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The role of father in child care during the  
transformation of gender order in Russia  
and Germany

WP 2010-04

**Bielefeld University**



**St. Petersburg State University**



**Centre for German and  
European Studies (CGES)**



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The paper is written on the basis of the MA Thesis defended in the MA SES in June 2010 (supervised by Svetlana Yaroshenko). The publication of this MA thesis in the CGES Working Paper series was recommended by the Examination Committee as one of four best papers out of twelve MA theses defended by the students of the MA programme "Studies in European Societies" at St. Petersburg State University in June 2010.

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## Introduction

The main focus of this work is the role of a father in child care, adolescents' expectations attached to this activity and perceptions of their practical realization during the transformation of gender order in Russia and Germany. The key idea behind the topic is to compare the changes in fathers' roles in Russia and Germany, notably, the meaning of fathering, norms and rules which regulate fathers' behavior in families with children, and how their everyday practices have changed over the last decades. The question of father's participation in child care is raised due to significant reorganization of family life provoked by the modernization, individualization and commercialization of the private sphere. The involvement of women in the labor market increases their economic independence and provokes tensions or conflicts within the family around redistribution of duties. So the search for causes and remedies against family dissolution has become a topical issue for the media debate, political and academic discussions.

Along with traditional fathering in the last decade "new fathering" has emerged in discussions on modern fatherhood. Transformation of the gender order, changing of a family's relations, development of gender-oriented public movements – these phenomena have caused the rise of "new fathering". Such fathers routinely take part in child care; their roles in the families are not restricted by subsistence provision only, loving and responsible fathers are emotionally involved in child rearing. The model of egalitarian or responsible fathering is bound with an idea of gender equality. "New fathering" is opposed to the traditional one, when the primarily role of a father is material provision for a family.

The father's interference in child-raising depends on the norms and traditions of society in general and on the child's age, types of relations in the family and his social and personal norms of life in particular. In the modern family the husband transforms from its head to the wife's partner and takes on part of the responsibilities for child care that is why the role of fatherhood acquires much more social importance.

Several factors that may influence parental participation were identified by Graeme Russell and Norma Radin (Russell G., Radin N. 1983):

- Persuasion about parental role: fathers tend to emphasize their employment role – the role of breadwinner. Men more than women are convinced of biological predisposition of women to parenting;

- Experiences and socialization of a father: models of behavior portrayed by his own parents are also influencing factors for fathers' participation in child upbringing;
- Experiences and socialization of a mother may also affect the degree of father's participation in child care. Female expectations and preferences in family life form to some extent the father's role.

Like any sociological or interdisciplinary phenomenon, the degree of father's interference is composed of several factors which are interdependent and supplement each other.

The role of a father and features of fathering in both countries have been little discussed and studied, although they are actual and practically meaningful, just like the role of parenthood as such. Apparently, parents influence their children both by the way they behave to their children and by the way they cooperate with each other. Direct and indirect parental influence on a child's development can be distinguished. Such influence depends on development of social competence, sex roles, psychological adjustment etc.

Crisis of the family, which is evidenced by increasing number of one-parent families and cohabiting partners, takes place both in Russia and Germany. Admittedly, the economic situation of one-parent families is very disadvantageous. Studies concerning family have been scrutinized, but most of them concern the macro level and effects of external factors, such as economic development, state policy, family composition and its stability. From the micro level perspective the private sphere is less studied. And most researchers focus on the role of mothers and women within a household, whereas the connection between family members, its changing and contribution to the development of a child – these problems are researched much worse. For example, Ilona Ostner in her article "A new role for fathers? The German case" issues a statement that there are remarkably few discussions nowadays about a man as such and concerning the role of the man as a father. And even those discussions which take place concern the position of men on the labour market or children's needs and interests (Ostner I. 2002).

More often these issues are discussed in demographic discourse. For example, in Russia in February-April 2006 Pilot Research "Family and birth rate" was conducted by Federal Statistic Office (<http://www.gks.ru>). The aim of the inspection was, primarily, to

study changes in the reproductive behavior of population and in interrelations within a family. State interest in this research was a survey of demographic policy fulfillment. The conception of demographic development includes basically a rise in the birth rate and decrease in mortality. The main meaningful result is that in all regions, where the inspection took place, an average desired number of children was lower than the one that would ensure the proper reproduction of the population.

But the crisis of a family is not only the demographic problem. I suppose the most important reason of it is connected with social transformation caused by economic and political changes.

The divorce rate in Russia also indicates an unfavorable demographic situation: for example, from 2005 till 2008 this indication increased from 4.2 to 5.0 per 1000 inhabitants (chapter 2, table 3). It is well-known that in Russia after divorce the child stays with the mother. Consequently, the number of contacts between a father and a child unavoidably decreases. Only few fathers take care of children after divorce. On the other hand, there is still lack of knowledge how new forms of marriage (unregistered, cohabiting partnerships) as well as class inequality change this norm. The famous case of Ruslan Baysarov (a Chechen businessman) whose rights as a father were discussed at the State Duma in September-October 2009 is also a precedent in relationships between fathers and children after divorce in Russia. There are some other sensational cases of children's "division" after the parents' divorce in which famous Russian politicians and businessmen have been involved. These precedents undermine conservative thinking and confidence in maternal significance for children only. Discussion of the theme on the governmental level means recognizing the problem. It is important to see whether it is only a discussion or some juridical or legislative changes, or changes in people's mentality will follow it.

Despite the decreasing divorce rate in Germany (from 2.5 to 2.3% per 1000 inhabitants (chapter 2, table 12)), the situation with the family and with attitudes towards marriage develop in both countries in the common direction. Both Russia and Germany have experienced macro-events in their history (forced modernization accompanied by totalitarian and authoritarian regimes) conducive to underestimation of the role of fathers. In the Soviet and German models of fathering, discrimination of a father as such took place. In the both Germanys, rather than in the USSR, the man primarily played the role of a breadwinner, and only after it he could be (but not always) regarded as a father.

Moreover, the dominating role of a husband in West Germany was fixed in the legislation as late as in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only in the 1960s an indispensable condition for a woman to ask for the permission to work from her husband was abolished. So the state's promotion of female employment in the Western part of Germany started later than in the Soviet Union and in the Eastern part of Germany. But the effect of the socialist emancipation project was decreased with the collapse of real socialism. After the unification of two Germanys the previous models of fathering in both parts have been transforming. The same process is under way in post-socialist Russia. So, the comparison of tendencies in the changing role of father (social models of fathering), i.e. differences and similarities in ways of presentation, regulation and perceptions of fathering, can highlight the influence of different institutional frameworks.

The turn toward the role of father in child care in the context of 'family' crisis has a global face, not only a local one. In September 2008, the Euro-Parliament called to exclude from advertisement images of a housewife and a traditional father in order to minimize mass-media representations of traditional roles in a family. "New fathers" have come to the advertisement, serials and the cinema, they are caring, loving, they console, but for all this to happen the absence of the mother is needed (Рождественская Е. 2009).

Not long ago while analyzing the relations between parents and children, only the relations between a mother and a child were researched. Currently, the role of the father in the child's socialization gets greater recognition in the world. The primary reason for this is the absence of rigid division of labour between men and women. More and more women are getting involved in the labor market, while men play more active roles within the family. Fathers have begun to take a more active part in upbringing from the time of WW2. Despite of this, as it was stated by Elena Rozhdestvenskaya, the fatherhood nowadays is the "dark corner"<sup>1</sup> of gender studies" (Рождественская Е. 2009).

Anthony Giddens connects the changing of the father's role with history. In a traditional society a patriarchal<sup>2</sup> family played, first of all, the role of a basic economic actor. That is why a man-father of the family here is not only a husband, father and breadwinner. He is the head of an industrial enterprise. Modern technological production

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<sup>1</sup> dark corner – темный угол

<sup>2</sup> Patriarchy is a system of hierarchy in gender relations. This system is enforced by the legislature, culture and social norms, which establish a male domination. (Ловцова Н. 2004:337)

has displaced family from its ancient industrial role. Undoubtedly, this considerably reduced the dominating social role of the man in the modern family and society (Гидденс Э. 2004:36).

In 1983, Graeme Russell and Norma Radin in their work emphasized that “the majority of men define their father role in terms of their breadwinner responsibilities” (Russell G., Radin N. 1983:151). As indicated by the authors, cultural stereotypes of masculinity do not usually include concern for children. At that time, to some extent as nowadays, men were expected to fulfill an instrumental role in the work force, rather than fulfilling husbands’ or fathers’ roles.

Transformation of gender order, which is under way at the present time, is a consequence of stratificational processes and changing ideology, which is also a part of historical processes (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2003). With the transition from industrial to market economy, feminization of the labor force has developed. As a result, there is a decline in the strength of the male position as an industrial worker. With the active female entry to the labor market a change in the family-wage system occurs. Before the beginning of this transformation, the man had played the role of the only breadwinner, whereas now women’s participation in the labour allows them to take part in formation of their family’s budget. Therefore women have begun to play not only the role of a mother and a housewife, but also to share duties of the breadwinner with the man.

This transformation includes the erosion of men’s superiority in the labor market, accompanied by a decrease in traditional masculine spheres of employment and in wages as well as a rising of male unemployment alongside sustained increase in women’s labor force participation, especially among mothers. In addition, a mass of other issues occurs, bound up with the dramatic shifts in gender-based divisions of labor in most countries with advanced economies (Edwards R., Doucet A., Furstenberg F.F. 2009:19).

There is a lot of complexity and contradictions in Germany and Russia during late modernity. The Russian government after the collapse of the Soviet Union began serious economic and social transformations which reflect on relationships within the family. They have led to such consequences as:

- decrease in the fertility rate and life expectancy;
- unemployment occurring everywhere;
- stagnation in strategic industries where staff was predominantly male etc.

Undeniably, the consequences of the transition period of the 1990s still influence our life nowadays. To some extent, we can say that our country has not finished this process of transition, because at present there are a number of unsolved problems, either demographic (decreasing mortality rate, life expectancy, increasing birthrate) or social (improvement of quality of medical services, providing families with housing, guarantee of future stability). Complexity and contradictions in modern Russian society are connected with, on the one hand, transition from industrial society to postindustrial one, on the other hand, with the crisis of the social system.

It should be noticed that Russian gender order becomes more pluralistic. It is rather complex to distinguish the common models for describing social interactions of individuals.

### ***The present situation in Germany***

Germany has its own problems. Before the reunification in 1989 East and West Germanys had had completely different welfare systems. The economic regime of East Germany expected women to be both mothers and workers. This approach excluded men as such, because working mothers were fairly independent from their husbands. The welfare system of East Germany was clearly child-centered. By 1989, the state paid directly and indirectly for 80% of expenditure for the children. Mothers were strongly supported by the state; the risk of poverty for them was minimized. The state became a main provider for its children and shared this task with working mothers by facilitating their work through state services, temporary leaves and work-time reductions. After the reunification post-social transformation in East Germany took place.

In 1989 in Germany two diametrically opposite civilizations clashed: developed market economy and the administrative command system. This was a reason for a number of problems, both economic and social.

In the 1990s, the problem of unemployment was at the top of the list of economic problems in unified Germany. In 1997-1998 the number of unemployed people was 20% of the working population. In East Germany only 30% of white- and blue-collar workers stayed in their former work places.

In society the conflict between “western” and “eastern” German mentality was evident. A lot of people from both sides were dissatisfied with the process of unification. Some experts see the root of the problem in different natures of people from East and West Germany. Territorially, the regions of the former GDR were aboriginal Prussian acres that were acres which had the smallest experience in the sphere of democracy and Western traditions. Whereas the Western part of Germany belonged to the “western civilization” with traditions of equality and human rights. As indicated by Crista Wolf, the differences in mentality are a result of differently organized societal structures. (Вольф К. 1994:44). First of all, different political, cultural and spiritual experiences were accumulated during 40 years of independent statehood. Secondly, geographical division of the German nation into two states became social division. Thirdly, in contrast to West Germans, the population from the East became active due to the double crash – the crash of their own social order and their own state.

All in all, economic and cultural differences, and disparity in social worlds were the reasons of tensions between the two parts of one state.

Undoubtedly, such changes as both Russia and Germany underwent, have an influence upon the whole society, on the one hand, and upon the family as one of its basic units, on the other. People reevaluate lots of traditional conceptions and norms. Interaction between members of a family is changing and the redistribution of rights and duties continues. Large-scale social, cultural and political changes in Russian society in the last decade include changes of status positions of various social groups and categories of citizens. In the field of gender relations these changes have led to such processes as change of the family structure, transformation of the system of social guarantees, change in male and female positions in the economic and political spheres, in the private sphere. The range of problems in gender relations has led to the growth of research and social interest in this subject matter.

Admittedly, the family is an important element of any society; an individual's socialization within the family is also one of the important levels of socialization. Expectations and regulations of society form norms and shape patterns of interactions within the family. Moreover, an examination of ties between generations, continuity of experience have a significant meaning, although it is not always realized by members of a family themselves and by society in general. Ideally the family gives a person an opportunity to experience close, intimate relations.

**The aim** of the paper is to study changes in the father's role in child care and the effect of institutional frameworks on ways of presentation, acceptance and perceptions of "real" fathering in conditions of gender order transformation in Russia and Germany.

**The objectives are:**

1. To study different theoretical approaches describing and explaining changes in the father's role, i.e. requirements and expectations of a person in the status of father during the transformation of gender order in Russia and Germany;
2. To compare the changes in institutional frameworks (family policies and family compositions) of fathering in conditions of gender order transformation;
3. To analyze similarities and differences in perceptions of father's role and meaning of "real" fathering among youth in both countries.

**The research question** of this work is based on its aim. How does institutional framework influence the transition from traditional to egalitarian fathering? In the paper I also try to find answers on the following questions: What are the similarities and differences between fathering in the two countries in question? How various institutional frameworks constituted by family policies, as well as by demands and expectations of 'real' fathering influence the extension of various roles of father, i.e. social models of fathering? Which approaches on the traditional (an instrumental male role: the role of breadwinner and defender) and new (involvement in social and emotional care for children; sharing home duties with a woman) fathering exist?

**Methodology:** a research of fatherhood relies on the structural-constructivist approach, which is developed recently as a combination of constructivism and structuralism paradigms in gender studies.

The most widespread approach is social constructivism. Within the framework of this theory, gender is regarded as a social construct which is formed by social norms and expectations. Furthermore, gender relations are examined as socially constructed relationships.

Structuralism is another widely used approach in the gender studies. Parsons has formulated the principle of structural division of gender roles, which rests the sex-role approach to the analysis of gender relations. According to this approach, men in a family play instrumental roles, whereas women – the expressive one. The base of such

approach is an implicit recognition of the biological determination of roles (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2007).

In this work I am trying to develop a unifying paradigm of structural-constructivist analysis which combines structuralist and constructivist approaches to study gender relations. It is important that such approach is oriented not only toward institutions and social structure of society in general, but also to the description of perceptions, expectations and real practices that are everyday activities of people.

Some Russian sociologists and researchers of gender relations focus on the crisis of masculinity and argue that the new role of father is still invisible. For example, Irina Tartakovskaya writes about failed masculinity as a characteristic of a post-soviet man (Тартаковская 2002). The author claims that failed masculinity has personal cultural importance for men and the realization of this “project” is quite often impossible in Russian reality. According to this author, failed masculinity is one of the most widespread types of manliness in Soviet and Post-Soviet societies. Being a breadwinner and having a career are two main aspects of masculinity/manhood in modern Russia. Being a “professional” and a “breadwinner” are two main aspects of being a man. On the one hand, in present conditions of the labour market in Russia it is very difficult to be a professional, and there is often recognition of his (man’s) defeat in terms of professional career. On the other, in modern Russian society the role of the “breadwinner” is so much socially prescribed that fulfilling it by a man is perceived as a norm. And again, to be either a breadwinner or a professional is very complicated in modern reality. As indicated by Tartakovskaya, society - an environment of the man, external recognition – is the most important circumstance in estimation failed or non-failed masculinity. The author concludes that the main (and the only) criterion of manliness is to be in contrast to a woman.

I also consider the crisis of masculinity as one of the main reasons for slow changing of father’s roles and as a restrictive factor of “new fathering” distribution. Undoubtedly, failed masculinity is the topical issue in modern Russia.

Zdravomyslova E. and Temkina A. rely on constructivism in their works and connect the crisis of masculinity with soviet legacy and strong state regulation of gender roles (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А., 2002). They argue that the formation of masculinity is a social process, not a biological one. A resolution of this situation with men’s identity the authors see in recognition of the problem on the state level. According

to these scientists, it is the state who promotes “real man” identity, and also the mass-media strongly influence the creation of the “real man” image. Meanwhile, according to them, the “new father” still remains invisible.

In a more recent work Zdravomyslova and Zhidkova (Жидкова Е., Здравомыслова Е. 2009:101) speak about a gradual change of a man’s position and his role in a family in modern society. In well-educated groups, an active role of the father is natural, for example, in the maintenance of relationships with children after a divorce. But the authors emphasize that it is a characteristic of men in big cities, where positive shifts in the population’s way of life are visible, in contrast to rural districts of the country, where Soviet time’s traditions still prevail.

Zhanna Chernova, working on institutional frameworks, focuses her attention, on the one hand, on real practices of fathering, and on the other, on institutions which influence fatherhood formation. (Чернова Ж. 2008)

In accordance with the research question, I examine fatherhood from the point of view of institutional approach that means how state regulation defines models and roles of fatherhood. I suppose that Russian and German scientific analysis of fatherhood coincide within the framework of institutionalism, when the state regulates gender relations from above. For example, Pfau-Effinger uses the concept of institutionalism for the description of the gender roles.

**Methods:** three major methods are used in the work. First of all, it is theoretical analysis of existing literature in the field of fatherhood studies in Russian, English and German languages. Secondly, it is state statistic analysis, where statistical data are examined. The last one is empirical qualitative research based on semi-structural interviews with Russian and German adolescents.

**Empirical qualitative research** was conducted in the form of semi-structured interviews with German and Russian teenagers. The interviews were held on the basis of guides. The structure of topics and the list of open questions included into the guides for German and Russian teenagers were similar. The guide contained one general question concerning sex or gender, as well as special questions about the respondent’s perception of the father’s role. The questionnaire was composed of the following parts - each with a number of questions: the respondent’s family; his/her parents; relationships with parents; norms and ideas about fatherhood and parenting. The selection of German

and Russian teenagers was made primary on the basis of German-Russian Exchange's database about children who are taking part in the School Exchange Programme.

**Expectations.** My expectations are based on an awareness that institutional frameworks affect acceptance of the “new fathering” in Russia and Germany. Norms and expectations of everyday practices, as well as legislation and juridical principles, influence gender orders' formation. In their turn, these gender orders define gender contracts in both countries. What would be with the “new fathering” with the lapse of time? In which direction this phenomenon will be developed? It will either gain more and more recognition in everyday practices of ordinary people or it will stay on the present level when it is accepted only by few men in big cities. I suppose that the interviews will prove that the model of a “new father” is still not widespread either in Germany or Russia. It is more probably that cases of interviews will adhere to traditional types of relationships. To my mind, such type of fatherhood has strong roots in both countries and the majority of families keep to the established order. A prediction for future, whether near or not, would be rather pessimistic than optimistic. Transformation of gender order in Russia and Germany has taken place only for 20 years, and it is too short time for the mentality of the population to change. By existing norms and traditions of our societies, the shift towards extensive model of “new fathering” will very slowly be happening if it does not stop at some point.

In my work I will rely on the following sociological terms and categories:

**Gender** is a category, which designates social organization of sexual differences (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2000). «Gender is the negation of the absolute biological predetermination of relations between sexes: there is biological sex and there is gender – the social sex»<sup>3</sup> («Гендер для чайников», введение, 2006:8).

**Gender studies** are interdisciplinary research practice. This practice uses cognitive facilities of the social gender theory for analysis of a social phenomenon and its changes. The term “gender” was introduced by American psychoanalyst Robert Stoller in 1958. His concept was based on the division between the “biological” and the “cultural”. Sex is studied within the framework of biology and physics, whereas gender can be regarded as the subject field of psychologists and sociologists. Stoller's

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<sup>3</sup> «Гендер – отрицание абсолютной биологической предопределенности отношений между полами: существует биологический пол и существует гендер – социальный пол» («Гендер для чайников», введение, 2006:8).

suggestion to divide biological and cultural components in examining questions concerning sex stimulated the formation of “gender studies” (Пушкарева Н. 1999).

**Gender order.** There is a set of definitions of this phenomenon. Usually gender order is examined as a historically constructed model of power (authoritative) relationships between men and women (Connell, 1987:98; С.Ярошенко, 2001). According to Zdravomyslova and Temkina, gender order is a system of relations (organized hierarchically) between sexes, which includes all sides of social life - from private to public (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2002). They regard it on two levels: on a macro level it is considered as different structures, normative (theoretical and judicial) interpretations of fathering and institutional regulations; on the micro level it is examined as gender arrangements<sup>4</sup>, which include subjective expectations and practices. English sociologist Connell considers gender order on the level of various social institutes as gender regime (Connell, R. 1987). There are gender regimes of a family, a state and, for example, a street. Connell distinguishes structures, and these structures he examines as independent and equivalent. Gender order is also considered as a whole set of gender contracts (Темкина А., Роткирх А. 2002).

**Gender arrangements** – a framework of social activity, which is created by gender culture (values, ideas and ideals), by the gender system (institutions), by social practices and by collective activities (Пфау-Эффингер, Б. 2000).

**Masculinity** is a degree to which a person sees himself as masculine given what it means to be a man in society. Masculinity is rooted rather in the social (one’s gender) than the biological (one’s sex). Societal members decide what being male means (e.g., dominant or passive, brave or emotional), and males will generally respond by defining themselves as masculine. (Stets Jan E. and Burke Peter J. 1997) Masculinity can be examined from two points of view: firstly it is a socially-constructed expectation, and secondly it is a part of I-conception of a man (Клецина И. 2009).

**Fatherhood** is a social institute, the system of rights, duties, social expectations and requirements which are attributed to a man as a parent and which are rooted in the normative system of culture and in the structure of a family (Кон И. 2009). From the socio-culturological point of view fatherhood is a stage of man’s socialization. One of the most important characteristics of fatherhood is its social determinacy: society does not only make a demand on age-related, economic, professional and social status of the

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<sup>4</sup> - гендерный уклад.

father, but also regulates man's behaviour through the system of social roles, where the role of the father is less regulated. Social expectations are frequently contradictory. Nevertheless, many authors consider that it is impossible to overestimate the father's role, it is necessary for the formation of a harmonic personality; on the assumption of a clear division of parents' roles, it effects children's development in a positive way, however, the father should fulfill his role, but does not stand as a deputy of the mother (Прокофьева, Л., Валетас М.-Ф. 2002).

In science fatherhood is examined mostly from the biological-evolutional perspective and the psychoanalytical one. According to the latter, male identity is opposite to the female one. Theory of socialization also lies on a basis of fatherhood analysis. Behaviour of an individual in this theory is the replication of his parents' behaviour.

**The role of a father** is a set of requirements and expectations of the person in the status of a father. In this paper different models of fathering are regarded in the light of perceptions of fathering (egalitarian or traditional), attitudes toward participation in child care (participative or demonstrative) and responsibility (equal or minimal). An assessment of the performance of fathering will be done on the basis of interviews' analysis, where the real situations within the families are examined by the respondents. Also their presentations and expectations concerning the role of a father are taken into account. So, the role consists of the status of a man, real practices of fatherhood, and the expectations of fathering which teenagers have.

***Structure of the paper:***

The first chapter of this work is dedicated to the examination of fathering in the theoretical discussion in Russia and Germany; to the overview of theoretical discourse on changes in the roles of fathers in the period of transformation of the gender order. The first chapter contains a comparison of theoretical debates in both countries.

In the second chapter, the transformation of the family structure is analyzed on the basis of data of official statistics and legislation.

The third chapter contains a description of the empirical research carried out. Preparation and the process of conducting the interviews are thoroughly described. Then, on the basis of interviews' analysis the types of fatherhood in the teenagers' families are examined.

## **Chapter 1. The Transformation of Gender Order and Fathering in Theoretical Discussion**

In recent history both Russia and Germany experienced global changes. Reunification of East and West Germany, collapse of the USSR – these processes have influenced the lives of whole societies, have changed their norms, institutions and patterns of everyday life. Undoubtedly, past experience finds its reflection in the present time. To what extent do we depend on it? More specifically, how do such changes influence gender relations and fathering? Which traces can be distinguished in the development of gender relations in general and in fathering in particular?

In this chapter I give an overview of theoretical explanations of changes in the roles of fathers in the process of transformation of gender order. I analyze the different theoretical approaches and debates in both countries, which exist in the field of gender studies. I try to compare these approaches and to find out how all of them treat the existing problems and which solutions do the authors propose.

### **1.1. Post-soviet Gender Order and Tradition of “Invisible Father”**

1991 was marked by a well-known “great break” in Russia. In August the Soviet era came to an end, and another era, the name for which still has to be found, began. The Russian family, as well as the whole society, found themselves in a deep crisis <...>. The Soviet family traditions and the stereotypes in gender relations, which had emerged during the Soviet period, had been playing a defining role in the destiny of the family of the post-Soviet period <...>. The Soviet family could easily be defined as a family of transitional type characterized by the “feminine domination” and conflict interaction of roles.

(Здравомыслова О., Арутюнян М. 1998:6)

After the collapse of the USSR the state took an aim at market economy through intensive liberal market reforms. That meant radical transformation of Soviet society and gender order. The intrinsic social changes were connected with the replacement of the former administrative distributive system by market regulation, with the decline of state regulation and support, with the rise of personal and household responsibility for their well-being. Therefore, there appeared tensions between the old and new rules of social regulation, and the transformation of soviet gender order was inescapable. This process is connected with the rise of individualism, with the commercialization of private life and with contradictions between traditional and soviet norms. Large-scale socio-cultural and political transformations in the 1990s were the cause of changing status positions of

various social groups. In the field of gender relations such changes impacted:

- the family structure;
- the system of social protection and care;
- man's and woman's position in economic, political and private spheres.

Zdravomyslova and Temkina, who adhere to constructivism in studying the gender question, state that the cultural transformation of Russian society creates opportunities for a new production of gender relations (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2000). They agree that the gender order in Soviet society was etacratic<sup>5</sup>: there was a huge role of the state in the creation of Soviet gender. Within the framework of the etacratic gender system everyday people's life, their life strategies were defined by rigid state regulation and distribution of resources and goods. The policy of state interference in family life led to the situation when a family lost its autonomy to a considerable degree, because familial behavior of every citizen was regulated in accordance with the state policy. The etacratic gender order included two various in content gender contracts for male and female citizens. Female variant was the gender contract "working mother", which accented on a combination of professionalism and family, maternal duties. These obligations were imposed upon women by the state (Здравомыслова Е., Темкина А. 2000).

Soviet male contract is analyzed by Zhanna Chernova as a contract of "builder/defender of communism", which supposed exclusively paying off debts to the state and practically did not take into account family duties of a man. (Чернова, Ж. 2008:121)

English sociologist (cultural anthropologist) Rebecca Kay in 2006 published a book "Men in Contemporary Russia: the Fallen Heroes of Post-Soviet Change?" (Kay, R. 2006). She conducted a cultural study on Russian men. In her book, the author tries to find out how contemporary men in Russia deal with a range of potential problems and

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<sup>5</sup> The etacratic stratification system is characterized by the following features: a state-monopolic mode of production, a process of permanent deepening of nationalization, militarization of economics, ...stratification of hierarchical type, when the positions of individuals and the social groups are determined by their ranks, which are assigned by the state power, an absence of civil society, state governed by the law and existence of a system of citizenship, supreme power of political parties (Радаев В., Шкаратан О. 1996:260).  
Этакратическая стратификационная система характеризуется следующими особенностями: государственно-монополитический способ производства, процесс постоянного углубления огосударствления, милитаризация экономики, сословно-слоевая стратификация иерархического типа, при которой позиции индивидов и групп определяются их рангом, присвоенным государственной властью, отсутствие гражданского общества, правового государства и наличие системы подданства, партократии [Радаев... 1996. С. 260].

challenges in both the private and public spheres and in the interface between their roles and activities in each. These potential and actual problems and challenges were caused by the general situation in the country, being in the period of transition from command to market economy.

Kay's notes are based on two investigations made in 2002-2003 in Barnaul and Kaluga regions of the Russia Federation. Respondents in her study talk about themselves as men, their attitudes towards a 'correct' male role and behavior, and their views on and attitudes towards men in contemporary Russian society. She argues that relationships between men and women "are exacerbated by persistent expectations that men's primary function in the private sphere is to provide, a role which for many men has become increasingly problematic as a result of post-Soviet socio-economic change" (Kay 2006:18). One main feature mentioned in all articles of the book is the following: "The increasingly stark contradictions between persistent stereotypical expectations, on the one hand, and calls for men to adapt to new realities on the other undoubtedly contribute to a sense of frustration, anxiety and impotence for some men" (Kay 2006:4). The author gives an example: the suicide rate, according to statistic, is three times as common among young men as among young women; the cause of 25% of deaths among young men aged between 16 and 34 is suicide (Kay 2006:5). At the end of the Soviet era and in the early 1990s an overwhelmingly negative portrayal of Russian men became almost commonplace. This endlessly negative view is one which closely mirrors prevailing stereotypes within Russia itself.

Rebecca Kay cites Connell, who argues that in the last decades subjects dealing with boys and men have aroused outstanding media interest, public anxiety and polemics. "In terms of academic inquiry, the development of men's studies over the past 25 years has produced wealth of both theoretical and empirical research and insight into male identities, roles and experiences" (Kay 2006:16). (Connell 1995, 2000; Kimmel 1987b; Mac an Ghail 1994; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Hearn and Morgan 1990). Moreover, Russian scholars have increasingly engaged in this research and have contributed their own works to the existing body of literature. However, little of this work has appeared in the English language (Ushakin 1999, 2002; Kon 1999; Semashko and Sedlovskaja 1999; Mezentseva 2003; Meshcherkina 2003).

In Russia, men have been unable to adapt quickly enough or effectively enough to the social, economic and political changes occurring in the country. This has led to a

crisis of male identity and increasing apathy and irresponsibility of many men. Changes in male and female life expectancy<sup>6</sup> over the reform period offer some of the most indisputable evidence that men have been less able than women to cope with post-Soviet change and the pressures and challenges it has brought.

The author pays attention to the consumption of strong drinks in Russia. She notes that alcohol abuse clearly plays a significant role in premature death, both as a direct cause and as an indirect or contributory factor. A three-year study conducted by the International Family Research in Moscow in 1997-2000 found that in two-thirds of male mortalities in the 20-55 age group, the man was drunk at the time of death (Traynor 2000). In post-Soviet Russia a pleasure in heavy drinking and an ability to consume large quantities of strong spirits continue to be described as defining features of masculinity.

In Russia traditional roles of fathering are still very strong. The main duty of a man is to provide for his family. Rebecca Kay cites one of her interviewee: "A father is not a father if he does not feed his son until his pension" (Kay, R. 2006: 78). Some men who had never married explained that this was not due to a lack of desire for a wife and children, but because they had not been in a position to provide properly for a family. In addition, the interviewed men regarded work as a significant value for them, as a source of male identity, self-esteem and personal fulfillment. The author concludes that "for many men the ability to provide was closely linked to issues of self-respect" (Kay, R. 2006: 78). The author tells about biological and physiological discourses in distinguishing gender differences during the final decades of the soviet rule. Psychologists, educational specialists and sociologists began to insist that men's 'natural' position and 'historical role' was that of 'the strong sex' and to express concern that male superiority had been undermined by women's emancipation (Khripkova and Kolesov 1979: 35; Kharchev 1979: 209,222).

"The second group of recommendations for improving men's rate of survival... was meant to take place within the family and personal relationships, without the direct involvement of the state. The key responsible agents were women, who were called upon to act in unison with the state, in order to combat men's generation. These discourses asserted that it was

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<sup>6</sup> According to the most recent data compiled by the State Statistic Committee, the average life expectancy for Russian men is less than 59 years – 58 years and 11 months – while that for Russian women is 72 years. By comparison, the average life span for men in the US is 73 years and for women 79. Male life expectancy in France and Germany is 74 years, while for women it is 82 and 80 years respectively (<http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/7023-14.cfm>, accessed 26 June 2009).

women's social duty to save men, to guard against their bad habits. Since alcoholism, poor diet and a lack of physical exercise were regarded as bad habits, the "instructors" addressed their advice to "loving partners" and "good housewives".

(Zdravomyslova and Temkina 2003: 438).

Earlier, by the mid-1970s, the falling birthrate gave rise to much talk about a demographic crisis. Soviet ideology encouraged women to see themselves first and foremost as mothers. Educational theorists advocated the upbringing of boys and girls in ways sharply differentiated by gender. Whole lists of appropriate and 'natural' male and female behaviors and character traits were produced to be emphasized and inculcated in the upbringing of children.

In media discourses of the early 1990s the primary role of a father was features as provision for his children materially, but emotional and domestic sides of family life were mostly ignored. Generalized references to male strength and female weakness became commonplace in mainstream discourses of gender in the post-Soviet Russian media.

"Nonetheless, there were some things which men both young and old, with varying levels of education and vocational training and a range of attitudes to the present and the past, did appear to agree on. The first and most universally accepted point was probably the idea that a man's primary role in the family was that of provider and that therefore men have a duty to work. Equally important was the view that the work has an intrinsic value for men as a source of male identity and self-esteem and that for a man not to work was simply shameful".

(Kay, R. 2006: 97).

In the same year, when the book of R. Kay was edited, Sara Ashwin wrote an article, which was published in Russian sociological journal "Sociological research"<sup>7</sup> (Ашвин, С. 2006). The article "Gender Solidarity against Economic Difficulties? The Influence of Soviet Heritage"<sup>8</sup> shows how the reproduction of the Soviet gender order influenced the ability of a husband and wife to resist the effects of the economic crisis in the 1990s in Russia. A series of longitudinal semi-structured interviews were conducted by a team of regional researchers (1999-2000) in order to study and identify gender roles in Russian families.

Like other scientists, Sara Ashwin analyses historical ties and heritage of Post-Soviet gender roles' formation. In the soviet period, suppression of the man's role as a

<sup>7</sup> "Социологические исследования"

<sup>8</sup> "Гендерная солидарность против экономических трудностей? Влияние советского наследия".

father by the regime took place. Rigid social determination of men's and women's duties was one of the characteristics of gender order. Both during the Soviet period and after the collapse of the USSR women accomplished not only the biggest part of home duties, but also they played a fundamental role in a child-care. Moreover, the author gives an example that in 1998 in Russia women commonly were in a charge of the home budget (Ashwin, S. 2006:61). That is why, from her point of view, women had remained a leading power in households.

In the 1990s, this rigid fixation of gender roles did not allow either men or women to flexibly react to fast changes in the economic situation. Women, consciously and unconsciously, kept men from participation in home/family labour. The heritage of the soviet gender arrangement intensified family problems in the period of transitional economy.

As indicated by the author, in the wake of rigid social separation of duties into those for a "male" and a "female", men and women are unable to be flexible in reacting to economic adjustment and political changes. Views of men and women on gender roles have become well-established, rigid and inadequate to reality. They made it difficult for people to adapt to changes. Therefore, these stereotyped perceptions of gendered roles to some extent are obstacles to the development of mutual strategies of survival at the time of reforms. That is why, the author argues, gender "solidarity" are pressed, when it is needed. As a result, an unemployed man is quite vulnerable. Frustration and low level of self-esteem are characteristics of such a man. In the context of Russian traditions, such frustration and disbalance of personality lead to catastrophic consumption of alcohol.

Gender roles in society are so strong that the majority of Russians do not see the causes of their family problems, argues Sara Ashwin. Family conflicts, instead of breaking the present gender roles, – are a common way of problem solving. Both men and women continue to support the norms which in fact constitute the causes of their problems. From a sociological point of view, men and women are natural products of the Soviet gender order.

Irina Tartakovskaya in her article "Men in the labor market" also discusses psychological discourses which estimate the present masculinity of Russian' men (Тартаковская, И. 2002). She speaks about "the crisis of masculinity" and connects it, like others, with the Soviet past: the Soviet type of manliness was formed under the

strong influence of a hypermasculinised and militarized state policy. The main and basic characteristic of a “real man” was a constant readiness to give his life for motherland. The changes in political and economic life in Russia in the 1990s significantly deepened the crisis of male identity, because many of traditionally “male” production industries fell into decay. Basing on her research, the author names “failed masculinity” as one of the most widespread types of manliness in Soviet and Post-Soviet societies.

The author cites Zdravomyslova and Chikadze (Zdravomyslova E. Chikadze E. 2000). Like Rebecca Kay, they in their work show that excessive use of alcohol was an important component of Russian male gender culture, and was pervasive both in the Soviet and Post-Soviet periods. Zdravomyslova and Chikadze describe the factors which lead a man to alcoholism. They are:

1. Style of life;
2. Impact of cultural environment;
3. Personal characteristics.

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev in his speech on 12 August 2009<sup>9</sup> defined alcoholism as a national calamity. He noted that the present level of alcohol consumption seriously threatens the wellbeing our country and population. Referring to recent research findings, Medvedev stated that abuse of strong spirits is the main cause of men’s premature mortality. The President declared that alcohol had a strong influence on child upbringing. He also asserted that the presence of alcohol in a family results in inadequate upbringing or absence of it. It is very important that this problem is recognized not only on scientific, academic level, but also on the state one. It means that this disease should be treated with seriousness and attention.

Undoubtedly, not only alcoholism is the cause of the crisis of masculinity. From my point of view, the “structural” explanations of “male” difficulties, such as radical social changes, should also be regarded in an analysis of the contemporary male position in society. Such changes are described at the beginning of this chapter.

Various researchers use various theoretical bases for the description of the male identity crisis. Zdravomyslova and Chikadze offer “cultural” explanations, while Tartakovskaya develops an “institutional” explanation with a focus on the state domination in gender questions, Sara Ashwin and Rebecca Kay are also close to institutionalism, but they focus more on features of “authoritarian”/traditionalist

<sup>9</sup> <http://kremlin.ru> (accessed 13 August 2009)

personality of post-soviet men and women. Whatever methodological base is used it is admitted that recognition of the phenomenon is the main step towards its analysis and solution of the problem.

Elena Zdravomyslova and Anna Temkina discuss the transformation of gender order from the liberal perspective, on the one hand, and in the context of globalization<sup>10</sup>, on the other (Zdravomyslova E., Temkina A. 2002). They regard the modernization of Russian society and its transformation as a delayed process. This process also assumes a change in the transformation in gender order. The aim of their article is discursive analysis of the gender order of late-Soviet society. The authors, similar to Irina Tartakovskaya, use the conception of the “crisis of masculinity”. This is a definition of the social position of the Soviet man in liberal discourse. The “crisis of masculinity” is a metaphor behind which an acknowledgment of the social illnesses of society is concealed from view. It is stated that for the first time the characteristics of the masculinity crisis had already been revealed in the 1970-80s by the Soviet demographer Urlanis. They are:

1. Shorter male life expectancy, in comparison with that of females;
2. Self-destructive practices: hard drinking and alcoholism, smoking, bad diet;
3. Accidents;
4. Growth of illnesses among male population.

The author distinguishes arguments which had lead to the social imbalance of Soviet men (Урланис 1969):

1. Demography: men are a minority of the population. Quantitative sex imbalance is typical for Russia, especially in the Soviet period;
2. Biology: men as a biological type have shorter life expectancy than women;
3. Modernization and development: process improvement threatens men.

Urlanis was one of the first scientists, who marked tendencies of the male crisis in the Soviet era. Already at that time Urlanis stated: “The crisis of masculinity is not biology, it is a social illness” (Урланис 1969:28). Thus, the marginalization of men is not

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<sup>10</sup> Globalization – growth of interdependency between various people, regions and states in the world (Giddens 1999: 665). Гидденс Э. Социология. М.: Эдиториал УРСС. 1999

a new phenomenon, but it increased with the transition from centralized to market economy.

Zdravomyslova and Temkina regard transformational reforms in present Russia as a chance for the strengthening of “real manliness”, which was impossible in late-Soviet time (Zdravomyslova E., Temkina A. 2002). A new male identity is formed on the basis of unachievable in the Soviet time normative models of a “true man”. There are variants of normative models which were presented in critical liberal discourse:

1. Hegemonic Soviet masculinity: cult image of a man from the previous generation – the image of a FATHER. This image was reproduced by Soviet cinematography, literature and art as a positive social type. The life path of the FATHER is the path of a soldier-liberator, builder of the powerful Soviet state. Heroism is one of his main distinctive features.
2. Traditional Russian masculinity: noble aristocrat. In his actions he was guided by principles of class civil honor. Such a hero was presented in classical Russian literature. A symbol of male honor was a duel.
3. West hegemonic masculinity: this is an image of a cowboy, independent, noble, self-possessed. It is the only person who is able and willing to protect a weak one.

As we can see, fathering was not included in the list of normative models. Even in the first type where the FATHER is mentioned, he is not the father of a family, he is an abstract father of a whole generation. It was due to his virtue that the country won the war and struggled with the “actual” enemy. Government service was his main duty.

As we can see, a reference to “father” was completely absent in the Soviet time, whether on governmental/institutional level or in private practices of everyday life. So, the transformation of gender order, which began in the early 1990s cannot develop “new fathering” on the basis of the existing model, it can only create opportunities for the appearance of this phenomenon, to set up a base for its spreading and strengthening in everyday life of people.

In November 2002 the article “Fathers and their children after a divorce” was published in the Russian scientific journal “Population and society” (Прокофьева, Л., Валетас М.-Ф. 2002). The catastrophic lack of participation of Russian fathers, both

married and divorced, in children's upbringing is the main idea of this article. The authors speak about men as fathers, especially they analyze their behavior after divorce. It is a general norm in Russia, when 99% children after divorce stay with their mothers and contacts with their fathers occur rarely. In 1969 the legislation of the Soviet Union established *both a right and a duty* of a father to take part in his child's (children's) upbringing after divorce. However, this part of the Constitution article was more declarative than really applicable. Probably owing to its real inactivity, in 1995 in the Russian Family Code this part of the article was excluded. This document gave to the fathers only *rights* to take part in children's upbringing. Nevertheless, financial obligations were strictly determined. Though the legislation clearly determined financial relationships between fathers and children, the question of participation of fathers in children's mentoring was left without any substantial support. Fathers can communicate with their children, and the frequency of meetings depends on fathers' desires and relations between ex-spouses.

According to the research which was conducted by the authors (in 1998, on the basis of interviews with women and men), one third of fathers see their children often, almost half of respondents see their children occasionally, whereas 17% do not see own children at all. The authors make a comment that only half of all fathers who do not have contacts with children are upset by this. It is noteworthy that spouses after their divorce described the impact of fathers on children in different ways. Two thirds of women said that fathers had no influence on the children, while only 30% of fathers think so. Only 18% of married fathers estimate their influence on children' as significant. This data tells us about insufficient participation of fathers in children's upbringing even when marriage is not destroyed. Mutual interests in communication between a father and a child significantly depend on the child's age: adolescents more often ask for advice in choosing profession, or ask their fathers' opinion concerning relations with friends.

Yet, in spite of the opportunities created for fathers by progressive legislation, the majority of men do not take upon themselves the basic responsibility for the child's care. It is connected with the tendency to preserve cultural stereotypes of the fathers. But it should be taken into account that it is not only cultural stereotypes, but also the rigid norms of everyday organization of people's activity, both mothers and fathers. "Providers" and "breadwinners" continue to influence men's, women's and children's attitudes to parenthood.

“Numerous studies have demonstrated that many, perhaps most, fathers possess both the desire and capacity to nurture children. For these men, the problem is not what they lack personally but what society fails to offer them – viable avenues for developing, expressing, and enacting nurturing aspirations... Yet, there is little doubt that social and cultural obstacles ... make their task harder and discourage other fathers from following in their path” (Kathleen G. 1999:37).

From all stated above we can conclude that the Soviet norm of an “invisible father” strongly influences the present father’s role. There are various directions of gender order transformations and it is hard for some Russian researches in this field to explain what will define a choice of people in their behaviour. It can be poverty or riches, education, cultural capital or historical experience.

For example, Irina Kletsina declares that the invisible father is a typical model of a father in present day Russia (Клецина, И. 2009). He is excluded from children’s daily life. An explanation of such a phenomena the researcher also sees in the Soviet past: “Echoes of the Soviet time penetrate the present-day Russia”. (Клецина, И. 2009) Traditional or hegemonic masculinity should also be taken into account, because, as indicated by the scientist, this type is also a typical one for modern Russian fathers. A traditional father is responsible for the provision of his family firstly, then follow defense, exhausting work, feeding; a function of punishment is a very active function of the traditional father. It is important to note that traditional/hegemonic masculinity does not promote man’s fast adaptation in modern society. On the contrary, Irina Kletsina mentions that in Russia within the framework of a new model of masculinity there is a new model of fatherhood. It is a “responsible father”. First of all, such father is engaged in the daily life of his child/children. This phenomenon has a positive impact on men, enriches them. Unfortunately, it is not a common situation in Russian society nowadays.

Elena Rozhdestvenskaya points out the role of the mass media in the formation of modern models of fatherhood in Russia and Germany (Рождественская 2009). One of the central topics of west-European debates is a question: “Does such a phenomenon as fatherhood exist and if yes, what is it?” The mass media and advertising form an image of a man unrelated to everyday reality. A family culture is inherited, transformed, but there are filters inside the machinery of this process.

Svetlana Yaroshenko in her article “Female employment in conditions of gender and social exclusion” leaves open the question about activity of subjects with various gender in unstable situation of social transformation characterized by the changing of

gender order (Ярошенко С. 2002). Gender identity on a par with other conditions creates both obstacles and special opportunities for access to material and discursive resources. The author states that the resetting of gender roles in modern time can be accomplished in the form of parenthood, but again, there is no confidence whether it will work or not.

So, whatever approach is investigated by the researches, almost all of them speak about “failed” masculinity as the common feature of modern Russian men. Some of the scholars explain this phenomenon from the cultural point of view, some - from the institutional perspective, but all agree about the influence on it of the forces of historical ties and heritage. Two Soviet rigid gender contracts even now have their effect on the distribution of roles within families. As it was already mentioned, women consciously and/or unconsciously do not allow men to enter the private sector; men are primarily expected to be breadwinners. On the contrary, a lot of men want to be engaged in child care or carry out home duties, but social expectations and norms do not let them adopt an egalitarian/responsible role. Few researches speak about “new fathering” as a modern phenomenon in present-day Russia. But they agree about its rarity and see a possible solution in the recognition of the problem on all levels of society.

## **1.2. Unified Germany, Two Gender Orders and a Tradition of “Surrogate Father”**

“When the wall came down, East German women asked for many things, predominantly, job security; they did not ask for a new role for fathers”.

(Ostner, I. 2002).

Now I would like to describe theoretical assumptions and explanations of fathering in Germany, taking into account different heritages of the two parts of the country and the reunification as the starting point of common social reformation and changing norms.

Elena Rozhdestvenskaya writes about three types of a father model established in Kaiser Germany before the Weimar republic. She argues that these models still exert their influence, even now affecting the formation of modern men’s roles. (Рождественская 2009):

- A traditional father: provision of his family occupies the first place; less care of children, who are in charge of the mother; rare communication with children, only attendance of church jointly;

- A social-democratic father: is engaged in children's daily life, is interested in their development; the attention of children is drawn to social criticism and social activity;

- A petty bourgeois father, individualistic father: is less engaged in his family's daily life, though maintains intensive contacts. The main aim is a favorable social position of the children; is concerned about the external image of his family.

As indicated by Rozhdestvenskaya, in modern Germany there are two explicit tendencies in the formation of fathering. The first one is based on traditionally ascribed responsibilities and obligations. And the other one is characterized by a shift towards more active involvement of fathers in the forms approved by society. A further examination of the father's image gives birth to the following types:

- traditional breadwinner – reproduction and provision of the family;
- modern breadwinner – he is already present in everyday life of the child, full employment, but also active fathering;
- reflexive<sup>11</sup> father – provides for his child's future;
- active father – fathering as a biographical project up to exchanging roles with the mother;
- egalitarian father – similar to the active one, but duties 50/50;
- generative father – social, mental, spiritual concern for the next generation;
- *absent father* (does not take care) – “bad dads”, divorced father;
- moderately good father – in contrast to the modern breadwinner, feels tensions in everyday life with children.

There are different types of fathering which have appeared and developed recently, but according to the researcher, the absent father is a typical model both for Germany and Russia nowadays. Elena Rozhdestvenskaya sees such similarity in the likeness of men's mentalities, which is caused by similar state policy of deprivation of men of their role of fathers and common historical background.

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<sup>11</sup> Reflexive – «рефлексивный»

In German theoretical discourse questions concerning fathers are rather rarely considered. Until very recently, it was mainly West German feminists (like Hagemann-White and Rerrich 1985; Kavemann and Lohstoter 1985) who studied men, and men as fathers. But even in these discourses questions about male domestic violence, gendered power relations and child abuse dominated.

In his recent review in 2000, Peter Döge maintains that, “in contrast to Anglo-American countries, critical men’s studies hardly exist in Germany. We observe a similar situation in Russia, where only few scientists study the “men’s issue”. Men’s studies have not yet been established in universities, respective courses are rare. There are, however, some institutes where researchers are now producing research on men as fathers” (Ostner, I.2002:160).

Observed in the last decades’ changes in family structures were accompanied by changes in family politics in European countries. In general, it was, and it is, a parting with a family with one male breadwinner and a transition to a family with two breadwinners, which gives more social rights to its members (Пфау-Эффингер, Б. 2003). As Pfau-Effinger argues in her article "Cultural changes and family politics in East and West Germany", social practices majority of women are different after the reunification. Especially, it concerns social practices of motherhood, which were various before reunification (Пфау-Эффингер, Б. 2003).

Ilona Ostner, another German researcher, together with Peter Döge, from the very beginning of her article “A New Role for Fathers? The German Case”, makes a statement that there are “remarkably little discussions nowadays about a man as such and concerning the role of the man as a father, in particular” (Ostner, I. 2002:150). And even those discussions which take place focus on the position of men on the labour market or children’ needs and interests. Such degree of interests is connected, according to the author, with the history, that is intellectual and political legacies of the Nazis past. After the reunification of Germany, debates around fatherhood arose in the context of the Nazi past. Xenophobic attacks of young males of East Germany, which were aimed at ethnic and other minorities, recover the phenomena of the “authoritarian personality” (Ostner, I. 2002). Such young men had experienced family relations which did not respond to individual needs or develop self-esteem and self-confidence.

It should be taken into account that debates in Germany concerning fatherhood are bound up with the sin of forefathers. Existing, real (modern) fathers and their problems

do not get much attention. The ambivalence in relation to fatherhood has prevented further development of the investigation of this question.

The author considers that understanding the ambivalences about fathering that impede the search for a new role for fathers demands detailed examination of views of the first generation of critical theorists. The founders of critical theory connected men's weakness as fathers with an extension of the market and commodification of labour. These factors "seriously eroded men's status in society and their authority in the family, and thereby jeopardized male identity", - writes Ilona Ostner (Ostner, I. 2002:153).

Apart from the Nazi past, we should also take into consideration that the recent reunification of Germany was effected with completely different social politics of fatherhood. Undoubtedly, this exerts influence the whole process of social structure formation. It is important that West German policy, like its cultural ideas, which lay in the basis of this policy, composed a foundation of institutional frameworks for social practices in East Germany after the reunification (Пфау-Эффингер, Б. 2003).

Before the reunification, East and West Germany had had absolutely different welfare systems:

1. The Federal Republic of Germany paid attention to husbands and husbands-fathers, not fathers as such.
2. The German Democratic Republic regarded children-related policies as aimed to help mothers to successfully combine raising children and work in order to build socialist society.

Neither of these models was oriented towards fathers. The Western model had a strong concept of a breadwinner, while the Eastern one supported the policy which marginalized fathering by the state.

The economic regime of **East Germany** expected women to be both mothers and workers. This approach excluded men as such, therewith working mothers were fairly independent from their husbands. The dominating model of a family can be described as "two breadwinners with the state taking care of the children" (Пфау-Эффингер 2003). Full control of children, their socialization and education were the central political aim of the state. "In 1950, the GDR established the Law on the Protection of Children and Mothers and on Women's Rights, which formally abolished women's economic dependence on men" (Ostner, I. 2002). Society consisted of a "gender neutral world" of

“working people”, where there were adults and children, sometimes mothers and fathers, but not women and men, girls and boys. The work of caring and teaching belonged solely to the female field – there was a clearly distinguishable gender division of work. Right in the middle of the 1980s, debates about a double load on East German mothers in society arose (Пфау-Эффингер 2003).

As it was already mentioned, the welfare system of East Germany was clearly child-centered. By 1989, the state paid, directly and indirectly, about 80% of the cost of children care. Mothers were strongly supported by the state; the risk of poverty for them was minimized. “The state became a main provider for its children and shared this task with the working mothers by facilitating their work through state services, temporary leaves and work-time reductions” (Ostner, I. 2002).

In the socialistic part of Germany the role of a housewife was stigmatized by the public. The state and the socialistic party had the monopoly on determination of the major family model. This major model was as follows: two breadwinners under state children care. On the subject of legality the Labor Code of East Germany (1977) proclaimed full-time work as a “normal” employment of the population (Pfaueffinger 2003).

In comparison with the Eastern model of social policy, a married woman in **West Germany** having a job was undesirable; the assumption was that a child primarily needs care of the mother. The social structure of childhood also examined motherhood as a paramount institute in the child upbringing. State policy supported the form of a family where the man was the sole breadwinner. Women were responsible, first of all, for work in a private household, including child-rearing. Employment of married women was undesirable, but acceptable, when a family was needed in an income of a wife. Social rights of women were not their property; they were connected with the status of their husband-breadwinner. Population accepted this model in the 1950-1960s. In the late 1970s - early 1980s, instead of the ideal of a house-wife, there appeared a new ideal of a working woman. In this case, not a full working day was an appropriate form of employment. In the 1980s, when both parents were employed, grandparents were the most important children’s care institutes. As usual, a person who looks after a child (often a mother) had financial dependence on the breadwinner (often the father). Even now public institutions in West Germany intended for taking care of children under 3 years of age are rare (Пфау-Эффингер 2003).

As indicated by Esping-Andersen, the West German welfare system can be described as a corporatist regime. “Conservative” refers to, among others, the principle of “subsidiarity,” which in a Catholic ideological frame, and assumes that the higher levels of social organization should be subsidiary to the family” (Ostner, I. 2002). Social policy of West Germany was based on a Catholic social teaching, where people “are embedded in relations” (Ostner I. 2002). They are not regarded as individuals, but as children, parents, employees etc.

West German social policy supported strong male breadwinning through:

1. The male breadwinner wages;
2. Tax advantages to single breadwinner families.

Such family benefits provided women with enough subsistence to stay at home and take care of the children rather than to seek employment.

German family policies in general provided “cash rather than care” (Ostner, I. 2002); after the reunification, a slow movement towards the appropriate combination of cash and care began. Yet, over the last decade, the employment of mothers has steadily increased, undermining the strong model of male breadwinning.

As it was already mentioned, after the unification West German policy became the common model for the unified country. One of the most important changes was the possibility for women to choose whether to work or to stay at home with children. In West Germany family policies were constructed around husbands, not fathers (Ostner, I. 2002:160). Social studies about fathers were rare. Helge Pross carried out the first study aimed solely at men in 1978. She used “child care” as a measurement of fathers’ involvement in family life. In this work she simply confirmed the strength of the male breadwinner model in West Germany. Even 10 years later, when Sigrid Metz-Gockel and Ursula Muller (1986) had conducted similar research, only slight changes were found in fathering practices.

In the 1990s, various studies still interpret fathering in terms of male breadwinning. Nowadays global market competition does not work well with fathering. In traditionally male industries – “most of which are exposed to global competition - workers can be obliged to work 10 hours per day, 6 days a week for a period of 6 weeks” (Ostner, I. 2002:157). So, for men it is becoming more and more complicated to combine the functions of family provision and child-rearing. Yet, the reunification became a starting point for changing from one-earner household to that of two.

Either before the unification or after it, fathers were not studied in East Germany in detail. In contrast with the Western part, a man as a father or even as a husband was largely ignored in family policies. The state acted as a “parent surrogate” by providing benefits and services. Although nearly all mothers worked full-time, the few existing data suggest that East German fathers did not equally share child care and other domestic activities. They behaved very much like West German men (Ostner, I. 2002:158)

The 1990 Women’s Report, which used data from 1988, showed that the main part of domestic responsibilities and child-care activities were to a large extent performed exclusively by women. “The Women’s Report published in 1990 reveals the “high tolerance among women of their multiple roles” (Winkler 1990:128). Looking back at the GDR and family life, Gysi and Meyer (1993:160) recalled that the free time was usually given to boys, whereas household duties were tasks for girls.

German scientist Dennis in 1998 made a statement based on data of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy collected in 1994. He concluded that 52% of the mothers and 66% of the fathers of children under the age of twelve worried that they devoted too little time to their children. But it is interesting that time spent with children at home did not increase significantly from 1990 till 1996 despite the decrease in the workforce and the loss of child-care services after unification.

## **Conclusion**

The theoretical models of fathering within different gender orders in Russia and Germany have been summarized in a Table 1. We can see that behaviour of German mothers is similar to that of Russian women, who reluctantly share home duties and duties concerning child care with fathers. It is simpler for women to bear a double/triple burden, rather than to revise their and their husbands’ everyday gender roles. State care of children was a core of family policy in East Germany and the USSR, whereas maternal nurture was a specific feature of West Germany. The fathers as such were absent from social policy of the East part of Germany and the USSR, there were only workers/builders of socialism/communism. The father in West Germany was solely a provider/breadwinner. There are many similarities in the histories of both countries. Cultural, institutional, historical aspects influence gender roles formation during the transformation of gender order.

Table 1. Theoretical Models of Fathering During Transformation of Gender Order in Russia and Germany

	Soviet Russia	Post-Soviet Russia	East Germany	West Germany	Unified Germany
Gender order	<i>Etacritic.</i> Two breadwinners with state childcare and with dominant working mother contract. Women are both mothers and workers.	<i>Multiple gender contracts.</i> Treats to historical ties and heritage of Post-Soviet gender roles' formation. "Men and women are products of Soviet gender order".	<i>Two breadwinners with state child care.</i> Dominated model of a family – "two breadwinners with state childcare". Women are both mothers and workers. Society is "gender neutral world" of "working people".	<i>Man as a breadwinner, woman as a housewife.</i> Undesirable female labour; the motherhood is a paramount institute in the child up-bringing. Strong male breadwinning. Later, by 1980s, not full working day became an acceptable norm for women.	<i>From one-earner households to two.</i> Reunification became a starting point for changing from one-earner households to those of two.
The role of father	Practically was not taken into account	The primary role – provision for his children materially, emotional and domestic sides of family were ignored (early 1990s). Men's duty is to work. Insufficient participation in child's upbringing, even when marriage is not destroyed.	Due to the state model of a family and economic regime, man was excluded from the family. He played only the role of breadwinner.	Family policies constructed around husbands, nor fathers. The strength of male breadwinner model.	In spite of heritage, a slow movement towards a "new father" has begun. More and more fathers combine professional work with household chores, as well as with active participation in a child bringing-up.
The explanations	Male gender contract: "builder/ defender of communism"	"Failed" masculinity is one of the most widespread types of manliness. Ability to consume large quantities of strong spirits continues to be described as defining features of masculinity.	Welfare system – clearly child-centered; mothers were strongly supported by the state. The housewife role stigmatised. The state and socialist party had the monopoly on the determination of the major family model.	Social rights of women were connected with status of their husbands-breadwinners. Social policy supported male breadwinning through: male breadwinner wage and tax advantages to single breadwinner families.	After the reunification a slow movement towards appropriate combination of cash and care began. Employment of mothers has increased, undermining the strong model of male breadwinning.

Russian social scientists analyze gender questions, most of them, as is shown in this chapter, are concentrated on the “failed masculinity”. And questions concerning the father’s role recede in the shadow of this phenomenon. It is true that there is a demographic crisis in Russia now and questions about premature male mortality or alcohol abuse are more vital and urgent nowadays; there are few publications about the father’s role. With time, I believe, there will be more of them, because it concerns everybody – almost all people engage in it earlier or later in their lives. Such a situation is typical of Germany, where there is also remarkably little discussion about a man as such and as a father in particular. But for example, the image of a man gains more attention in advertisement, where he often appears as an attentive father. How will this kind of discourse develop? In what direction will the role of father change? And will it change or stop at the presently existing point? In the next chapter, analysing institutional and legal norms, as well as statistical data, I will try to compare the situations with fathering in Russia and Germany.

## Chapter 2. Institutional Reglamentations of Fathering during Family Crisis

The aim of this chapter is to study the features of institutional frameworks of fathering in Russia and Germany, to trace their interrelations in conditions of gender order transformation. The analysis is made on the basis of review of official statistic and a type of normative state regulation (by legal norms). Also it will be important to understand how the distinguishing between gender-neutral or gender sensitive type of regulation effect state regulation.

Diachronic statistical information in this chapter is aimed to show the changing situation in population size, in a family structure, in an estimated life expectancy etc.

During the last decades, a large amount of research has demonstrated state policies influence on gender relations. As indicated by scientists (Brandth Berit, Elin Kvande 2009), there are two extensive understandings in studying of the interrelations between gender and the state:

- The state contributes to the reproduction of gender inequality;
- State policy can promote the development of gender equality to some extent.

The authors consider Nordic countries as an example of social policies focusing on gender equality and using gender sensitive or unequal treatment to provide equal opportunities for both sexes. In this case, the special programme for fathers are realized, where the gender based (unequal) distribution of duties and the less involvement of men into care are taken into account. The main aim of social policy in the Nordic countries is to afford an opportunity both for mothers and fathers to combine a working career with the care for children. Such policy supports a dual-earner family model. Here, the explicit political aim to encourage the father-child relationships is obvious (six weeks in a whole fifty-four weeks are reserved for the fathers).

The social policy in Nordic countries is usually called the policy of gender equality; this policy is gender neutral formally, but gender sensitive per se, that is a treating people according to their unique needs. Svetlana Yaroshenko regards gender neutral policy as a policy concentrated against gender inequality and is supposed to defend equal rights for men and women. Such approach is closely connected with a refusal of special support in terms of some differences on the basis of gender (Ярошенко С. 2006:20).

With the exception of the Nordic countries, European policy contains two competing work-life plans: the embodied and disembodied worker (Hobson B., Fahlen S. 2009). The first type of worker is expected to adjust caring for children with employment. The second is assumed to be unencumbered with care duties and is expected to give all his/her energies to a workplace.

As indicated by the authors, this demonstrates a disagreement in European law. It underlines the tensions in European societies around work and within families. “The embodied worker is embedded in the discursive frame of work-life balance, expressing the rising expectations for parents to be both earners and cares and in the policies promoting the combination of employment and family...” (Hobson B., Fahlen S. 2009:218).

First of all, I am going to consider the Russian case within the framework of its correspondence with the policy of gender equality to the fatherhood. Then the German case will be examined respectively.

## **2.1. Russian Case: a Family Policy and Reality**

A statement about a necessity of a family’s defense by the state is a generally accepted norm of international law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the General Assembly UNO 10/12/1948, emphasizes that “the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State” (p.3, article 16). In the domestic legislation this principle was fixed as in the USSR Constitution of 1977 (art.53), as in the effective Constitution of the Russia Federation of 1993. Despite of an obvious continuity of the state position in relation to a family, it is necessary to distinguish peculiarities.

The Constitution of the USSR 1977 contained the following principles:

*The Article 35:* A woman and a man in the USSR have equal rights.

*The Article 53:* Spouses possess completely equal rights in family relations.

As we can see, gender equality was not only declared, but legally fixed. Although, as it was already mentioned, there were two main tough institutionalized gender contracts: female and male. The contract of “working mother” had double load for women: the woman had to work and had to be a mother. The male variant of the contract did not assume an implementation of the father’s role. The specific

characteristic of the Soviet gender system was that the state took upon itself the duties for a defense a motherhood and a childhood, thereby creating the structural conditions for a deprivation of the man in society.

Perestroika and further transformational processes in Post-Soviet Russia had led to the destruction of the economical, political and social structures, which ensured a possibility of a fulfillment of “working mother” contract. The means for maintenance the social system, which was formed in socialism, were insufficient in Post-Soviet society. Though the new Constitution of the Russian Federation became more gender balanced (for instance, such categories as parenthood and fatherhood have appeared), the state was unable to support families. In fact well-being of families had become a personal task for everyone in a family (Чернова, Ж. 2008:198).

In the working Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) the following regulations are contained:

*The Article 7, part 2:* In the Russian Federation the state support of a family, motherhood, *fatherhood* and childhood are ensured.

This shows us a legislative recognition of social significance both motherhood and fatherhood, equality of family roles for men and women. How such recognition “works” in practice, notably, how the Constitution is implemented in real life, we will see later, by way of statistical example.

*The Article 19, part 3:* Men and women have equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities to realize them.

*The Article 38, part 1:* Motherhood and childhood, family are under the protection of the state.

As opposed to the 7 Article, here there is no mention of fatherhood. On the one hand, the state support of fatherhood is ensured; on the other hand, there is no protection of fatherhood from the state. One of the brightest examples of such contradiction in an absence in the Russian legislation a conception of “single-father”, only single-mother is recognized on the governmental level as unique category of citizens for the state support.

*The Article 38, part 2:* Concern for children, for their upbringing is equal rights and duties of parents.

Here parental *DUTY* to take care about children is fixed for the first time on the legislative level in Russia. But, as we have seen, the special promotion of motherhood is preserved (the Article 38, part 1).

Family Code of Russia, which was accepted in 1995, also includes a number of fundamental changes in relation to a family. Firstly, a priority of rights and interests of a personality in a family as a main democratic value is clearly specified. Secondly, this Code gives to a child the right to express his/her opinion concerning all questions of his/her life. Thirdly, for the first time in history in this Family Code the foundations of legal protection from violence in a family are specified. As in the working Constitution of the country, the concept “fatherhood” is mentioned for the first time in the Family Code:

*The Article 31:* Questions of motherhood, fatherhood, upbringing, education of children and other questions of family life are decided by husband and wife jointly, based on principle of equality.

*The Article 61:* Parents have equal rights and equal duties in relation to their children (parents’ right).

Here we can see some contradictions with the Constitution of the RF. In the Article 38, part 1, the motherhood, the childhood and the family are under the protection of the state. And where is the fatherhood? Whereas the Article 61 of the Family Code vests both parents EQUAL rights and duties in relation to their children. However, the Constitution is not widely enforced. In a social practice there is an absolutely opposite situation: commonly a mother is responsible for children upbringing after divorce and even in the period when parents live together.

One of the main state steps in the last decade in the family policy is an enactment of “maternal capital” in 2006. There was a treatment of President to State Duma, where Vladimir Putin advocated wage labour of Russian women with simultaneous state support. The focus of this treatment was on a policy of child’s care for the purpose of birth rate stimulation. According to the President’s opinion, maternal capital (which is paid for the 2<sup>nd</sup> or next child) should substitute woman earnings. Three gender researches analyze Putin’s approach of monetarism and pragmatism (Rotkirch A., Temkina A., Zdravomyslova E. 2007). The authors are surprised by an absent in the speech a reference of “men” or “fathers”, as well as grandparents, who, in their opinion, still play significant role in child care in Russia. No mention about child care by fathers presented in the treatment. The researches emphasize “how Putin’s speech aimed at

strengthening the legacy of the Soviet family, which was centered around the civic entitlement of wage-earning mother”. The problems were presented as mainly economic, and a solution was seen in an increasing of state funding. The authors conclude that such a vision of problem is typical for ideology of Soviet time recognizing parenthood and gender. “The balance of work and family is exclusively a woman’s issue”. In this speech the Russian woman has once again been defined in terms of the working-mother contract. The main conclusion of the article is: “Even if parenthood is still defined in terms of motherhood only, gender issues are once more visibly at the center of Russian national politics” (Rotkirch A., Temkina A., Zdravomyslova E. 2007).

Following the Family Code, the Labour Code of the Russian Federation installs gender equality, providing a mother, a father, a grandmother, a grandfather or other relatives an opportunity to use paternal leave in full or partly (Article 167 of Labour Code, ст.167 КЗoТ РФ). Also, all these relatives of a child can receive child benefits. Thought, judicial practice gives evidence concerning gender imbalance in the family policy. Majority of children stay with their mothers when the marriage of their parents collapses. The role of the father is a material role predominantly, especially after divorce. Such situation is reflected by statistical information in the following table:

*Table 2. Private Family Households According to Number of Children (data of 2002 census)<sup>12</sup>*

	The number of households, thousands	The number of members in the households, thousands of people
Rural and urban population		
Households, composed by <b>mothers</b> with children	5625,9	12979,8
From them households with children under 18 y.o.	2709,5	6751,2
Households, composed by <b>fathers</b> with children	634,5	1427,7
From them households with children under 18 y.o.	250,8	608,9

We see that children live with their mothers basically. A gap is more than 10 times. A single father is still a rare phenomenon. This fact confirms that fathers are less

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.gks.ru/doc\\_2009/deti09\\_rus.pdf](http://www.gks.ru/doc_2009/deti09_rus.pdf) (accessed 01/05/2010)

involved in children's life, they pay less attention to children's care. Moreover, this demonstrates judicial principles that are not work in practice; constitution does not executed in the question of gender equality.

The statistics of marriages and final judgments in matrimonial causes supply the basic demographic information on the marriage behaviour, for assessing the divorce behaviour and the consequences of divorces. They serve as information for the public and as a basis for decisions in the fields of family and social policy. Additionally, they show the trends of the past until the latest reference year.

*Table 3. The Level of Marriages and Divorces in Russia, number<sup>13</sup>*

Specification	1980	1990	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Marriages</b>	1464,6	1319,9	897,3	1066,4	1113,6	1262,5	1179,0
per 1 000 inhabitants	10,6	8,9	6,2	7,5	7,8	8,9	8,3
<b>Divorces</b>	580,7	559,9	627,7	604,9	640,8	685,9	703,4
per 1 000 inhabitants	4,2	3,8	4,3	4,2	4,5	4,8	5,0

We can see that the level of divorces, as the level of marriages, increases constantly, which is a problem recognized on a governmental level. (In the last, 2008 year, even when the level of marriages becomes lower, the level of divorces continuous to grow). As is stated in a statistical portal<sup>14</sup>, for the contemporaries the marriage has lost its meaning, people do not believe in its durability. For example, 30% of children are born in a non-full family, mainly maternal family (see Table 4). This level can be compared with another one: right after WW2 the quantity of bastard children was 24% that was almost a quarter of all children. From the end 1960s till the middle 1980s there was a stabilization of this percentage on the lowest level (11%). Then in 1990s there was a rapidly growth under the influence of economical and social situation in the country.

Speaking about the numbers of children born out of wedlock, an extension of unregistered or so called "civil" marriage also should be taken into account. Partly the rise of illegitimate birth is accounted for children of unwed parents. The following table

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.gks.ru/wps/portal/OSI\\_N/DEM#](http://www.gks.ru/wps/portal/OSI_N/DEM#) (accessed 01/05/2010)

<sup>14</sup> [http://statistika.ru/2007/11/24/naselen\\_9363](http://statistika.ru/2007/11/24/naselen_9363).html (accessed 14/10/2009)

contains information concerning a number of births according to mother’s matrimony status.

*Table 4. A Quantity of Born Children According to a Mother’s Matrimony Status<sup>15</sup>*

	Born children - all				Including children born out of wedlock			
	1995	2000	2005	2008	1995	2000	2005	2008
All population	1363806	1266800	1457376	1713947	288291	354253	437075	460418

From this table we see that the number of illegitimate birth is constantly increasing in Russia. On the one hand, it can prove the presence of the “family crisis”, on the other hand, it indicates the weakening of marriage’s institution.

The table 5 reflects demographic crisis in the Russia Federation completely.

*Table 5. Population Size in Russia*

Years	All population, million
1980	138,1
1990	147,7
2001	146,3
2002	145,6
2003	145,0
2004	144,2
2005	143,5
2006	142,8
2007	142,2
2008	142,0
2009	141,9

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.gks.ru/doc\\_2009/deti09\\_rus.pdf](http://www.gks.ru/doc_2009/deti09_rus.pdf) (accessed 01/05/2010)

In Russia over the period last 15 years the size of population has decreased rapidly. Such tendency is observed also in the European countries, but in Russia it occurs in reinforced version (Белобородов И. 2006). As indicated by scientist, in spite of the significant reduction of the population's size, destructive demographic inertia is just becoming stronger and the situation will constantly become worse and worse. Also it is stated that viability and development of a state is closely connected with stable demographic development, which guarantees to society a reproduction of generations.

In the next table there is a confirmation of decreasing of population's size in Russia. Even migration flows can not eliminate a gap between mortality's and birth's rates.

*Table 6. Natural Movement of Population, thousands of people*

Years	Born	Dead	Natural increase, loss (-)
1980	2202,8	1525,8	677
1990	1988,9	1656	332,9
1995	1363,8	2203,8	-840
2000	1266,8	2225,3	-958,5
2001	1311,6	2254,9	-943,3
2002	1397	2332,3	-935,3
2003	1477,3	2365,8	-888,5
2004	1502,5	2295,4	-792,9
2005	1457,4	2303,9	-846,5
2006	1479,6	2166,7	-687,1
2007	1610,1	2080,4	-470,3
2008	1713,9	2075,9	-362

*Table 7. Age Factor of Mortality (deceased for 1000 persons for each age group)*

	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>All Dead Men</b>	11,6	16,9	17,3	17,8	18,6	18,9	18,6	18,8	17,4	16,7
<b>All Dead Women</b>	10,8	13,3	13,5	13,6	14,1	14,1	13,7	13,8	13,3	12,9

As we can see from the table 7, mortality of men is always on the first place in comparison with female one. About this Soviet demographer Uralis wrote in 1969: "Take care of men!" («Берегите мужчин!»).

A decrease in birth rate and a decrease in population rate in modern Russia force politicians and researches to focus on a decision of demographic problems.

Tasks of the family policy are aimed at:

- a strengthening of a family's institute and a growth its status in society;
- more full realization of reproductive intentions;
- improvement of physical, psychical, moral and social health of population;
- prevention of child's neglect;
- guaranteeing of family's self-actualization;
- addressness of social support of a family. (Ловцова, Н. 2004: 332)

The Concept of a family policy of the Russian Federation, the Conception of Demographic Development emphasize the problem of decreasing birth rate firstly. For example, the Conception of Demographic Development in the Russian Federation till 2015 year as the first reason of depopulation points out the decreasing of fertility, than the problem of high divorce rate follows, the third place occupies mortality, on the forth is migration. (Ловцова, Н. 2004:333)

Table 8. Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth<sup>16</sup>

Years	All Population	Men	Women
<b>1980-1981</b>	67,6	61,5	73,1
<b>1990</b>	69,2	63,7	74,3
<b>1995</b>	64,5	58,1	71,6
<b>2000</b>	65,3	59,0	72,3
<b>2001</b>	65,2	58,9	72,2
<b>2002</b>	65,0	58,7	71,9
<b>2003</b>	64,9	58,6	71,9
<b>2004</b>	65,3	58,9	72,3

<sup>16</sup> [http://www.gks.rufree\\_doc2006b06\\_1304-23.htm.htm](http://www.gks.rufree_doc2006b06_1304-23.htm.htm) (accessed 15/10/2009)

<b>2005</b>	65,3	58,9	72,4
<b>2006</b>	66,6	60,4	73,2
<b>2007</b>	67,5	61,4	73,9
<b>2008</b>	67,9	61,8	74,2

Estimated life expectancy for men is lower traditionally. But in the Russian case the difference between men's and women's life-span is tremendous. We have already discussed the causes for such situation in the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter. As indicated by a chairman of State Duma Committee of Health Protection a positive tendency in estimated life expectancy over two last years is connected with successive realization of a foreground national project "Health".<sup>17</sup>

*Table 9. Quantity of Children Younger 18 years' Distribution (on the basis of censuses of the RF in 1979, 1989 and 2002 years)<sup>18</sup>*

	All families with children younger 18 years	including		
		With one child	With two children	With three and more children
<b>1979</b>	100	58	33	9
<b>1989</b>	100	51	39	10
<b>2002</b>	100	65	28	7

A decline of the birth rate in the period between 1989 and 2002 had led to a growth of quantity of families with one child from 51% to 65%. On the contrary, the quantity of families with two children had sharply decreased – from 39% to 28%, with three and more children – from 10% to 7%. It should be noticed, that nowadays in Saint-Petersburg quantity of families with one child is the highest in Russia – 59%.

As we can see from above, the situation in 2002 was much worse not only in comparison with 1989, but even in comparison with 1979, although before 1979 there had not been active demographic policy in the country. Social shocks of 1990s

<sup>17</sup> <http://medportal.ru/mednovosti/news/2008/04/16/life/> (accessed 15/10/2009)

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.demographia.ru/articles\\_N/index.html?idR=5&idArt=418](http://www.demographia.ru/articles_N/index.html?idR=5&idArt=418) (accessed 02/11/2009)

influenced catastrophic decrease of the birth rate, what in turn influenced change of distribution of families according to number of children in them.

In whole, demographic situation in Russia is unfavourable. The main evidence of it is the negative growth of population. Despite of nominal inclusion of fatherhood in normative documents and legislation, almost there are no special programmes, which would stimulate father's involvement into child care and overcome the problem of unequal distribution of duties. Russian policy can be characterized as gender neutral, which directed at overcoming of gender inequality. But in fact it reinforces traditionalism in gender roles and in distribution of duties. From the presented statistical information it is obvious that legislation does not work in the question of gender equality. During divorce proceedings judges adhere to the traditionalism and give the custody preferences to the mothers commonly. Fathers still play insignificant role in the children's life.

## **2.2. German Case: a Family Policy in Practice**

“Men express their wishes for a stronger involvement in their children. However, practice suggests that childhood is feminized and men become more distanced from children. Fewer men become fathers, fewer fathers live with their children, and fewer men have responsibilities for children in their everyday life”.

(An-Magritt Jensen 2007)

“After unification, opinions on dual earning, especially those of men, and, in general, of the younger cohorts have become more gender specific” (Kurz 1998:214). While very few men would speak against women's employment, an increasing number of men support part-time work for mothers. An approval of part time versus full time varies with a household income, social background and education of spouses.

“Unification, however, became a catalyst for a transition from one to two-earner households in West Germany, which has recently redefined rights and responsibilities between mothers and fathers; parents and children; and state and parents” (Ostner, I. 2002:158).

In 1990s the state began to help parents to combine employment and family life, were focusing on the best interests of children. Changes in the parental leave legislation and the weakening of the maternal preference in custody after divorce are examples of a father's role change. Ilona Ostner connects the transformations in the parental leave

legislation with increased female labour market participation. She writes: “Both of these reforms, cast in terms of the best interests of the child to have access to two parents, have had the effect of improving fathers’ rights” (Ostner, I. 2002:158). Now let us examine these reforms more precisely.

*1. Changes in the parental leave legislation.*

The opportunity to use three years paid leave both for mothers and fathers was instituted in West Germany in 1986. But, in 1987 only 0.68% of fathers used this chance despite the possibility to do it equally with mothers, what was fixed legally. In 1990 the number of such fathers reached 2%. These were either highly educated men or partners of highly qualified women.

In 2000, German government carried out a major reform concerning Parental Leave Legislation. The parents were given various options:

1. They can share the up-to-three years of leave;
2. They can care for their child at home together for some time, or utilize their leave in one year only and thereby be entitled to a 30 percent higher (income-tested) parental leave benefit;
3. Parents can decide to split the leave (the leave has to be taken, however, before the child reaches eight years of age);
4. Thresholds for income testing of the parental leave benefit have been raised (most important for fathers, who are more often the higher income earners in the family);
5. Employed fathers and mothers are allowed to work up to 30 hours per week which, in fact, equals reduced full-time employment in Germany, and are still entitled to the benefit.

It is evidently, this reform allowed men to use the opportunities to become carers. This was the first major step towards revision of the logic of parental leave:

- 1) Working men could be caring fathers;
- 2) Mothers could stay at their works;
- 3) Households became two-earned systems which guaranteed more stable position.

The logic of this law supported by another one: in 2001 it allows everyone to be employed part time.

## 2. *Weakening of the maternal preference in custody after divorce*

Before the reform the court had given the advantages of sole custody to mothers after the divorce. In 1998 the joint custody after the divorce was established as a norm in Germany. For the best interests of the child it was stated that both parents should have an access to the child, and this access stimulates an “incentive for fathers to stay in touch with their children” (Ostner, I. 2002:161).

Other important step of changing the relation towards fatherhood was providing cohabiting fathers with new custody rights. The status of children of married and non-married mothers was equalized. “However, Article 6 of the German Basic Law provides a barrier to equal treatment of married and non-married fathers, since it explicitly states that the Constitution protects (heterosexual) marriage and the family, which implicitly prohibits the same treatment of marriage and cohabitation” (Ostner, I. 2002:161).

In spite of custody reform in 1998 in Germany non-marital fathers have weak rights. The extension of non-married fathers’ obligations also follows the marriage-centered logic of the German welfare state.

How and to what extent the new legislation of United Germany influence the new role of father? Ilona Ostner argues that not always practices are changed due to the new laws (remember Russian case, where progressive legislation allows fathers to be involved in child’s care, but tough gender contracts do not afford legislation to work). Admittedly, the new law has made better an access for divorced and non-marital fathers to their children. The law also includes mediation for parents who cannot agree about visitation’s rules. Non-marital fathers also can achieve the rights to see a child by involving the police. Such a practice, however, may further deteriorate the relationship between the father, the mother and the child. But maternal preference after the divorce is still exists. Many argue that this asymmetry violates the Constitution. The author concludes: “research shows that mothers – be they East or West German – only half-heartedly support male parental leaves” (Ostner, I. 2002:160).

As it was already mentioned in the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, East German women have high adoptional level of cultural orientation and social practice of motherhood (from their past). The fact is that cultural alternatives were absent during almost 40 years. Majority

of them (85%) want to work a full working day. While 35% of women in West Germany consider that labour and profession are "very important" sphere of live for them, among East German women 60% think so. Only 12% of East German women regard state care for their child after 1 years old as undesirable, such opinion have 47% women from West Germany (Pfau-Effinger 2003).

Here we can see that despite the united state, which Germany is now, echo of the past which divides the country can be traced even nowadays, 20 years later after the unification.

As statistic indicates, *"alternative" family forms becoming ever more frequent*. As reported on 12/05/2006 (press release №203) by the Federal Statistical Office on the occasion of the International Day of Families on 15 May, "alternative" family forms are becoming ever more popular – especially in the western Germany. This is shown by results of the microcensus, which is the largest household survey in Europe. As opposed to married couples with children, alternative families include consensual unions with children as well as lone mothers and fathers. In March 2004, the number of such alternative family forms with children under 18 years rose by 37% to some 1.6 million compared with April 1996 (13% to 699,000).

In 2006, a total of 8.8 million families were living in Germany. In 1996, it had been as much as 9.4 million (–7% for 10 years). While the number of families with alternative forms rose by 30% over the same period to 2.3 million in 2006, the number of married couples with children dropped by 16% to 6.5 million. Despite the increasing importance of alternative family forms, married couples with children still accounted for nearly three quarters (74%) of all families in Germany. For this survey, families are exclusively defined as parent-child unions with at least one underage child and, possibly, other underage and overage children living in the same household.

As a consequence, 23% of young persons grow up in alternative family forms. As reported on 09/08/2006 (press release №320) by the Federal Statistical Office<sup>19</sup> an increasing number of 14 to 17-year-old children grow up in alternative family forms. In 2005, 880,000 (23%) of these 3.8 million young people lived with single parents and consensual unions, in April 1996 the respective figures had been 600,000 or 17% of the 3.6 million young persons. However, most young people still grow up in traditional family

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.destatis.de>

forms: In 2005, married couples still raised 77% or 2.9 million of the 14 to 17-year-olds living in families. This situation is reflected in the following table:

*Table 10. Families and Family Forms in 2006, %*

	Married couples	Cohabiting couples	Single parents
	percentage of families		
<b>Germany</b>	73,9	7,6	18,5

In this table a family is regarded as a parent-child union with at least one child under 18 living in the same household.

*Table 11. Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth<sup>20</sup>*

Years	All population	Men	Women
<b>1980</b>	72,9	69,6	76,2
<b>1990</b>	75,2	71,9	78,5
<b>1995</b>	76,6	73,2	79,9
<b>2000</b>	78,2	75,1	81,2
<b>2001</b>	78,5	75,5	81,4
<b>2002</b>	78,5	75,7	81,3
<b>2003</b>	78,5	75,7	81,3
<b>2004</b>	79,2	76,4	81,9
<b>2005</b>	79,4	76,7	82,0
<b>2006</b>	79,8	77,2	82,4
<b>2007</b>	80,0	77,4	82,6
<b>2008</b>	79,8	77,2	82,4

If we compare these figures with Russian indicators (Table 8), it becomes clear, first of all, the situation in the RF is much worse (for all Russian population in 2008 the estimated life expectancy is 67,9 years). Secondly, the gap between male and female estimation is tremendous in Russia (12,4 years in 2008, whereas for Germany it is 5,2 years). It one more time underlines catastrophic position with Russian men's life expectancy, which was discussed in the 1<sup>st</sup> and in 2<sup>nd</sup> chapters.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.gbe-bund.de>

Table 12. The Level of Marriages and Divorces in Germany, number<sup>21</sup>

Specification	1980	1990	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Marriages</b>	496,6	516,4	418,6	388, 5	373,681	368,9	377,1
per 1 000 inhabitants	6,3	6,5	5,1	4,7	4,5	4,5	4,6
<b>Divorces</b>	141,0	154,8	194,4	201,7	190,9	187,1	191,9
per 1 000 inhabitants	1,8	1,9	2,4	2,5	2,3	2,3	2,3

The situation in Germany with marriages and divorces is opposite in comparison with Russia. In Germany since 2005 till 2007 the number if marriages and divorces had been decreasing, whereas in Russia these numbers had been increasing over the same period of time (table 3). In spite of the different data, such situation can be examined in one way: firstly, in Germany the necessity to marry is falling, the number of officially marriages is reducing; consequently, the number of divorces is also decreasing. Secondly, in Russia with the growth of marriages there is a growth of divorces. The conclusion for both countries may be the same: weakening of marriage's institution, but in Germany such wakening becomes apparent in unwillingness to contact a marriage, and in Russia it shows in unwillingness to maintain an existing matrimony.

Table 13. The Number of Parents Alone Upbringing a Child (Children), 2006, % (Datenreport, 2008)

	Fathers	Mothers
<b>Unmarried</b>	13	35
<b>Married, but do not life together</b>	22	17
<b>Divorced</b>	51	40
<b>Widowed</b>	14	8

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.destatis.de>

Table 14. The Number of Families with under Age Children (younger 18 years old), %  
(Datenreport, 2008)

	Ex-regions of West Germany		Ex-regions of East Germany, including Berlin	
	1996	2006	1996	2006
<b>With 1 under age child</b>	48	49	55	65
<b>With 2 under age children</b>	39	39	38	29
<b>With 3 and more under age children</b>	13	12	7	6

The number of children in Russian families according to statistics (Table 9) is closer to respective number in East Germany. The number of families with 1 child are equal (65 %); with 2 children is almost the same (29% for East part of Germany and 28% for Russia); with 3 and more children – 6% and 7% respectively. In addition, the common tendency is traced: with the lapse of time people prefer to have rather 1 child, then more children. The situation in ex-regions of West Germany is rather interesting. Over the period of last 10 years the preference in the number of children within a family has not changed. It confirms the statement, which has done in the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, that the population of West German part has experienced not so deep and cardinal changes after the unification, it preserves cultural norms and tradition in a widely extent, than the population in the East part. Correspondingly, such changes influences on the social situation of the whole country.

## Conclusion

During the last decade the level of divorces in Russia has been increasing, whereas in Germany this level has been decreasing. In the 1<sup>st</sup> case it is explained by the high level of marriages, in the second – by the low level of them. In both countries the number of children grown up in “alternative” family forms has increased over the last time. For Russia it is almost 30%, for Germany – 23%. The extension of “civil marriage” takes place in both countries. For many people the official matrimony has lost its meaning, reliability and durability are not regarded yet as characteristics of the matrimony. It indicates the weakening of marriage’s institution in modern history of the countries.

Common characteristics for both countries can be traced in the preferences of German and Russian people to have only one child in their families. It can be a result of either decreasing of life standard or increasing of it. But in any case it is an evidence of demographic problems in both countries, where simple reproduction of population is absent (especially in Russia, which has lost 4 million people over the last 8 years).

Russian men are in an unfavorable position in comparison with German, regarding their estimated life expectancy and age factor of mortality. “The crisis of masculinity” in the Russia Federation is once again proved by statistics.

In this chapter the interrelations of features of institutional frameworks in conditions of gender order transformation in both countries are traced. In Russia on the governmental level there is an acknowledgement of fatherhood and motherhood, recognition of family roles of mothers and fathers. But legislative norms are not widely implemented into everyday life of citizens. This fact confirms that gender-neutral governmental policy do not work per se.

New laws which were adopted in German legislation in the last decade call for increase the father’s participation in children’s life. But statistical data shows us that mothers are still more involved into child care.

### **Chapter 3. Meanings of Fathering in Perceptions of Russian and German Youth**

The aim of the third chapter is to compare perceptions of father’s role and meanings of a “real” fathering among youth in both countries. The analysis is based on qualitative research conducted among German and Russian adolescents.

The fieldwork period in total lasted from the spring of 2009 to the spring of 2010 among Russians and Germans teenagers. In general, 3 parents and 14 (6 Russian and 8 German) adolescents took part during the 12 months of empirical study. One expert interview was carried out in summer 2009 with the head of Gender Institute in Magdeburg, Germany. This was done both for better understanding the modern situation with gender mainstreaming in Europe and for clarification the possible ways of analyzing this aspect.

At the beginning of empirical work the series of pilot semi-structured interviews

were conducted with respondents, notable with two Russian parents and two German teenagers. The main focus of the interview is to find out the role of a father within a family through teenager's view on it; what is his/her attitude towards the real practice and expectations for the future. How does the perceptions of the father's role correlate with the distribution of duties within a family, and how perceptions are changing depending on different gender orders. As it was mentioned in the introduction, behind the "role" we understand a set of requirements and expectations toward person in the status of father.

Initially, the idea was to confront two points of view on fathering: from teenagers' site and from parents' one. Existence of potential contradiction between generations or absence of it was supposed to be a base for a comparison various views on fathering. Subsequently, pilot interviews were compared and analyzed, and it was decided to focus on a group of adolescents, as the only group of respondents, each with two parents required in order to have an opportunity for mother's and father's roles comparison within a family and states.

Interviews with teenagers were chosen for the analyses because, on the one hand, it simplifies a task of its description and interpretation, on the other, this group of respondents is sufficiently adult and it is possible to take into account their views and opinions for a description of a phenomenon (the current situation with fathering). 15-18 years were chosen as the pivot age for respondents because, theoretically, they are, at that point, still living in the family, but an overestimation of relationship with parents and partners occurs simultaneously. For example, in Germany it is a common practice among teenagers to leave home and begin independent life at the age of 18-20 years old.

These years also seemed to be an interesting age in terms of human development. The dependency of child should be over and a teenager is acquiring a certain amount of independence from his/her parents, often challenging their authority.

When selecting the target group I paid attention to the socio-economic status of the respondents in terms of the parents' education. Almost all of adolescents' parents have academic degrees (high level of education and take middle class position). Life style factors, such as home ownership and area of residence were not taken into account.

**Advantages** of the target group for understanding the problem were already mentioned. First of all respondents are enough adult persons, that is why their opinions

can be regarded as adequate. Respondents of target group possess comparability, because they coincide in major criteria, such as age and family position (all of them have family and both parents). Majority of respondents' parents are well educated. This fact makes families' environments/composition or structure rather similar to each other. Besides, it is possible, that in the age of the target group people are not restricted by social limitations (or by social norms), normally they tell what they think; for example, an adult person might answer a question in a way it is expected by the environment/society (or by interviewer).

**Disadvantages (limitations, restrictions):** first of all, informants analyze the roles of their parents and they in some way idealize them, secondly, interviews with youth reflect only one projection of 'story', in which two sides are involved inevitably (parents and children). 6 persons from each side are probably not enough for tracing changes in the relationship, at the same time such tracing is beyond of scope of my interest.

The main aim of the interviews is to identify a correspondence between perceptions of "real" fathers to the ideal types of fatherhood; to find out similarities and differences in Russian and German fatherhood's meanings; to recognize how the distribution of duties between fathers and mothers, i.e. the socialization in certain condition with traditional or egalitarian fathers, occurs and how this influence children's view on their parenthood in perspective (in future). I am also going to find out how do the real practices of fatherhood coincide and differ in Russia and Germany.

On the empirical stage of work in-depth interviews with adolescents were conducted. A target group was composed of 6 German and 6 Russian teenagers (3 German boys and 3 German girls, the same for the Russian side). It was assumed that such quantity could be a sufficient base for the comparison. In the attachment to this work the table with detailed information concerning the respondents can be found.

The major part of interviews was conducted with young people, who take part in a cultural exchange between Germany and Russia. Such exchange is organized by "German-Russian Exchange", which is responsible for all organizational issues. Teenagers come to Russia from Germany (as well as from Russia to Germany) and spent some time (from 1 to 10 months) in the country living in a guest-family.

In order to make contact with appropriate teenagers I approached a staff of service, who worked in the "School Exchange" department. These personnel acted as "links"; they suggested me to come to the office to the periodical meeting with

participants of the exchange. Such meetings with adolescents are organized occasionally, where various aspects of their staying in Russia are discussed. The staff also sometimes made the initial approaches to the teens for introducing me.

Youth perceived me rather seriously, although the topic of my work was a little bit surprising for them. All, whom I was spoken with, gave me their e-mails for further contacts. On the contrary, not all of them answered my letters with detailed information concerning my work and arrangements of our interviews. Less than one third answered and then the interviews were organized.

On the one of such meetings one German girl was with her “Russian sister”, with whom it was possible to appoint a date of conducting an interview. She was my first Russian female respondent.

Difficulties in sampling occurred because of an unwillingness of youth to answer my letters for some reason or other. Then there was an obstacle to arrange the interviews with school boys, because among exchange pupils girls are prevailed.

3 interviews with German male adolescents were conducted in Bielefeld, during a research stay. All of them were pupils of 13<sup>th</sup> form, which is the latest form in the German school system, namely in gymnasium. One was 18 and two were 19. Such deviation was conceded by me because, as it was already mentioned, all were pupils in the school and lived with their parents, that is why the information given by them is regarded as comparable. During one of the interview it was found out that one of the respondent was not German; although he considered himself as German, because he was born in Germany and has been living in this country all his life. His parents were immigrants from Poland and Bulgaria, so, it was decided not to take into the account the data received during the interview with him, because his parents are not German, it is rather complicated to compare their way of parenting with the native Germans’ one.

For all respondents one **interview-guide** was used with the same basic set of “opening questions”. These questions were very general and aimed to stimulate respondents to talk as easily as possible about their own families’ lives. My aim was to see how they describe their relationships with parents, expectations and attitudes to the aspect of the parenthood. The success of these interviews was rather varied, because some adolescents talked at great length while others spent only about 30 minutes on the interviews, answering rather curtly.

Beginning the interview, firstly, I introduced myself, told about the aim of my work and answered questions if they were. The set of “opening questions” was devised in such order to obtain the information about the respondents, his/her life in a family, his/her attitude towards parenting as such and fatherhood particularly. All questions were around key topics of the interview-guide; which consisted of several parts:

1. Presentation of a respondent: a respondent was asked general information such as name, age, place of living (country, city, and part of country (West Germany or East – case of Germany). For the analysis a belonging of a respondent’s family to West or East Germany has particular importance because it probably can explain an established type of fatherhood in this family. It is one of the hypothesis which should be confirm or disprove.

2. A family of the respondent; questions of this part were focused primarily on obtaining detailed accounts concerning a structure of respondent’s family (number of members, their age and sex; was it full or one-parent family). Actually, families of all respondents were “full”. In this set of questions a respondent was asked to describe his/her ordinary day, sometimes respondents were concentrate on their leisure time, sometimes they paid an attention to a school activity. In most cases it became clear how a respondent prefer to spent his/her free time, which role do parents play in it.

3. Her/his parents; this block enclosed questions about respondent’s parents such as their age and education, place of work, type of employment. An attention was also paid to the organization of their leisure time, whether they prefer to spent time together with parents and how or they have different preferences. I always tried to compare the level of education of parents with their types of employment because it is the women who mostly have the same education as men, but they are not occupied as much as men. What means women are not often realized on work, whether it is of their own free will or forced circumstance.

4. Relationships with parents; questions concerning everyday life of respondent within a family: with whom he/she spend much time (on the contrary, who spends more time and energy to the child), how leisure time with parent/parents is organized, who controls everyday life and who has the right to punish (very often it was different persons in teenagers’ life). How the distribution

of duties in a family occurs? Is there “clear” male and female work or not?

5. Norms and expectations about fathers/parents: in this block an attitude towards existing and willing situation within a family is revealed. For example, at this point the respondent was able to compare his/her own expectations for future life/family with existing situation in the family. Here also an assessment of father’s contribution into child’s upbringing is analyzing. Questions in this block were also focused on the examining images of other fathers, notably fathers of friends (on question offered to compare a father of a respondent with fathers of his/her friends).

In conclusion there was a set of fixed-choice questions concerning the views of a respondent on the distribution of roles within family in order to reveal a desirable distribution of roles and compare it with existing one.

My analytical technique was simple and largely inductive. After each interview I drew up lists of themes and ideas, made an analogy with the previous interviews, and considered the cases which seemed to differ. In a detailed analysis I always went back to the transcripts and went through them scrupulously. On the basis of all interviews I have also distinguished subject (thematic) blocks for analyzing interviews depending on the role of a father in each case. The subject analysis includes the following categories:

- The main breadwinner in the family;
- The main person in children’s upbringing and contribution of the father in a child’s upbringing;
- Who is response for housekeeping;
- The main person, who punishes;
- Conflicts in the family;
- Expectations of a teenager concerning his/her future family;

One of the hypotheses is that German women have an opportunity to choose between a work and staying at home. In the modern conditions of Russian economy Russian women still mostly have not got such choice. Consequently, there is a conflict in Russian families how to combine home duties, namely the children’s care with a necessity to work.

One of the main initial tasks for me was to distinguish the type of the fatherhood within a family of a respondent. There are two ideal types of fatherhood which are established (rooted) in national models of gender relations. It should be mentioned here there are no ideal types per se. In most cases a father can be examined from various perspective, but I believe that the dominant types can be mark out. By such distinguishing the fathers of the respondents will be unified in groups in order to establish approvals for a hypothesis.

A traditional father is a symbol, a person who punishes, who establishes norms and rules within a family; he plays the major role in the decisions process, a mother with such father is more invisible, her contribution in family's life is often underestimated. The traditional father is the main breadwinner primarily; he is ready to provide a family financially, but an emotional care for children is transferred to a mother. Non-involvement in a child's care and a creation of social distance between the traditional father and his child/children are often a means of maintenance a paternal power; the function of punishment is very active function of such fathers. Other important functions of the traditional father are: provision of the family, defense of it; exhausted work; feeding. The children respect such fathers; they believe that it is a good way of parenting. Proofs of such a situation will be traced in an analysis of the interviews.

Economic dependence of a wife on a husband is one of the characteristics of traditional family. The male priority is admitted in the questions of family domination.

An egalitarian type of fathering is characterized by equality in the relationships between a mother and a father, by equal share of duties between them. The distribution of duties in egalitarian relations occurs fair and proportionally whether it is housekeeping or child's care; also an interchangeability of spouses in a decision of everyday problems takes place ("role symmetry"), as discussing problems and mutual decision-taking. This type is not such widespread, as the traditional one.

I have also distinguished a *cooperative* type of the ideal fathering. It is much closer to the egalitarian type, than to the traditional one. The father shares upbringing duties with his wife, besides the duties in household are distribute among parents equally. In such type of the relationships the father is a real partner to his wife and children. For the benefit of MA thesis (aims of this research to signify main trends/tendencies) I have combined the egalitarian and cooperative types of fathering together because it is rather complicated to trace strong differences between these two types.

## GERMAN CASE

Six interviews with German adolescents have been thoroughly analyzed. I am going to scrutinize them in details according to the type of fathering in the families. The aim of the interviews' analysis is to find out do expectations of the adolescents correspond to their perception of the father's role. This analysis includes an assessment of a situation by a teenager, and how does this assessment correlate with the established norms.

### 1. Traditional father

Two male German respondents have the traditional relationships in their families. Both are from West Germany and both have parents with the academic education.

A father of the first respondent occupies rather high position in a social firm in Berlin, whereas his wife lives in Bielefeld permanently. He is the head of one department. His wife works in a branch of this company in Bielefeld. The husband comes home only on weekends. The father of the second respondent also works not in the city where family lives, he is at home not often too. His wife at the moment of the interview is unemployed, in spite of her academic education. As indicated by the respondent she has never worked in accordance with her speciality. She works as much as she wants, taking periodically work at home (she is a journalist and is able to work at home).

Both fathers are distinguished by the respondents as the main breadwinners in their families. They possess an authority. Both mothers are distinguished as the main persons in the upbringing. The difference between families is that the first parents prefer to spend time together, walking around, going to restaurants or to the cinema, while the second married couple spends together only vacation twice a year: they have no common leisure time. The father of the first respondent, visiting his family only on weekends, does a lot during these days: he wakes up very early in order to help his relatives, to spend with them as much as possible time, whereas the father of the second teenager does not have such obligations. All home duties are accomplished by his wife. It should be mentioned that the mother insist on children's work in the house. They have their own responsibilities in housekeeping. The only male work in this family is a preparation of wood for a fireplace. Speaking about the mother of the first adolescent, the teenager underlines that despite she keeps the house, "...*she is not a typical mother who cleans everything*", because the family has a housemaid.

It is very interesting that both fathers do not spend much time at home with families, but for their sons it is not easy to mark out persons who give them more attention. Moreover, both mothers are distinguished by the respondents as the main persons for controlling an everyday life, whereas the fathers are the main persons, who launch the limitation, punish them. As it was already mentioned, the function of punishment is one of the most significant functions of the traditional father, in addition to the solely breadwinning.

Conflicts with parents are mentioned in both cases. For the first respondent the conflicts with the father are topical. “...*he does not see how much I do for the house or how much I help.*” The respondent is a little bit frustrated by father’s inattentiveness towards son’s role in the family. At the same time, he stresses the significance of his mother in his life. She is gentler to the son, she always understands him. “*She is more on my side I would say.*” “*She can better recognize how much I do.*” Despite of the conflict, the respondent assesses a contribution of his father in his upbringing on a very high level, especially in comparison with fathers of his friends. “...*he shows me how to behave, <...> rules, how to do intellectual and physical works.*” The adolescent adopts father’s practices to arrange a day strictly, to schedule all activities always.

The second respondent does not define a person with whom he has a conflict, but he speaks about frequent misunderstanding with both parents. They practically do not spend time with each other, only in vacation, travelling abroad. This teenager demonstrates rather slighting attitude towards parents’ opinions. «*Мне наплевать*» (“I do not care”). He expresses the opinion that problems with him are problems of their parents exclusively. He states that he did not ask the parents to give him life that is why they must solve the problems with him themselves.

Despite of some disagreements between the father and the child in the first case, the teenager would rather copy the role of his father in his future life. For him, it is a good way of upbringing, “*it works very good.*” The adolescent sees himself as the main breadwinner in his future family: “*I would be the one who has a job and brings money home. It sounds a little bit like a prejudice; I would more prefer that a mother would grow up the kids.*” Though, he does not deny his role as the father in a family, he is going to combine both roles – the role of the breadwinner with the role of the father. But in any case, a provision of a family is the most important thing in his future life. The answers on additional questions reflect the whole data for sure. In the real situation and in

expectations a man has to be a breadwinner solely, whereas a woman has to be the main person in children's upbringing. Home duties are divided between a husband and a wife in the expectations, but at present family, the mother spends more time for the housekeeping.

The second respondent emphasizes the role of the father in general: *“Это важно, чтобы отец тоже что-то делал... И это важно, чтобы дети тоже знали 2 стороны”*. Meanwhile, in his real family the mother puts more time and energy to children's care. The teenager is going to adopt the experience received in childhood in his future family. At the same time he does not deny a role of a “houseman” for him: *“...если у меня будет жена, у которой есть хорошая работа, тогда хорошо, - она зарабатывает деньги, я сижу дома с детьми”*. I suppose that such attitudes are rooted in doubts of the respondent in a rightness of the traditional fathering. Probably he agrees with the role of the houseman, because he sees imperfect relationships within his own family.

On the set of fix-choice questions the answers about desirable situation all are “TOGETHER” what means that ideal situation for the adolescent is equal distribution of all duties inside a household. The real situation differs a little bit: the wife has a double burden (children's upbringing and housekeeping); the husband is only the breadwinner. One conclusion can be made: there is a latent conflict within the family which is in the rigid distribution of duties among parents. The teenager observes these tensions everyday and probably the recognition of problems by him is a base for a desire to change roles in his future family.

Traditional roles in these families are played not only by fathers; the mothers also keep to the established order of traditional relations. Both of them have high educations, as the fathers, but one of them occupies rather low position, another one does not work at all. They spend more time at home, they make housekeeping, they control, but not punish, and they are not so strong to say “NO” as fathers do.

So, the basic characteristics of the traditional role of a father in a family are almost coincide with the examined cases. First of all, the fathers are the main breadwinners and the persons, who punish. As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, provision and the punishment are the most important functions of the traditional fathers. Secondly, the mothers are those, who do all (the second case) and almost all (the first case) home duties. They both are in charge of the housekeeping in their families. Moreover, the

mothers are distinguished by the sons as the main persons in their upbringing. It means that fathers in these families are voluntary or forced distanced themselves from accomplishing home duties and children's upbringing. This is the next function of the traditional father, notably, their minimal participation in everyday life of a family. The situation with the conflicts in these families differs a little bit. In the first case, conflicts occur often, and it is underlined by the teenager, that the father does not see and does not want to see the contribution of his son in the family life. The father demands more from his son, and does take into consideration things that have already done. In the second case conflicts are almost absent, the respondent, according to his words, does not care at all the parents' opinion. The parents, in their turn, do not begin the conflicts, because do not know how to influence the son. In spite of differing expectations of the respondents (the first would rather copy the role of the father in his future family and see himself as the main breadwinner, whereas the second does not exclude the role of the "houseman" for him), existing families can be attribute to the traditional families with confidence.

## **2. Egalitarian father**

In the German case there are two families which represent egalitarian relationships within them. The respondents were one female and one male; both live in West Germany all their lives. The parents of the first respondents (female) have not got academic degrees; they are employees in "Siemens" and "D-Bahn". As indicated by the teenager, parents work equally and provide the family with the same amount of money.

Both parents of the male respondent have graduated from universities. The father is a teacher at school, he has a permanent work; his wife is a self-employed worker, she is an artist, she works as much as she wants, periodically organizing groups for teaching those arts. In this case the father is marked out as the main breadwinner at present. But also, as indicated by the respondent, when children were younger, the father shared a paternal leave with the mother giving her an opportunity to work.

Parents of both respondents prefer to spend their leisure time together, mainly speaking to each other. This to some extent proves friendliness of the families, openness of the husbands and the wives to each other.

Female respondent notices that home duties are distributed absolutely equally between her parents. Besides they try to share duties equally between their children (the respondent has a younger brother). We see that parents are trying to educate their

children in the same way they behave, irrespective to gender. The second adolescent distinguishes only cooking as the sole duty of his mother; all other staff is shared equally between parents.

What is extremely significant, both respondents cannot define the main person in their upbringing. They also can not mark out a person, who controls or punishes more, than the other.

The 1<sup>st</sup> case: equally it could be either the mother or the father. *«Если я иду куда-то, я спрашиваю того родителя, кого я вижу, иногда это мама, иногда это папа».*

The 2<sup>nd</sup> case: he does not see any distinction between the father's and mother's role in their family. *"...there is totally equality between both [parents]. If I am not sure about the decision I ask both. If there is a decision I have to make and I am not sure, I ask both of them".* As indicated by this teenager, there is always absolutely equality between his parents. *"...my mother and my father have most mainly the same opinion about what should I do or what I should not do. <...> It is really equality". "... they always discuss together what to do. <...> They always exchange the opinions".* I suppose that such relationships can be a very strong evidence of equality between parents and children.

Both respondents speak about their fathers as much better fathers than fathers of their friends. Adolescents receive much more attention from their parents and they really appreciate it.

The answers on additional questions are completely the same for both respondents. It concerns both expectations and real situation and shows an ideal balance between existing and desired relationships.

These two cases can be regarded as the egalitarian type of relationships within a family without hesitation or doubt. The distribution of duties occurs in equal portions, whether it is house keeping or children's care. In the first case the mother works as much as father, providing a family; in the second one the wife decides herself how much work she needs. Parents spend time together; they always consult with each other concerning children's rearing. It is also very important, that persons who punish and educate children can not be defined in both cases. The contributions of both fathers are estimated on the very high level in comparison with other fathers. So, the main

characteristic of egalitarian relationships, namely the equality in all spheres, is presented in both these cases.

During the research I have found out, that two interviews of the German case can not be add either to traditional or egalitarian models. In the process of interviews' analyzing an intermediate model of the fathering was distinguished. This type is closer to the traditional one, where the father is the main breadwinner. The difference is in an attitude towards children's life. The "absent" father does not interfere in child's care at all, whereas traditional father plays the roles of control and punishment. I can not trace any coincidence with the functions of the egalitarian father. In contrast to him, absent father does not or almost does not take part in children's life. He brings money, as the traditional father, and for all other staff the mother is in response. This type was widespread in the Soviet time, when the women had triple burden (children's care, provision of a family and house keeping), whereas men had only one obligation: to work. And their salaries were absolutely not enough for a provision of the family. Elena Rozhdestvenskaya declares that this model of fathering is a typical one for modern Russia and Germany because of similarities of mentalities (Рождественская 2009). Alongside with her Irina Kletsina says that the absent father is typical for present Russia (Клецина 2009). As Rozhdestvenskaya she sees an explanation of it in mentality, which rooted in the Soviet past. Igor Kon in his last book writes that the absent father does have any social or pedagogical functions (Кон 2009).

Absent fathers were distinguished in two families of German female teenagers; the first of them lives all her life in the West Germany, other – in the East Germany. Parents of both respondents have not got any academic degrees, they fulfill physical work mainly. In the first case a mother is a nurse in a hospital, in the second a mother is a nurse in a kindergarten. The father of the first respondent is a kind of psychologist "...чуть-чуть меньше, чем психолог"; of the second – an erector. Both fathers are mentioned as the main breadwinners in their families; in the first case the father has 3 works, in the second he works with no fixed hours, notably he is at home only two days in three weeks, because of the duty to be at work far away from home.

Both fathers do not have any obligations at home. The first case: all home duties are accomplished by the woman: *"В основном всё делает мама. <...> Папа ничего не делает..."* The second case: home work of the husband is characterized by its insignificance. He works only outside. *"The father makes handworks – he repairs cars or*

*fence, for instance. He is always outside.*” It is a kind of “invisible work”, comparing with the mother’s one, who constantly “*cooks, cleans the house, she works inside. But also she works outside, because the father is out often, she must do lots handwork*”.

The next essential coincidence of both interviews is that the mothers are distinguished as sole persons in children’s upbringing. It is very interesting how the respondents describe such situation. The first case: a woman is marked out as a “natural” person in child’s rearing. It is a duty of the woman to bring children up. On the contrary, it is a natural task for men to work. The second case: “*Between a woman and a child a connection is stronger than between a man and a child*”. Besides, the respondent states that stronger connection between the woman and the child caused by the period of pregnancy. According to her, a woman has “*an instinct*” to child care. In addition, the woman must be engaged in a provision of a family equally with man.

The fathers in both cases consciously and unconsciously do not interfere in their children’s lives. The first teenager can not identify joint leisure. Usually, their leisure time consists in watching TV together. The father of the second respondent does not want conflicts at all and does not want to take the responsibility: “*My father is not so strong to say “NO”. <...> sometimes he says “YES” to everything. He does not want to be a bad father. He knows that my mother occupies with my upbringing and does not want to interfere.*”

Both teenagers speak about triple burden of their mothers. The women earn money for the provision of the family; they fulfill all home duties (for the first case; almost all for the second case); they solely care for children.

Both adolescents do not see any contradictions and deviations with the situations in their families. They consider them as the normal. The first respondent declares that it is normal for all her friends to have mothers to be in response for children’s care. It is absolutely standard situation for her. And the only thing she would like to change in her future life is not to indulge children, not to give them all they want (as was and as is in the respondent’s present life). She also speaks about her future role of the mother. According to her, it is only her obligation to bring children up («*...это моя обязанность воспитывать детей в семье*»). The second adolescent speaks about the situation in her friends’ families and notes that there fathers play bigger role in children’s care. “*A father is often the most important person in upbringing*”. Moreover, “*the parents of my friends usually play equal roles in the upbringing*”. Though, no doubts arise. The

respondent's friends consider her parents as the great that is the main reason to a solution that everything goes in a right way. As indicated by the teenager, the opinion of others is the most important indicator for her. *"When they tell such things, I suppose it is very good"*.

As we can see the answers on all groups of questions prove a belonging of these cases to a traditional type of relations with the absent father. Children have been grown up in various part of Germany: West and East. "The East respondent" speaks about a duty of a woman to work equally with a man and be a solely person for child's care simultaneously. As it was explained in the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, such model with double (or triple) burden for the woman was natural in the East part of Germany before the unification in 1989. The respondent from West does not mention an obligation of a woman to work, but as the previous one, she considers the mother as the main and the only person for a child. Such traditional roles of parents extended from the past, from the history, when these strong models had been formed. As we can observe, echo of these past models can be seen nowadays.

A hypothesis can be done on the basis of the analysis. As opposed to other German cases with egalitarian and traditional types of the fathering, where both parents have academic education, in these two particular cases parents do not have high education: neither fathers nor mothers. Probably, this 'class' factor can explain non-involvement of fathers in children's life. Various researches (Zdravomyslova E. and Zhidkova E., as well as Ostner I.) also speak about dependency of father's involvement in child's care on the educational level of men's. by way of these examples such correlation is proved.

It is very interesting that overwhelming majority of the respondents is going to repeat the roles of their parents in their future families. The daughters of "absent" fathers do not hesitate at all in the distribution of roles within their families and are ready to take double/triple burdens upon themselves in the future. The children from egalitarian families also want to reproduce the roles of their parents. They share parent's view concerning the roles in families. The male respondent with the traditional father is going to repeat father's role, despite of the conflicts with him at present. He is rather satisfied with the distribution of roles in his family. Only one male respondent, whose relationships with the father are traditional, does not exclude for himself the role of the "houseman" what can be regarded as an adherence to the egalitarian relations. He is the only

respondent who wants change something in the distribution of duties. All these statements testify that a reproduction of parents' images in children's is very strong; teenagers do not hesitate in a correctness of the chosen path.

## **RUSSIAN CASE**

Six interviews with Russian adolescents have been carefully studied. As with German cases, I am going to analyze them in details in accordance with the type of fathering in the families.

### **1. Traditional father**

The only one respondent has the traditional father. Such role is proved during the interview several times. The teenager is the oldest son in his family (he has 2 younger brothers); he is 16 years old, he has two younger brothers. Their father is the main breadwinner in the family; he works in a private business in a sphere of high technology. He has 3 high education. The mother who also has the academic education works in the stated-financed organization, namely in library. She has interrupted her career three times for parental leave.

The respondent tells about his father as the main person in his upbringing. Though he emphasizes that the mother is responsible for mental, spiritual education, she is closer to the children, she gives them more consideration, than the father does. Moreover, she plays the major role in controlling and punishing; the father even does not know about some conflicts occurring in the family very often.

On the question about the father's contribution into the son's upbringing the answer was only one: financial contribution. Other aspects of the father's influence on child's rearing the respondent can not distinguish. Though, the father is the main person for him. I suppose it is a significant argument for the adherence to the traditional fatherhood (not to the "absent" one). The father provides, probably he teaches the children by his own behavior and manners, but no engagement into mental sphere of the children, no conversations with the father are mentioned during the interview. It affords to judge that he is rather distanced from the everyday life of the family.

Moreover, the housekeeping is a woman's task basically, although elder sons help her. The mother works less than the father and she has more duties at home.

The parents have their own hobbies. It is interesting, that the father's hobby are basically outside (like sport), whereas the mother's are inside the flat – she care for the home, she likes cooking etc.

To my mind, the traditional role of the father in this family is obvious. First of all, he is the main breadwinner. Secondly, he is rather distanced from mental/spiritual life of his son. Very often he does not know about the conflicts within the family, they just not reach him. It is no coincidence, the respondent distinguishes the father's financial role in his upbringing primarily. This father differs from the absent one, because of respondent's assessment of his contribution, firstly. He wins in comparison with other fathers a lot.

## **2. Egalitarian father**

One female and two male Russian respondents have egalitarian fathers. All parents in their families have the high educations with the exception of one mother, who has secondary education and is a nurse in a hospital. All respondents live in Saint-Petersburg all life and all were participants of the German-Russian Exchange Programme.

The first significant feature of all interviews is that the teenagers can not define persons who are responsible for a provision of the families. There are no solely breadwinners.

The second is that all fathers have joint hobbies with children and/or with the mothers. Sometimes such hobby is only talking, but I suppose it is rather significant "hobby" for a parent and a child. The adolescents talk that they have as much attention from their parents as they need. Of course, there are different spheres for the conversations with the fathers and mothers. Such spheres depend on a discussed topic primarily.

Home duties are equally distributed inside these families; there is no division of labour. The exception is an accomplishing of heavy physical work, which is the male deal basically.

The respondents have distinguished both parents as the main persons in their upbringing. The male teenagers accent the fathers who are more involved in the sphere of technical and physical education, the female teenager does not do such an emphasis.

The adolescent tell that control and punishment are almost absent in their families. In two cases the parents have equal roles in these spheres, whereas the first male

respondent marks out his mother who more moralizes about his behavior, but without punishing or restrictions.

I should say that these three cases are obvious examples of egalitarian fathering. All facts are evidences of it: joint provision, joint leisure time of the parents as well as of the parents and the children; the parents take equal part in the upbringing. The father of the first male respondent even has left his work and enter another one, in order to have an opportunity to spend more time with his family, namely with children. Though he provides the family, as well as the mother does. The second male respondent lives with stepfather, but the ties with his native father are so strong that I have also decided to examine this case in my work. This father does not live with the respondent constantly, but his influence on the child both mental and maternal is very strong.

In the Russian case among “traditional” fathers I have also distinguished “absent” fathers, who are very similar to the traditional, but their involvement into the children’s upbringing differs a lot.

Two female respondents have absent fathers to my mind. Parents both of them have high education; a mother of the first one has even two. They both live in Saint-Petersburg all their lives.

The first case is very significant. The present family of the respondent is the second marriage of her mother. The teenager has a younger sister. And being in parental leave with this sister, the mother is forced to work on evenings in order to provide the family, because the father’s income is not enough. At this time the father has only one job in the state-financed sector. It is stated by the respondent, that she helps mother on evening to take care after the child, while the mother is working. Not the father helps, but the elder daughter. The respondent even does not know a workplace of the father: he works at some institute.

The second case is not less interesting. During the interview, the respondent speaks slightly about father’s “mental illness”. It is pronounced, on the one hand, in a form of joke, on the other hand, with confidence in words. The adolescent is constantly furious because of the father: his manners and behavior annoy her. At the same time, both parents are marked as breadwinners. They have their own business, and their join income provides an existence of the family.

The stepfather of the first respondent plays the absent role undoubtedly. The main distinction from the traditional role is that he is not the solely breadwinner. He does not provide the family on the appropriate level. Moreover, the mother is distinguished by the teenager as the main person in her upbringing, the main person who is responsible for housekeeping. The father only “sometimes helps”; he is in charge of repairing the computer only. The mother and the grandmother who does not constantly live with the family (!) are the main persons who control the respondent’s everyday life. And also only mother punishes. No mention of the father’s role. The father does not provide, does not take part in the upbringing, does not do any home duties. He just exists. That is all.

In the family of the second respondent both parents control and punish depending on topic. Moreover, the father does not turn aside from accomplishing home duties – he helps to cook. A cleaning of the flat is a woman’s task predominantly.

But for me, the most striking feature in this case was the actual absence of the father in the daughter’s upbringing. Despite of his provision of the family equally with the mother, despite of his participation in the housekeeping, the father, according to the respondent’s words, is not the main person in her upbringing. Moreover, the mother always tells daughter, that he is not an authority. Consequently, the daughter does not take into account his opinion at all. She even ignores him and laughs at him, considers his thoughts as unworthy. The father’s mind does not take into consideration by members of the family at all.

In this case also both parents are educated. But the roles within the family are not equally distributed. It is difficult to say what is an obstacle for changing them, why does mother put an obstacle in the way of father’s role accomplishing, talking about his non authority to the daughter.

As with German respondents I am going to trace whether Russian respondents would like to copy the roles of their parents in their future life, or they are eager to change something in the distribution of everyday family roles. Again, majority of teenagers are going to repeat the roles of their parents. But the situation is a little bit differs from the German case. For example, the only respondent whose father plays the traditional role is going to copy the role of his father in his future family. But as it was mentioned by him, it will be some changes, because with the lapse of time life is changing and it is impossible to use the same practices for children of various generations. The children of egalitarian father either boys or girls are also going to keep

to the established order in their families. All of them regard the situation of equal distribution of duties as the best atmosphere for child bringing up.

The first female respondent whose father plays the absent role is eager to change the roles in her future. She recognizes the constant conflicts, she sees the triple burden of her mother and she tells she would like to do all her best in order to change such distribution in her future life. On the contrary, the second female respondent with absent father sees a lot of contradictions in her present life and in relations with father, but in her speech there is no mention about desire to change the parents' role in her future life. She distinguishes the importance of mothers for girls and fathers for boys. According to her, a parent and a child of different sexes can not communicate in a good manner to each other.

## Conclusion

The detailed analysis of the interviews has revealed the urgency of the topic for the respondents. Almost all of them were rather open and interested in discussing. In the conclusions some of the respondents stated it would be better to change somehow parents' roles in their future families. Still, majority of the respondents do not hesitate in rightness of their parents' roles, even when they see the difference of them from their friends' families. It proves the stableness and heritability of family's roles.

One of the hypotheses which were done at the beginning of this chapter is dependence of roles' distribution on belonging of the family to East or West German societies. As it was found out, two German respondents have traditional fathers and both of them are from the West part of the country. The fathers in their families play traditional roles for sure and the teenagers are going beyond all doubts to prolong them (though one of them does not exclude the role of the "houseman" for him). As we remember from the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, the traditional distribution of duties was one of the main features of Federal Republic of Germany. It is interesting that only one Russian teenager has the traditional father. Both parents in this family are well-educated: the father has even 3 high educations. The mother in this family can work less and be more time with her three sons, because the father provides the family in an appropriate level. It should be mentioned that it is rather uncommon situation among Russian families. From all stated above, we can assume dependence of fatherhood' type on institutional frameworks of the state.

Two Russian and two German female respondents have absent fathers. One German family lives in the West Germany, another – in the East part. The main difference between cases from different countries is the parents' education. The Russian parents have high education, whereas German parents have not got any academic degrees. But, unfortunately, even the presence of wide scientific knowledge does not help to break, for example, or to change the roles within the family in order to facilitate the mother's triple burden and to improve the relations with children. This fact gives evidence that institutional experience of unequal distributions of duties leads to minimization of a father's role (as lower class positions also does).

The other interesting finding is that German teenagers do not want to change their parents' role in their future families at all. Female respondents agree to have double/triple burdens for them and to have husbands who will be excluded from children's care. On the contrary, one Russian respondent is eager to change roles – she is completely dissatisfied with her father's role and she sees how it is difficult for her mother to cope with all her responsibilities.

Two German and three Russian respondents have egalitarian types of relationships in their families. German parents, as well as almost all Russian (only one mother has only secondary education) have got high education. I suppose, it can indicate dependence of egalitarian relationships on level of education. Moreover, it is very interesting, the expectations of all respondents and their assessment of the real situation in present families coincide, what shows us an ideal balance between existing and desired relationships.

The situation in Russian and Germany with the father's role is rather similar. Both cases include traditional and egalitarian types, as well as the absent type – the variety of the traditional one. I suppose dependence or non dependence of father's involvement in the child's care somehow refer to the education' level. On the one hand, two German absent fathers have not got academic degrees, whereas Russian absent fathers have them, on the other, all egalitarian fathers have high education.

It is very interesting to find out, that the fathers are either involved in all sphere of domestic life or not involved in any of them, aside from the provision. For example, the egalitarian fathers share with mothers all duties: provision, children's rearing and housekeeping. At the same time the absent or traditional fathers are occupied only by

solely (but not always) breadwinning. The fathers are engaged in the families' life either to the maximum or they try to distance from it.

From all stated above it is obvious that children inherit parents' role in a large extent. Parents usually act as models for the future careers of parenthood of their children. The experience of primary socialization which individual gets in a family has an echo during all his/her life. Besides, rigid gender contracts, which are instituted by the state, influence people's behaviour even when these contracts officially are not popularized yet. It is very difficult for people to change their everyday practices, to review the distribution of duties, to make their roles more flexible in order to simplify everyday tasks for all member of a family. Besides, before changing the roles, the problem must be recognized by individuals. Unfortunately, this recognition occurs very and very rarely.

### **General conclusion**

In this work I had intended to examine the transformation of gender order during the last decades in Russian and Germany, to explore how institutional frameworks influence the role of father in child care and to trace the perceptions and expectations towards the practices of real fathering.

Throughout this paper the changes in the father's role in child care and the effects of institutional frameworks on ways of presentation, acceptance and perceptions of "real" fathering in conditions of gender order' transformation in Russia and Germany were analyzed consecutive.

The one common conclusion is that there is a breaking of traditional system of roles' distribution in Europe and Russia. It has been beginning in the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century and was caused by mass involvement of women into the labour market and appearance of state children care institutions. Such breaking influences the life of whole societies, people are forced to adapt to new roles, accept them. Transformational processes occur differently in different countries. Normative, cultural settings, as well as historical heritage, influence the rapidity of adaptation to changing environmental conditions.

As a result of theoretical analysis (where different theoretical approaches describe and explain changes in the father's role were analyzed) it is found out how the question of fathering is represented in modern scientific discourse. Concerning Russian case, whether approach is investigated by the researches (cultural or institutional) the

conclusion is common: the phenomenon of “failed” masculinity puts obstacles in the way of “new fathering” development. Moreover, the rigid Soviet gender contracts impede redistribution the roles within a family, creating additional difficulties in coping with urgent socio-economic problems. Only several scientists speak about “new fathering” nowadays, but even they appeal to the mass for the recognition of the problem on all levels of society.

Rather like situation is typical for Germany, where there is also rare discussion about the fathers. Moreover, the behaviour of German mothers is similar to Russian, who reluctantly share home duties and duties concerning child care with fathers. The fathers as such were absent in social policy of East part of Germany and the USSR, there were only workers/builders of socialism/communism. The father in West Germany was solely the provider/breadwinner. But, as it was mentioned, a man there gains more attention in advertisement, in social advertisements namely, where he often appears as an attentive father. In spite of heritage, a slowly movement towards a “new father” has begun. More and more fathers combine professional work with domestic one, as well as active participation in a child bringing-up. Also in German academic discourse the problems with fatherhood gets more attention in contrast to the Russian discourse.

In the second chapter the transformation of the family structure on the basis of data of official statistic and legislation is analyzed. We have traced how the institutional frameworks influence the transition from traditional to egalitarian fathering and how this phenomenon is discussed in the scientific discourse. Russian and Germany have lots of common facts in their modern development. Statistical data confirms the destruction of family norms indirectly. For example, in both countries alternative family forms have increased during the last decades; the extension of “civil marriage” and weakening of matrimony’s institute are characteristic features for both of them. Both Russia and Germany have progressive legislation where right of men and women, as well as fathers and mothers, are equal. But these legislative norms do not work in practice; they are not widely implemented into the daily life of citizens. Also indirectly, the divorce rate and maternal preferences after divorces give the evidence to such conclusion.

In the course of empirical research the dependency of fatherhood type on institutional framework of the state has been revealed. In Russia and German cases institutional framework is reflected. This fact proves expectations which were made at the beginning of this work. There was not any unexpectedness during the research. It is

one more time confirms the influence of heritage of the formation of modern gender roles. For example, in West Germany traditional fathers are prevailed, as well as absent fathers in East Germany. Moreover, on the basis of the interviews' analysis it is proved that institutional experience of unequal distribution of duties within a family leads to minimization of a father's role.

Within the framework of the empirical research the influence of the family and parents' experience on children's expectations was revealed. It indicates the existence of direct connection between childhood's experience and future expectations of parents' roles by children. Without taking into account this fact it is impossible to change roles within a family, to redistribute them. So, one conclusion can be done: it is impossible to change the whole system only by means of legislative norms.

It is very interesting that all German teenagers, as well as majority of Russian, are completely satisfied with their fathers' roles, whether traditional or egalitarian. Adolescents do not want to change anything. And only one Russian female respondent whose father plays the absent role is eager not to repeat the roles of parents in her future family. This fact again proves the finding that without taking into consideration cultural traditions of population it is impossible to change reality on the state level.

All children of egalitarian fathers are completely satisfied with the distribution of roles in their families and would rather copy the parents' roles. It should be mentioned that all Russian and almost all German egalitarian parents have academic degrees. In my mind it can be evidence to dependency of egalitarian distribution of duties on level of parents' education. The same conclusion can be done for absent fathers, but only German absent fathers are not educated, in contrast to Russian fathers, who all have academic degrees.

In whole, traditional fathering is prevailed in both countries. There are seven respondents with traditional fathers and five with egalitarian fathers. As I expected, the model of "new fathering" is still not so widespread. Heritage has its influence as usual.

Through empirical part it was proved that primary socialization is very significant for people. As it was already mentioned, majority of teenagers do not hesitate in rightness of their parents' roles and are going to continue them in their future life. Parents are examples for the construction of children's own images. Probably this fact can explain inaction of legislation. On the constitutional level equality of men and women are guaranteed, but we see how legal principles do not work in practice. Mental, cultural

steadiness, assurance in rightness of roles' distribution, unwillingness to realize the root of problems – these facts prevent progressive legislation to be accomplished in everyday life.

In all work I have tried to answer research question: how does institutional framework influence the transition from traditional to egalitarian fathering? As it was stated and as it was proved throughout this paper, norms and expectations of everyday practices, as well as legislation and juridical principles influence gender order transformation significantly.

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## Attachment

### Analysis of interviews

Schoolgirl 1. German girl, 17 years old. West Germany.

In this particular family the father has 3 jobs, whereas mother has 2, which means that both parents have full time jobs. Such quantity of jobs is explained by a shortage of money. Both parents studied at “Fachhochschule”, which is the analogue of technical school in Russia. The father does not have any obligations at home. All home duties are accomplished by the woman:

4.2. Как происходит распределение обязанностей внутри семьи? В основном всё делает мама. <...> Папа ничего не делает, он очень поздно приезжает.

The respondent considers the mother as the main person in her upbringing. She notices that his leisure time the father spends with his friends or walking alone. At the same time, on the question about joint free time, the teenager answered: 1) watching TV; 2) walking in the centre; and only third – talking. The respondent more than once talked all she ever wanted, she became. She got all that she wanted. In her opinion, it is a negative side of her upbringing and she would not repeat it in her future family.

The adolescent distinguished a woman as the natural person for child’s upbringing. According to her, it is a duty of a woman to bring children up. And in her future family she would do it herself (“это моя обязанность воспитывать детей в семье”). On the contrary, it is natural task for a man to work (“Это природа ,что мужчины больше работают”).

Comparing with families of the same-age persons, it is stated that all mothers plays greater role within families, then fathers. The respondent considers her family situation as the normal one, she does not see any deviation; and the only think she would like to change is not provision of a child with everything he/she wants.

This example can be regarded as the case of *ABSENT* father, I suppose. It is easier for parents with traditional distribution of duties in general and for father in particular to watch TV together or to go shopping, or to spend money for the daughter’s wishes, rather than speak with her. From her own childhood the adolescent draws the images of “natural” family, where a father only works, whereas the duties of a mother are composed of work, house-keeping and child upbringing. In her environment she does not see any contradictions with her situation and she regards it as absolutely standard.

Schoolgirl 2. German girl, 16 years old. East Germany.

A family of the second respondent lives in the East Germany. The respondent is the youngest daughter in the family; all the siblings have already grown up and do not live with parents. Both parents studied at “Realschule”. A mother is a worker in kindergarten, a father is erector. Both parents fulfill physical work.

A schedule of father’s work allows him to be at home only 2 days in 3 weeks. A physical absence of the father in this particular family supported his emotional absence, even being at home. Work, he does at home is all outside: “*The father makes handworks – he repairs cars or fence, for instance. He is always outside.*” It is a kind of “invisible work”, comparing with the mother’s one, who constantly “*cooks, cleans the house, she works inside. But also she works outside, because the father is out often, she must do lots handwork*”. The mother in this family works 5 hours per day, 5 days per week. All her “free time” she spends on child and home duties. It is obvious the father works more than full day and, despite mother’s part-time employment, she works at home all her “free time”.

The respondent’s views on fathering reflect situation within a family completely. She demonstrated strong stereotype: “*Between a woman and a child a connection is stronger than between a man and a child*”. Besides, she states that stronger connection between woman and child caused by the period of pregnancy. According to her, a woman has “*an instinct*” to child

care. She traces such roots in history (“*since Middle age*”), when men were breadwinners solely and mothers took all the responsibilities for children’s care.

Besides, the father in this family consciously does not interfere in the process of upbringing, because he does not want conflicts and does not want to take the responsibility: “*My father is not so strong to say “NO”. <...> sometimes he says “YES” to everything. He does not want to be a bad father. He knows than my mother occupies with my upbringing and does not want to interfere.*”

The case of ABSENT father is obvious for this family, where the father consciously and unconsciously avoids his parenting role. It is rather interesting that his daughter does not see any deviation in the situation. The respondent says frankly about it and according to her words the mother takes triple burden without any doubts. Even when she is telling about her friends’ families, where “*A father is often the most important person in upbringing*”, no doubts arise at all. Moreover, “*the parents of my friends usually play equal roles in the upbringing*”. But such a statement also does not provoke any questions and doubts. Probably, because of the opinion of respondent’s friends, that she has “*great parents*”. For the respondent a feedback of her friends on the situation within the family is the most important assessment. Her friends considered her parents as ideal that is the significant opinion for the adolescent. “*When they tell such things, I suppose it is very good.*” – she concludes.

The answers on fixed-choice questions revealed double (if not triple) burden for woman (child care and house keeping) both in reality and in expectation. Meanwhile, the respondent thinks that a woman must be engaged in provision of a family equally with man; but in this particular family the father remains main breadwinner.

Schoolgirl 3. German girl, 16 years old. West Germany.

The third female German respondent was from West Germany, her family lives in Bavaria. It is a case of family with EGALITARIAN relations. There is lots of evidence for this in the interviews. The distribution of duties within the family occurs absolutely equally («Мама и папа поровну выполняют обязанности»), besides parents try to share duties equally between children (the respondent has a younger brother). It can one of the characteristic of egalitarian upbringing: parents not only do the same amount of work within the household, but demand the same amount of work from their male and female children to be done.

Parents of the adolescent prefer to spend leisure time together, that at some extend proves friendliness of the family, openness of the husband and the wife to each other.

The respondent does not define a person whom she asks for advice or for permission to do something. Equally it could be either the mother or the father (“*Если я иду куда-то, я спрашиваю того родителя, кого я вижу, иногда это мама, иногда это папа.*”). Besides, the respondent states that parents share time in child care equally.

As indicated by the teenagers, there are no conflicts in this family at all, so she cannot distinguish a person who punishes her or establishes the bounds in her self-expression. As for housekeeping, parents spend equal time for children upbringing (“*родители поровну тратят времени на мое воспитание*”).

The respondent gives positive assessment of father’s role in the family. He is the best father (“*Мой отец – лучший отец... <...> Он мне как друг.*”).

At the end of the interview the adolescent concludes that she would use the practices of parenting in her future family, because she has good childhood and good mutual understanding with parents.

On a set of fixed-choice questions there was only one answer: “TOGETHER”. It concerns both expectations and real situation and shows an ideal balance between existing and desired relationships.

Schoolgirl 4. Russian girl, 14 years old.

An interview with this respondent was conducted in German-Russian Exchange, as the previous three. The girl was “Russian sister” of a participant of School-Exchange Programme. The adolescent lives with a father-in-law. Her present family is the second marriage of her mother, she has a younger stepsister. Both parents have high education. The most striking feature with the situation in this family is that the mother, being in maternity leave, works on evening in order to provide the family. She has two high educations, but she is forced to work as an administrator in a night club on evenings, when her younger daughter is under somebody care. At the same time, the father works at some (“*каком-то*”) institute: the respondent even does not know in which particularly.

On the question “Who takes more care in your upbringing?” there was a definite answer: mother (“*Мама*”). Most of home duties are carried out by the mother. The father helps sometimes (“*Папа иногда помогает*”). A truly male work in the family is a repair of PC and various devices.

It is not surprising that on the question “How do you think how much their free time the parents spend to you?” the answer was “too little” (“*мало*”). Again as the main controlling person in the family the teenagers distinguishes the mother and a grandmother (!) how does not live with this family permanently and attends it from time to time. No mention of father. Also the mother is a person who punishes in the case of conflicts.

The respondent do not satisfied with the time parents spend to her. In her expectations both parents should be involved in the process on upbringing. She also notices that fathers of her friends are more interested in the daily life of their children.

In this case the father’s *ABSENT* role is obvious. Probably, it might be explained by the fact that he is not the “biological father”, but the father-in-law. The clear role of absent father can be proved by the following statements: the mother takes more active part in the upbringing; the great amount of home duties are on the mother; the mother controls everyday life of the respondent, she punishes. The mother works on evening, despite being in parental leave. The father spends evenings at home.

In conclusion there was a set of fixed-choice questions. As could be expected, in this family it is the mother who provides, who is in charge of home duties and who is responsible for child care. On the contrary, respondent’s expectations did not coincide with the real situation. For example, as indicated by her, a man has to be the main provider of a family, whereas a woman has to do housekeeping; child care has to be accomplished by both parents.

Schoolgirl 5. Russian girl, 16 years old. Saint-Petersburg

This respondent is a participant of School Exchange programme in German-Russian Exchange as all respondents. She is 16 years old; she has been living in Spb all her life. Both parents of the teenager have academic education.

From the very beginning of the interview a father was called “a small brother”. “...*он как маленький брат.*” The respondent speaks slightly about father’s “mental illness”, which has becoming apparent for several years. It is pronounce, on the one hand, in a form of joke, on the other hand, with confidence in words. The adolescent is constantly furious because of the father: his manners and behavior annoy her. She use such phrases as “We have bought him glasses, we have bought him a telephone”. “...*ему купили очки <...> мы купили телефон...*” During all interview she emphasizes a dependence of the father on mother’s and daughter’s decisions.

Both parents are marked as breadwinners. They have their own business, and their join income provides an existence of the family.

The parents control the daughter; they do not appreciate her walking around or her leisure time with friends. Even, as it was indicated by the teenager, the father does not trust her a home key, so she can not reach a flat without one of the parents. The father is named as the person who controls a respondent’s life. The conflicts are solved, depending on theme of them. There is no one person, who punished in this family, it can as either the mother or the father.

It is rather difficult to distinguish a joint leisure time of parents. They spend “100%” of time together, being at work. On the weekends, they visit a dacha, which has been building for several years for whole family. In other respects, the respondent has various hobbies with the mother and with the father. They spend quite a lot time together.

Housekeeping is accomplished by all member of the family primarily. Cooking, washing the dishes – are done by the parents and the daughter equally. An exception is only cleaning, where the father does not take part at all.

On the questions about the main person in respondent’s upbringing, the answer was “The mother” (“*Мама*”). Moreover, the mother constantly tells, that the father is not an authority in the family, and that the daughter should not listen to him.

For me it is very difficult to define a belonging of this case to one of the “ideal” models of fathering. On the one hand, it has signs of egalitarian model: the father takes a little part in home duties; he earns money equally with the mother; he spends his free time with the wife and the daughter. On the other hand, this case can not be named as “egalitarian” one, because, the authority of the father in the upbringing is absent at all. He is not respected as the father by his wife and the child. His mind does not take in a consideration by members of the family. I suppose this case is one more case of the ABSENT father, because the role of the father in the child’s rearing is absent, as it is indicated several times during the interview.

Schoolgirl 6. Russian girl, 15 years old. Saint-Petersburg

This respondent is 15 years old and she lives in Saint-Petersburg all her life. Both her parents have high education, a father has two.

Both parents work and the teenager can not distinguish the main breadwinner in the family.

Despite a lack of free time the respondent spent quite a lot time with their parents. With the father she goes in for sport rather actively (in the last time not often because of necessity to hard studying in order to enter the university next year). Leisure time with the mother includes visiting a theater or a cinema, talking together.

Home duties are distributed by family members rather equally. It is marked out by the respondent, that there is no person, who is in charge of cooking, for example. Who has time that cooks. The same is with cleaning. The only mother’s work at home is a cleaning of windows.

The parents spend time for their child willingly. “*Когда у них есть свободное время, они практически все свое время на меня тратят*”. She does not have a lack of attention.

There is no person in this family, who controls everyday life of the respondent. She argues, that there is no necessity to do it, because she is obedient. “*Но я сама как-то такая послушная*”. Also the conflicts occurs rarely, and the adolescent can not define a person, who punishes her.

The expectations of the teenagers are strongly correlated with the existing situation. She appreciates the equality in her real family and she wants to have such equality in a future one. The only thing she has distinguished, that the main person in a child’s upbringing depends on his/her sex. That means, that for a boy a father is more important then a mother. And vice versa.

I strongly believe it is a clear case of EGALITARIAN type of relationships within a family. Firstly, the parents work equally, they provide the family on the same level. Secondly, they both take part in the child’s upbringing. It can be traced on the example of free time: the parents and the daughter have common hobbies, they spend leisure time together desirably. One more important characteristic is absence of a person, who punishes or controlling. It is better to say, that the respondent can not define such person, that means she assesses the roles of the father and the mother equally.

Schoolboy 1. German teenager, 19 years old. West Germany.

Actually, during the first interview with male German it was found out that his is not native German, because his father is Bulgarian and his mother is Polish. It was decided not to take into

account the data received in this interview, because it would be inconsistent comparison with other respondents.

The first male German male respondent is 19 years old, but as it was already mentioned, such deviation is admitted, because the teenager is still studying at school, he communicates with persons of the same ages and younger. That is why he can be the proper respondent.

The family lives in West Germany. Both parents have academic education, both studied at universities, and at present both hold rather higher positions in one company, the father in Berlin and the mother in Bielefeld, where the family live permanently. Two elder siblings of the respondent do not live with their parents, they have their own apartments.

The adolescent distinguishes the father as the main breadwinner of the family with confidence. At the working days the father is far away, he goes back at home only every Friday. The weekends parents prefer to spend together, walking around, going to restaurants or to the cinema.

With the same confidence the respondent distinguishes the mother as the main person in his upbringing. She also keeps house, but it is underlined by the teenager, that:

*“she is not a typical mother who cleans everything”*, the family also has a housemaid, who does all cleaning.

The father being at home at the weekends does a lot: he stands up very early to shopping, “he drives around and buys all staff we need in the house, <...> it is very stressful for him, but he does not have to do it, but he wants to do it”

For you? – “Yes, for me and my mother”.

It is rather complicated to the respondent to call a person who gives him more attention. On the one hand it is the mother; on the other hand, it cannot be the father, because he works far away from home. The mother more controls, on the contrary, the father punishes more. *“... sometimes there are some problems [between father and me], because we do not see each other so much...”* Sometimes there are conflicts between the respondent and his father: *“He is often disappointed; he does not see how much I do for the house or how much I help. And my mother I would say she can better recognize how much I do.”* Here it is stressed that the mother understands the adolescent in a better way, than the father does. The respondent is a little bit frustrated by father’s inattentiveness towards son’s role in the family (*“...he does not see how much I do for the house”*).

It is very interesting, that the teenager differs the influence of parent towards their children according to the sex of both. *“I would say it [the responsibility for children’s upbringing in the family] is different from girls and from boys. I would say for boys it’s more mother and for girls it is more father. I am a boy and for me my mother is more important, for my education”*. He stresses the significance of his mother in his life. At the same time the respondent assesses a contribution of his father in his upbringing on a very high level, especially in comparison with fathers of his friends. *“...he shows me how to behave, <...> rules, how to do intellectual and physical work”*. The adolescent adopts father’s practices to arrange a day strictly, to schedule all activities always. We can also trace positive side of father’s behavior, as indicated by his son: *“...good to see his opinion <...> he is a little bit more realistic than my mother. He can say NO”*. At the same time the mother is gentler to the son, she always understands him. *“She is more on my side I would say”*.

The comparison of the respondent’s father with the father of his friends does him well. Other fathers are not so strictly, they have not so many rules. *“...when they [other fathers] meet with friends, they drink a lot of alcohol, they go to bed very late and sleep until 10 o’clock or something like this”*.

Despite of some disagreements between the father and the child, the teenagers would rather copy the role of his father in his future life. For him, it is a good way of upbringing, *“it works*

very good". He recognizes that even now he observes in himself many characteristics of his father.

The adolescent sees himself as the main breadwinner in his future family: "I would be the one who has a job and brings money home. It sounds a little bit like a prejudice; I would more prefer that a mother would grow up the kids". Though, he does not deny his role as the father in a family, he is going to combine both roles – the role of breadwinner with the role of father. But in any case, a provision of a family is the most important thing in his future life.

The answers on additional questions reflect the whole data for sure. In the real situation and in expectations a man has to be a breadwinner solely, whereas a woman has to be the main person in children's upbringing. Home duties are divided between a husband and a wife in the expectations, but at present family, the mother spends more time for housekeeping.

To my mind the role of father in this family is very TRADITIONAL. Firstly, he is the main breadwinner; secondly, he has a right to punish, although he does not live with family permanently (remember the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> female German respondent, whose father also does not live at home permanently because of work, but plays absolutely absent role; having a fear to spoil the relationships with daughter, he always says "YES" on any wishes of his child). The father has an authority in the family: he wins a comparison with other fathers. He has rules, he has strict timetable for a day and for the whole life. He follows his own rules always. And the respondent wants for sure repeat the role of his father in his future family; he considers such a way of upbringing as the good one. Traditional role in this family is also played by the mother. She has the high education, as the father, but she occupies not so high position, as he. She spends more time at home, she makes housekeeping, and she is closer to the son, than the father. She is gentler, she understands her son always, and she is not strong to say "NO".

Schoolboy 2. German teenager, 19 years old. West Germany.

The second male German respondent is 19 years old. He studies at the last form of German school. His family lives all life in West Germany. Both parents have high education. There are three children in the family, but the oldest child does not live at home, he studies in other city.

The mother of the respondent is an artist. She has free occupation, she plans her working timetable her own. She is self-occupied. The father has a permanent employment, he is a teacher at school. And he is distinguished by his son as the main breadwinner. "... *in comparison with him, my mother does more homework*". At the same time, when children were younger, not only the wife stayed at home; at that time the husband worked less and stayed at home with children, while their mother worked.

Parents of the respondent prefer to spend time together as at the working days on evenings, as at the weekends. "...they are talking to each other, they tell what they have experienced, discussing it. And at the weekend sometimes they meet friends, often they go swimming together or hiking".

The teenager cannot divide a person who takes more part in his upbringing. He does not see any distinction between the father's and mother's role in their family. "...*there is totally equality between both [parents]. If I am not sure about the decision I ask both. If there is a decision I have to make and I am not sure, I ask both of them*".

Housekeeping is divided between parents only in a case of cooking. Father does not cook at all. All other staff parents do together, whether it is a work in the garden or house cleaning. Besides, "...*father does all the technical things, because he teaches physics*".

The time parents spend to his son is entirely the same as the respondent wants to get. In this case expectations are the same as results. "...*I don't have too much care, and too less care. As much as I need*". Adolescent noticed that ever when he would need more time from parents he would get it for sure. He is confident with it. "...*I have never had the feeling of being alone, nor have not so much support. It is always enough*".

The answers on questions about control and punishment within the family are at the same direction. The mother and the father have equality in their opinions concerning child's upbringing. No decision is made solely. There is always a discussion between parents how to do this or that thing. "...my mother and my father have most mainly the same opinion about what should I do or what I should not do. <...> It is really equality". "... they always discuss together what to do. <...> They always exchange the opinions".

It is unimportant for the respondent who should care the children in a family. He cannot distinguish a person, whose role is it. Also he cannot distinguish a person in his own family who cares him more. He repeats: "*And they have similar views on children. They have similar opinions about how to educate children. I couldn't say who cares more*".

As the previous respondent, this one assesses the role of his father in more positive terms in comparison with the fathers of his friends. "*My father is more present for me, then other fathers for others. He is more at home. I've got such feeling*".

The teenagers would like to repeat the experience of children upbringing he got in childhood in his future life, in his future family: "*Yes. I am really happy about the education I had and about the family, in which I have grown up*". He also does not consider child's upbringing as a mother's work primarily: "*I wouldn't say this is the work for the wife. I would also like to do it*".

Answering on additional questions the respondent expresses the opinion of equal desirable distribution of duties. In his opinion, a man and a woman should share obligations whether providing a family, housekeeping or child rearing.

The father of this respondent can relate to a *COOPERATIVE* or *EGALITARIAN* father. He is really like a partner to his wife and to his son. First of all, he shared upbringing duties with his wife, when children were smaller (he worked less). Secondly, he, as the mother, would never take a decision concerning the child's rearing without an advice with the wife. Finally, as indicated by the respondent, he has never bother with attention or guardianship. He is paid such amount of attention what is exactly needed by him. And we can see the respondent really appreciates it; he repeats more and more that he has attention "*As much as I need*".

Schoolboy 3. German teenager, 17 years old. West Germany

The third German male respondent is 17 years old. He was born and has been living all his life in the West part of Germany. Both his parents have academic education. The interview with this respondent was conducted in German-Russian Exchange, in its Russian office in Saint-Petersburg. The teenager takes part in 10-months exchange programme and at the moment of the interview (March 2010) he had been living in Russia for 6 month.

A mother of the respondent is unemployed. Despite of her high education and grown up children, she prefer to stay at home. When she has a work, she usually works at home on computers. She is journalist and sometimes she has a part-time job. A father is called by the adolescent as the main breadwinner in this family, he has a work, and this work does not afford him to be often at home. The father has only 1 day free per wee.

It is interesting that there was no mention about parents' leisure-time, each of them has his/her own hobby regardless of a hobby of partners. This can be a characteristic of unfriendly, not-warm relationships between parents.

The father is completely not involved in house-keeping. He has not any obligations or duties at home. All the staff is accomplished by the mother, the respondent and his sister. On the question: "What does the father do?" («А что делает папа?»), the answer was: "He is working. He earns money". («Он работает. Он зарабатывает деньги»). A real male work is absent at home, with the exception of wood's preparation for a fireplace. It hardly can be called the work, because it should be periodically accomplished and has not got important meaning for the family.

The respondent speaks about boring joint time with his parents. Most things they offer him, he refuses to do, because it is not interesting and not fascinating. The other interesting thing is that, according to the teenager's view, the father gives him more time and energy, despite of his

hard work and physical absence at home very often. The respondent and his mother are almost always at home together, but they do not communicate with each other. *“Я дома, мама дома, но практически мы не сидим вместе”*. Their relationships are not warm and confidential, as between the parents. They and their son very-very seldom spent time together, only during vacations: *«... очень редко что-либо делаем с моими родителями. <...> Обычно только в каникулы мы делаем что-то вместе»*.

The father is distinguished as the main person who punishes. On the one hand, the mother controls an everyday life of the teenagers, on the other, in the case of a conflict situation, she complains father, who, in turn, examines the situation and uses the punishments. As indicated by the respondent, the father has the stronger authority. *«... у него сильнее авторитет»*. In whole, the respondent does care parents meaning. He says that nobody brings him up and he does not care at all. *«...обычно никто [воспитывает]. <...> Мне наплевать»*.

In a conclusion, the adolescent express an opinion concerning his expectations. According to them, both parents should be in response for children’s upbringing in a family. He thinks it is important to get children know two sides of fostering. *«И это важно, чтобы дети тоже знали 2 стороны»*. He does not exclude the role of a “Houseman” for him personally in his future family life. *«...если у меня будет жена, у которой есть хорошая работа, тогда хорошо, - она зарабатывает деньги, я сажу дома с детьми. Я тоже могу быть “Houseman”, тогда я чищу, убираю комнаты...»*.

To mine mind, this case is a clear example of TRADITIONAL father’s role. First of all, the father in this family is the main person, who punishes. As in was distinguished at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter the function of punishment is the dominate function of such fathers. Secondly, he is almost solely breadwinner. His wife works from time to time, and her salary is not an appreciable contribution to the family’s budget. Non-involvement in son’s care proves isolated role of the father.

Schoolboy 4. Russian teenager, 17 years old. Saint-Petersburg, Pushkin

the family of the respondent is full, his elder sister studies at University and does not any more with parents. The father in this family has a high education, the mother graduated from specialized college; she is a nurse in a hospital.

The father has one official work – he is a security officer in “Hermitage”, during his free time he makes some money on the side. It is very significant, that the father has the high education (he was oblige to be on the ship half a year and do not see his family), but at present he does work in accordance with his education, because he wants to be as much as possible with his children. *“...потом когда родились сначала сестра, потом я, он понял, что хочет больше с нами, не хочет так надолго уезжать, полгода в море, потом полгода дома. Он оставил это дело”*.

The mother has 2 official works – she works in two hospitals. The respondent can not define the main breadwinner in the family.

The parents of the teenagers spend a lot of time together; everyday the father meets the mother from her works with a car. They also spend a lot time together with their son, especially the father. The respondent tell, that father has always tried to give him all his time; he was and he is constantly asking, what does he want to so on weekend? And according to the respondent’s preference, leisure time is planed.

The respondent can not distinguish a person, who takes more part in his upbringing. *“Нет такого, что кто-то больше, кто-то меньше. Зависит от сферы”*. Participation or non-participation in various aspects of adolescent’s life depends on the topic: some technical questions he decides with the father, whereas questions about appropriate behaviour solve the mother.

What is more important, there is no division of labour in the family. All member do all staff with one exception: cooking is a female duty. And the only one. *“А так особых распределений нет”*.

As indicated by the respondent, his parents give all maximum time and energy. They are always eager to talk with their son; he can always rely on them. *“Они всегда готовы со мной поговорить”*.

Nobody controls everyday life of the respondent, his parents trust him. If something goes wrong, the mother punishes, but only in form of admonish.

The respondent can not define a person who gives him more time and energy. *“Я не могу даже представить, кто из них больше, потому что это было всегда...”* he speaks about absolutely equality among his parents concerning his upbringing.

The father has made a great contribution to the son's education. *“...огромный вклад, конечно, внес. <...> ...отец меня научил никогда не давай себя в обиду”*. Also he wins a comparison with other fathers: *“Я думаю, единицы, кто уделяет столько времени. <...> ...отец никогда не пил. <...> Он все свои силы вкладывал в меня, все свое свободное время”*.

As we can see, the respondent appreciates the contribution of his father in a very high level. He is going to copy his parents' roles in his future life. He even stated, that he would prefer to give his children to his parents (children's grandparents) for upbringing, because he has received ideal education and would prefer his children receive the same.

This is the clear case of the EGALITARIAN fathering in the family. First of all, provision is carried out by both parents equally, as well as participation in housekeeping. The father spends all his free time for the children; the parents are always open to the questions and discussing various aspects. They take part in the upbringing equally. For the sake of the family and children the father left his major work and is forced to work as unskilled worker.

Schoolboy 5. Russian teenager, 16 years old. Saint-Petersburg since he was 5 years old. Before – in Moscow.

The respondent is the eldest son in a family, he has two younger brothers. Both his parents have high education, a father even 3. The father works in a sphere of innovative technology, a mother is a scientist in Russian National Library.

The father is defined by the respondent as the main breadwinner in the family.

The parents of the adolescent have their own hobbies: the father prefers to spend time actively (he goes in for sports) or go to the cinema. The mother is calmer person, she prefers to stay at home, cooking as she likes (cooking is her hobby); also she likes to go to the theater or to the conservatoire. The cooking also is the father's hobby, as indicated by the teenager. Once a year the family spends a vacation together travelling abroad. On weekends members of the family go for a walk or to the restaurant.

The father is distinguished as the main person in the respondent's upbringing. When he was younger, the mother played a greater role, but it has changed with time.

The mother is the main person who is in charge of housekeeping. She cooks more, cleans the flat. Also these duties are distributed among elder brothers too, they help to clean their rooms and wash the dishes. The father contributes in housekeeping, but very seldom because of work. In any case, there is a real male work in the family; it is a small repairing. *“...в основном это проведение небольшого ремонта...”*

The mother pays more attention to her son, but, as indicated by the teenager, this is because father's work. He is obliged to work a lot that is why he is absent often.

The mother is the main person who controls and punishes more. The respondent tells, the conflicts become apparent for the father very seldom. He works a lot and does not know about them.

According to the respondent's view, both parents should be in charge of children's upbringing. Otherwise, it would be a “defective” child with deviations. *“...когда например ребенка воспитывает только отец или только мать – это <...> неполноценный ребенок, <...> с немного отклоненными...”*

On the question about the father's contribution into the son's life, the answer was that first of all it is the financial contribution. All respondent's trips, sport clubs and courses have financed by the father. The description of the father's contribution is ended on it. The mother of the teenager is more engaged in mental, spiritual development of the children. "А что касается вот именно воспитания как духовного, - то это, думаю, больше мама".

The adolescent assesses the role of his father's in a more positive manner than the roles of other fathers. "...как бы такой независимый взгляд..." The father can show how to behave, how to choose a right way. Whereas other fathers show only one way, not giving an opportunity to choose among variants. "А другие – они четко управляют действиями, то есть вот они говорят, что надо делать вот это, а вот это делать не надо. То есть они не объясняют делать, почему этого делать не надо, они говорят, что надо делать."

The respondent, as his father, will give his children freedom of choice; according to his opinion, it is one of the important aspects in the upbringing. "...ребенок должен сам выбирать, что ему надо в разумных пределах." The teenager can see himself as a "houseman" in his future family, according to him, the distribution of roles within the family depends on mutual desire of spouses. It would not be a problem for him to stay at home with children, while his wife works.

For me it is one more case of the TRADITIONAL father's role in the family. First of all, he is the main breadwinner. Secondly, he is rather distanced from mental/spiritual life of his son. Very often he does not know about the conflicts within the family, they just not reach him. It is no coincidence, the respondent distinguishes the father's financial role in his upbringing primarily. Though, the father takes part in the family's leisure time, they spend quite a lot time together, having joint hobbies. This father differs from the absent one, because of respondent's assessment of his contribution, firstly. He wins in comparison with other fathers a lot.

Schoolboy 6. Russian teenager, 17 years old. Saint-Petersburg

The last Russian male respondent is 17 years old. All his life he lives in Saint-Petersburg. The respondent has not been living with his father since he was 5 years old. At present he lives with a stepfather. In spite of this fact, I have decided to take into consideration this case, because the father of the respondent take very active part in his upbringing, moreover his stepfather plays also rather active role in the teenager's life.

Both parents of the respondent have high educations, the father even two. And both of them have their own businesses.

Despite the fact, that the father does live with his son, he plays active role in his life. And the respondent emphasizes it several times during the interview. For example, it was the father's idea to offer to learn German language, to take part in Exchange Programme. Moreover, the stepfather has always supported this idea and also has trying to inspire the adolescent to attempt.

In the present family the main breadwinner is the stepfather, but, as indicated by the respondent, it is only because of mother's pregnancy. Before it, they earn equally, but now the mother is obliged to work less. Meanwhile, the father of the respondent has been constantly taking part in provision of his son, since he left the family.

The father of the respondent is quite person, he prefers to spent time together with his new family and the son from the 1<sup>st</sup> marriage. Also he likes to visit his parents, who live not far away. The teenager notes, that his father spends a lot of his time to his younger son, constantly trying to teach them, to show something new, to entertain him. When the father and his elder son are together, they are speaking primarily.

The respondent distinguishes both the mother and the father as the main persons in his upbringing. It is very interesting, because the father does not live together with the family, but his contribution is assessed in such high level.

The home duties are distributed among the family's member equally; there are no pure male and female duties. Only a carrying heavy things is the male task. Cooking, cleaning are work for all.

The respondent has as much as he needs time and attention from all sides: from the parents' and from the stepfather's. *"...когда у меня есть свободное время, они уделяют его мне – все, когда мне нужно."*

The teenager has joint hobby with his stepfather, mainly it is sport. The main thing he does with his father is talking. He appreciates such talking on very high level, because the father's opinion is very significant for him. Also they like to walk around together.

According to the respondent's views, both parents should play equal roles in the child's life. He even compares a participation of only one parent in a child's life with one-parent family. *"Они должны вдвоем – родители. <...> ...поэтому, если будет полная семья, и будет воспитывать только один человек – это будет равно неполной семье"*.

The teenager underlines a financial contribution of the father in his upbringing. Also, comparing the role of the father with other fathers, he states, that his father has done much more for his education, than the others.

Of course, this case has characteristics both egalitarian and traditional fathering. On the one hand, the father does not live together with the family and provides his son primary. On the other, he plays a great role in his son's life, teaching him, discussing his life and giving the advices. I would rather say that it is more EGALITARIAN type of fathering, because even living with other family, the father takes active part in his son's upbringing, not only material, but also mental and spiritual.

## List of interviews

RUSSIAN TEENAGERS	
MALE	FEMALE
<p>Alexander Kovalev, 17 y.o., Pushkin, all life Father – high education, мама – secondary <u>Real father: EGALITARIAN</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE FATHER'S ROLE COMPLETELY</u></p>	<p>Lyudmila, 14 y.o., in SPb for 4 years, before it 10 years in Murmansk. Stepfather Both parents – high education, mother has 2. <u>Real father: ABSENT</u> <u>Expectations: EAGER TO CHANGE THE PARENT'S ROLE TO EGALITARIAN</u></p>
<p>Mikhail Ladygin, 16 y.o., SPb Both parents – high education, father has 3. <u>Real father: TRADITIONAL</u> <u>Expectations: COPY, BUT TAKING DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY INTO ACCOUNT</u></p>	<p>Anzhelika, 16 y.o., SPb, all life Both parents – high education <u>Real father: ABSENT</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS</u></p>
<p>Anton Zhulov, 17 лет, СПб Both parents – high education, father has 2 <u>Real father: EGALITARIAN</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE FATHER'S ROLE COMPLETELY</u></p>	<p>Masha Kuz'mina, 15 y.o., SPb Both parents – high education, father has 2 <u>Real father: EGALITARIAN</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS</u></p>
GERMAN TEENAGERS	
MALE	FEMALE
<p>Julian, 19 y.o., Bielefeld, all life, West Germany Both parents – high education <u>Real father: TRADITIONAL</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE FATHER'S ROLE COMPLETELY</u></p>	<p>Janine Kaiser, 17 y.o., Hamburg, West Germany, all life Both parents – “Fachhochschule” <u>Real father: ABSENT</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS</u></p>
<p>Lukas Meya, 19 y. o., Bielefeld, West Germany Both parents – academic education <u>Real father: COOPERATIVE/EGALITARIAN</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE FATHER'S ROLE COMPLETELY</u></p>	<p>Franziska Linkorn, 16 y. o., Sachsen-Anhalt, East Germany, Menz, all life Both parents – “Realschule” <u>Real father: ABSENT</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS</u></p>
<p>Moritz Kallenbach, 17 y.o., Frankfurt-am-Main, West Germany Both parents – academic education <u>Real father: TRADITIONAL</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS, BOT DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE EGALITARIAN ROLES</u></p>	<p>Alexandra Stangel, 16 y.o., Beiern, West Germany, Zwiesel, all life Both parents – “Realschule” <u>Real father: EGALITARIAN</u> <u>Expectations: COPY THE ROLES OF PARENTS</u></p>



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