child, as well as seeking advice of experienced fathers in regards to upbringing of a son or a daughter, etc. [50].

For instance, S. Kazansky notes that the fundamental principle of papa groups is provision of men with the opportunity of sharing their problems with the other group participants and receiving psychological support. The second crucial task is training men on involved parenting and equal relations with a partner while focusing on interests of the child. Meanwhile, intermediate problems are to be resolved, namely manifestation of significance of involved fatherhood; contributing to a better understanding between partners, and building relationship, as well as to equality; training fathers on birth attendance; focusing fathers on child's interests; training fathers on involvement in the first weeks and months after the birth of a child; assisting in understanding of a child right to the attachment to both a mother and father [50].

According to N. Mikheeva, parental competence is a system of knowledge, attitudes and skills that ensure effective interaction with a child [51]. The main indicator of effective and competent parental behaviour is ensuring a positive course of cognitive, social and personal development of a child [52].

O. Bezrukova notes that most participants of papa schools are the men whose attitudes toward family are more equitable than those of average men. Majority of these men have a college education and nearly all participants have jobs [53].

According to J.H. Pleck, children of involved fathers have a high cognitive competence, increased empathy, decreased stereotypical attitudes, and an integral control locus [54]. According to N. Shvedova, all measures of social policy focused on involved fatherhood and active designing of an image of the a "new" father — a caring and loving father — contributed to increased manifestation of new parenting patterns by men [55]. A differential characteristic of such fathers' behaviours is the realization of egalitarian principle in all aspects of parenting. Such fathers maintain permanent contact with their children and spend much time with them. Fathers are involved in all children's activities; they play with children and help them with their homework [56].

"New fatherhood" becomes one of the ways of men's emancipation, and the liberation from the often imposed social roles. In addition, it allows them to change themselves internally, overcoming external barriers of social stereotypes [57].

Chapter 3

State of Russia's Fathers Today (the case of the Republic of Karelia)

In Russia, fatherhood is a multifaceted phenomenon. While in some European countries, as well as in the USA, Australia and Canada it is possible to define a certain vector of predetermined changes in terms of transition from one state of fatherhood to another (from authoritarian style to egalitarian fatherhood), the definite vector of changes is absent in our country. One can rather determine doubling or tripling fathering models on the opposite poles of the continuum. Due to the rise of ethnic and religious traditions, a proportion of fathers that would like to raise their sons to be soldiers or macho is increasing. Authoritarianism, control and distance still dominate in male parenting. On the other hand, in urban centres “individualized” fatherhood that was described by Russian sociologist Igor Kon is getting a widespread use among young fathers. Such fathers view parenting as an opportunity of their creative self-realization. In their children, they value mostly their autonomous personality and do their best to establish conditions for children’s self-expression. Therefore, traditional gender parenting practices are inefficient. A boy should not necessarily fight for his leadership and a girl is not expected to manifest her femininity and focus on the role of a future mother or a wife.

Individualized fatherhood has just started to make its way and it is common among well — educated men with independent sources of income. Most of them are self-employed and just a limited number of these men work in public sector.

Women still spend twice or three times as much time on children’s upbringing than men do. Exception are the families where both partners / spouses work; women are also well educated, and their professional claims are highly competitive with the men’s claims. Men spend more time on care work in such families. Increased amount of care work on the part on men is necessary due

to the drop in assistance of relatives and scarce aid on the part of the state.

Russia still faces a lot of problems in the area of providing assistance to multi-child families. In fact, most of such families live below the poverty line. The situation is equally difficult in families with disabled children. However, the situation of even greater concern is that even families with two employed parents often live below the poverty line and children's upbringing is a problem to these parents. Along with that, due to low birth rates the priority of national population policy is an increasing number of births. ISESP RAS is taking a crucially different view on this issue and hence it puts forth a concept of "childhood preservation". The issue is that health potential of the born generation and its parents should be developed and that will inevitably contribute to spiritual, mental and physical development of living children. In the future, it would reinforce genetic resources in the country.

This report includes a set of recommendations on how to create a child-friendly society and at the same time to avoid marginalization of childhood. The report brings up a question on the paramount importance of achieving life-work balance not just by mothers but fathers as well.

Results of the research based on the adapted survey IMAGES conducted in November-December 2015 within the framework of the international project “Men and Gender Equality” (IMAGES)

Summary of the sample characteristics

Total number of respondents is 789 men aged 18–49 years, among them 639 men are from urban areas (81 per cent) and 150 men are from rural areas (19 per cent). 59.3 p.c. of respondents are young fathers aged 35. The fathers aged 36 and 49 comprise 40.7 p.c. Marital status of respondents: 56.3 per cent are married, 1.3 per cent are widowers, 14 per cent of men are divorced, and 28.7 per cent have never been married. (See Figure 3.1.1. and Figure 3.1.2.).

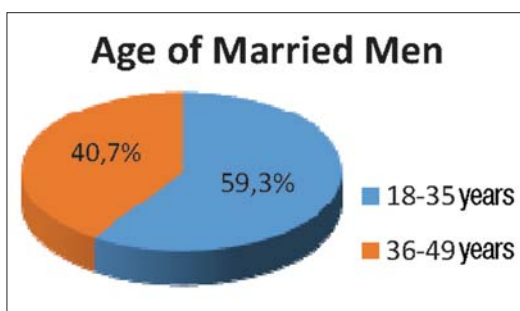


Figure. 3.1.1. Age of men.

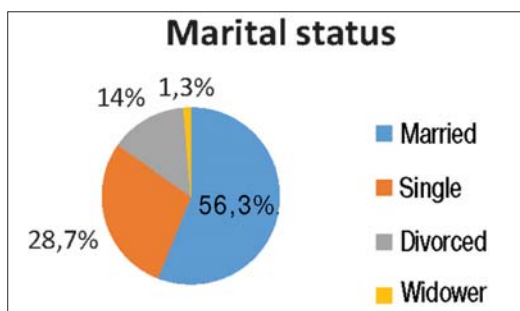


Figure 3.1.2. Marital status of men.

54 per cent of respondents have children of their own, of which 54% have a single child, 37,5% have two children, 6,5% have three children and only 2 per cent have four children. Fathers with three children and more children are the exception. Large majority of the families (91,5%) remain small. (See Figures 3.1.3. и 3.1.4.).

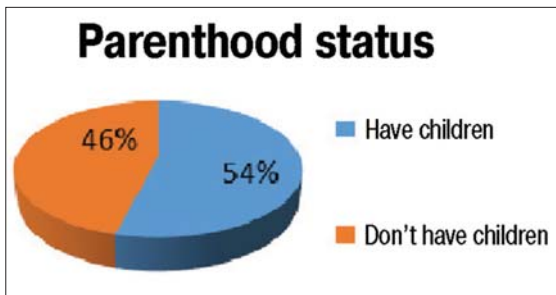


Figure 3.1.3. Proportion of men that have children.

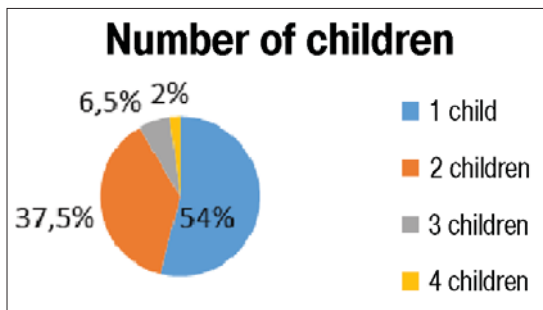


Figure 3.1.4. Classification of men by number of children.

Small family size directly correlates with a small number of family members sharing a household. 46.3 per cent of respondents have 2–3 members in the family; 48 per cent have 4–5 members in the family, and only 6.6 per cent of respondents have six or more family members. 66.7 per cent of families are nuclear families including a parent couple and their children, and such families prevail. 23.8 per cent of families share household with their parents. 4.5 per cent of families have children of a wife's previous marriage. Less than 1 per cent of men have children of the previous marriage. (See Fig. 3.1.5).

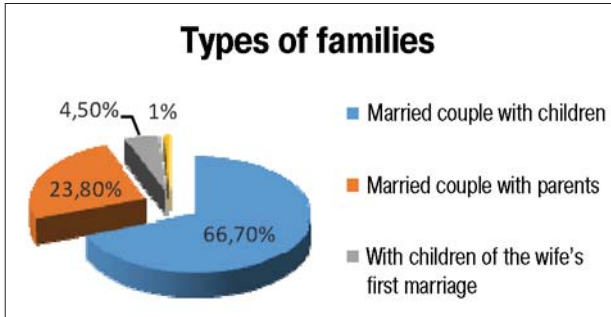


Figure 3.1.5. Types of respondents' families.

Involvement of fathers in prenatal period. Studies find that fathers are more engaged in the lives of wanted children. According to the survey data, nearly three-fourths of fathers (73.4 per cent) said about their joint wish with a partner to have a child (this refers to the youngest child). Only 8.8 per cent of men were bound to acknowledge their unwillingness to have a child; other respondents did not give their answers to this question.

Only 58.9 per cent of respondents stated that their wives or partners did not have an abortion. It means that during the entire marital cycle the rest 41 per cent of partners had an abortion. The answers to the previous questions of the survey prove this probability. 49 per cent of men were involved in joint decision-making in terms of women's reproductive choices and 38 per cent of men paid for abortion. Also, the data of in-depth interviews show that men express opposite opinions on abortion as on a widespread phenomenon in Russian society.

International research finds that the "quality" of fatherhood depends heavily on men's involvement in pre-natal phase, in child-birth, and immediately after the birth of a child. In Russia early fathering gained currency in recent 10–15 years due to establishing papa schools in reproductive health clinics, private clinics and some civil society organizations, as well as due to media publications, television shows and the information posted online. Younger generation of men born in the 1980-s and later are more scrupulous about child's health from the first months of a partner's pregnancy. They find it very important to be present during the birth. Early involvement of fathers

is the foundation of fathers' emotional contact with their children and reciprocal attachment.

Prenatal visits. 14 per cent of men were involved in prenatal visits on a regular basis during their wives' latest pregnancy. 60 per cent of respondents were involved in several pre-natal visits. Along with that one-fourth of men have never been involved in pre-natal vi-sits and never accompanied their wives to reproductive health clinic.

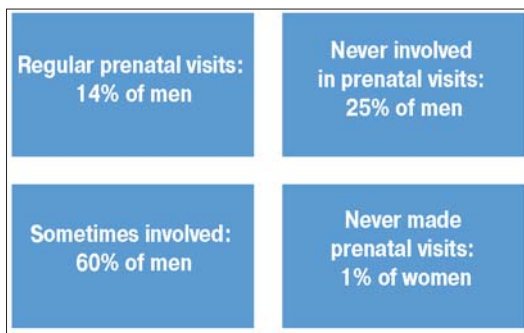


Figure 3.1.6. Men involved in prenatal visits.

As the data show, most men occasionally attend reproductive health clinics and only one in seven men do it on a regular basis.

Involvement of fathers during the birth of a child is still very limited. According to the survey data, only 16 per cent of men were present in a maternity ward and 16.4 per cent of men were expecting in the clinic outside the admission department. Another one third of fathers, or 34.8 per cent of respondents, were staying at home; 26.2 per cent of fathers were at work. 6.7 per cent of respondents were out of town or lived elsewhere during the birth of a child. While comparing the data with those of the European countries, Russian men are underrepresented among fathers who wish to see how their children arrive.

Proportions of men involved in pre-natal visits and birth attendance on a regular basis are much the same: 14 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. The data imply cultural and psychological restrictions that prevent men from being more involved in child care. One should also bear in mind conservative attitudes of a major part of

women and health care staff who are not always friendly to fathers. This is caused by crowded health centres or lack of the infrastructure to enable privacy for other labouring women. Health care staff members are not always trained on how to encourage involvement of fathers in the maternity ward. In addition, in some maternity departments men have to pay for their presence during the birth that is hardly affordable for all.

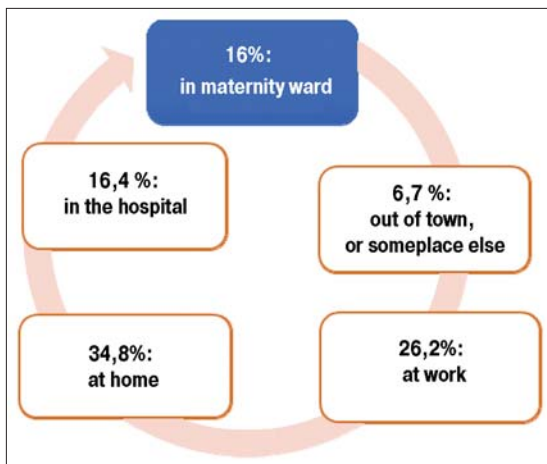


Figure 3.1.7. Whereabouts of fathers during the partners' childbirth.

In any case, only the seventh part of Russian men meet the two above-mentioned criteria in terms of involved fatherhood model. According to male respondents, 20 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women do not want husbands to be present during the birth of a child. Only 3.3 per cent of men were refused the permission to enter a maternity ward; another 4.7 per cent of men confessed that they had a fear of being present during the birth of a child. Only 13 per cent of men believe that involvement of fathers during the birth of a child is uncustomary in Russian society.

Maternity / paternity leave. Early childhood is a crucial phase of socialization in terms of the further mental and physical child development. In traditional societies, fathers perform functions of security, protection and control concerning children aged up to three

years. However, in view of recent socio-demographic and medical research, it was found that this set of functions is insufficient to encourage a child to realizing her or his fullest potential. Children are in need of emotional bond with a father and of his daily care as much as that on the part of the mother. Men who are involved in fathering from the child's earliest years report this relationship to be one of their most important sources of well-being and happiness. Studies find that fathers who report close connections with their children from their earliest years tend to have more opportunities for self-realization; they live longer, have fewer health problems, are more likely to lead a healthy life and avoid substance abuse.

Law of the Russian Federation includes provision on unpaid parental leave for new fathers after the birth of a child. The leave of five calendar days is granted upon a written request, and it is provided for by Article 128 of Labour Code of the Russian Federation. The duration of a leave without pay can also be determined under the agreement between an employee and an employer. The employer can grant the new father a paid leave in the cases provided for by collective agreement. The employer may not refuse granting such a leave in case of submitting a written request by the employee.

After birth of the youngest child, only the fourth part of fathers applied for paternity leave (80 fathers); another 2.5 per cent of fathers did not work at the time and therefore they did not need a leave. 17 per cent of respondents (33 persons) out of 195 fathers who did not apply for a leave were refused the leave, and that is a law violation. 106 fathers (54.4 per cent) who could not afford to take a leave constituted a majority of this group of respondents. 23 per cent of fathers did not want to take a leave (45 persons) and 5.6 per cent of respondents did not indicate a reason due to which they did not take a paternity leave (see Figure 1.3.8).

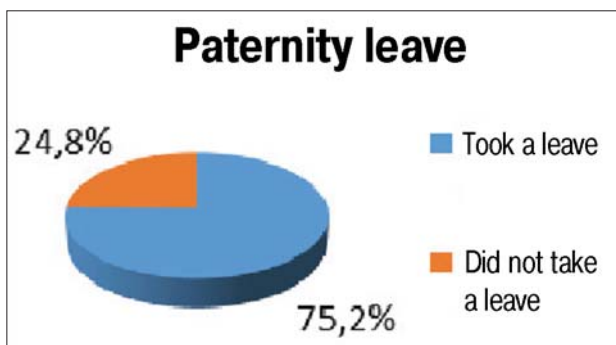


Figure 3.1.8. Proportion of the fathers who took a paternity leave.

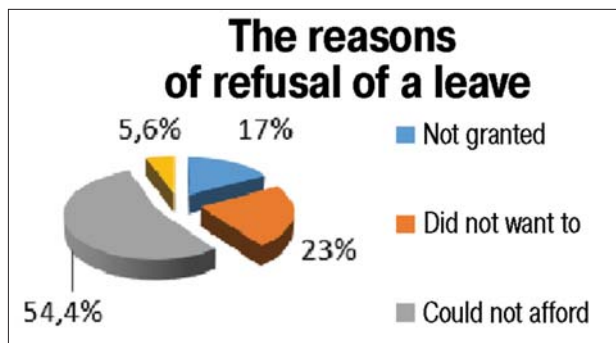


Figure 3.1.9. Reasons of refusal to take a leave.

Most men take a part of their annual leave in consideration of paternity leave. Only 24 respondents could afford to take an unpaid leave. In sum, one can conclude that after the birth of children of the current marriage the aid was provided to only a quarter of women within a week. Husbands of every seventh woman decided against the provision of aid to a child and his/her mother.

Unfortunately, just a little over a half of preschool aged children of respondents (58 per cent) turned to their fathers for words of comfort in times of need and disappointment. It may prove the lack of empathy or underestimation of a child's feelings on the part of fathers. Meanwhile, fathers' ability to establish an emotional bond with a child in such situations is a guarantee of close relationship

between a father and a child in the future, as well as a crucial factor of emerging a sense of security that will contribute to mental development of a child.

88 per cent out of fathers who took a leave were involved in joint childcare together with their partner and only 0.7 per cent of men were engaged in independent care of their child (See Fig. 3.1.9). In the remaining situations, couples received help from their relatives. Meanwhile, 62.8 per cent of fathers reported significance of paternity leave in terms of establishing close bond with their child afterwards.

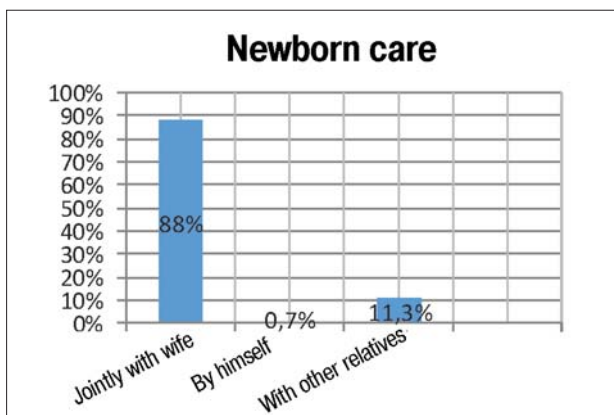


Figure 3.1.10. The ways of newborn care practiced by fathers.

Due to traditional division of roles, it turned out that only 2 per cent of fathers make a decision related to child's health while in 55 per cent of cases decisions were made jointly with partners/wives. In 42 per cent of cases decisions were made solely by mothers.

Awareness of men on family and legal issues. 52.5 per cent of respondents are unaware of legal provisions on paternity leave in Russia and another 17.8 per cent of men think that such provisions have not been amended so far despite the adoption of this provision back in 2001. Only 29.7 per cent of men are aware of this legal provision (See Fig. 3.1.11).

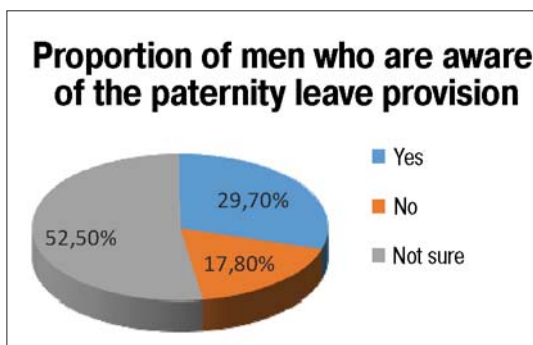


Figure 3.1.11. Proportion of men who are aware of the paternity leave provision.

Along with that, respondents neither clearly distinguish between paternity/maternity leave, childcare, and parental leave nor know about the duration of a leave. While giving their answers to the question on duration of paternity/maternity leave men were confusing two types of the leave and provided various periods from a week to three years (See Figure 3.1.10). Results of the survey showed that 19.5 per cent of respondents believe that length of paternity leave is less than two weeks, one fourth of respondents (26.4 per cent) think that it's duration is from one year to 18 months, and about one third of men (32.9 per cent) reported the leave duration up to three years (See Figure 3.1.12).

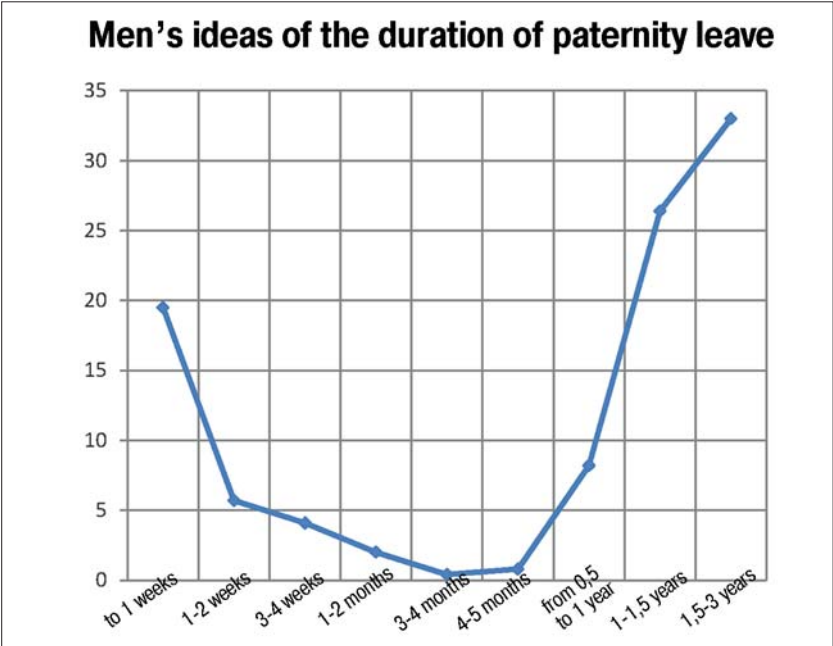


Figure 3.1.12. Men's ideas of the duration of paternity leave.

According to Article 256 of Russia Labour Code, maternity/paternity leave may be granted to either of the parents. The problem is that the benefit that is equal to 40 per cent of an average wage shall be paid to the insured parent in the first 18 months, and no benefits shall be provided for in the following 18 months. Maternity leave is also payable out of the Russian State Social Insurance Fund at place of employment (Article 11.1 of Federal Law No. 255-FZ "On the Provision of Sick Leave and Maternity Leave Compensation to Citizens Eligible for Mandatory Social Insurance" dated 29 December 2006). It is clear that such low payments would lead families to a significant financial loss. While women's wages in Russia are 30 per cent lower than men's salaries, it is women who usually take maternity leave.

Over fifteen years of its existence men have never applied Article 256 of Labour Code and therefore the provision on child rearing leave has been discredited. It neither contributes to the fathers'

involvement in child rearing nor secure the fathers' right to childcare in the first year after her or his birth. Thus, it is still the leave for mothers and therefore there is no logic in defining it as a parental leave.

Most men in Russia do not give a thought to taking advantage of this opportunity. This question is taken up in very rare circumstances, for instance in cases of a wife's higher wage. However, so far there are just a few of such cases. In our sample 2 per cent of respondents said that the bulk of family income consists of a woman's wage and another 23.6 per cent of men reported similar sizes of salaries in their couples.

It is understood that in this context and due to prevailing patriarchal attitudes, most men in Russia consider care of children aged up to three years to be a mother's duty. As few as 58.8 per cent of men in our sample believe that law shall guarantee paternity leave, 30.1 per cent of respondents are not sure of that, and 11.1 per cent of men think that it is not necessary for the state to grant paternity leave to men.

Ignorance of the family law on the part of majority of men in Russia proves that the role and the meaning of fatherhood in the earliest phase of child development are underestimated in our society. It is related to patriarchal culture, restoration of traditional values as well as the lack of economic guarantees of fathers' rights. 40 per cent of wages is the extremely low amount for amount for covering family expenses in the period when its material needs dramatically grow.

It results in the vicious circle when men do not take a parental leave due to the insufficient amount of benefits and the insufficient amount relates to adherence to patriarchal attitudes.

The irony of it is that Russia introduced parental leave before some European countries did it and that ensured the right of fathers to stay at home and involve in childcare after a childbirth. Today 40 per cent of average wages comes to 12,000 roubles per month which would amount to 24,000 roubles per month in the population group with middle incomes. A decision to agree on receiving such amount would bring an average Russian family below the poverty line.

As a result, Russian fathers do not use the leave. Mothers can pass a part of their leave to fathers or both parents can take a leave simultaneously. Along with that, fathers have a newly introduced right to take two unpaid half-days for prenatal visits [6].

Today the governments in 92 countries offer paternity leave to new fathers. The leave is non-transferable, i.e. that is available only to fathers, and cannot be taken by a partner or any other relative. As many as 90 per cent of fathers take paternity leave in Nordic countries, the UK and Australia. In Germany, 30 per cent of men use paternity leave so far. Increased insurance coverage of paternity leave proves changed attitudes towards fatherhood in these countries.

Conduct of fathers in daily life. In Russia, men and society in general still believe that the main responsibility of fathers is financial provision of the family and helping a partner in child care and in household work when necessary. In other words, they consider their function complementary. This conclusion can be made on the ground of some statements offered for consideration to respondents. Please see Table 3.1.1.

Table 3.1.1.

Statements providing self-assessment of the fathers' role in family

	Yes	No	Don' know	NA
I spend too little time with my children due to my job.	54,2	34,6	7,2	4,0
I would work less if it meant that I could spend more time with my children.	33,8	38,4	19,1	8,8
My main responsibility is providing for the family.	81,6	10,9	3,8	3,8
My role in caring for my children is mostly as a helper for my wife when necessary.	48,9	37,7	5,3	8,1

81.6 per cent of fathers believe that their main responsibility is providing for the family. Along with that, 54.2 per cent of fathers think that they spend little time with their children due to their work, and only the third part of fathers (33.8 per cent) said that they would agree to work less if it meant that they could spend more time with their children. It is also important to bear in mind that another 19 per cent of respondents chose the answer “Do not know” in regards to the question on their willingness to work less if they could spend more time with their children. Perhaps, this group of men was unable to provide a precise answer due to their strained circumstances. If the state ensures retention of earnings with less working hours, they would likely provide positive answers. In such a case proportion of men who would like to dedicate more of their time to their children would increase to 53 p.c., which is one in two fathers or even slightly more. Conservative attitudes of employers and unfriendly law are the obstacles preventing fathers from combining professional and family responsibilities in the situations of a child’s sickness. Meanwhile, it is the situation of illness when children are in critical need of close contacts with parents in order to overcome physical pain and frustration.

According to 48.9 per cent of men, their involvement in child care and household duties means to be a helper for their wives when necessary. This attitude is far from involved fatherhood and proves fragmentary engagement in daily care of a family. 37.7 per cent of men believe that their share of childcare is equal to that performed by wife/partner, which is a little over one third of the sample.

Below is a common example from an in-depth interview illustrating behaviour patterns of young fathers:

Economist, 29:

Should I involve in household duties? As for lending a helping hand ... why not? Anyway, we lived together and I worked as well, that is why I never refused to help. I am quite capable. But she never asked for help. It seemed easier to her to do all the work quickly without any help than to wait for me and ask for help. To be honest, I used to forget to do something or to confuse things. Perhaps, that is why I was completely suspended from household duties. However, I didn't complain (smiling).

According to a number of studies, men's reluctance to involve in household duties remains a cause of high divorce rates. Due to conservative attitudes and traditional understanding of masculinity, sometimes it is easier for men to break up with a wife than to change their patterns of behavior. However, major transformations in the field of employment are such that it is not pressure on the part of women but the new conditions of labour market would force a large proportion of men to actively engage in household and care work. Rise in unemployment levels, growing number of job offers regarding work from home via Internet as well as opportunities of flexible business hours would probably expand a range of household responsibilities of men, and the role of a breadwinner would be de-emphasized due to the reduction of income. At any rate, from the beginning of the century experts in the Western and Eastern Europe have observed all abovementioned processes. Thus, many scholars note that men's active involvement in household duties is rather related to the new realities regarding the decline of male employment market than to the shift in the attitudes in terms of egalitarian relationships and awareness of fathers' responsibility.

Broadly speaking, men's preoccupation with work and their view of family responsibilities as of the issue of secondary importance resulted in laying the main load of household responsibilities on women. 43 p. c. of respondents said that their mothers took the main decisions regarding children when they and their brothers were young, and 9 per cent of respondents mentioned that their fathers made the decisions. Another 42 respondents said that their parents took their decisions together. 6 p.c. of respondents also mentioned other relatives. (See Figure 3.1.13). Final decision on daily living needs like food and clothes were made in a similar way. Thus, only mothers took such decisions in half of the cases. Only 6.3 p.c. of fathers were free to take their decisions on daily expenses. Remaining 5.3 p.c. of respondents said that somebody else was responsible for taking such decisions, or they did not remember who did it. (See Fig. 3.1.14)

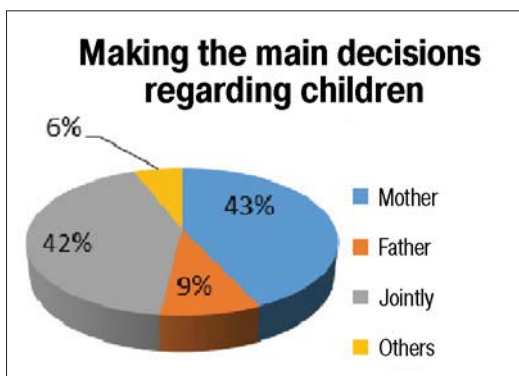


Figure 3.1.13. Making the main decisions regarding children.

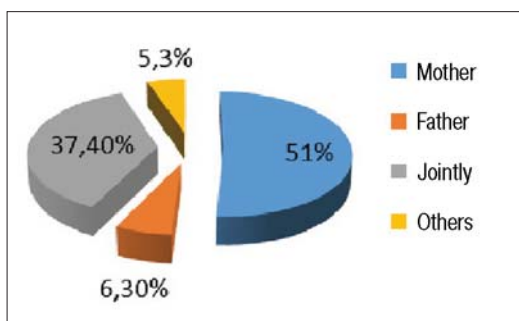


Figure 3.1.14. Decision making on the expenses regarding food and clothes.

Even when a big-budget purchase was in question twice as many women than men took final decisions, which is 24 p.c. and 14.6 p.c. respectively. In half of the families, both partners took the decisions regarding big-budget purchases (54 p.c.).

Men’s preferences in regards to spending their free time with their families. So far, men do not perceive the time spent on childcare activities as the time of particular value. This conclusion is a result of studying men’s preferences regarding their leisure. (See Tabl. 3.1.2.)

Table 3.1.2.

Men's preferences in regard with spending their free time with their families

Ranking the activities from 1 to 5 with 5 «like very much» and 1 «do not like at all».	Do not like at all	Don't much like it	Neither agree nor disagree	Like it	Like it very much	No answer
Caring for or spending time with children	0,8	1,7	8,7	34,9	25,1	29,4
Travelling	0,4	2,3	9,0	48,2	33,7	6,5
Going to cultural events (theatre, movies, music, dancing)	1,1	5,2	23,7	41,1	26,4	2,5
Going for sports/recreation	2,5	3,2	29,0	37,4	21,4	6,5
Talking	1,0	3,1	15,1	54,0	25,4	1,5
Having meals together	0,2	0,4	16,2	52,7	29,0	1,5
Working together	6,3	10,7	28,2	23,6	8,6	22,5
Having sexual relations	6,5	11,3	29,9	33,5	11,7	7,1
Watching TV together	1,1	4,6	20,8	49,5	21,8	2,1
Cooking together	6,5	11,3	29,9	33,5	11,7	7,1

Ranking the respondents' preferences based on summation of answers "like it" and "like it very much" showed that caring for or spending time with children finished up in sixth place.

1. Travelling with the wife/partner — 81.9 p.c.
2. Having meals together — 81.7 p.c.
3. Talking to the wife/partner — 79.4 p.c.
4. Watching TV together — 71.3 p.c.
5. Going to cultural events — 67.5 p.c.
6. Caring for or spending time with children — 60.0 p.c.
7. Going for sports/recreation — 58.8 p.c.
8. Having sexual relations — 45.2 p.c.
9. Cooking together — 45.2 p.c.
10. Working together — 32.2 p.c.

Travelling (81.9 p.c.) and having meals together (81.7 p.c.) turned out to be the most attractive occupations in equal measure.

Men also mentioned talking with partner (79.4 p.c.) and watching TV together (71.3 p.c.). Then going to cultural events (67.5 p.c.) and spending time with children (60 p.c.) followed. However, 29.4 p.c. of respondents were unable to answer whether they liked to spend time together with their children or not, and therefore they turned off the question. It is a very high rate of “no answer” answers. Perhaps, fathers do not consider spending time with children to be a leisure activity and therefore they refer it to household duties.

Below is the table showing the division of time spent on child-care by mothers and fathers. (See Table 3.1.3).

Table 3.1.3.

Assessment of time spent by respondents’ fathers on care of respondents

	Always me	Usually me	Equally	Usually partner/wife	Always partner/wife	NA
Who cares of a child on a regular basis?	0,6	1,6	35,2	48,1	12,9	1,6
Who stays at home with a child when he/she is sick?	0,6	1,3	7,2	55,7	32,7	2,5
Who collects a child from school/day care centre?	3,2	10,0	34,7	33,8	9,8	8,6
Who drives or takes the child to leisure-time activities?	1,6	10,2	34,5	31,6	10,9	11,2

Table 3.1.3 shows that mostly mothers care of a child on a regular basis, according to 61 per cent of respondents. One can observe such division of these duties between spouses only in one third of families (35.2. per cent). Regular “face-to-face” care of children is an exception and it is equal to only 2.2. per cent of respondents.

Regarding care of a sick child, today as few as 2 per cent of fathers stay with sick children, and 7.2 per cent of fathers share this responsibility with a partner / wife. Thus, fathers’ care in crisis periods for child’s health is slightly decreasing. It would be wrong to say

that the reason is irresponsibility on the part of modern fathers as they show their responsibility in other areas of life. This behaviour reflects a patriarchal tradition according to which mothers take a childcare sick list. Employers' attitude towards men staying at home with sick children is still negative. These cultural imbalances can take place both in Russia and in Western Europe. For instance, some empirical observations show that when a child gets sick managers of day care centres in the first instance call mothers but not fathers.

Fathers tend to be involved when they need to collect a child from school or a day care centre. For instance, 10 p.c. of men do it independently and 37.4 p.c. of men share this responsibility with their partner. The same is the case for driving or taking a child to leisure-time activities: 10.2 p.c. of men do it independently and 34.5 p.c. of men share this responsibility with a wife or a partner. Summarizing the above, a little over one third of women receive support from fathers of their children in terms of childcare. Unfortunately, that does not reach the cases of children's illness.

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Children attending hobby groups in the company of their fathers.

Fathers' impact on child development through daily care.

Boys' memories of the care that their fathers used to take of them make a great impact on constructing image of a father in adult life. As a rule, children adopt and imitate his pattern of behaviour. Father's care can be different. However, the families in which fathers do care of their children on a daily basis through various activities are the happiest.

85 p.c. of respondents of our sample lived with their fathers between ages of 0–18; 13 p.c. of respondents grew up in fatherless households; fathers of 2 p.c. of respondents died before they were born. Thus, 117 out of 789 respondents grew up in fatherless households. 55 p.c. of them did not have a significant man around who would be crucial for their adolescent period. 17.7 per cent of respondents had a stepfather. 10 p.c. of respondents that grew up in fatherless households were raised by their grandfathers. Uncles or brothers supported other respondents.

More than a half of respondents (56 p.c.) said that their fathers took care of them as well as of their brothers and sisters on a regular basis. One fourth of respondents mentioned that their fathers did not do it regularly. As few as 9 p.c. of respondents said that it rarely or never happened; 11 per cent did not answer this question. Thus, one in five men in the sample did not mention an example of communication with their future children. It does not mean that 20 per cent of respondents will replicate the pattern of behaviour of a "detached father". However, there is a much higher probability of replicating this pattern among the men whose fathers were not involved than among those with caring and engaged fathers.

Difficulty of data interpretation is that the concept of caring has a broad sense. It includes providing home, food and clothes in its simple meaning. Its deeper meaning covers the whole process of rearing including education, emotional contact and regular psychological support, joint leisure activities, and many other things. It is evident that respondents implied the multiple meaning of care. Below we provide the analysis of its specific manifestations.

About one third of respondents which is 30.5 p.c. said that they remembered their fathers helping them with their homework while another 33.1 p.c. of respondents said that their fathers did it occasionally, and 31 per cent of men mentioned that their fathers rarely or never did it. Anyway, it is very difficult to assess results of the survey due to various situations that might take place. Some children

receive regular help in their homework just because their academic performance is worse than that of other students. Other children get help due to their fathers' ambitions and the fathers wish to make their children achieve better results in their studies. Sometimes regular help in homework can be a result of extensive demands made by teachers. The fact that some fathers occasionally help children in their homework does not mean that they are not involved as much as fathers who provide help on a regular basis. It means that they help their children in the most difficult situations while in other cases their children are free to manage their studies and develop their sense of responsibility for their academic achievements.

Fathers are much more engaged in academic life of their children than in their leisure activities. Table 3.1.10. shows that fathers frequently help children with their homework. This type of help is one of the most significant for men as this is the way of raising their profile in the mind of children, as well as gaining children's own human potential. The other fourth part of fathers hire tutors for children (23.2 p.c.). Thus, in our sample there are many fathers involved in the cognitive development of their children and that is over three fourths of respondents.

Traditionally on September 1st, in the beginning of school year, many fathers (three fourths) drive or walk their children to school. However, according to another tradition, as few as 45.2 p.c. of men attend parent-teacher meetings at school but it does not prevent men from knowing their children's school friends. Perhaps the close-together living in Karelia has caused it as in the location of school people contact with each other in one or another way in their daily life.

The next question is on fathers' involvement in household duties. One can hardly overestimate this involvement as it contributes to formation of gender equitable relations in the family. Involving in household responsibilities men share women's daily burden of domestic duties and care about their partners' health, as well as provide women with an opportunity of continuing their education. Thus, engagement of fathers in household duties is the issue of replicating gender sensitivity values and gender equity patterns to next generations.

Regarding daily household duties, most fathers were involved in buying food, and 37.3 p.c. of respondents confirmed this fact. Another 41.2 p.c. said that their fathers did it occasionally and 17 p.c.

of respondents (every sixth respondent!) think that their fathers rarely or never bought food for family members. According to respondents, as few as 14 p.c. of fathers cooked on a regular basis. 43 per cent of fathers did it occasionally, and 39 p.c. rarely or never did it.

© Photo by N. Erenin



Father is bottle feeding his baby.

Cleaning the house as a regular men's duty is an exceptional case. Less than every tenth respondent (8.7 p.c.), said that their fathers often did it. 35.4 per cent of respondents mentioned that their fathers occasionally cleaned the house while half of the sample (51.7 p.c.) mentioned that the fathers rarely or never did it. According to respondents, 75.8 p.c. of fathers never or rarely washed clothes though everyone has a washing machine. (See Table 3.1.4).

Table 3.1.4.

Assessment of frequency of performing various household duties (respondents could provide more than one answer)

Type of household duties	How often, %				
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	NA
Buy food	37,7	41,2	12,5	4,6	4,0
Cooking	14,0	43,0	27,7	11,3	4,0
Cleaning the house	8,7	35,4	34,0	17,4	4,5
Washing clothes	4,4	14,6	33,5	42,3	5,2

Such division of domestic work inevitably influenced the attitudes to gender roles. It turned out that less than a half of respondents (56.7 p.c.) believe that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and to cook for her family. (See Table 3.1.5). Under such circumstances, a favourable social policy might lead to gender equitable attitudes to distribution of roles between mothers and fathers. As for giving kids a bath, feeding children and even changing diapers, two thirds of respondents think that fathers and mothers should share these responsibilities.

Table 3.1.5.

Men's attitudes to gender roles

Opinion	Absolutely agree	Agree partly	I disagree
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.	56,7	37,1	6,2
Changing diapers, giving kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibilities.	33,5	43,9	22,7

While majority of Russian women are traditionally employed and today they point at 49 per cent of the entire employed population in the country (labour force participation rate in working age is 77 per cent), shifting the burden of childcare and household duties on women's shoulders means the recognition of social inequality. When men avoid performing family obligations referring to the traditions of the past century they defend patriarchal privileges that represent their dominant attitudes. Where to do these privileges bring men? When men avoid involvement in household activities, they also exclude themselves from relations with their partner and children that would provide them with emotional contacts, attachment and devotion.

Communicative contacts base on the subordination in such families. As a result, to a child family becomes a model of relations in society mostly built on the subordination, and to the least extent on partnership. While observing the division of household duties between parents, boys and girls apply this model to their role division in society. Authoritarian style in family is a highway to autocracy in society.

The tradition of viewing household duties as a boring routine are still preserved in society, and therefore parents do not do enough in order to turn cooking into an interesting and creative process, as well as cleaning the house into transformation of design with the participation of children via inexpensive means. In fact, all in-depth interviews showed that young partners/spouses do not create any traditions in their families except for celebration of the New Year in a country house.

Sometimes one can hear accusations against women. While society considers women the main carers in the home, women are faulted for upbringing men to be unresponsive to family needs. Such accusations are fair just to a certain degree, According to respondents, as children, they used to be trained to perform different household activities. It is likely that mothers did it because they spent more time with respondents while their fathers avoided this responsibility, as we can see. Most of respondents used to be trained to clean the house (81.6 p.c.). Almost two thirds of respondents (64 p.c.), were taught to cook and nearly a half of respondents (48.3 p.c.) were involved in care for their brothers and sisters. Compared to their fathers, boys used a washing machine more frequently (43.5 p.c.),

and 32.4 p.c. of respondents were responsible even for cleaning a bathroom/toilet. (See Table 3.1.6).

Table 3.1.6.

Proportion of men who were taught to perform household activities as children

Household activities, P.C.	Yes	No	NA
Cooking	64,0	29,3	6,7
Cleaning the house	81,6	14,3	4,1
Cleaning a bathroom/toilet	32,4	55,2	12,4
Washing clothes	43,5	46,1	10,1
Caring for brothers and sisters	48,3	40,1	11,0

The fact that in their adult life these respondents hold the opinion that “a woman’s most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family” shows that the skills developed due to their mothers have not been reinforced. It is likely that the pattern of a detached father made a negative impact on these men. They took this pattern as a model because they did not fear to disobey their mothers any longer and therefore their relations with the wives became the same as the relations between their fathers and mothers. *Such reverse dynamics of boys’ behaviour in the family should be a matter of concern in society.*

Impact of fatherhood on men’s life and health

Table 3.1.7.

Opinions of respondents on the impact of fatherhood on men’s life and health

Results of the survey	Yes	No
Fathers tend to be more engaged in the lives of children whom they intended to have.	72.4	27.6
Engagement in fatherhood reduces risk-taking and delinquent behaviour among men.	71.6	28.4
Fatherhood is one of their most important sources of well-being; it provides a sense of true purpose and satisfaction with life.	87.0	13.7
Fatherhood makes men happier and healthier.	91.2	8.8
Fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children live longer.	73.4	26.6
Fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children have fewer mental or physical health problems.	80.6	19.4
Fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children are less likely to abuse alcohol or drugs.	50.2	49.8
Fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children are more productive at work.	69.0	31.0

As Table 3.1.7 shows, nearly all respondents accepted the statement that fatherhood makes men happier and healthier men (91.2 p.c.). High proportion of men believe that fatherhood is one of their most important sources of well-being; it provides a sense of true purpose and satisfaction with life. (87.0 p.c.). Four out of five respondents in the sample including one thousand respondents said that the fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children have fewer mental or physical health problems (80.6. p.c.). About three fourths of respondents agreed with the statement that fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children live longer (73.3 p.c.). According to 71.6 p.c. of respondents, engagement in fatherhood reduces risk-taking and delinquent behaviour among men. That brings us to the conclusion that fathering makes men lead a healthy life style and therefore improves their longevity. However, this is the case when children are wanted and 72.7 p.c. of the respondents confirmed the significance of this con-

dition. Finally, almost the same number of respondents agree with the statement that fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children are more productive at work (69 p.c.).

According to our respondents, one statement is disputable. Just a half of them supported the assertion that fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children are less likely to abuse alcohol or drugs. It probably regards to the loyalty to drinking on the part of Russian men.

A popular Russian proverb says “small children — small worries; big children — big worries”. It certainly reflects traditional or, to be more precise, conservative attitudes to child rearing implying that caring of small children is not a problem. Like in many European countries, in Russia fathers have not been involved in childcare for a long time. For instance, in households of the gentry in Czarist Russia households included the woman’s end and the men’s end. Small children lived in the women’s end of a house. Fathers got involved in raising their children when the children were big enough to put them to a trade (in peasants’ families) or hire a family tutor for them (in noble families). Though the XXth century eroded this tradition in terms of class-divided society, in the Soviet era the phase of father’s involvement also began after a child turned three or four when it was necessary to teach her or him to read and write.

Meanwhile, numerous studies and surveys show that the first three years of life are determining for personality development. During this period the empathy is developed, which is a significant human quality. Lack of a father’s presence when he neither takes a baby in his arms, nor gives her or him hugs and kisses, nor puts a baby to sleep, prevents this process. On the contrary, praise and reward on the part of a father when a child in her or his self-activities like handwashing, putting a sorting toy together, using a pot, and eating with a spoon encourages the child’s development, stimulates her or his positive view of life, decreases anxiety, and builds a child’s confidence. It is possible to provide a child with all these opportunities before she or he learns to read and write. In other words, early in life, along with physical care such as feeding, changing diapers and bathing which a mother provides in most cases, a child needs close communicative verbal and non-verbal contacts. Gestures, sounds, intonation, light and sound environment, and any contact sensations are significant for a baby. It is the time when nature of child raising is implied in details. If a father wishes to realize potential of his daughter or a son, he should really get involved in rear-

ing from the first days of a child's life. This is how emotional intelligence develops that contributes to the development of cognitive intelligence.

Impact of involved fatherhood on behaviour and potential of children

Most fathers who participated in the survey conducted in the Republic of Karelia recognize their role of key agents in the socialization of children. For instance, all respondents (97.5 p.c.) agreed with the statement that father's respect to a child's mother will promote a son's respect for women. 95.7 per cent of respondents are positive about significance of fathers' involvement in the development of children's skills of social communication. Nearly the same number of fathers (93.5 p.c.) are positive about their impact on the intellectual development and academic achievements of children. (See Table 3.1.8).

Table 3.1.8.

Impact of fathers on the behaviour and potential of children

Types of positive impact	Yes	No
Fathers' involvement contributes to children's intellectual development and academic achievements.	93.5	6.5
Fathers' involvement contributes to the development of social skills in sons and daughters.	95.7	4.3
Fathers' involvement contributes to the development of empathy in sons and daughters.	88.8	11.2
Fathers' involvement contributes to decreasing conflict intensity and lower rates of delinquency in sons.	88.1	11.9
When boys see their fathers interacting with female partners in equitable ways, they are more likely to grow up believing in and living in gender equality.	97.5	2.5
Fathers' involvement contributes to awareness of their rights and self-confidence in daughters.	90.9	9.1
Daughters with fathers who share domestic chores equally are more likely to aspire to less traditional and potentially higher-paying jobs.	79.6	20.4

Respondents were also provided with some crucial expert statements about a positive impact of the father's role on children depending on a child's gender. The task of respondents was to express their agreement or disagreement with these statements.

It should be emphasized that four out of five respondents in the sample including one thousand respondents (79.6 p.c.) said that they agreed with the statement that daughters with fathers who share domestic chores on equal terms with their partners are more likely to aspire to less traditional and potentially higher-paying jobs. Though this statement is not that obvious as the others respondents believe that there are certain reasons for making such a statement.

According to scholars, understanding of various needs of children and types of childcare are based on emotional attachment caused by the involvement in childbirth and the connections emerged in the course of prenatal care (for instance, gynaecological scanning). Childcare is not just a physical or technical task; it can be partially implemented at the instrumental level. Its quality directly depends on close bond created via intensive regular contacts.

Considering this, we used two different scales of the survey in order to measure fathers' engagement in childcare: (1) 0–4, and (2) 5–13. According to the data, fathers of small children were mainly involved in playing with children at home. However, less than a half of fathers (45.9 p.c.) did it on a regular basis (every day or several days a week) and other fathers did it occasionally. 43.3 p.c. of men were regularly involved in bathing their children and more than a half of respondents occasionally did it. 29 p.c. of respondents regularly changed diapers or clothes for their children and as few as 20.3 p.c. of them prepared food and fed a child every day or several times a week. (See Table 3.1.9). There are probably the reasons to state that half of fathers can be included in the category of absent fathers in terms of their engagement in daily care of their children from the earliest days of their lives. In this context absent fathers are not those who are travelling or living with another partner but those who set up a distance between themselves, their children and partners.

Table 3.1.9.

**Frequency of fathers' communication
with children aged from 0 to 4.**

	Rarely or never	Ocasionally	Several times a week	Every day
How often does your partner play with your children at home?	6.3	47.9	15.3	30.6
How often does your partner cook or fix food for your children?	42.0	37.8	13.3	7.0
How often does your partner change diapers or any clothes of your children?	24.8	46.1	10.6	18.4
How often does your partner bathe your children?	17.0	39.7	27.0	16.3

As for the group of fathers with children aged from 5 to 13 years, 41.6 per cent of fathers play with children at home. However, this proportion increases if we consider that 31 per cent of fathers regularly do physical exercise or play games outside home with their children.

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Father is doing physical exercises together with his children.

Along with that, fathers of this group are as passive in terms of cooking and fixing food for their children. Moreover, this proportion gets lower from 20.3 per cent in the group of younger children to 17.4 p.c. in the group including older children, It seems a little strange as children aged up to four years do not need breastfeeding or strained food. Fathers just have to buy food and warm it up. Even in helping children with their homework as few as 44.6 per cent of respondents are involved. As for talking about personal matters with children and being involved in their daily emotional experience, only 22.8 per cent of fathers talk about personal matters with their children. Finally, washing clothes for children even in a washing machine remains a woman's responsibility. As few as 5.6 per cent of men said that they regularly do it. (See Table 3.1.10). Thus, a phenomenon of an absent father relates to at least 50 per cent of the respondents with children aged over four years.

Table 3.1.10.

Frequency of fathers' communication with children aged from 5 to 13.

	Rarely or never	Ocasionally	Several times a week	Every day
How often does your partner play with your children at home?	9.1	49.2	22.8	18.8
How often does your partner talk about personal matters with your children?	18.7	58.6	15.2	7.6
How often does your partner do physical exercise or play games outside home with your children?	9.8	59.3	25.8	5.2
How often does your partner help them with their homework?	13.8	41.5	26.7	17.9
How often does your partner cook or fix food for your children?	46.2	36.4	12.3	5.1
How often does your partner wash clothes for your children?	80.4	13.9	4.1	1.5

The overall conclusion is that in both age groups half of the fathers are not involved in child rearing.

Concepts of fatherhood and motherhood

Due to the in-depth interviews, it became possible to learn about idealized concepts that respondents have about a true fatherhood and to compare the opinions on significance of fatherhood and motherhood. In contrast to involved or engaged fatherhood that became common for European and American culture due to multi-year research and public discussions, in Russia people prefer to use the concept of a “real father” due of the lack of similar research.

This concept generalizes all characteristics that are natural to engaged fathers.

Below fragments of different interviews including a lookback analysis of parenting and marriages of the Soviet period are presented compared to today's situation. The first interview is particularly interesting due to the fact that it is given by a young man without fathering experience but with a clear idea of the contents of fatherhood.

18-year-old student living in unregistered union, without children:

*A father should spend more time with his son and be a role model for him. It seems to me that a father should be a friend for his child but not just a parent. It is crucial to be able to have a heart-to-heart talk to a father and to discuss concerns of sons and daughters, to give them advice or to teach them, as well as to share experience and ideas. So, basically, a **father should be a bridge between a child and adults.***

A father should be a role model of a real man for his child. He should also be a standard of a real man to a daughter in order to avoid her negative experience in relationships and divorce in the future. I believe that in her father a daughter should see a man who complies with a concept of a “man”. I thinks that in a way I am a supporter of patriarchal values as I am sure that a father should maintain order in a household. He should know when to correct a child for disobedience or to encourage him. A mother should be a domestic goddess though it is a primitive expression. Today women work hard. There are a lot of strong and independent women. They do not depend on men. However, a woman should devote most of her to

time to caring of children because men are not well adapted for that. It is biologically pre-determined that mothers take care of their children. I believe that it is the main responsibility of a woman.

I think that parenting depends on a human factor rather than on a country. People are different and they have different personalities and different attitudes. If someone likes to socialize better than to spend his time with the family, if he does not care of the family and of the protection of the family, he just leaves.

I think it does not deal with the country where this person lives. It is due to a person and his attitudes. Perhaps in a way a country influenced fathering because we all live in a post-Soviet state when all the devastation began... Sometimes it is obvious that people just gave up ...

I don't think that there are any positive perspectives in the future, I see just negative things ahead. There are no conditions for **real fathering** in the country. I am convinced though that there are people who are able to create favorable conditions for themselves.

I think that in the Soviet Union the situation was better. For instance, all my grandparents were married just once. They sent their children out into the world; their children are successful and they all love each other. As for my parents, they are divorced, as well as my friends' parents. In the Soviet time families were pulled together because people had different life values. Our grandfathers and grandmothers were willing to work for the sake of the future. They were not egotistic. Modern fathers and mothers make many mistakes in their young years. For instance, they tend to run wild which is the impact of freedom of choice they got after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

There was too much freedom given to them if you like... I think it causes mistakes and negative outcomes...

Motherhood

It is much easier to answer a question on motherhood because I spent the bigger part of my life with my mother but without a father. Motherhood means doing everything for her child, no matter how overwhelming it might be. She loves her child selflessly; she is ready to sacrifice her interests, to help her child and to listen to her or him.

As a matter of fact, it is very difficult for a child or a teenager to own emotions.

However, she or he tries to do her or his best. Parents should bring children to light if they are caring enough. It is an excellent characteristic of a mother. For instance, my mother is very good at it.

If we consider Russia in general, Russian women are good mothers. They do better as mothers than men do as fathers. I can see the examples among my friends and acquaintances. Most of them were raised solely by their mothers, and they grew up to be good people.

*Parents must do their best to develop freedom of thinking and choice in their children because in the Soviet times many children did not achieve their dreams, no matter how their families were. It is still visible. For example, when a child is of full age and made her or his choice of profession, she or he is often told by parents that it is a wrong choice. For example, parents can argue that there are too many actors and it would be good to become a constructing engineer instead, for instance... It is wrong. Parents should treat their children as equal when the children reach a certain age. They are to develop her or his qualities that would make her or him a personality. **They also should do their best to put freedom of choice and love of freedom to children's brains as norms of morality.***

I believe that parents should be particularly sensitive to their children when they reach 16 as by this age young women and men are able to express their personality. At least, this thing was happening to me. I was lucky because my mother is a kind of a person I always hold up as a model. She raised me to be a free person in terms of making choices. That is how I made my own decision on entering a department of tourism. Before that my mother and I talked and discussed different options. Then we came to the agreement. She supported me and I understood that she was able to understand me.

The second interview includes both the instrumental attitudes of fathers related to masculinity and outward expression of emotions that is common among the new generation of Russian men.

Lawyer, 31, married and have a small son:

Today marriage is important if a couple is planning to have a baby who should use father's name for his or her legal safety. He or she should feel secure unlike extramarital children. In today's environment of instability marriage and family serve as protectors that guarantee security.

To me father is care, protection, the wish to teach me good things, and to rescue me. These are the things our parents used to do for us. It is a great responsibility. One realizes the need in earning money in order to provide for a child. Today I am doing well. I love my child very much. I take him out for a walk, sometimes he sleeps with us and then I even stop breathing as I am afraid to wake him up or to squeeze him. He is very tiny now but I talk to him like to an adult without any useless cuddling.

We talk man-to-man (smiling). I make up different intellectual games for him and raise him in love and affection. There is so much pain and suffering in life. Let his childhood be good and trouble-free. My wife supports me. Her attitude is the same. Sometimes she gets angry with our son and he starts crying. Then my wife feels sorry for him, gives him her hugs and kisses. My grandfather is a military man and therefore a supporter of a harsh discipline from the early childhood. However, we prevent him from treating our child in this manner.

*At home I can put dishes in a dishwasher and I clean up after myself. I don't really like when someone picks up the dishes or something else after me as if I am a little boy. I am not a child; we have already got one. **I am a father of my child and he should observe his father's self-sufficiency.***

He really should see that as I also live in this house, I eat, drink, and sleep. I should carry heavy bags from a shop. I can make renovations in the apartment or cook food in order to lessen my wife's load. She can go out for a walk with our son while I do some work about the house. I can help her with anything she would ask me to if I am not busy. In the evening, we put the son to sleep in turns. I will definitely develop his physical abilities and the wife will take care of his intellectual development. I am not sure yet, we will see. I don't think I will be able to give my child the same things that a woman can. Actually, men are breadwinners excluding the situations when a father takes care of a child and a mother works. I don't think I would

feel comfortable if we have a similar situation in our family. It means that my wife would manage family money and would not need me in terms of financial support. In such a situation she would give me expensive presents and I wouldn't be able to afford buying presents for her.

It doesn't seem right to me. For instance, if my wife gets successful in her career I won't stand in her way. She deserves that and so I will try to earn more. However, I'll give no sign that it touched me. It would be kind of selfish...

Motherhood

Motherhood is the same thing as fatherhood to me but with four times more responsibilities. Along with sensible and safe pregnancy, with avoidance of alcohol drinking and smoking, and then child birth, I would include all the things I have mentioned before regarding fatherhood. I would also include here intellectual development of our child as well as spiritual and cultural aspects of upbringing while my responsibility is physical development. My wife is expected to take our son to different hobby groups before he goes to school and then to help him with his homework. Children make our lives wonderful and you will never feel lonely if you have children. Today we are raising the only child. Unfortunately, we cannot afford to have another baby so far but as soon my wife agrees we will be ready for it.

Filmmaker, 29, married; have a two-year old son

It is hard to say now what I mean by fatherhood and that I raise my child in any special way as he is only two years old. I definitely take care of him, walk him but it is hard to speak about fatherhood in regards to the child. I do not show it in any way but I take care of his mother. I may say that care of his mother is an indirect manifestation of fatherhood. I provide for her, take care of her comfort and safety. We have a common budget and I do my best to make liberal provision for my family. In my opinion, at this phase of our life it is a manifestation of fatherhood, I also think that a child should be born in marriage. There can be different situations but I would not want my child to be born, live and grow up not under my name. Besides, it leads to paper warfare, it is really tough! Common law marriage is

good for checking if you are getting along well with your partner in everyday life, sex and so on.

I will rather bring my son up in regards to the same principle that my parents used. It was a multi-faceted approach. For example, I think that imagination is more important than knowledge. That is why parents used to buy construction sets and I will do the same for my child. Perhaps, he will attend arts studio if my wife agrees. I believe that physical development is also important. He should go in for sports like tennis or football, or practice dancing because it will help him to learn to communicate with people and be a team member which is crucial today. Along with that, it is necessary to develop his skills in drawing or music. I hope you understand me.

Time has changed and it is time to create the own image of a man and a father. *Anyway, father should still be a man that means that he should not lose his core. He should be strong and kind and responsible for what he does and say. Man is the head of the family and that's it. I am pretty sure that the main problems should be resolved by men. Of course there may be various compromise situations and one should consider a partner's opinion but a man should make final decisions unless it regards some she-stuff like a beauty salon, and so on. This is not about patriarchal approach; it is an outdated style of relationships. It does not exist any longer unless a woman is softy though it is doubtful anyway. Some other basis, something in the middle, perhaps even democracy, is needed for long-lasting and stable relationship. It also depends on how the relationship started, If you were soft and flexible in the beginning you should not expect that a woman would be happy about the changes in your behavior, particularly violence. The things are quite simple in my family as I make final decisions. However, I am always interested in my wife's opinion. Sometimes I do not argue as women are smarter and more cunning in some issues, that's as it may be ...*

Neurological surgeon, 27, a father of a two-year-old daughter

The day when our daughter was born is the happiest in our marriage. It is January 10th. That is why it is a special day to me. Every day I am looking forward to this day. I think that a father as head of the family and that's it must provide for the family and take care of a child. It is particularly important to get involved when you have a son because it is important to mould character. It is important for girls as

well though. Parents should form the right attitudes while she should know what's what. I also think that a father as well as a mother should involve into a child's education and explain things, as well as help in doing homework and organizing a child's afterschool hours, for instance to take her or him to a sports club. I think that a father should be responsible for spiritual, intellectual and physical development of a child. I have never given a thought of a certain method or technique of upbringing. I just try to devote my attention to my daughter and respond to her requests as best as I can, as well as to love her and to take care of her.

Motherhood

Mother is the first person who meets a child and there is a close linkage between them. Mother should give a child her motherly love and care. Her love is crucial. The lack of motherly love may cause problems of physical or mental health, a substance abuse or delinquent behaviour in the future. Mother plays a very important role in child development. Mother should give all her love to children. I think that Russian women successfully cope with this duty. At least all the women I know are very good mothers. Their children are happy and close to their mother.

Constructing engineer, 27

This interview is unique. It conveys a story of a young man for whom fatherhood is an inherent value regardless of his relationships with a partner. This interview is full of emotions regarding the birth of children. Also, it expresses his willingness to communicate with children face-to-face and there are still a few of such occasions in Russia. Along with that, the respondent's occupation makes him travel for work a lot and be away from family. Therefore it is an uncommon situation. Occasional involvement in childcare is not the same as regular engagement. However, the respondent realizes that because he considers maternal leave to be an extremely difficult period involving many duties on childcare and household work. Below is the respondent's answer to the question about the happiest day of his life:

It was the time when I travelled on business after three months of unemployment... Finally, I could have some time off and away of

household duties! I really can't imagine how my wife copes with all these duties during the maternal leave. I really can't. What else? I planned neither a honeymoon nor marriage in the nearest five years. It so happened that my partner got pregnant and there was no other way to go about it. However, I cannot say that I felt really happy about this situation. The happiest days of my life were the days when my daughter and then my son were born. I think I live and work for the sake of my children. Not for my wife or for myself... I do not think I would have proposed to my partner if she did not get pregnant. All great moments in life deal with children. For instance, when we travelled to our country house last summer I was ready to stay with my kids without my wife's help. It is quite easy! I just work too much and I spend little time at home. I miss them a lot. I come home in order to spend time with kids. Birth of children is the greatest time of my life. Children are cool! You cannot imagine how funny they can be. As a man I feel great that I can teach my son something, and that he hangs upon my words. It is a great feeling! Especially as I did not plan to acquire a family so early. However, I have no regrets. I work like a dog seven days a week and it is amazing to realize that your children are waiting for you. When your children are around you are not alone... You can always go to the movies together to see some cartoon. Family is very important, and one can hardly be happy without children...

While I have a son and a daughter, I perform my fathering duties in different ways. For example, I must bring my son up well as a father. I have to teach him to communicate with girls and to respect them. I have to explain him that one should find her or his position in society and to become a leader but not an outsider. I should support him and explain various situations. As for the daughter, my primary responsibility is to provide her with safety and financial support. She should be able to rely on me as I am the only man who will never hurt her like other guys might do... However, primary responsibility for upbringing daughters rests with mothers. It is my personal opinion. There can be different situations but I have already made my decision in regard to my children. I don't really draw on some criteria or experiences, for instance, those of my parents. I really can't describe how it is going to happen. I am just more delicate with my daughter. For example, I can't imagine how it is possible to slap her and all but I should be hard on my son in a way in order to gain his

respect and serve as an example of a senior friend or an older brother. We will make our decisions as appropriate as there are no specific criteria...

While I work and travel a lot, I am unable to involve in upbringing for 24 hours. Besides, my children are too young and they do not need a lot of my attention. Now I am dealing with some essential things. However, in the future I will involve more in communication with my son. I don't want my wife to be fully responsible for upbringing of our son in order to avoid his womanlike behaviour as a consequence.

Well, I think I won't punish my daughter the way my father did it to me. For example, he could hit me with his belt. I will use do's and don't's. She should not stay outside till late, no guys around, no make-up and night clubs. All standard rules for a girl. My approach to son will be more serious as he is a man and should respect me and protect his interests. For instance, I have never been assaulted at school or at the university. In contrast, I could assault my peers in high school. I will do my best to prevent my son from the experience of assault. The system of do's and don't's works well for children, particularly for sons. I do think it is not much. Of course, one shouldn't just punish children. It is also important to talk to children and set a good example for them to follow. I think punishment is not really necessary. Today parents should be flexible. They should use negotiations and serve as positive role models in order to avoid punishment.

Actually, today it is easier to be a father. How was it happening in the past? Fathers used to work and women were staying at home and raising children. I remember that my father could afford staying at home and not to work due to the government policy. In the past these regulations existed in Europe but not in Russia and in the Soviet Union. Today things are getting a little easier. For example, there is a regulation on paternity leave when fathers can take care of a child and stay at home with the position guaranteed upon return from a leave. I think that is a positive achievement for fathers. Things are simpler for mothers and this is natural. Children need mothers in the earliest time of their lives. Fathers can take a leave when children grow and thus would not need mother's care so much.

Motherhood is a basic care that children need mostly when they are very young, both boys and girls. It is a kind of protection.

Mother should teach a child to talk and walk, and to arrange a kindergarten or a school for children, basically to put them right until they enter university.

My task is to provide for the family and to ensure safety and security for my family members. Basically, Russian women are not always good mothers. There are so many abandoned children and alcoholic women. I have seen enough of them as I work close to rural areas. I can see such children in the streets and their mothers buying liquor in the nearest shop or in a neighbouring village. There are also wonderful mothers. They care of their children, they are well aware of their responsibilities, and they do not drink... I am lucky as I have two healthy kids and their mother is a reasonable person.

Economist, 29, divorced, a father of a small daughter:

What does fatherhood mean to me? You know, I don't consider myself a family man as at present I can't involve in raising my only sweet daughter and that is very unfortunate. Anyhow, I do my best to give her all my love and care. I think that the most important thing to a father is to ensure children's safety. Children should always know that they can rely on their father and that he is the first person who is concerned about their lives. I also think that children should be provided with appropriate financial support as well because there may be different life situations. I also think it is crucial to focus on the formation of a child's personality, particularly on the qualities which will help her or him to be settled in life and to get her or his priorities right.

I love my daughter very much but I have not developed any upbringing methods so far.. Anyhow, I think that I will do it. Perhaps I will read some books on pedagogy. I have not really given a thought to it. Actually, it is a good question. For instance, she won't be allowed to stay out late. I think that I overindulge her, I buy clothes and toys. I really make much of her. I guess it is because of my feeling of guilt that is being accumulated. I am not going to guess at the future as I am planning to salvage my marriage after all and get on track with my wife. I do not like to be a "zoo daddy".

Are there any conditions contributing to being a real father in this country? I think yes, why not. It seems to me that parents decide whether they should or should not perform their duties. If one does not want to involve in child rearing and take on the responsibility for a child, and he or she would find a million or reasons why it is not

necessary to involve. This person will blame the government and everyone around. Everything depends on a father's wish and background. As for me, I do not see any obstacles. I am personally responsible for my timing as well as for earning for the sake of my child. I think that those who complain are just unable to do something by themselves as well as to assess their ability and willingness to become a father. You will be capable if you have a head, arms and legs, the rest will follow.

Well, as for a mother she is the most important person in a child's life regardless of one's gender and age. There are many unique aspects in motherhood like pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding. The same thing is with upbringing... It is no wonder that a child pays her or his attention to a mother's opinion above all and consider her to be his main support and the main source of life experience. It is a broad theme including a lot of aspects.

Unfortunately, our women are not very successful in terms of a mother's role. Today women see child raising as an unpleasant responsibility. They involve in it against their will or do it in haste. It is unacceptable as it contradicts their main function. However, we should not lump them under a general umbrella. There are women who madly love their children. They work really hard to provide for their children. However, there are also women who give birth to children and then neglect them or give their children up. I believe that such women should be at least deprived of parental rights, not to mention alcoholic mothers. It is hard to imagine people who drive themselves to a state when they do not remember anything and drink all the time. This is a horror.

Economist, 47:

If one could easily and clearly answer the question about fatherhood it would be just ingeniously. It is when children love their father and speak of him with a grateful remembrance and respect. It means that one should live his life and form relationships with children in a way that they would love their father and be proud of him. It seems to me that all events and relationships going on would be specific and therefore it is difficult to answer a question about fatherhood. I think that if children love and respect their father it is a fatherhood. However, there may be different situations and thus children do not always model the behavior of their parents or the father. I

would rather say that the most perfect father is the one with whom children feel comfortable when they become adults and whom they want to see. Strictly speaking, that is what a father is...

I do not have any specific upbringing method. If I had one, I would use it. Again, I would like to mention general methods which are love, understanding, care, other things, perhaps. Patience that is never enough though we always forgive children. Children are children... **one should find the right words and this is the most difficult thing.** Actually, the most important thing in relationships with children is to keep trust and respect of the children. If it is there in the course of life you raised children in a proper way. Sometimes you can be rude to them when you feel helpless as kids can drive you to a non-plus when you have no idea what to do. That is when you lose control and it probably deals with one's breeding... As for stressful situations, if they happen they should but in the long run it is crucial for children not to withdraw into themselves, keep trust to their parents and know that parents will always be parents. When trust is lost it won't matter which methods of upbringing you would use... What's the point?

As for **motherhood**, I would say it's more physiological as mothers give birth to children. Mother will always be mother... under any circumstances. It is a little more difficult for a father to be a parent but as for motherhood, it is inherent in women. It starts with her unconditional love and kindness. However, only children are able to say what kind of parents we are. The way children accept us, remember, love, respect, and value us. It is crucial when they are proud of us... That is how the assessment can be made and the answer to the question "What kind of a person have you been in your life?" can be received. Though it is all very complicated as fathers and mothers can be harsh and kind, or boring. Actually, they can be different. In the course of life, children can form their opinion of their father or mother and these opinions can be absolutely different.

Mothers are particularly important because 70 p.c. or 80 p.c. of responsibility regarding childrearing from the birth to 13–15 years lay on mothers. Mothers are always closer to children than fathers. A child is much more dependent on a mother during a very long time. Of course, there are situations when mothers are deprived of their parental rights. Well, these are extreme cases when intervention of a government is needed. For instance, it is necessary when there is

a threat to a child's safety. Fortunately, these are rare cases. I think that our women are good mothers."

Some young fathers who made their way to the most successful career destroy their private life. According to Igor Kon, like in the west, Russian young people tend to focus more on personal achievements rather than on childbirth.

Below is a fragment of the in-depth interview with an economist, 29, from Petrozavodsk, Karelia:

Actually, I have a daughter, so I am a husband and a father. Why have I broken up with my wife? You know I work 24 hours, no days off. My working days are of unfixed duration. To be honest, I don't want a different life... You must admit that a young woman would hardly like to spend evenings or holidays on her own. When we started to live as a couple everything was all right. She is the best woman; I still love and value our relationship, even the current relationship we have... The problem is that I fought my way to my current job. I spent all my time and energy on my work, given that the organization I work for and its activities are brand new to me. That is how the divorce happened. She gave birth to our daughter. I love her madly and I miss her a lot. She is the one I work for so much now.

The most interesting thing is that no terrible things or any extra-marital affairs happened that could be a reason why two people break up. I just literally forgot about my wife... Once I even forgot about her birthday. Trust me, while my experience proved that one should write things down though I never complained of my memory. Such things matter to women. So she left and took our child away. Of course, we see each other, I also see my daughter. However, I am unable to do anything in order to return our relationship. I can't promise her that I won't pay more attention to her or anything else. That will not happen... We have not completed the divorce procedure yet as we have a child. We just live separately.

Thus, qualitative data show that the young generation of men lacks a clear scenario of performing parenting duties. The general basic principle of upbringing is love and care. None of the fathers mentioned reading books on developmental psychology or child development. All of them rely on their common sense. Only one interview discovered dramatic choosing between family and work as the

main obstacle to the fulfillment of father's duties. In the other cases, young men cope with the situation due to high responsibility of their wives and partners about whom they speak with great respect. However, the urge to make their life rich in terms of fathering or to consider fatherhood a sense-making basis of their being has not forced its way so far.

Obstacles to the acceptance of the model of involved fatherhood

55.8 p.c. of respondents said that problems in engaging men in involved fatherhood deal with the lack of economic measures aimed at security for fathering but not with the unwillingness to involve in child raising. It is likely that these 55.8 per cent of respondents would have taken a paternity leave in case the government provide them with appropriate benefits.

- A. Lack of public discussions on new fathering
Discussions on new fatherhood are still rare. This is an underexposed issue in the media and popular literature, and publications on these issues has recently appeared in sociological articles. These articles describe numerous ways of communication of fathers and children in order to engage emotional involvement of fathers including sensibility that fathers had to conceal in the earlier times. Much to be done for dissemination of results of this research in order to make an impact on fathering practices, as well as to transform linguistic patterns that determine a new fatherhood model.
- B. Lack of information about the situation in European countries.
There is more information available about the situation in Nordic countries while they have a longer history and tradition of implementation of social and economic measures aimed at fathers' involvement in various areas of family life.
- C. Lack of research on monitoring of dynamics of the processes.
There is no doubt that Russian fathers are more involved in physical exercise together with their children. They spend their free time with children and travel together. However, the society is not prepared to differentiate between parenting and

fathering. For instance, parenting closely relates to men's role of a breadwinner. In contrast, fathering implies specific personal characteristics distinguishing between individual fathers. [8]

- D. Lack of tangible social governmental policy aimed at reaching a balance between professional and family roles.

Commitment of governments to principles of family-friendly policies in the labour market can cause involved fatherhood. The question of a balance between family and work has been on the agenda at various levels in our society but they placed special emphasis on mothers. Fathers and society still consider the issue of balance between family and work to be their personal problem. Meanwhile, fathers had to survive the course of shocking therapy due to process of family nucleation that continued during the latter half of the twentieth century, and retreat of governments from a range of social programs resulted in recent decrease in number of child care centres. Fathers had to get adjusted to completely new circumstances of child rearing with a scarce assistance from the state and relatives. Along with that, men were supposed to continue performing their obligations of a breadwinner and provide economic support to family. In addition, men's partners/wives expected that men would become involved fathers and invest their leisure time to family (quantitative aspect), as well as add up a new content to their family relations and express their care and emotional attachment to partner and children (qualitative aspect). In order to reach the balance, fathers with low and middle incomes try to reach informal agreement with their employers for obtaining flexible working schedule (starting a working day later or leaving workplace earlier, taking a day off, etc.). Fathers with higher incomes struggle for higher wages in order to hire a baby-sitter or to have an opportunity of paying for a private childcare centre. However, so far Russian employers view measures of pro-family policies as sources of extra expenses but not as the ways of recruiting young employees and holding of a highly skilled professional in the company.

E. Lack of awareness of specific nature of the situation in Russia that forces fathers to be more active. This specific nature implies two points:

- 1) A higher educational level of women in Russia. There are 55 per cent of women among employed university-educated population.
- 2) Rapid health deterioration of expectant mothers and children. Studies show that today health potential of younger children is much worse than that of the previous generations. According to corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Natalia Rimashevskaya, “over one third of children are born unhealthy or they become ill immediately after birth without undertaking treatment.” [9].

Proportion of children with disabilities grow, as well as number of highly allergic children. Along with that, health of expectant and nursing mothers is deteriorating. Today their health is worse than that of expectant mothers of the previous generations. Thus, there is an urgent need in qualitative and quantitative increase in fathers’ involvement in care of children and partners/wives. The problem should be resolved via the implementation of multi-agency approach. In addition, there is a need in intensification of factors beyond the health care field that are flexible working hours for both parents and the recognition of critical importance of involved fatherhood in reproductive labour with adequate compensation for loss of earnings in the early postnatal period (80–100 per cent of a principal monthly salary).

According to the survey, 83.4 per cent of respondents believe that public recognition of involved fatherhood at all phases of child development is needed as it is the issue of social justice and observance of men’s rights. In other words, they consider the existing society a discriminatory environment in terms of opportunities of fulfillment of parental responsibilities. According to three thirds of respondents, one of solutions is the development of special legislative and management measures. Meanwhile, many fathers (70 p.c. of respondents) admit the existence of cultural limitations that prevent them from performing all household and childcare duties on equal terms with their wives/partners.

The Roadmap of “The Concept of State Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period Until 2025” includes a range of key measures aimed at combining professional and child care obligations by parents, among them availability of pre-school education and formation of the environment that is friendly to employees with family obligations. In the latter case, we are referring to the **recommendations** developed for a draft of a general agreement between national trade union associations, national employers’ unions and the Russian Government for 2017–2019. However, there is a need in laws to be adopted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection which would establish flexible forms of employment for parents with small children, for instance part-time work, split working day, shortened working day, flexible schedule, etc., as well as other benefits in the labour field in view of gender differences of employees.

The need in encouraging fathers’ involvement in the first days of a child’s life is not just an issue of gender equality or expanding new parental patterns but also a question of preserving health of population and resolving pressing population problems in terms of improvement of genetic resources.

Transition to involved fatherhood will demand generating a new interpretation of the former concepts. For instance, recognition of father and fathering would demand a definition of a far wider range of obligations in terms of child care. This is due to the idea that fathers should involve in child birth from the period of partner’s pregnancy and delivery, and fathers should respond to a child’s needs in the first days of her or his life.

Institutional ensuring of fathers’ opportunity of being involved ‘here and now’ provides fathers with a chance of taking care of a newborn child and that can be limited in time and financial benefits. Moreover, it contributes to creating a new discourse of fatherhood. Men get a chance to openly express their feelings. They are provided with an opportunity of getting to the environment which used to be considered an entirely women’s space. In addition, a new language of expressing parental needs based on the recognition of father’s affection towards his child is being formed.

New fatherhood and the Second World War

New fatherhood that implies close emotional contact with children and daily care has been to a great extent blocked by the Second

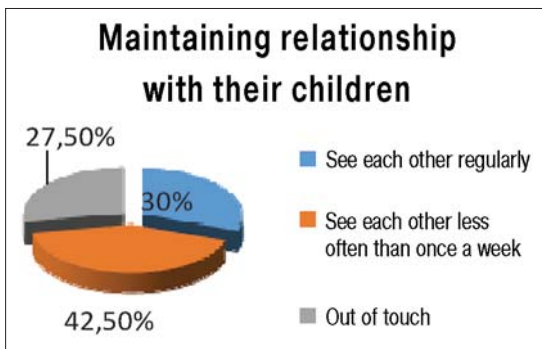
World War. As a rule, war losses were measured by a number of perished people as well as a number of unborn people in the future generations. All European countries and a lot of countries outside Europe incurred losses. Russia incurred the greatest loss of 27 million people. Due to that, a new concept of a demographic hall emerged. It means that in the 1960-s our country found missing a great number of children due to their perished fathers. However, today understanding of the losses regarding psychological and mental development of children who were born immediately after the war and in the following two generations has moved to a forefront along with the awareness of physical losses. Family socialization of these children has been disturbed. The men thrown to economic recovery and life infrastructure were able to involve in family life to some extent. Role model of a father who was engaged in daily life of his family could not be developed back then. The result was the raised generation for which a standard model was a father who drowned himself in work. Children of these fathers replicated this model of fatherhood in their own families. Only at the turn of the 20th century, along with the growth of the well-being of countries, as well as with the development of health care and breakthrough research in sociology and psychology the society shifted focus to the need in the dramatic change of this situation. Early childhood as a critical phase of personal fulfillment and the exceptional importance of parenting in this process became an issue of major concern.

In the USA, Australia, Nordic countries and other European countries young men started to demonstrate their ability to care of their children in the same way as the mothers of their children. The extent to which they performed their fathering responsibilities significantly exceeded the contribution of their fathers [10]. The era of social aspirations for the emotional involvement of fathers in multiple aspects of children's life which will be more visible with maintaining of financial responsibility. So far, in Russia this era has been belated. Though it is possible to provide many examples of involved fatherhood in Russia, it is still necessary to realize that a real transformation in relations between a father and a child means emotional links leading to the awareness of problems of a very young child caused by major time investments and numerous practices of parenting and care [11].

Divorced men and their children

Stability or instability of families are key indicators that determine steady or unsteady state of the fathers. In our sample as few as 43.4 p.c. of respondents are completely sure that they will not face a situation of divorce, while over one fourth of male respondents (27.1 p.c.) are afraid of divorce and believe that they will not have an opportunity to see their children in a case of divorce. These are eligible concerns caused by high divorce rates in Russia. Half of the marriages end up in divorce. This is a long-term trend observed by sociologists from the 1970-s. Statistics show that in most cases women are initiators of divorce. The main reasons of breakdown of marriages are extra-marital affairs of men and their abusive drinking behaviour. However, in recent times due to the spread of women's economic independence couples also refer to difference in character.

According to the survey conducted in Karelia, 27.4 p.c. of fathers live separate from their children of which 42.5 p.c. see their children less often than once a week. 30 p.c of men see their children on a regular basis, namely several times a week. Over a half of the fathers from the sample who live separate from their children, namely 60.7 per cent, cover almost all expenses on children. However, 24.3 per cent of fathers do it occasionally, and 15 per cent of the men



do not provide any financial support (see Figures 3.1.15 and Figure 3.1.16).

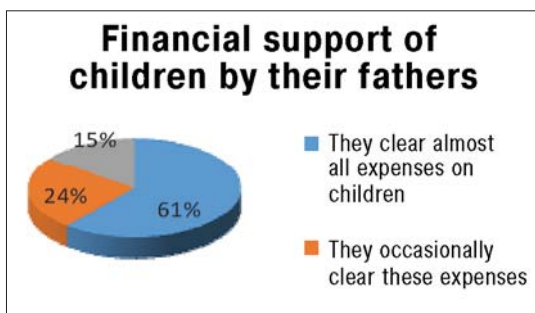


Fig. 3.1.15. Maintaining relationships with children on the part of divorced men.

Fig. 3.1.16. Financial support of children provided by the divorced fathers.

In Russia, after a marriage breakdown children usually stay with their mother by the court decision. Meanwhile, an opposite tendency is getting under way in cases when head of the family is a man holding a key position in business or politics. High incomes help them to argue that their economic situation will make children have advantages in terms of their education and upbringing if they stay with their father. However, such cases are not very significant in terms of statistics so far. Judges traditionally give priority to mothers when they make a decision on custody. Their decisions are predetermined by the circumstance that the law obliges judges to ask a child who she/he would like to live with after the parents' divorce. In most cases children prefer to live with their mother because mothers usually spend more time and have a close connection with them. As a result, we received the following answers to our question: Do you feel that men and women have equal chances to get custody of the child (children) in a divorce proceeding? 56.6 p.c. of the men said that women have more chances; 0.8 per cent of the men said that men have more chances, and 13.1 p.c. were undecided (See. Table 3.1.11).

Table 3.1.11.

Assessment of custody chances

Chances of men and women	Per cent
Men have more chances	0.8
Women have more chances	56.6
Women and men have equal chances	29.5
I am not sure	13.1
Total	100

Table 3.1.12.

Assessment of loyalty of law towards men or women in cases of divorce

Assessment	Per cent
Towards men	1.0
Towards women	47.6
One law for both	37.9
Don't know	13.5
Total	00

Assessment of women's chances as high made a direct impact on the understanding of the law as a more favourable one for women in a divorce proceeding. (See Figure 3.1.10). As a result, we received the following answers to the question "*Do you feel that divorce laws in your country favour the man or the woman?*" 47.6 per cent of the men said that divorce laws favour the woman and as few as 1 per cent of the men said that the law favours men. (See Figure 7). Slightly over one third of respondents (37.9 p.c.) believe that men and women have equal chances to get custody of the child in a divorce proceeding.

According to male respondents, only in exceptional circumstances both parents have equal chances to get custody of the child. 9.9 per cent of respondents expressed such opinion. 65.1 p.c. of respondents were undecided, and 25.0 p.c. think that there are no such cases.

Half of the male sample (49.6 per cent) are aware of the law on the establishment of paternity and almost the same proportion of men (43.9 pc.) know nothing of this law. 6.5 per cent of respondents are sure that there is no such a law. 502 respondents tried to give an answer to the question “*What does the law or laws entail?*” 41.8 per cent of respondents said that the law entails DNA testing; 39.8 p.c. of respondents believe that this law prescribes the official acknowledgement of paternity. According to 9.6 p.c. of respondents, this law prescribes that fathers should provide child support while 8.8 per cent are undecided. This result of the survey entirely complies with the statement that Igor Kon made in his book *Men in a Changing World*. He wrote that the establishment of paternity in different societies can mean various procedures and consequences [12].

Fatherhood and celebration of Fathers’ Day in Russia

For the first time Father’s Day was celebrated in Moscow in 2012. Few are aware of that due to the lack of media coverage. Besides, this day is not a nationally recognized holiday so far. Meanwhile, local initiatives regarding celebration of Father’s Day were launched back in 2002. In 2008, seven regional organizations sent their letter to the President of the Russian Federation with the request of official recognition of this holiday. The public discussion on the choice of the date of the holiday was held. The last Sunday of October, which is one month prior to Mother’s Day was suggested as a possible option. Today Ministry of Labour and Social Protection has prepared a draft of a respective decree and submitted it to the presidential office.

There are three critical aspects regarding the way of celebration of Father’s Day in Moscow this year [13]. First, in Moscow during PapaFest the collection of signatures campaign for the Fatherhood Foundation was held. It means that coordinators encouraged social activism, along with entertaining the campaigners.



Celebration of the Father's Day in Moscow in 2016.

Second, this year this holiday was celebrated in a more massive way than before. For instance, in Moscow the celebration took two days. Third, all events dedicated to fatherhood were held by Fatherhood Foundation that was established by the management of the city programs “Stolitsa” (The Capital).

In Karelia, a local organization initiated the celebration of Father's Day. In 2012 it was held as a result of the joint Russia-Swedish training “Social Projects Aimed at the Support of Families”. Participants of the training were informed about the programs on assistance for fathers implemented in St. Petersburg and Sweden. Unfortunately, this local initiative is developing very slowly that is confirmed by data of the survey. For instance, 88 per cent of respondents said that they have never heard of public awareness campaigns or social events aimed at the support of involved fatherhood. As few as 4 per cent of respondents gave a positive answer while 8 per cent of them gave no answer at all. 2.6 per cent out of the well-informed respondents took part in public awareness campaigns or other activities regarding the issues of involved fatherhood in their communities or at the workplace.

Finally, it should be highlighted that the ruling party “United Russia” has unified regional fathers’ councils into the united federal organization that is called “The Fathers’ Union”: <http://отцыроссии.рф/делегаты-из-22-регионов-учредили-в-москв/>

According to the Charter, the goal of “The Fathers’ Union” is promotion of traditional family values in the society, enhancement of the role of fatherhood in the implementation of cultural and educational functions of the family as well as children safeguarding, enhancing prestige of the fathers’ social role and responsibility for the sake of resolving population problems in Russia.

It is planned to set up a center of scientific expertise that will focus its activities on the analysis of fatherhood issues under auspices of The Federal Scientific Coordination Council of the Russian Academy of Education (RAO) on the issues of family and childhood headed by Arthur Rean. The website is set up that is to become the main discussion platform on the issues of involved fatherhood.

According to the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, in every second region there are non-profit organizations focused on fatherhood issuers in accordance with their charters [15].

Member of Russia Civic Chamber and the Federal Fathers’ Union, father of many children Vladimir Slepak set for focus areas of the Union. For instance, he said the following: “In the current situation, Russian families with children have become social outcasts and most of them live below the poverty line. This intolerable situation causes the child abandonment. For instance, in Russia in the 2011 — 2015 timeframe a number of homeless orphans increased from 70 thousand to 128 thousand people. Annually in Russia 50,000 fathers and mothers are deprived of their parental rights and 44,000 parents lose their children due to the substance abuse.” Slepak also places a special emphasis on the statistics of marital breakdown. For instance, the highest divorce rate was registered in 2015 when the separation factor was 540 divorces came for 1,000 marriages. In addition, court decisions on child custody are based on the principle of equality. For instance, it is impossible to reach agreements on alternating custody when father and mothers take turns in taking care of their minor children.

Models of replication of different types of marital relations and parenting practices in young families

(November–December, 2015)

Numerous studies show that a model of parents' behavior is the key one for shaping models of behavior of children in their own marital unions. They replicate unconsciously or consciously both negative and positive models of their parents' conduct. The most widespread term for defining the transmission of negative experiences is intergenerational violence. Given that in Russia almost every second marriage breaks up it is easy to guess that relations between partners are often conflict-ridden. We asked our respondents to share their reflections on the character of relations between their parents and the impact they made on the respondents' own marital lives

Model of a conflict-ridden relationship between respondents' parents

Total number of respondents is 1,005 with 360 men and 645 women aged from 18 to 49 years among them.

Even when the respondents' parents were the registered spouses, just a half of them had stable relationships. Regular conflicts took place in the other half of families. (See Figure 3.1.17).

- 50.2 per cent of respondents were the witnesses of serious conflicts between their parents. 58.7 of conflicts took place no less than once a month or several times a month.
- 65 per cent of the respondents said that their parents raised their voices at each other. 63.7 p.c. out of this group stressed that it happened no less than once a month or several times a month.
- Almost one third of respondents (32.6 p.c.) remember that parents used to interrupt their relations and were not on speaking terms for several days. (See Figure 3.1.18).

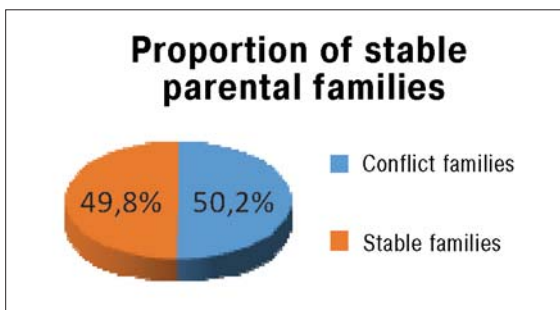


Figure 3.1.17. Proportion of stable parental families.

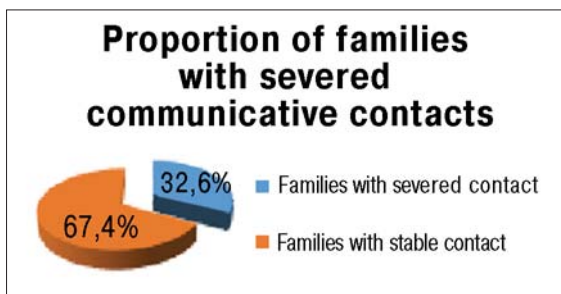


Figure 3.1.18. Proportion of families with severed communicative contacts.

Almost one third of the men (32.4 p.c.) verbally abused the respondents' mothers in the respondents' presence in their childhood. However, just 3.8 per cent of the fathers did it on a regular basis. Nevertheless, the mothers also verbally abused their male partners/husbands who were the respondents' fathers (28.5 per cent of mothers). 2.5 per cent of women did it on a regular basis. (See Figure 3.1.19).

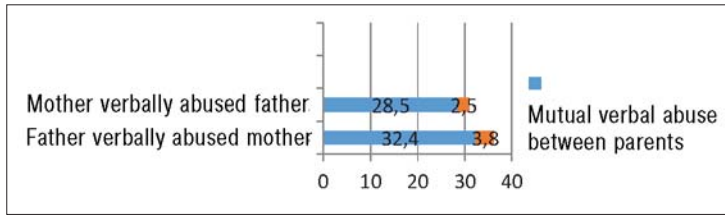


Figure 3.1.19. Proportion of mothers and fathers who verbally abused each other in the children's presence: p.c.

Domestic Violence

As few as 47.4 per cent of respondents said that their parents treated each other with respect and tolerance. In other families, in their childhood the respondents were witnesses of numerous negative situations in their parents' relationships. Fathers were far from being a role model for their sons. However, according to the survey data, women were also aggressive and intolerant. It is understood, that without knowing a context, received percentage distribution presents just the upper edge of the general picture. Perhaps, women's aggressiveness was their response to a certain conduct on the part of men, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is very important to be aware of the extent of conflicts in order to reveal pain points and in the future to focus on them in terms of social research.

Below is the overview of different types of violence, namely psychological, economic, physical violence and extra-marital affairs.

Psychological Violence

- Nearly half of respondents (48.2 p.c.) said that their father drove mother to tears;
- Every fifth woman (19.7 p.c.) exhausted their husband's patience and that is why he used to leave the home;
- In the exceptional circumstances, father or mother limited their partner's contacts with relatives (6.3 per cent of fathers and 5 per cent of mothers). However, these numbers skyrocketed as far as communication with friends or colleagues was concerned. Thus, 13 p.c. of men and 16.4 p.c. of women enjoined their partners/spouses from contacting their friends or colleagues.

Physical Violence

- 22 per cent of the respondents said that their father could push the mother or raise hands against her. The indicator regarding respective mothers' behavior is close and it is 18 p.c.;
- Severe forms of physical violence when fathers were beating the respondents' mothers took place in 13.3 per cent of families. As a result, 10 per cent of women had bruises or scratches;
- 9 p.c. of fathers turned the respondents' mothers out of the house. Mothers used to do it more often; 14.7 p.c. of the respondents remember such situations.

Economic Violence

8.8 p.c. of the respondents remember that a father stripped their mother for money.

Extra-marital affairs

15 p.c. of the respondents said that their father had an extra-marital affair and mother knew about it. 4.3 p.c. of women had an extra-marital affair as well and their partners/husbands knew about it.

Assessment of the model of relationships between parents in the family

If to take a look at the general picture, 50 p.c. of the respondents assessed their relations with parents as excellent or good, hence these relations could be a model for their own families. Figure 3.1.20 shows detailed distribution of the survey data. Almost one fourth of the respondents (22.2 p.c.) said that they would like to have a similar type of relationships that their parents had. 31.8 p.c. said that they liked the way their father and mother treated each other. However, these respondents would like to build a different type of relationships in their own families. 28.3 p.c of respondents assessed their parents' life as satisfactory and emphasized that they would like to avoid their parents' mistakes. Finally, every seventh respondent (14.7 p.c.) said that the parents were on bad terms with each other and these respondents would never wish to treat each other in a similar way with their partners in their own relationships.

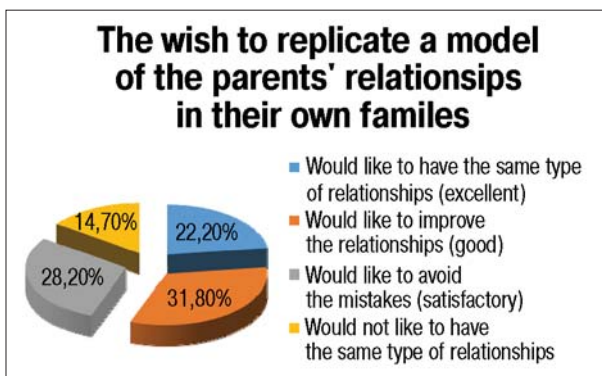


Figure 3.1.20. Assessment of the model of relationships between parents in the family.

Violence against respondents in their childhood perpetrated by their parents

Parenting practices are inherited from the past and they often reflect the morals and manners of persons of the immediate environment. For instance, in urban regions the areas where family lives matters, whether it is a working-class district or the area where government officials or academicians reside. Types of upbringing in various social groups vary widely. For instance, in working-class families, authoritarian and distant fathers are usually the most common types of a parent though there are exceptions. When fathers are of high social status they have more democratic relations with their children meaning a close contact with a son though there is no positive correlation here. Taken as a whole, regardless of parents' social status, there are common and widespread parenting practices that present a general picture of attitudes toward a younger generation on the part of the senior one. In this case, the older generations are parents of the respondents born in the 1940-s and 1950-s and respondents are at the ages from 30 to 40 years. Below you will find assessment of the way their fathers and mothers treated them.

Psychic atmosphere in a parental family

60 per cent of the respondents mentioned that their parents raised their voices at them. In 70.8 p.c. of the cases, it happened no less than once a month. Mothers did it more often than fathers did and that is 47.3 p.c. and 35.3 p.c. respectively. Such difference is due to the circumstance that 25.4 p.c. of the respondents (255 persons) grew up in fatherless households and were raised by single mothers.

If we compare grandfathers and grandmothers, they raised their voices at the respondents very rarely. Again, grandmothers did it more often than grandfathers that is respectively 5.1 p.c and 2.4 p.c. It is caused by the fact that grandfathers raise their grandchildren more rarely due to high death rates among men over 60 years in Russia where male life expectancy is 66 years while female life expectancy is 77 years.

Both parents limited their children's contacts with their schoolmates and friends. Due to prevailing proportion of mothers among parents, they did it in 22.1 per cent of cases compared to 14.8 per cent of the cases regarding fathers.

Communicative dysfunction of a parental family

In 14.4 p.c. of families parents did not interrupt their contacts with children for several days. Parents dealt with their discontent with a child's behaviour via open expression of their intolerance of children's conduct evolving into isolation or temporary detachment instead of conversing with children.

9.4 p.c of the respondents confessed the cases when one of the parents humiliated them in public. As is known, such situations are the most painful for children and remembered for the entire life.

Both parents drove their children to tears. Mothers did it more often than fathers did, 33.8 and 27.7 per cent respectively. Again, this gender difference is caused by the fact that 25.4 per cent of the respondents grew up in fatherless households.

13.5 p.c. of parents in equal measure exhausted children's patience and due to that the latter used to leave the home.

Physical violence perpetrated by parents in respondents' childhood

Both parents pushed their children. 15.3 p.c. of the respondents said that it was the father and 16.2. p.c. of them said that it was the mother. Fathers threatened with battering more often than mothers did which is 12.8 and 0.9 per cent respectively. These threats were carried out by 11.5 per cent of fathers and by 9 p.c. of mothers. Thus, both parents “kept their word”. It is significant to emphasize the observation that Igor Kon described in his book *Men in a Changing World*. According to Kon, there are “disciplinary fathers” men are supposed to be firm and demanding for children due to gender stereotypes. Therefore, sometimes children provoke punishments on the part of their fathers via their expectations of punishment from the fathers though the men might not wish to act as a “disciplinary” parent.

- 18.8 p.c of the respondents said that either their father or mother dragged them by ears;
- 7.7 p.c. of the respondents remember that parents kicked them in the head.

Child neglect as a form of violence

Regular neglect towards a child's appearance or mood may cause a serious trauma. Atmosphere in the home can be compared to ecological conditions of plant development. If there is enough of light and warmth, plants do well but if there is a lack of water, air and sunlight, they get sick. So does a child. One third of the respondents suffered from the lack of care on the part of their parents. For instance, 7.7 p.c. of respondents were in critical need of father's care while 12.3 p.c desperately needed the mother's care. However, 10.7 per cent or every tenth respondent needed the attention of both parents.

20.4 p.c. of the parents neglected school problems of their children as well as the difficulties they had in communication with their peers. Moreover, they even blamed the children as if the latter caused those problems. Along with that, 18 per cent of the respondents said that, on the contrary, they were exposed to overprotection by parents.

Punishment on respondents in their childhood

49.4 per cent of the respondents said that parents punished them very rarely. They did it in the situations when respondents behaved badly or even provoked their parents. 17 p.c. of the respondents were never punished. According to one fourth of the respondents (25.5 p.c.), they were occasionally punished and as a rule, they were forgiven by parents afterwards. As few as 8 per cent were regularly exposed to punishments and parents always found the reasons for that. 60.3 p.c. of the respondents believe that punishments were just; 32.6 p.c. think that sometimes they were just and sometimes they were not, and as few as 7 per cent of the respondents said that they were undeservingly punished. The most well spread forms of punishments were deprivation of sweets or toys that was mentioned by 24.3 p.c. of the respondents. Physical violence was an exception.

Violence and humiliating treatment of children on the part of parents

Older generations of parents born in the 1940-s and the 1950-s, were not socialized in urban areas where non-written rules for child rearing rooted in the peasant lifestyle were instituted. These traditions were founded on community values and public discussion of children's behavior as well as on public forms of punishment. Introduction to the city culture including new concepts of privacy of family relations and upbringing of children happened as late as in the 1980-s when intervention of the communist party committees in the citizens' private lives filed as a history. However, a tradition of holding behavior of other children as an example in order to point at the children's weaknesses has survived to the present day. For instance, according to the survey data, 26.7 per cent of the respondents mentioned that their parents used to do it, among them 6 p.c. of fathers and 13.3 p.c. of mothers. The reason for prevailing proportion of mothers is that they were raising their children in fatherless households. In 7.4 p.c. of the cases, both parents were holding behavior of other children as an example for their sons and daughters.

30 p.c. of the respondents said that sometimes they did not want to come back home due to the unfavorable psychological atmosphere.

Economic Violence

11 p.c. of the respondents said that their parents used to reproach them with the money spent on their needs due to their poor progress in studies.

Gendered dysfunctional parenting

While introducing this term we indicate the situation when parents give their priority to the birth of a child of a certain gender due to social and economic conditions or under pressure of governmental population policy. In compliance with legal regulations, the institute of inheritance of property and real estate from father to son was founded. As a result, for the sake of strengthening kindred it was crucial to have more sons. The tradition of giving a child his father's surname also contributed to the wish to have a son because after marriage sons would pass their surname to the following generations. Finally, fathers considered that it would be more reliable to transfer knowledge or crafts to sons than to daughters. In the times when mankind has entered era of the information society and of the contentious diversification of professions, the latter circumstance is becoming less significant though it is still valid. As a result, according to the survey data it was found that 5 per cent of female respondents said that their father openly expressed his regret at the fact of the birth of a daughter but not of a son. 6 per cent of female respondents recognized that their fathers used to state that boys are smarter than girls.

Along with that, mothers also have their gendered dysfunctional attitudes to parenting. Perhaps their fear of loneliness in the old age or the lack of skills needed for communication with children of the opposite gender became a reason for the fact that 4 per cent of male respondents said that their mothers expressed their regret at the birth of their sons, as they wanted to have a daughter. 17 p.c. of male respondents mentioned that their mothers stated that girls are kinder and more delicate than boys.

In both cases, denial of significance of a child's gender is a psychological trauma to her/him even if parents mentioned it in a non-aggressive way. Prevalence of significance of gender over personality proves the inadequacy of parents as well as their psychological problems that children have to overcome though they lack sufficient arguments and the spirit needed for the resistance.

Respect to young women on the part of young men as well as the recognition of their personality to the most extent depends on the respect that their fathers showed to mothers.

Parental jealousy in the period of a child's growing-up

Another important psychological problem that parents of grownup children face is their jealousy to future partners of their parents. It is understood that it is very difficult to suppress it while, roughly speaking, children are the main life project that demands solid investments of finances and time on the part of parents, to say nothing of the emotional bond. Nevertheless, failure to set a grownup child free in proper time shows parents' selfishness and therefore traumatize grownup children. According to the survey data, 8.5 per cent of women that took part in the survey mentioned that their fathers were jealous when they got acquainted with their boyfriends. The same number of fathers forbade their daughters to date a boyfriend. As for mothers, the statistics received is far more depressing, namely: 19.3 p.c. of the male respondents said that their mothers were jealous of their girlfriends while 10.8 per cent of male respondents recognized that their mothers forbade them to date girlfriends.

Self-assessment of marital relations of respondents

76.4 p.c. of the respondents said that their own relationships are good or very good, and as few as 22.8 p.c. of respondents evaluated them as unsatisfying or bad. These figures are somewhat paradoxical because, according to our survey, serious conflicts take place in 50.3 p.c. of the respondents' families (just as many as in their parental families). 67.5 p.c. of the respondents said that it was happening no less than once a month. Thus, it is hard to escape a conclusion that regular conflicts become constant companions of young couples whose parents used to quarrel regularly. It is one of the evidences that a communicative function of the family is the most problematic. Although quarrels and conflicts do not always destroy relationships, they lower quality of marriages of a great number of young men and women. In 52.6 per cent of the families, one of the partners raise voice at the other partner, and in 67 p.c. of the respondents' families it happens no less than once a month. In some situa-

tions, one of the partners loses touch with the other one for several days. Such situations are relevant for 35 per cent of the respondents and this figure is very close to those characterizing the parental families (32.6 p.c.). 12.3 per cent of the respondents mentioned public humiliation and 60.2. per cent out of them said that it was happening often or occasionally. 38.6 p.c. of the respondents said that their partners drove them to tears. Partners of 24 p.c. of the respondents exhausted patience of the latter and after that, they left the home. In a similar way as in a parental family, 6.4 per cent of spouses/partners limited contacts of their partner with their relatives. As for limiting contacts with friends, this figure is dramatically higher and is equal to 21.7 per cent. It even exceeds the figure characterizing the situation in the families of the respondents' parents. One third of the respondents (33.4 per cent) suffer from the lack of care on the part of their partner while 30.7 of the respondents in their childhood suffered from the parents' neglect. 19.8 per cent of young spouses/partners held the conduct of other couples as an example in order to point at weaknesses of their partner's conduct. 24.8 per cent of the respondents did not want to come back home due to the unfavorable psychological conditions at home while there were 30 p.c of such couples among the respondents parents. 25.5 per cent of women in the young families reproached their partners for their low salaries and 21.1 per cent of young women told their partners that he is not "a real man" and "plays the woman".

Physical violence perpetrated among respondents and attitudes of different generations to physical violence

The indicators regarding physical violence are nearly the same as they are in parental families: 17 p.c. of the respondents said that they pushed their partner or raised the hands against her/him in their own families. 8 per cent of the respondents recognized that they were beating their wife and this figure is lower than the one characterizing the situation in parental families (13.3 per cent). However, it does not prove a high level of tolerance between young spouses as their relationship is shorter than that of their parents. As a result, 4.4 per cent of battered wives had bruises or scratches. One is entitled to doubt whether the respondents were sincere when they gave their answers to the question about wife battering. However, as for the indirect question regarding the situations regarding their friends and

acquaintances beating their wives, 37 p.c. of the respondents gave a positive answer. In addition, 38.3 per cent of them were shocked and tried to intervene; 37.2 p.c. were shocked but did not intervene; 24.5 per cent of the respondents thought that it could happen between spouses and found it difficult to respond to such a situation. (See Figure 3.1.21). In their childhood 23 per cent of the respondents happened to hear from their parents about the situations when a relative was beating his wife. The reaction of parents was far more passive than that of the respondents. The data presented below prove it. For instance, 12.4 of the respondents were shocked and tried to help a woman; 18.8 p.c. were shocked but did not intervene in the situation and 53.5 p.c of the respondents were unable to describe their parents' reaction. (See Figure 3.1.22).

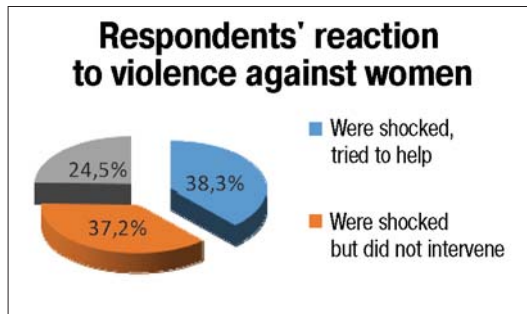


Figure 3.1.21. Respondents' reaction to violence against women.

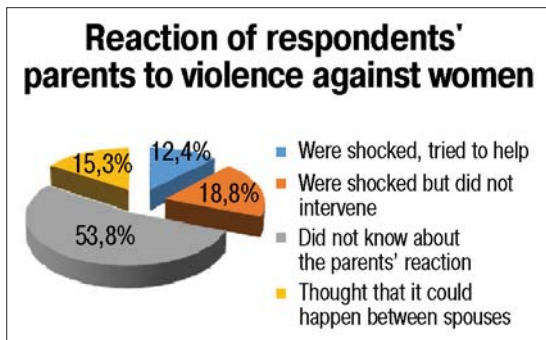


Figure 3.1.22. Reaction of respondents' parents to violence against women.

The most concerning fact is that 53.8 per cent of respondents did not know about the parents' reaction. It means that the issue of violence against women was under a taboo in a way. Children might be considered too young to discuss this topic, and adults were not sure they would find proper words for a dialogue, or they just did not want to cause a mental trauma to children.

Table 3.1.13.

**Comparison of behavior models of a couple
and of their adult married children**

Married couples of the respondents' parents	P.c.	Married grownup children of these parents	P.c.
Had serious conflicts (58.7 per cent of conflicts took place not less than once a month)	50.2	Had serious conflicts (67.5 per cent of conflicts took place not less than once a month)	50.3
Raised voice at each other (63.7 p.c. did it not less than once or several times a month)	65.0	Raise voice at each other (67 p.c. said that it happens not less than once a month)	52.6
Could interrupt communication and stopped being on speaking terms for several days	32.6	Could interrupt communication and stopped being on speaking terms for a long time	35
Fathers used to verbally abuse the respondents' mothers in the respondents' childhood Mothers childhood used to verbally abuse the respondents' fathers in the respondents' childhood	32.4 28.5	They verbally abused each other in the presence of strangers (60.2 p.c. of respondents said that it happens often or occasionally)	12.3
Father drove mother to tears	48.2	A respondents drove a partner/spouse to tears	38.6
Mother exhausted father's patience and therefore he used to leave the home	19.7	A partner/wife exhausted a husband's'/partner's patience and therefore he used to leave the home	24
Father used to limit contacts of a respondent's mother with her relatives Mother used to limit contacts of a respondent's father with his relatives	6.3 5,0	Wives/husbands limited the contacts of a spouse/partner with their relative	6.4
Father forbade mother to maintain contacts with her friends or colleagues Mother forbade father to maintain contacts with his friends or colleagues	13 16.4	Wives (husbands) forbade their spouse/partner to maintain contacts with their relatives friends or colleagues	21.7

Father could push mother or raise a hand against him	22	—	
Mother could push father or raise a hand against her	18	—	
Father used to beat mother (10 per cent of women had bruises or scratches as a result)	13.3	A respondent was beating his wife (4.4 p.c. of battered wives had bruises or scratches)	8
Father turned mother out of the house	9.0	The respondents who turned their wife/partner out of the house	7
Mother turned father out of the house	14.7		
Father stripped the respondents mother for money	8.8	The respondents who stripped their wife/partner for money	7
Father had an extra-marital affair and mother knew about it	15.0	—	
Mother had an extra-marital affair and father knew about it	4.3	—	
The respondents' suffered from the lack of care on the part of their parents	30.7	The respondents who suffer from the lack of care on the part of their partner/spouse	33.4
The respondents' parents who did not want to come back home due to unfavourable psychological conditions	30	The respondents who did not want to come back home due to unfavourable psychological conditions	24.8
The respondents' parents held the conduct of other children as an example in order to point at the weaknesses of their children's conduct	26.7	Young spouses held the conduct of/ other couples as an example in order to point at the weaknesses of their partner's conduct	19.8
Fathers	6		
Mothers	13		

In general, data of the Table presented above confirm the fact of conflicts in half of the families of both generations. The significant communicative function of the family was considerably distorted. This function dramatically lowers quality of relationships and along with that, it is a serious challenge in socialization of children raised in these families. Lack of skills needed for a dialogue as well as for finding the ways of conflict resolution depending of a conflict phase lead to extreme situations when a mother or a father turns a partner/spouse out of the house. In such cases, children are unable to witness the role models that would show them possible options of conflict resolution.

As a result, children live in the environment of instability and fear for their future and that means that their basic need in safety as the main condition for their development has not been satisfied. In addition, a troubling fact is insufficient care of spouses/partners to each other that is passed on from generation to generation. The lack of mutual affection had a traumatizing impact on almost one third of the couples. As few as 45 p.c. of young couples said that they have trust-based and warm relations in their families.

Chapter 4

Findings and recommendations

Special aspects of findings and recommendations based on results of the surveys conducted in 2014, 2015 and 2016 are determined by at least two circumstances;

- In Russia, the initial way of formation of fatherhood as a phenomenon of civil society emerging simultaneously at the micro- and macro levels, on a certain territory or within the framework of a specific family (family unit);
- Awareness of gender inequality in society and of the necessity of its gradual elimination.

From this perspective, it is hard to escape at least the following conclusions and recommendations: first, the formation of fatherhood within the family when partners expect the birth of their wanted child is very important. It contributes to fathers' involvement in care of his pregnant wife/partner as well as to creating a child-friendly society to prevent marginalization of children. Therefore, that will further contribute to fathers' prenatal visits and birth attendance.

It is crucial to share the caregiving and domestic work after the birth of a child as well as to use paternity leave for which respective information should be available to both women and men.

In this situation, a solution may be enhancing the role of government and top managements of business structures that could establish of the system of benefits for fathers taking paternity leave.

Father's role should be to a great extent enhanced not only in terms of sharing care work with a child's mother but rather in terms of its specific value and significance and that is the ultimate dedication of father's free time or the time free from his public responsibilities to his children via daily care. That should include education, emotional bond and regular psychological support. In this regard, principles of gender equality would play a critical role considering the fact that majority of Russian women are traditionally employed.

The need in encouraging fathers' involvement in the first days of a child's life when empathy as a crucial quality needed for communication shapes and makes a positive impact on both a child and a father. Thus, having this sum of characteristics, father can be considered an involved, or engaged father that cares of his child's life and problems.

Promotion of involved fatherhood is possible only under a condition of the elimination of obstacles preventing their engagement, namely:

- lack of public discussions on new fathering;
- lack of information about the situation in European countries;
- lack of research on monitoring of dynamics of the processes;
- lack of tangible social governmental policy aimed at reaching a balance between professional and family roles;
- lack of awareness of specific nature of the situation in Russia that forces fathers to be more active; it is important to bear in mind higher educational level of women in Russia as well as health deterioration of expectant mothers and children compared to previous generations.

Thus, in Russia the need in encouraging fathers' involvement in the first days of a child's life is not just an issue of gender equality or expanding new parental patterns but also a question of preserving health of population and resolving pressing population problems in terms of improvement of genetic resources.

Stable families is a key indicator of a stable state of the fathers. In this regard, the position of courts and interpretation of respective laws are significant.

It is also very significant to acknowledge Fathers' Day as an official national holiday. So far, this process is only gaining momentum.

Model of replication of different types of relationships is a key issue in terms of formation of behaviours of children in their own families when they grow up.

Data of research of intergenerational relations show:

- there are psychological, physical and economic types of domestic violence;
- parenting practices are inherited from the past and they often reflect the morals and manners of persons of the immediate environment;
- negative impact made on children in a parental family;

- communicative dysfunctions against children on the part of parents that made the children leave the home;
- parents' physical violence against children;
- neglect is a form of violence;
- different forms of punishment on the part of parents, sometimes being violent and degrading.

Gender dysfunctional parenting has been observed, when parents prefer the birth of a boy.

The less children are born the more frequent are situations of jealousy in the time of their growing up.

Parents who managed to build their relations on mutual understanding showed a good example of replication of good relationships over to the next generation. On the contrary, regular conflicts in parental family cause regular conflicts in the families of their children.

Conflicts and quarrels in married couples as well as perpetrating physical violence lower quality of marriages of the following generations.

Half of the families turn out to be conflict families with the distorted communicative function transmitted to families of their children.

According to 78 per cent of the respondents, it is very important for health care institutions to provide the handouts including information on the impact that fathers make on cognitive, mental and physical development of a child. Almost three thirds of the fathers (73.7 per cent) want Fathers' Day to be recognized as a national holiday. The same number of respondents are sure that special protocols for registering fathers' visits should be developed in women's health clinics

It should be emphasized, that 72 per cent of respondents agrees on introducing the course on fatherhood issues in the curricula of secondary schools and higher educational institutions. This result of the survey can hardly be overestimated, as it sets one analysing the previous experience of the implementation of sexual education course in Russian schools that did not win widespread support. Perhaps it would have made sense if the authors of the course entitled it as "Reproductive Culture" or "Involved Parenting Practices" and included a different content with a focus on the birth and upbringing of healthy children instead of sexual practices and the prevention of unwanted pregnancies. It would have also been important from the early phases of boys' socialization to make them aware of a critical role of fathers and its equal significance with the mothers' function from the first days of a child's life.

According to two thirds of respondents, it is important to create special television program for broadcasting on a federal channel in order to raise public awareness of a father’s role at different phases of child development. According to 56.5 per cent of respondents, the least important recommendations to be included on the list of measures of governmental policy on enhancing fatherhood role are collection of official statistics regarding the provision of paternity leaves to men as well as on men’s birth attendance.

The survey also revealed a great demand of fathers in receiving structured information from the Internet regarding different issues of child rearing adjusted to specific context of each region as well as the level of a region’s economy and health care. 92.9 per cent of the respondents would like to have an access to this information on the website of a regional government. Nearly the same proportion of respondents (90.8 p.c.) wish to have an access to online consultations on fatherhood issues. Along with that, only two thirds of fathers expressed their concern regarding the opportunity of making general public acknowledge their contribution to child rearing via special campaigns launched by a regional government.

Table 4.1.

Measures of regional and municipal policy needed for the enhancement of prestige of fatherhood

Measures of regional and municipal policy	Agree	Don't agree
In regional budgets the funds should be allocated to CSOs that on a competitive basis would develop and submit their project proposals focused on the promotion of involved fatherhood	74.4	25.6
Official websites of all regional governments should post the sections including basic information about legal, health care, economic and other issues of state aid to parents that can be used by any men who raise children	92.9	7.1
Sections on parenting issues of websites of regional governments should include an interactive page that would make counseling services available to fathers. For instance, fathers can get an advice on how to deal with children in crisis situations as well as receive psychological support in urgent cases.	90.8	9.2
Regional or city governments should widely and regularly honour the best fathers in order to make the general public aware of their achievements as parents.	65.8	34.2

Conclusive Statement

The most important task of the study was to show that the issue of fatherhood deserves close attention of scientists, and that it cannot be regarded a supplementary research to studies of motherhood. It is due to the impact it makes on formation of the generation of healthy and intellectual young people that will create an image of the future Russia and determine new values of the following generation in general. It is important to emphasize that only the engaged fatherhood along with the engaged motherhood will lead to changing quality of the population, namely to overcoming social problems in society and hence to breakthrough in creating new life circumstances that will assist in revealing individual value and fulfilling potential of every child.

In the situation of existing limitations on the part of the state that prevent children from their self-fulfillment, major part of Russian society should focus their attention and reflection on the analysis of these limitations and finding internal and external resources for overcoming them.

Below is the summary of the survey proving that engaged fatherhood pioneers its way in Russia:

- 95.7 p.c. of the respondents are convinced that fathers' role is very significant in the formation of children's communication skills;
- 93.5 p.c. of respondents agree that their involvement in child rearing contributes to higher cognitive development and school achievement;
- 88.1 p.c. of fathers are convinced that their involvement contributes to lower rates of delinquency in sons and girls' sense of autonomy and empowerment;
- According to 91.2 p.c. of the respondents, fatherhood makes them happier and healthier;

- 87.0 p.c. of the respondent believe that fatherhood contributes to men's well-being as well as their sense of purpose and life satisfaction;
- 80.6 p.c. of the respondents agree that fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children have fewer mental or physical health problems when they are ageing;
- 73.3 p.c. of the respondents agree that fathers who report close, non-violent connections with their children live longer;
- According to 71.6 p.c. of the respondents, fatherhood contributes to reducing rates of criminal behaviour among men;
- 90.6 p.c. of the men believe that as both mothers and fathers involve in the conception of a child they are equally responsible for the upbringing.

Along with that, due to hyper employment or the lack of role model of a 'real father' in the time of growing up statistics revealing serious problems has been received:

- As few as 53 p.c. of the fathers acknowledges their personal responsibility for child rearing as well as the irreplaceability of fathers in this regard;
- Slightly over a half of the fathers maintain close communication with their children of a school age and talk to them about their problems every day or every week (56.8 p.c.);
- As a matter of fact, as few as one third of the fathers (37.2 p.c.) try to spend their free time together with children and involve in different joint activities.

In order to assess sustainability of positive transformations in the conduct of fathers and to understand true dimension of the problem of fatherhood it is necessary to conduct resurveys and obtain a comparable picture in the Central Russia. It is evident that we are unable to extend the data received into the entire country and to speak about representativeness of the data even as far as the Central Russia is concerned. However, we do hope that we touched upon key issues of the studies regarding a fatherhood phenomenon that should be a focus of attention of other professionals as well.

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