

Institute for Demography and Social Studies  
of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine  
Ukrainian Center of Social Reforms  
United Nations Population Fund

# **FAMILY AND FAMILY RELATIONS IN UKRAINE: MODERNITY AND DEVELOPMENT TRENDS**



Kyiv 2009

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**Family and Family Relations in Ukraine: modernity and development trends. —**  
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The monograph focuses on topical issues of family and family relations development in Ukraine. The publication is prepared on the basis of the materials of population censuses, sampling surveys of living conditions of Ukrainian households and the findings of special sampling social and demographic survey of the population of childbearing ages "Family and Family Relations" held in April 2009.

The authors analyze the main functions of the modern family and the process of their transformation in the demographic history, examine the structure and types of family unions in Ukraine, the processes forming the family composition of the population, the issues of interaction between the family and other social institutions, the impact of social and economic phenomena and processes on the life of families. This monograph presents the findings of material well-being and living conditions surveys covering different categories of families.

Materials of the social and demographic survey are used to analyze the role and place of family values in the system of value orientations of the population and to study the establishment of new forms of marriage and family relations in Ukraine. Close attention is paid to how the relations are formed and responsibilities are divided within the modern family. The publication also analyzes childbearing preferences of the population and the problems of child support and upbringing in the Ukrainian families, and focuses on present-day forms of family relations between the parent and grandparent generations.

The publication presents the summarized international and domestic experience in the field of the family policy and contains the population's assessments of the family and pronatalist policy measures in Ukraine. This monograph offers some recommendations for improvement of the family policy in our country.

This monograph is addressed to demographers, economists and experts in state administration and social policy, and also to lecturers, postgraduate students, students and, in general, to all readers interested in the demographic issues.

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## INTRODUCTION

The family is an essential component in the life of society and reproduction of the population. It is one of the oldest societal institutions which, while changing its forms, remained in all the known civilizations and cultures. Mankind formed the family way of life during the entire period of its existence; historical experience of different cultures proved the need to protect and maintain the family. Along with this, except for the crisis of the family, to date there is hardly any other social phenomenon, the crisis state of which has been more often referred to over the last half of the century and the disappearance of which is so often predicted.

The modern family is an institution which withstands the pressure of social and economic conditions all the time and changes continuously. As a structure-forming system of social life, the family accumulates all the cardinal changes occurring in society. In the European countries, the most dramatic and ambiguous changes of the family as an institution were observed in the second half of the XX – at the beginning of the XXI century. In the post-Soviet countries, these changes are characterized by some specific features determined both by marriage and family development trends typical for civilization on the whole and by the impact of factors related to the system crisis, therefore, creating an especially onerous burden of unsolved social, economic, moral and ethical problems.

In its turn, the family, which in the domestic culture is traditionally regarded as one of the fundamental values, has a potentially powerful influence on the social development processes. The historical experience confirms that the needs related to functioning of the family as an institution have always been and still are one of the major factors of social changes, with the role of the family as a crucial buffer between individuals and social changes becoming increasingly important during crisis periods.

Family relations and life of the family is closely interwoven with social and economic reality and the state of the family as an institution serves as one of the most significant indicators of social stability and well-being. There is an urgent need for a detailed study of the state of the modern Ukrainian family and of how it performs its main functions, and also of the processes which form the

family composition of the population, the material well-being of different types of families (households), the specific features of family relations, the interaction between the family and other social institutions, the impact of social and economic phenomena and processes (including the crisis ones) on the life of Ukrainian families etc. Among the factors which complicate systematic tracking and assessment of what happens to the family and family composition of the population are taken by information difficulties, especially during long periods between population censuses. Information about various social and demographic and economic aspects of family's functioning may also be derived from the findings of special sampling social and demographic population surveys which, as a rule, are nonrecurring or periodical.

This publication attempts at investigating a wide range of issues related to the formation of the family composition and the childbearing preference of Ukrainian families, living standards of different categories of families, the significance of family values, relations between spouses and division of responsibilities in the modern family, fertility orientations of the population, relations with children and child upbringing problems in different types of families, help of the parent and grandparent generations to each other, assessment by the population of the state family and pronatalist policies etc. based on the analysis of data from several sources, in particular: data of population censuses; findings of sample surveys of living conditions of Ukrainian households; results of the representative sampling social and demographic survey of the population of childbearing ages "Family and Family Relations" held by the Social Monitoring Center in spring of 2009. The authors attempted to elucidate urgent and disappointing aspects of the modern state of the family as an institution and marriage and family relations and their transformations in Ukraine exclusively on scientific grounds, unprejudiced to the fullest possible extent, without embellishing their real status and some improvements in this domain but, at the same time, without dramatizing the current difficulties and problems.

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# I. THE FAMILY IN THE TRANSFORMATIONAL SOCIETY OF PRESENT-DAY UKRAINE

## 1.1. The family as an institution and its functions

The family as a union of people which is based on marriage or blood relationship and characterized by common living arrangements and mutual responsibility<sup>1</sup> is the basic pre-condition for functioning of society, an essential chain in the mechanism of life and demographic reproduction of generations. Its significance is so great that the family is sometimes defined as the fundamental unit of society<sup>2</sup>.

The family is a multifaceted social formation which combines the characteristics of a social institution, social organization, social structure and a small social group. When different aspects of society are studied, it is at the intersection of structures, at the intersection of macro- and microanalysis. The fundamental quality of the family is the role of an intermediary between society and individual, the function of elimination of contradictions between individual and the state through interests of the family as an autonomous integral social institution<sup>3</sup>.

The family as an institution is one of the most long-standing ones in society, it performs a range of socially indispensable functions which are assigned to it, form the system of relations and create the motivation for interaction of the family and society, on the one part, and the family and individual, on the other part. The family as a multifunctional institution performs specific functions which are immanent to it and reflect its essence, as well as nonspecific functions to which it adapts under certain historical conditions<sup>4</sup>. Functions of the family change with development of mankind; they closely correlate with conditions of society functioning in general and, therefore, their character, hierarchy, priority and meaning vary depending on the state of society, development level of its certain sectors, demands and requirements of a specific period. However, specific functions of the family, i.e. those which distinguish it from other institutions of society, are immanent to it at any stage of its development – these are ensuring of physical (biological) and social and cultural reproduction of

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<sup>1</sup> This definition now included into encyclopedias was suggested by A. Volkov (Волков А.Г. Семья – объект демографии. – М.: Мысль, 1986. – С. 20; Демографический энциклопедический словарь. – М.: Советская энциклопедия, 1985. – С. 385; Социологическая энциклопедия в 2-х т. Т. 2. – М.: Мысль, 2003. – С. 394.)

<sup>2</sup> Allan Carlson. Society – The Family – The Person: The Social Crisis of America. The Alternative Sociological Approach/Edited by Prof. A.I.Antonov. – М.:2003. – P.12

<sup>3</sup> Социология семьи. Под ред. А.И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005.- С. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Харчев А.Г. Брак и семья в СССР. – М.: Мысль, 1979. – С. 75.



mankind. In other words, such functions as reproduction (childbearing), socialization (child upbringing) and maintenance of children should be considered the specific functions of the family. Since reproduction of the population is the basis for existence of any society, each of modern civilizations at any stage of its development needs the family as a social institution ensuring reproduction of the population and socialization of new members of society. The family as a specific historical system of relationship of spouses, parents and children who are related by marriage and blood, common living arrangements and mutual moral responsibility (as defined by A.Kharchev)<sup>5</sup> forms and supports "rules of the game"<sup>6</sup> relating to birth and development of children as representatives of new generations who will supersede their parents. These rules determine personal motivation of an individual to childbearing thus ensuring realization of one of the fundamental needs of society – the need for reproduction of the population as "a physical body" of society.

Nonspecific functions of the family are historical by nature; in the course of society development they are widened or narrowed, on the contrary, and are transferred to other social institutions. In the pre-industrial society the family was its primary unit since material wealth production was family-based, i.e. the family was focused not only on "creation" of an individual as a unit of social life but also on production of items of consumption and means of production. At that stage of historical development the family could be defined as a poly-functioning institution<sup>7</sup>, its economic functions had no less importance for society than its specific functions since family-based production was the basis of social production in general. The family of those times combined production activity and transfer of occupational skills and knowledge, moral standards, religious and everyday-life traditions and training of the young; furthermore, the family provided care for the old and the unable, as well as safety and social control. In fact, the whole life of an individual, his or her social formation and development, all life processes took place within the family; it was a large patriarchal family with many children that met the demands of that period.

In the course of society development, as labor productivity increased, the family gradually lost its function of material wealth production. Under the conditions of industrialization and industrial production members of the family were engaged in material production as hired employees beyond their family

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<sup>5</sup> Харчев А.Г. Брак и семья в СССР. – М.: Мысль, 1979. – С. 75.

<sup>6</sup> From positions of institutionalism, social institutions are "the rules of the game" of the given society which ensure relations between individuals and form incentives to their interaction. – See . Д. Норт Институты, институциональные изменения и функционирование экономики. – М.: Фонд экономического книги "Начала", 1997. – С. 16, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Социология семьи/ Под ред. А.И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005. - С. 158-160.

union. Although family production did not disappear altogether, it lost its primary role in the economic system, and such economic functions of the family as property accumulation, consumption, housekeeping, living arrangements came to the front ground. The institutional structure of society gradually became more sophisticated and some functions of the family passed (completely or partially) to specialized institutions: education and upbringing functions – to institutions of learning, i.e. learning establishments of all levels, living arrangement functions – partially to the customer service sector, protective functions – to security structures of different levels etc. Therefore, the scope of functions of the family was gradually narrowed and their correlation changed. To the extent that the state and other social institutions “pulled over” former duties of the family (such as production activity, maintenance of the old and the unable; or the duties related to education and, to a certain extent, upbringing of the younger generations etc.) and, at the same time, since labor activities became more sophisticated and the need for common use of child labor both in family production and in social production disappeared, the fundamentals of reproductive performance of the family were considerably transformed to depart from the types with many children as a result of emergence of economic incentives for having few children.

The well-developed society of the XXI century had a wide institutional structure which included the system of social institutes directly involved in the demographic process as the process of forming individuals of certain quality. Preparation of a contemporary individual as a unit of social life is an expensive and complicated process which requires involvement of specialized institutions thus not only narrowing non-specific functions of the family but, at the same time, to a certain extent transforming its primary functions. Development of the social and domestic infrastructure of society resulted in a considerable change of the economic and domestic function of the family. The family is not the only environment where the process of socialization of the young takes place, the state, at the same time, is partially involved in economic maintenance of children via the system of various family allowances and benefits. As compared with other functions, the educational function of the family has a pass-through nature since communication of social standards, values and experience concerns any field of family life and any field of society's life in general. Therefore, tight interaction between the family and other social institutes which perform educational functions and ensure implementation of separate components of upbringing is crucial. Furthermore, the analysis of family's educational function implementation should be interpreted in terms of its interconnection with other functions. In particular, significant aspects of the educational function include shaping of readiness of the younger generation for family life, assimilating by young individuals of role components of each family member etc. Therefore, the

educational function ensures maintenance, reproduction and development of other functions of the family under specific historical conditions. At the same time, functional characteristics of the family, including implementation of its educational function, is influenced by the family pattern<sup>8</sup>.

The family is the center where the basics of individual's physical and intellectual potential are formed; it lays the foundation of comprehensive physical, moral and intellectual development of an individual. The most important non-uniform functions of social and cultural "creation" of an individual – communicating of cultural and traditional values, mentality peculiarities, forming of the most individual features of a personality – stay within the scope of the family and become much more complicated under the conditions of present-day multidimensional social environment. In addition, under the circumstances when social processes intensify and life tempo accelerates, such unique social and psychological functions of the family as protecting the integrity of an individual, relieving his or her emotional stress and meeting his or her most individual and intimate needs gain increasing importance<sup>9</sup>. Functions of social control and social protection acquire different forms but do not disappear. We believe that presently, with high incidence of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, such family function as shaping and control of sexual behavior becomes especially important.

In the course of humanity development, both the internal qualitative essence of the family and its external form – structure, size and types – undergo some changes. Over the last half-century families decreased in size with a smaller number of children. The process of family nuclearization was accompanied by denser occurrence of new household forms, such as incomplete families, consensual unions, unmarried persons living alone, unions of persons not related by blood etc.; furthermore, there is an increased probability of family disruption as a result of divorce of spouses and creation of a new family by remarriage. The above mentioned is attributable to complex and ambiguous changes in matrimonial and reproductive behavior of the population of developed countries: lower marriage rate, denser occurrence of various forms of marriage partnership, unstable marriage relations and increased divorce rate, lower birth rate and denser occurrence of non-marital births etc. Current society development trends – pluralization, individualization, emancipation, freedom of choice – directly affect the functioning of the family. The majority of researchers consider

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<sup>8</sup> In particular, educational potential of couple and single-parent families, shortcomings of child upbringing in conflict and dysfunctional families, specific nature of child upbringing in families with one and many children etc. are viewed in more detail in pedagogical and psychological literature.

<sup>9</sup> Эволюция семьи и семейная политика в СССР / Отв.ред. А. Г. Вишневский. – М.: Наука, 1992. – С. 14-16.

that pluralization of family life forms<sup>10</sup>, i.e. the process of these forms becoming more diverse, is the most important feature of present-day family forms development; it allows contemporary men and women to choose from available options and find the type of life most closely answering their personal interests and aspirations. Individuals and families gain more freedom in choosing their lifestyle and the scenario of development their own family – either to live without a family or in the family of his/her parents, to create own family or to have a marriage partner or raise children by himself/herself, to live in civil union or in consensual union, to divorce or just separate, to live together with one's parents or grandparents or entrust one's child to them and live separately etc.

Evaluation and explanation of current transformations of family functions and forms depends on researcher's views and his or her support of relevant sociological and demographic concepts. Currently there are two main scientific paradigms which explain marriage and family changes<sup>11</sup>: "progressive" or "liberal progressive" paradigm (it is supported by followers of „post-modern demography"<sup>12</sup>) and "crisis" or "conservative crisis" paradigm (it is supported by followers of familism<sup>13</sup>). The majority of western researches, chiefly, authors of the Second Demographic Transition theory D. Van de Kaa and R. Lesthaeghe and their followers in different countries who support "post-modern demography" believe that the occurring changes are a natural consequence of demographic development, the manifestations of the Second Demographic Transition in the marriage and family field<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, followers of the familism views (A. Carlson, A. Antonov, B. Berger, O. Synelnikov and others) assess recent family changes as the global system crisis of the family and affirm that "the first

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<sup>10</sup> Boh K. Changing Patterns of European Family Life: A Comparative Analysis of 14 European Countries. – London and New York, Routledge, 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Социология семьи. Под ред. А. И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005. – С. 91.

<sup>12</sup> The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses. Edited by M. Macura, A.L. MacDonald, W. Haug. – UN, New York and Geneva, 2005. – P. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Familism is a model of social organization which is based on prevalence of family values and interests over individual values and interests. Familism in science is a sociological school which focuses on the family and not on an individual as the starting point of analysis and supports the values of the family way of life in contrast to respective values of individual existence.

<sup>14</sup> Van de Kaa D.J. The second demographic transition revisited: Theories and expectations, in: Population and Family in the Low Countries 1993: Late Fertility and Other Current Issues. – Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1994, p. 81-126; Lesthaeghe R. and Surkyn J. When history moves on: the Foundations and Diffusion of a Second Demographic Transition. – Brussels: Interface Demography, Free University of Brussels, 2004; Вишневский А.Г. Автономна ли демографическая ситуация в Российской Федерации // Модернизация экономики России. Итоги и перспективы. М.: ГУ ВШЭ, 2003; Станкунене В. К современной модели семьи в Литве (признаки, факторы, установки). – Социологические исследования, 2004, № 5, с. 54-65.

years of the XXI century evidence an unprecedented crisis of the family as an institution"<sup>15</sup> and warn that the family way of life may disappear<sup>16</sup>.

New phenomena in family life and development should be evaluated only in the context of general evaluation of the current state and prospects of western civilization, since on the macro level the family as an institution characterizes the overall state of society and success of a certain social system in general. If we evaluate the state of western civilization in its broad sense as a decline, then these new phenomena should be interpreted exclusively in negative light as a manifestation of the system crisis of society. However, if despite all the shortcomings and contradictions of western civilization we assess it positively as a progressive post-industrial model of society, then new phenomena in marriage and family field, changes of family functions and its new forms should be considered as post-industrial transformation of the family at a new stage of civilization development. In our opinion, we rather observe the crisis of a certain historical family type and formation of a new type than disappearance of the family as a social institution. As early as at the beginning of the XX century, P. Sorokin, an internationally acclaimed philosopher, research new family development trends and their causes; he characterized the changes observed at that time as the crisis but came to an optimistic conclusion that the crisis of the family did not necessarily meant its collapse and the family as a marriage union and union of children and parents would exist in the future, however, its forms could change<sup>17</sup>.

Therefore, at the post-industrial stage of society development family functions undergo transformation, their correlation changes, however, the family remains the main center of reproduction of the population not only giving birth to new generations but also forming their qualities as the subjects of conscientious social activity. The family is the place where basic productive abilities of an individual are formed, i.e. the stock of individual's health, knowledge, skills, abilities and incentives which person uses in production activities; these are the qualities which in their entirety are referred to modern economic science as "the human capital". The founders and followers of the human capital theory acknowledge that the family is an important chain in its formation process where the basics of all of its constituents are laid<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Allan Carlson. Society – The Family – The Person: The Social Crisis of America. The Alternative Sociological Approach/Edited by Prof. A.I.Antonov. – М.:2003. – P. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Социология семьи. Под ред. А. И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005. – С. 91.

<sup>17</sup> Сорокин П. Кризис современной семьи //Ежемесячный журнал литературы, науки и общественной жизни. 1916. № 2, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Becker G. S. Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis. – Chicago: Univ. of Chic. press, 1983. – 268 p.; Грішнова О. А. Людський капітал: формування в системі освіти і професійної підготовки. – К.: Т-во «Знання», КОО, 2001, с. 80-88.

In each society development of the family and its functions is an integral result of structural and functional transformation of the family, mentality, marriage and family traditions of a certain population, and also of such social organization forms which are practiced by a certain society and its institutions. A difficult and sometimes tragic history of the Ukrainian society in the XX century had a considerable influence on the life of the family in the country and caused the transformation of manifestations of its general development types. Artificially accelerated modernization of marriage and family relations in the first decades of the Soviet history, the Holocaust of the 1930s, large losses of the population and deformation of its sex and age structure during World War II, specific nature of social life organization under the conditions of administrative command economy of developed socialism – all these social life stages directly affected the structure, size, type and functions of the Ukrainian family. At the time of Soviet Ukraine the family was removed of proprietary relations, its economic functions were narrowed; formally, the state aimed at maximum socialization of child upbringing and maintenance functions<sup>19</sup>, although those artificial theoretical provisions were not realized and the family continued to perform its specific functions related to physical and social and cultural reproduction of generations.

Changing principles of social life organization in present-day Ukraine, its movement from centrally managed economy and a appropriate society model towards market democracy model of society implies transformation of the entire system of social institutions. Under the influence of new market conditions of life and consequences of social and economic and demographic crises the functions of the family as one of the essential society institutions undergo changes as well.

Radical changes of the key economic institution on the macro level – ownership – resulted in fundamental changes of such economic functions of the family as property accumulation and inheritance. Under the conditions of market environment these family functions (property accumulation and inheritance), which in the former social and economic system were actually absent or considerably narrowed regulating only personal property issues of extremely reduced scope, gain increasing importance for society today.

The production function of the family has gained scope and new quality: under the conditions of market economy, small-scale commodity production which often operates on the basis of family cooperation is an fundamental element of economic system. The role of small-scale commodity production (farms, small-scale commerce, small-scale cooperative production) becomes increasingly im-

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<sup>19</sup> Ильиницкий П. С. К вопросу о влиянии форм личного потребления на генеративную активность населения. // Демографические тетради, вып. 4-5. – К.: Институт экономики АН УССР, 1972. – С. 24-71.

portant at the transitional stage of market environment formation since these economic forms should help the population and business entities to adapt to new principles of economic life organization. Family production becomes an important source of income, resources and consumer goods, an important area of employment, in other words, there is an increasing of its demographic and economic role and function<sup>20</sup>.

In the transitional Ukrainian society, with the old methods and principles of functioning and activity organization in many fields of social life already ineffective and the new ones still unformed, transformation of a range of social institutes results in their disorganization, reduction of their functions and undermining of their role. Under these conditions the family gains an increasing importance as a natural and stable institution which, unlike many other ones, is not strictly dependant upon social and economic model of society. During the transformation crisis of the 1990s the family to a certain extent regained its functions "delegated" to other specialized institutions. For instance, a considerably reduced share of children receiving care at preschool institutions (a decline from 57% in 1990 to 37% in 1997-1998) indicates that the educational function of the family was expanded and it temporarily "regained" certain tasks of upbringing and maintenance of preschool-age children which were assigned to specialized educational institutions; such a "regaining" due to disorganization of the labor market and the personal income system also was the consequence of the crisis in the social system of education of the youth. A reduced share of domestic services provided to the population by specialized domestic service institutions over that period indicates that economic and organizational functions of the family related to providing for living arrangements for family members were expanded. Therefore, at that period the family became a kind of a damper which, to a certain extent, relieved the stress observed in reproduction of the population, including the stress resulting from unsatisfactory economic provisions and transformational disorganization of such institutions as labor market, education etc. As emphasized by L.Chuyko, a well-known family researcher, the specific nature of the transformation period in Ukraine enhances the role of the family: family production and family farming gain an increasing importance in terms of making provision for life essentials, first of all for survival of the most low-income stratum of the population; the protective function of family relations is enhanced<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Чуйко Л. В. Трансформація трудового потенціалу сімейних домогосподарств у контексті відтворення їх демографічного потенціалу в нових умовах // Демографічні дослідження. Вип. 25. - К.: Інститут економіки НАН України, 2003. - С.145-167.

<sup>21</sup> Демографічна криза в Україні. Проблеми дослідження, витоки, складові, напрями протидії. - К.: Інститут економіки НАН України, 2001.- С. 225-226.

Although during the macroeconomic stabilization period (2000–2008) adaptation of the majority of social institutions to new principles of social reality was not completed, it helped, to a certain extent, to relieve “excess” load on family functions. To date, specialized institutions are actively involved in the process of human capital formation “designing” features and qualities of a present-day individual and making provision for his/her life essentials. Families actively use the services of preschool institutions again: in 2008 the share of children receiving care from such institutions was 57%, i.e. it returned to its pre-crisis level; there is a wide system of consumer service enterprises of different ownership forms which provide various domestic services to the population on a large scale etc. However, under the conditions of considerable social and economic stratification of the population and economic instability the protective function of the family – in its economic as well as moral and psychological sense – keeps its importance for society. Family production provides employment and income for certain strata of the population and while for some families it is a well-considered choice of occupation (farming, small-scale business etc.), for others it is an involuntary kind of employment since they are unable to use their professional skills and inclinations and find other sources of gaining a living for their families during this period. In cases when a family faces hardships (as a result of unemployment, disease etc.) family solidarity, mutual assistance and family cooperation become the mechanisms of protection and adaptation to the risks of market society. Under the conditions of social and political and economic instability, with chances of losing a job or personal material well-being quite high, increasing importance is gained by social and psychological functions of the family, such as relieving emotional stress, establishing the relations of mutual care and trust etc. – and the nature of these functions becomes protective.

The contradictions of modern Ukrainian society, social and economic stratification of the population which has already exceeded the limits of reasonableness have also “resuscitated” such family function as inheritance of social status, although in a well-developed democratic society of equal opportunities it should not be involved in forming social relations.

Therefore, in modern Ukrainian society the family performs a significant number of non-specific functions which become increasingly important and in many cases acquire protective nature. However, the family at the same time retains its specific functions – child bearing, education and maintenance. Despite new trends in marriage and family institutions development, in the majority of cases the form of realization of specific family functions remains traditional: the large majority of children (78.6% in 2007, 79.1% in 2008) are born to parents in a registered marriage. The most of Ukrainian children are brought up in couple families (complete families) and live with father and mother.



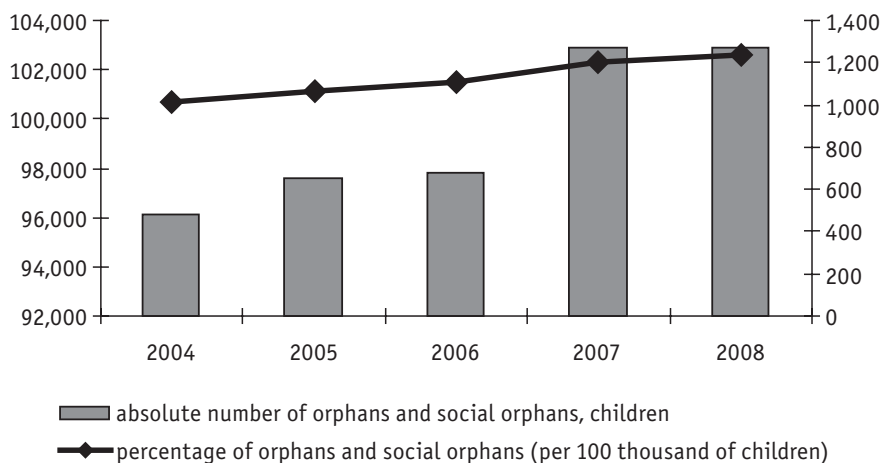
However, there are some socio and demographic phenomena, the current scope of which indicates that present-day family conditions are unfavorable and its specific functions are deformed. The family as one of the most essential institutions reflects all the inconsistencies and shortcomings of modern Ukrainian society. One of the weightiest indications of severe problems in implementation of primary family functions is a denser occurrence of social orphans, homeless children and children deprived of parental care. This dangerous phenomena results from irresponsibility of parents in marginal families, the number of which grows due to proprietary and social stratification of the population, lowered living standards, degraded moral ideals, aggravated social pathologies – alcoholism, drug addiction, violence. In addition to that, unstable marriages and spreading of incomplete families with only one parent (usually mother) involved in upbringing of children is another adverse factor. A large number of children deprived of parental care, including children without a fixed place of residence, is one of the most severe manifestations of the socio and demographic crisis and an indication of partial disorganization of such family function as child upbringing and maintenance and also an indication of moral and spiritual degradation of a part of the population.

A rise in the share of social orphans is observed in Ukraine since the second half of the 1990s, but accurate statistical data on the number of such children are available only since 2003, when a respective statistical reporting was introduced. This category includes children for whom because of various reasons there is no possibility to be raised in their families: orphans (whose parents died or perished) and children deprived of parental care (whose parents are deprived of parental rights, or recognized missing, or incapable, or are sentenced and serve a sentence, or are imprisoned). At the beginning of 2008 there was 102.9 thousand of such children<sup>22</sup>.

While the absolute number of children included into this category stabilized over the recent years, a respective percentage (calculated per 100 thousand of children under age 18) is still growing (Fig. 1.1.1). During 2004–2007 it grew by 22% and as of January 1, 2008 there were 1236 children from this category per 100 thousand of children, i.e. 1.2%.

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<sup>22</sup> Захист дітей, які потребують особливої уваги суспільства. Статистичний бюлетень. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 7.

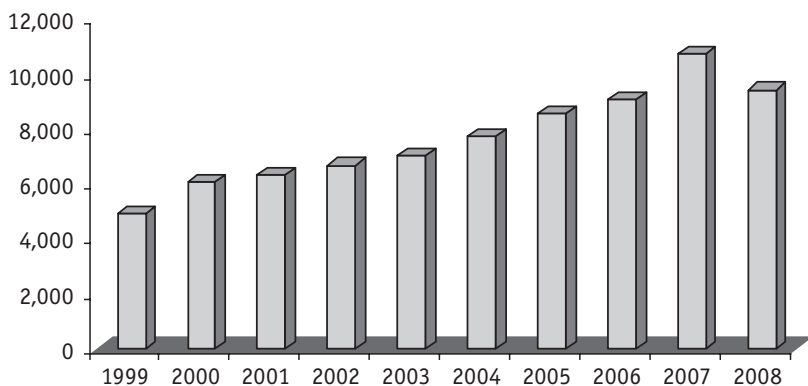


**Fig. 1.1.1. Absolute and relative number of orphans and children deprived of parental care in Ukraine in 2004-2008, children (as of January 1)**

*Source: Protection of children requiring special care of society. Statistical Bulletin. – K.: The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2008.*

In Ukraine there is a growth in the number of children whose parents are deprived of parental rights: over 1999–2007 the number of children taken away from parents who were deprived of parental rights during a year grew from 4,901 to 10,751 and in 2008 this number reached 9,420 children (Fig. 1.1.2); the number of children taken away from parents without depriving them of parental rights was 1,130 children in 1999 and 1,129 in 2007<sup>23</sup>. These figures are indicative of marginalization of a certain share of families and evidence that some parents neglect their parental duties. On the other part, a growth in these figures results from increased efforts of the state relating to protection of children who live in sociopathic families.

<sup>23</sup> Соціальний захист дітей-сиріт і дітей, позбавлених батьківського піклування. Державна доповідь про становище дітей в Україні. – К.: Український інститут соціальних досліджень, 2000. – С. 127; Захист дітей, які потребують особливої уваги суспільства. Статистичний бюлетень. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 46.



**Fig. 1.1.2. Number of children taken away from parents deprived of parental rights, Ukraine, 1999-2008**

*Source: Protection of children requiring special care of society. Statistical Bulletin. – K.: The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2008.*

Under conditions of Ukraine such ambiguous phenomena in family development as increasing number of single-parent families with underage children, unstable marriages and high divorce rate turn into acute social problems. The occurrence of single-parent families is so dense (one in each five households with underage children)<sup>24</sup> that we can speak about deformation of traditional natural environment of child development and upbringing resulting in increased risks of their further socialization. Currently in Ukraine single-parent families are economically and socially vulnerable and are unable to perform their upbringing function on a full scale.

An important function of the family is to care for its elderly and sick members on the basis of family solidarity of representatives of different generations; under the conditions of lowered living standards and insufficient pension provision its protective function as to maintenance of the population from the elderly age groups becomes increasingly important. However, a considerable percentage of homeless elderly persons who live as vagrants and beggars evidence serious underperformance of this function and partial destruction of family solidarity which is the basis of the family way of life. Adult children moving away from the family of their parents and living as a separate household is not an uncommon phenomenon today, however, this trend increases the risk of staying alone and without proper care in the advanced age. The acuteness of the problem of insufficient care and lack of social protection of elderly persons

<sup>24</sup> Соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2008 році. Статистичний збірник. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 17.

in Ukraine and the level of performance by a present-day family of its duties of providing assistance to the elderly and the sick can be determined only using the findings of additional socio and demographic studies, one of which has been carried out in the current year on the basis of results of sociological poll (April 2009) within the framework of the research titled "Family and family relations".

In general, we can maintain that in the transitional society of present-day Ukraine the family remains an important multi-functional social institution with some of its functions extended and enlarged due to ineffectiveness and sometimes even the crisis of other social institutions. The family continues to perform its specific functions – reproduction of new generations without which society in its modern sense would not exist. At the same time, there is a number of negative social phenomena (first of all, it is a large percentage of social orphans) which are an external manifestation of deep deformations in the key functions of the family and of serious failures in the mechanism of these functions realization.

The analysis of particular functional characteristics of the family under place- and time-specific conditions should ideally cover a wide spectrum of issues: family composition, nature of relations, material level and conditions of living, social environment of the family, previous individual experience, organization of family management and distribution of roles; relations between parents, relations between parents and children, relations between parents and ancestors; national identity, religious convictions, social and professional status of spouses etc. A range of these aspects is covered by the findings of the above-mentioned research "Family and family relations" which allows to gain a deeper insight into the specific nature of life and development of a present-day Ukrainian family.

## **1.2. Family structure of the Ukrainian population.**

### **Number of children in the Ukrainian family**

It would be impossible to understand the essence of current transformational processes underway in the Ukrainian family as an institution without carrying out a comprehensive research of the family composition of the population, i.e. without analysis of distribution of the population by families of different size, composition and types. No generally accepted system of family composition indices exists as yet. As a rule, for the purpose of family composition studies, families are grouped by these or those characteristics, for instance, by the number of family members, the number of children in the family, the number of employed persons or dependants.

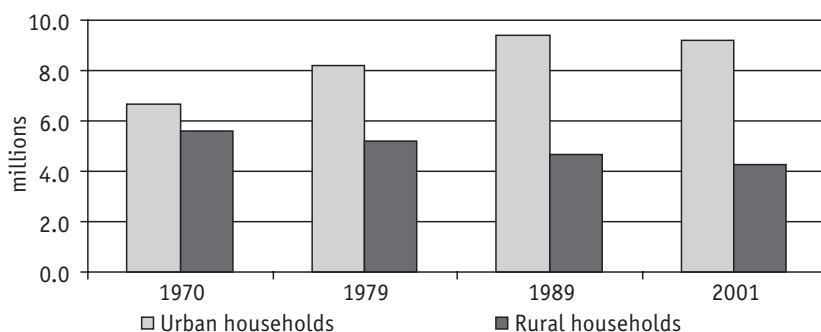
Family distribution by size identifies families consisting of two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten and more persons. The analysis of family distribution by types is an important component of family composition studies; these types are identified by the structure of relationship in the family: nuclear families consisting of one married couple; extended families consisting of two or more married couples; single-parent (incomplete) families (children/child with one parent), and also families which include relatives who do not form a couple or parent-child relationship. All these families may include children, parents of spouses and other relatives.

The data on the family composition of the population are obtained from the following main sources:

- population censuses which are held each ten years but cover the all population;
- annual sample research of households' living conditions which are unable to cover the whole range of issues related to the family composition of the population;
- specialized socio and demographic population surveys which, held occasionally, but cover a broad range of issues.

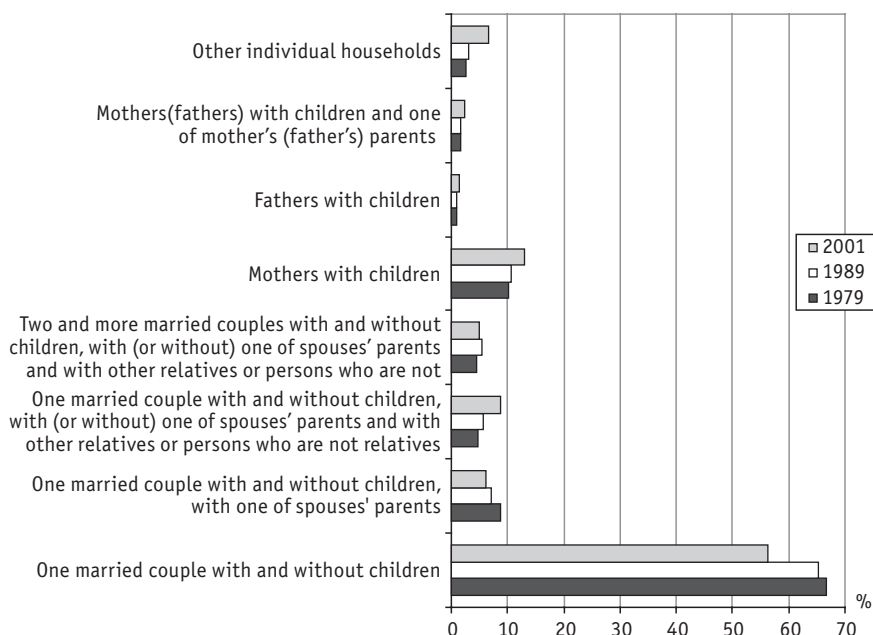
Over the last decades, the family composition of the Ukrainian population experienced structural changes by all characteristics.

In Ukraine over the period between two population censuses of 1970 and 2001, the percentage of families living in urban area grew significantly: in the period 1970-1979 their number increased by 22.8% and in the period between the two censuses 1979-1989 - by 14.4%; however, over the period of 1989-2001 the number of such family households decreased by 1.9%. Over the whole period under study, the percentage of family households living in rural area decreased steadily and finally dropped to 4.3 million persons (Fig. 1.2.1).



**Fig. 1.2.1. Number of family households according to population census data of 1970, 1979, 1989 and 2001.**

The analysis of family distribution by types indicates that a nuclear family consisting of a married couple with or without children is the prevailing family type in Ukraine; at the time of the last population census such families accounted for 56.2% of all family households. The findings of a more detailed comparative analysis of Ukrainian population distribution by different family types based on data of a number of recent population censuses are shown on Figure 1.2.2. Over the period under study the sharpest decline was observed in the most widespread family type consisting of one married couple with or without children (i.e. nuclear families). A simple nuclear family changes its type and forms an extended family when children marry but live together with their parents.



**Fig. 1.2.2. Individual household distribution in Ukraine by types (according to population census data of 1979, 1989 and 2001<sup>25</sup>)**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

<sup>25</sup> For the period 1979 -1989 – the number of families, for 2001 – the number of households without accounting for households consisting of one person.

The analysis of population census data shows that the percentage of families residing together with the parents decreases (8.8% in 1979, 7.2% in 1989, 6.1% in 2001), both in urban and rural areas.

The percentage of families consisting of one married couple with or without children and residing with (or without) one of the spouses' parents and with (or without) other relatives gradually grows – an increase from 4.7% in 1979 to 5.7% in 1989 and to 8.8% in 2001.

In Ukraine over the period between censuses (1989–2001) the percentage of extended families consisting of two or more married couples decreased from 5.4% to 4.9%. Traditionally, there is a difference by locality: the percentage of such families in urban area dropped from 5.0% to 3.8%, while in rural area the percentage of extended families grew from 6.1% to 7.2%. Therefore, to date extended multigenerational families are not typical for Ukraine more, especially in urban area.

The percentage of single-parent (incomplete) families shows an adverse trend. Presently, in Ukraine single-parent families do not arouse any surprise and are taken as a norm; they become a common phenomenon both in urban and rural areas. Over the period between censuses (1979–1989) the share of single-parent families in Ukraine increased from 12.8% to 13.5%, and at the time of 2001 population census the percentage of such families reached 17.1%. In urban area the share of single-parent families grew from 13.1% in 1979 to 14.8% in 1989 and to 19.3% in 2001, with its growth rate in cities almost twice as high as in rural area because of a higher divorce rate, non-marital births and diverse forms of marriage and family relations in cities. Although over the period between censuses of 1979–1989 in rural area, where traditional marriage attitudes are actual else, the percentage of such families decreased from 12.3% to 10.8%, at the time of 2001 population census the share of such families reached 12.0% again.

Mothers with children account for the largest percentage of single-parent families. At the time of 2001 population census this percentage was 13.0%, (at the time of 1989 population census when this figure was 10.6%; the data of 1979 population census showed 10.1% of such families).

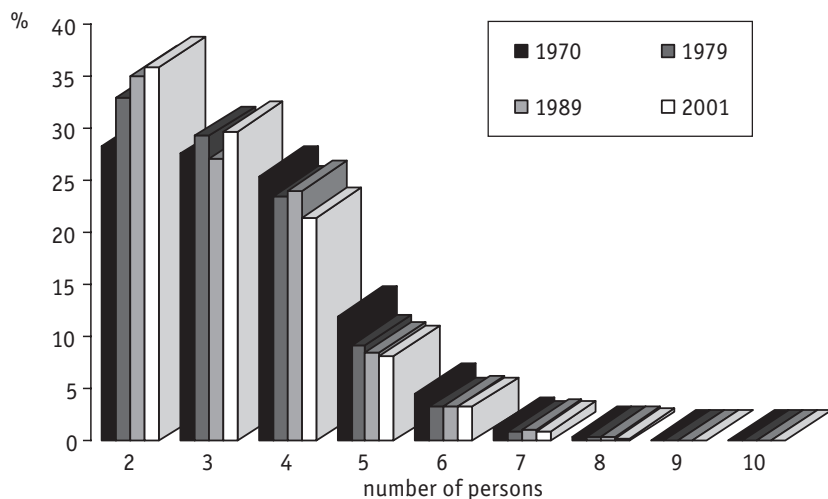
Although the number of incomplete families consisting of father with children is considerably smaller than the number of families with mother and children, however, their share also increases. At the time of 1979 population census only 0.9% of such families was recorded, while in 1989 this index grew to 1% and in 2001 - to 1.5%.

The last period between censuses also showed an increase in the percentage of families consisting of mother with children and one of mother's or father's parents – a rise from 1.7% to 2.4%, with no changes occurring in a respective index during the period between censuses 1979–1989. The share of families

consisting of father with children and one of father's (mother's) parents increased from 0.1% to 0.2% in the period 1979 - 1989 and remained unchanged in the period between censuses of 1989–2001.

According to data of sample surveys of household living conditions, in 2008 the percentage of households with children without one or both parents was 19.4% of total households with children. In the previous year the share of families with children without one or both parents was 19.2% and in 2006 such families accounted for 20.9%.

The size of households of different types changes steadily. The percentage of small households consisting of two and three persons rises rapidly, while the proportion of families consisting of four and more persons declines (Fig.1.2.3).



**Fig. 1.2.3. Individual household distribution in Ukraine by size (according to population census data 1970, 1979, 1989 and 2001)**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

Over more than three decades, in Ukraine the percentage of two persons families increased by 26.9% (a rise from 28.3% in 1970 to 35.9% in 2001) and the share of families consisting of three persons grew by 7.7% (from 27.6% in 1970 and 29.7% in 2001). To date, families consisting of two persons make the largest percentage of Ukrainian families (35.9%). The percentage of families consisting of three persons is slightly smaller (30%).

It is indicative that over the same period the percentage of families consisting of four persons declined by 16.1% (25.5% in 1970, 21.4% in 2001) and



the percentage of five persons families declined by 31.7% (12.0% in 1970, 8.2% in 2001). It is no surprise that the number of households consisting of six and more persons decreases: over thirty years a respective percentage dropped from 6.7% to 4.8%.

Over the period 1970–2001 the average family size in Ukraine generally fell from 3.4 persons to 3.2 persons. In 2001, as compared with 1989 census data, the average family size remained unchanged. In urban area the average family size was and remain smaller than in rural area. Thus, in the period 1970–2001 in urban area the average family size decreased from 3.3 to 3.1 persons, while in rural area this reduction was from 3.6 to 3.4 persons. It should be emphasized that in 2001, as compared with 1989, the situation with the average household size in rural area improved to a certain extent: it grew from 3.3 to 3.4 persons.

At the time of 2001 population census, the average household size in Ukraine, including one person households, was 2.6 persons and in rural area this index was traditionally higher (2.8 persons) as compared with urban area (2.6 persons). Households consisting of one person account for more that one forth of all individual households (25.9%).

The main factors leading to a decline in the total number of families and average family size is the popularity of one-child and two-child families. Voluntary childlessness (child-free), an increasing percentage of single-parent families, family nuclearization and population ageing are important factors. These trends are observed in all developed European countries for several decades and Ukraine is no exception.

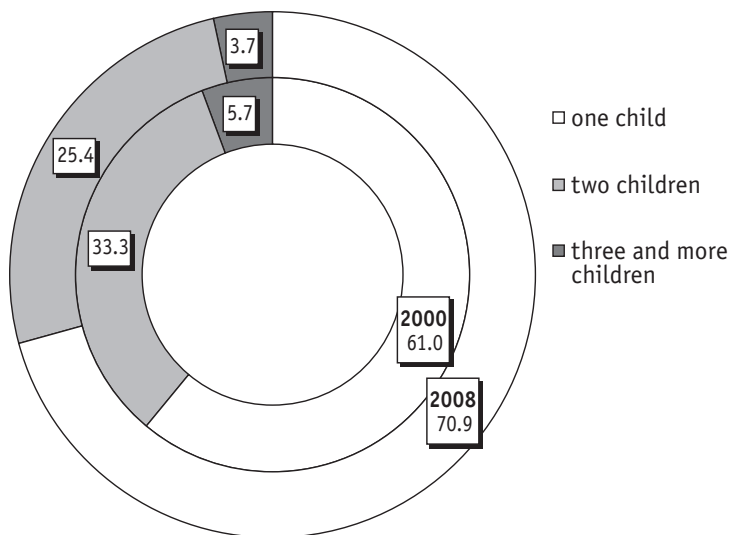
The fullest representation of family and women distribution by the number of children can be found in “population census mirror”<sup>26</sup>. According to the findings of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, family households with underage children accounted for 51.5% of all family households in Ukraine, while according to data of the previous population census (1989) share of such family households was 56.4%. While 1989 population census recorded 7.9 million households with children aged under 18, in 2001 this number dropped to 6.9 million children. The analysis showed that this reduction was due exclusively to urban area, with a 14.0% decline in the percentage of family households with children under 18 in urban area during the period between censuses and a 3.9% rise of a corresponding figure in rural area<sup>27</sup>. According to sample surveys of household living conditions which are held in Ukraine of a regular basis, in 2008 the percentage of households with children under 18 decreased by 13.3%, as compared with 2000.

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<sup>26</sup> Перший Всеукраїнський перепис населення: історичні, методологічні, соціальні, економічні, етнічні аспекти. – К.: ІВЦ Держкомстату України, 2004. – С. 395.

<sup>27</sup> The same, page 397

A considerable change was observed in distribution of households with children by the number of children. Both the results of 2001 population census and the data of sample surveys of household living conditions indicate that one-child family is the most widespread type of households with children aged under 18. A comparative analysis of population census data shows that the percentage of families which restrict themselves only to one child grows from year to year. Thus, in 2001 the number of one-child families grew by 315 thousand families as compared with 1989. The results of sample surveys also show a trend towards a further increase of the percentage of one-child households. While in 2000 the percentage of households with one child was 61% of all households with children, in 2008 this number grew to 71% (i.e. a growth by 10 percentage points); percentages of households with two and three or more children decreased to 25.4% and 3.7%, respectively (Fig. 1.2.4).



**Fig. 1.2.4. Distribution of households with children in Ukraine by the number of children in 2000 and 2008, %**

*Source: data of sample surveys of household living conditions //Social and demographic characteristics of households in Ukraine in 2008.*

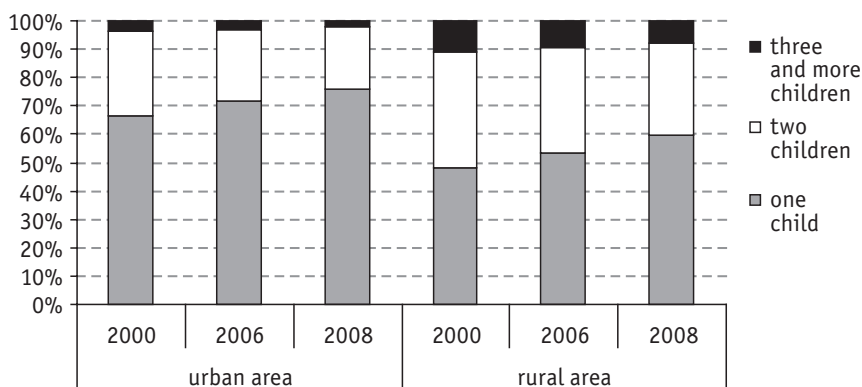
*<http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/>*

The number of families with three or more children declines rapidly (from 667.3 thousand families in 1989 to 396.2 thousand families in 2001). After Ukraine has gained independence, families with many children are rather an

exception and their percentage decreases steadily. Even before the independence period of Ukraine, at the time of relatively stable economic development, families with many children were associated with financially disadvantaged families. The community has a somewhat prejudiced attitude towards families with more than three children. Thus, social and demographic research "The Family and Children" carried out in 2008 showed that more than one fourth of respondents has a negative or compassionate attitude towards a family with many children.

While studying the transformation of in the family composition of the Ukrainian population, it should be mentioned that family structure changes in line with changes and demands of society. A expansion of nuclear families is explained by society industrialization and mobile lifestyles. A decline in the number of children in the family results from by economic hardships, uncertainty of the future (one's own and the future of children), aspiration to reach high prosperity level, feminine emancipation, increasing divorce and non-marital birth rates.

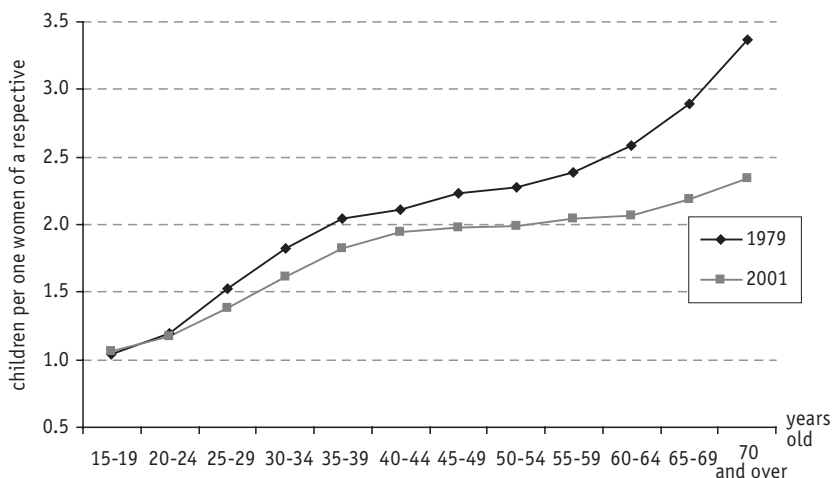
Data of sample surveys of household living conditions evidence that in 2008 different types of settlement had almost an equal percentage of households with underage children. At the same time, distribution of households with children by the number of children showed clearly marked locality differences. Due to an intensive and dynamic tempo of city life, women residing in urban areas are more and more often inclined not to have the third as well as the second child and thus three of each four households with children in urban area care only one child. In rural areas the percentage of households with one child is still considerably lower than in urban area, however, it grows at a faster rate. As compared with 2000, in 2008 the percentage of households with one child increased by 24.0% in the total number of households with children in rural area, while in urban area – only by 14.3% during the same period (Fig. 1.2.5). In 2008 the percentage of households with two underage children was 22.1% in urban area and 32.8% in rural area.



**Fig. 1.2.5. Distribution of households with children in Ukraine by the number of children and type of locality**

*Source: data of sample surveys on household living conditions in Ukraine*

Population censuses allow to carry out periodical detailed studies of fertility rates of different groups of women. According to data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, the average number of children ever born to one woman aged 15 and over (from women who ever gave birth children) was 1.9 children. The number of children ever born varied significantly: for women of older cohorts it was higher as compared with women of younger cohorts. This trend is illustrated by data of each population census, however, the findings of the recent census (2001) witnessed that in cohorts of women of age groups over 40 variations in the average number of children were not so significant as it was, for example, more than twenty years ago at the time of 1979 population census (Fig. 1.2.6). Thus, the average number of children ever born for cohorts of women who at the time of 1979 census were aged over 70 (women of this cohort had maximum index over the period under analysis) was more than a half higher than for the cohort of women in the oldest reproductive age group (aged 45–49), while in 2001 a respective excess was only 18%. According to the findings of 1979 population census, the average number of children ever born to one woman before a certain age was considerably higher than a corresponding index recorded in 2001, with the difference more contrast in the elder age groups.



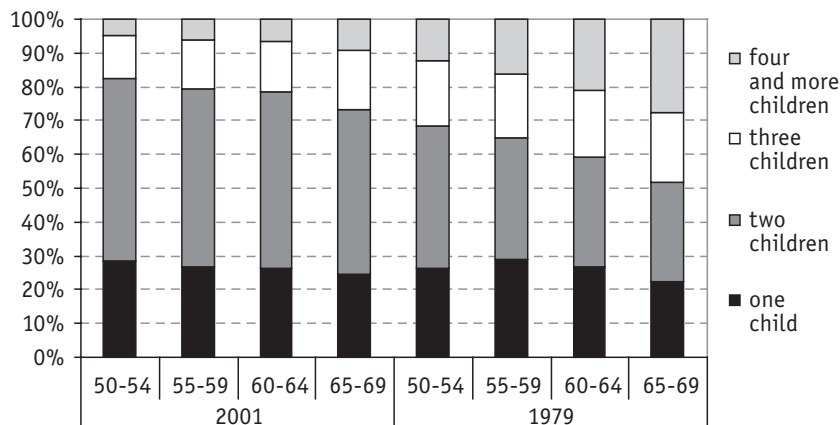
**Fig. 1.2.6. Average number of children born to women of respective age, according to date of 1979 and 2001 population censuses in Ukraine**

*Source: Life expectancy of the population of the Ukrainian SSR in the place of permanent residence. Grouping of women by the number of children ever born (according to data of the All-Union Population Census of 1979). K.: The Central Statistics Department of the Ukrainian SSR, 1983. – Pages 208–209; Women and children of Ukraine, according to data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001. – K.: The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2004. – Page 61*

Figure 1.2.7 shows distribution of women, who have already completed their reproductive activity, by the number of children ever born according to data of 1979 and 2001 population censuses. Here we can see a clear trend: the younger the women cohort, the higher the percentage of women who gave birth only to one or two children. While in the oldest (of the ones showed by the Figure) cohort of women the percentage of women with 1–2 children was 51.2%, in the youngest cohort (in our case the cohort of women aged 50–54 at the time of 2001 population census) the corresponding share was 82.4%.

There is a significant variation in fertility between urban and rural areas. According to data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, the average number of children ever born to one woman in rural area was 2.3 children, by 35.3% exceeding the index in urban areas (1.7 children). A larger average number of children ever born of women in rural areas which is maintained from the youngest till the oldest reproductive age (Fig. 1.2.8) is explained by range of factors, such as: rural lifestyles, specific nature of labor in rural areas, readiness to follow marriage and family traditions as to childbearing age and the

number of children, lower educational level as compared with women residing in urban area<sup>28</sup> etc.

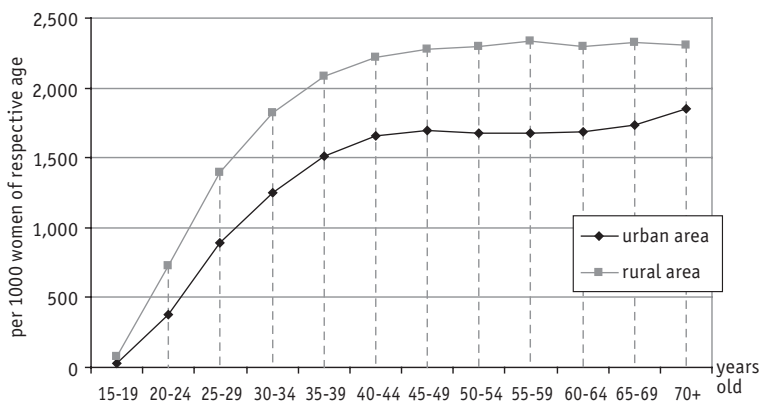


**Fig. 1.2.7. Women distribution by the number of children ever born according to 1979 and 2001 population censuses in Ukraine**

*Source: Life expectancy of the population of the Ukrainian SSR in the place of permanent residence. Grouping of women by the number of children ever born (according to data of the All-Union Population Census of 1979). K.: The Central Statistics Department of the Ukrainian SSR, 1983. – Pages 208–209; Women and children of Ukraine, according to data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001. – K.: The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2004. – Page 61*

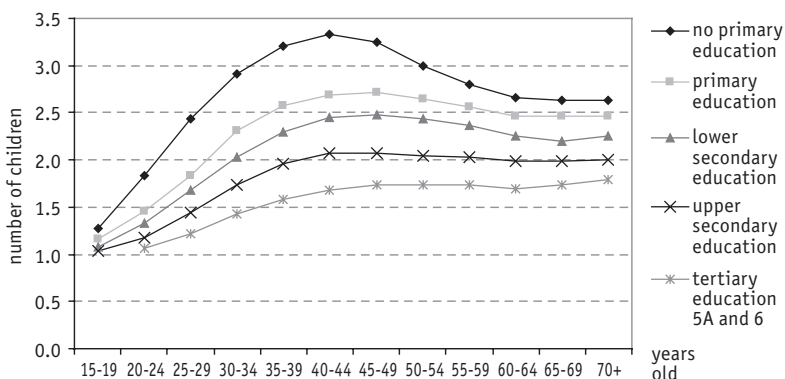
The findings of 2001 population census again confirmed the inverse relation of educational factor and fertility: the higher mother's education level, the lower the average number of her children. It is true for all age groups, however, the difference in indexes of women with higher and lower educational levels becomes slightly less in cohorts of women with completed reproductive period (Fig. 1.2.9). A comparatively late start of childbearing by women desiring to have a university degree and later completion of this period, planning of time and intervals of childbearing, on the one part, and higher childbearing preferences of these women, on the other part, have created the back ground for convergence of fertility rates of more and less educated women in cohorts of women who are nearing or have completed their reproductive period.

<sup>28</sup> According to data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, only 54 of 1,000 women in rural area has a university degree, while in urban settlements this figure was three times as much.



**Fig. 1.2.8. Women distribution by children ever born in urban and rural areas in Ukraine**

*Source: data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001.*



**Fig. 1.2.9. Average number of children of women with different education level (according to ISCED Classification) in Ukraine in 2001 (per 1 woman of corresponding age and educational level)**

*Source: data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001.*

Therefore, grouping of households by the number of living children and distribution of women by the number of children ever born witness that in Ukraine trends towards having one child or two children intensify. These trends are more pronounced in urban area, however, rapid growth of the percentage of households with one child in rural areas gradually level urban - rural differences. At the same time the average number of children of women with higher levels of education is generally lower.

### 1.3. Basic processes of family structure formation

The family is not just the basic unit of society but also one of the most complicated self-organized systems, a social body that constantly changes according to its internal development logic<sup>29</sup>. At the same time, at A.Volkov's apt words, the family is a peculiar conglomeration, the field where all demographic processes interact<sup>30</sup>. All social and demographic development problems are directly linked to the processes of family formation, functioning, development and transformation and at the same time are reflected in changes of family structure of the population.

Family composition of the population is a summary of demographic processes interaction, family relations evolution (changes) and social and economic factors. Family composition of the population is "superimposed" on its sex and age structure, consequently, natural population movement and birth to mortality ratio over the life span of several generations are the factors directly determining the number of family members comprising different family formations.

The birth rate influences on family composition of the population both in a direct way as it determines one of the most important characteristics of family structure of the population – the number of families with children, family size and distribution by the number of children, and in an indirect way forming age structure of the population which is the foundation of family structure<sup>31</sup>. Annual number of births growth observed in Ukraine since 2002 resulted in an increase of the percentage of families with children aged under 3 and, since 2007, of the percentage of families with children aged 3-6 (Table 1.3.1).

However, the findings of sample surveys which are carried out by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine have recorded neither a considerable increase in the proportion of households with children in the total number of Ukrainian households, nor an increase in the number of families with two and more children. According to data of these surveys, the percentage of households with children under 18 was 37.2% in 2004 and 37.8% in 2008; the percentage of one-child families in the total number of households with children grew over that period from 65.7% to 70.9%<sup>32</sup>. This results from a decrease in the

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<sup>29</sup> Герасимова И. А. О влиянии социально-демографической структуры семьи на уровень ее благосостояния // Демографические процессы в СССР. - М.: Наука, 1990. – С. 77.

<sup>30</sup> Волков А. Г. Семья объект демографии. – М.: Мысль, 1986. – С. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Населення України. Народжуваність в Україні у контексті суспільно-трансформаційних процесів. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008. – С. 181-184.

<sup>32</sup> Основні соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2004 році. Статистичний бюлетень. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2000. – С. 15, 19; Соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2008 році. Статистичний збірник. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 12, 15.



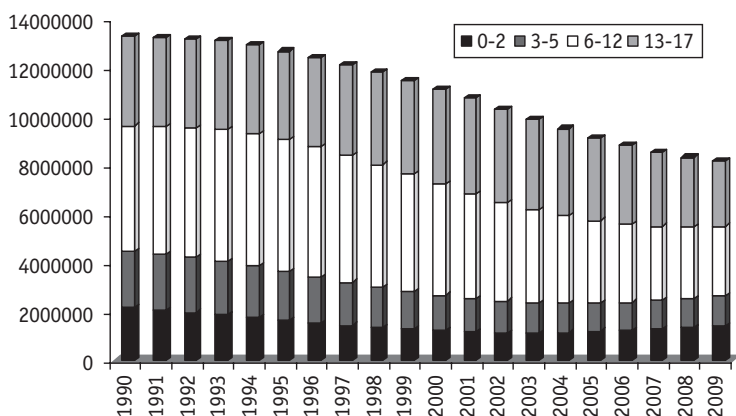
total number of children under 18 observed during all the years of Ukraine's independency (Fig. 1.3.1) and continuing up through 2008: from 01.01.2008 to 01.01.2009 the number of children fell by 1.7% being a consequence of the long-term trend towards restricting the number of children born in the families to one child. Presently an increasing number of new-borns does not compensate for the decrease in the number of children resulting from their transition to the youth age group (age 18 and over).

**Table 1.3.1. Distribution of families with children by the number and age of children, %**

Years	Percent of families with children aged:*					Families by number of children:		
	under 3	3-6	7-13	14-15	16-17	1 child	2 children	3 and more children
2000	13.7	22.0	55.1	20.9	19.8	60.3	34.0	5.7
2002	13.9	23.5	50.4	23.4	21.0	62.4	31.3	6.3
2004	15.5	22.4	48.4	19.6	22.8	65.7	29.0	5.3
2006	17.4	21.7	47.8	21.3	20.6	65.6	29.7	4.7
2007	18.8	24.1	46.2	18.6	18.9	67.9	28.4	3.7
2008	21.1	23.1	45.8	17.2	18.2	70.9	25.4	3.7

*Source: data of sample surveys on household living conditions of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine.*

\* The family may have children of different ages, consequently, total percentage of families with children of different age exceeds 100%.



**Fig. 1.3.1. Number of children under 18 in Ukraine by basic age groups as at 1990-2009, persons**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

Demographic ageing occurring in contemporary world due to lower birth rate and increased of life expectancy changes family structure – increases percentage of lone elderly persons, elderly married couples etc. Over the recent decades, the specific nature of this process in Ukraine is that it occurs against the background of low birth rate with decreasing average life expectancy or with prevailing stagnation trends in mortality rates.

As shown by data of sample surveys of households living conditions carried out by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, in 2008 24.3% of individual households consisted of one persons, 70.3% of which were in age over retirement<sup>33</sup>. At the time of the All-Ukrainian Population Census (2001), almost a quarter of the population aged over 60 and almost one third of persons aged 70 and over lived alone beyond the family. The majority of elderly persons living alone (about 80%) are women (Table 1.3.2); this sex-specific disproportion is conditioned by a significantly higher average life expectancy of Ukrainian females as against the life expectancy of Ukrainian males which is due to excess mortality of males in the age group 25–64 with peak in the age group 35–45<sup>34</sup>.

**Table 1.3.2. Gender proportion of single persons (members of individual households consisting of one person), %**

Age, years	Urban and rural areas		Urban area		Rural area	
	males	females	males	females	males	females
60 and over	18.5	81.5	20.6	79.4	15.8	84.2
of which: 60–64	25.4	74.6	26.3	73.7	23.7	76.3
65–69	20.8	79.2	22.8	77.2	17.8	82.2
70 and over	15.2	84.8	17.1	82.9	13.1	86.9

*Source: data of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001*

As estimated by experts of the Demography and Social Studies Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, currently the difference in average life expectancy of men and women at birth is 11 years for Ukraine in general and almost 13 years for rural area (Table 1.3.3).

<sup>33</sup> Соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2008 році. Статистичний збірник. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 11, 20.

<sup>34</sup> Смертність населення України у трудовоактивному віці. – К.: Ін-т демографії та соціальних досліджень НАН України, 2007. – С. 66-67.

**Table 1.3.3. Female/male difference in average life expectancy at birth in Ukraine, 1992–2008, years**

	Urban and rural areas			Urban area			Rural area		
	males	females	Excess of women lifespan	males	females	Excess of women lifespan	males	females	Excess of women lifespan
1992	63.8	74.1	10.2	64.4	74.1	9.7	62.6	73.7	11.1
1993	63.2	73.4	10.2	63.5	73.4	9.8	62.2	73.1	10.9
1994	62.4	73.0	10.6	62.7	72.9	10.3	61.7	72.9	11.1
1995	61.2	72.6	11.4	61.2	72.4	11.2	61.2	72.7	11.5
1996	61.5	72.8	11.3	61.6	72.8	11.2	61.3	72.8	11.5
1997	62.3	73.3	11.0	62.5	73.2	10.7	61.6	73.1	11.5
1998	63.2	73.9	10.7	63.5	73.9	10.4	62.5	73.8	11.2
1999	62.6	73.7	11.1	62.9	73.7	10.8	62.1	73.5	11.4
2000	62.1	73.6	11.5	62.3	73.5	11.3	61.8	73.6	11.8
2001	62.3	73.7	11.4	62.5	73.7	11.3	61.9	73.7	11.8
2002	62.2	73.8	11.6	62.4	73.9	11.5	61.6	73.5	11.9
2003	62.3	73.6	11.3	62.6	73.7	11.1	61.6	73.4	11.8
2004	62.0	73.7	11.7	62.5	73.8	11.4	61.1	73.4	12.3
2005	61.5	73.4	11.9	62.2	73.7	11.5	60.1	72.8	12.7
2006	62.3	73.9	11.6	62.9	74.1	11.2	61.0	73.3	12.2
2007	61.8	73.8	12.0	62.6	74.1	11.5	60.2	73.1	12.9
2008	62.3	74.0	11.7	63.1	74.3	11.2	60.6	73.3	12.7

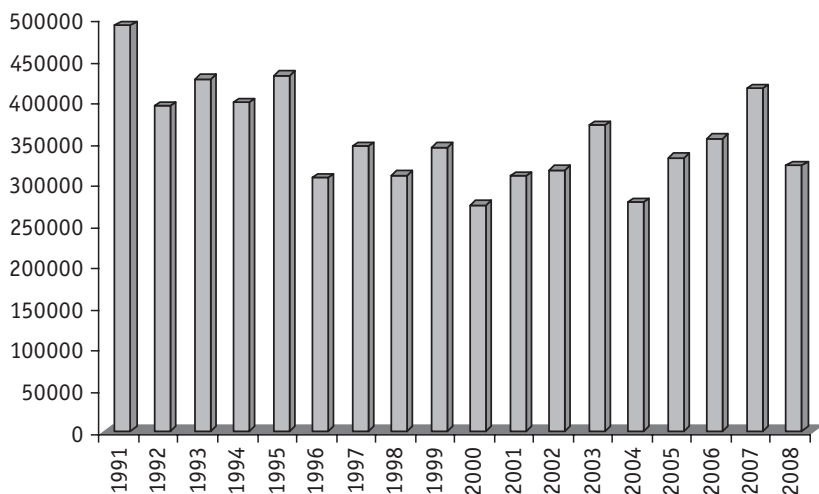
*Source: according to life tables prepared by experts of the Institute for Demography and Social Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*

The excessive mortality rate of men has a direct influence upon the family composition of the population increasing the percentage of widows the large majority of whom lives alone or in incomplete families. At the time of 2001 Population Census, 1,829.5 thousand of widows lived alone, as against 338.3 thousand of widowers, i.e. for men the number was 5.4 times less than for women.

Marriage is the first step in building a family; marriage rate is the key factor determining how many new family units<sup>35</sup> are formed in a certain year. A traditionally high marriage rate of Ukrainian population kept up through the beginning of the XXI century is a decisive factor ensuring continuous renewal of its family composition. In 2005–2008 more than 300 thousand marriages were

<sup>35</sup> Family unit is a unit consisting of a married couple with or without children or mother (father) with children. – Домогосподарства України. Домогосподарства за типами та кількістю дітей (за даними Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року). – К.: 2004. – С.5.

registered each year, i.e. more than 300 thousand family units were formed, and in the “peak” 2007 (when the number of marriages nearly reached the level of the 1990s) that number was 400 thousand (Fig. 1.3.2).

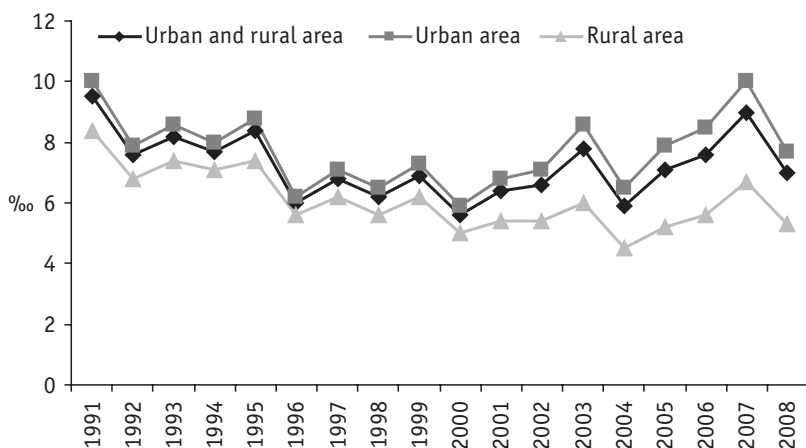


**Fig. 1.3.2. Number of marriages registered in Ukraine in 1991–2008**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

After marriage rate decline in 1990, a positive trend towards marriage rate growth is observed in Ukraine since 2001. In 2007 crude marriage rate (number marriages per 1000 population) was 9.0‰, being one of the highest ratios in Europe. In urban localities this number was 10.0‰, being a rise up to the level of 1991, and 6.7‰ in rural area, being just 80% of the level of 1991 (this latter figure results from considerable ageing of rural population)<sup>36</sup>. The marriage curve exhibits a wave-like pattern, since leap years in Ukraine are traditionally considered as unfavorable for marriage, and for this reason the peak of marriages was observed in 2007 which preceded a leap year; in a leap 2008 absolute and relative indices dropped - crude marriage rate was only 7.0‰ (Fig. 1.3.3).

<sup>36</sup> Population of Ukraine. Social and Demographic Problems of Rural Area. – Kyiv: Institute for Demography and Social Studies of the NAS of Ukraine, 2007. – P. 25-35.



**Fig. 1.3.3. Crude marriage rate of Ukraine in 1991-2008, ‰**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

The current pattern of marriage behavior is characterized by later marriage, “delaying” of marriage till completion of socialization period – until a person receives education, acquires profession and a certain social status. In 2008, as compared with 2001, mean age at marriage increased from 29.6 to 30.2 years for men and from 26.7 to 27.3 years for women, i.e. by 0.6 year; and mean age at first marriage increased from 25.4 to 26.3 years for men and from 22.8 to 23.7 years for women, i.e. by 0.9 year (Table 1.3.4).

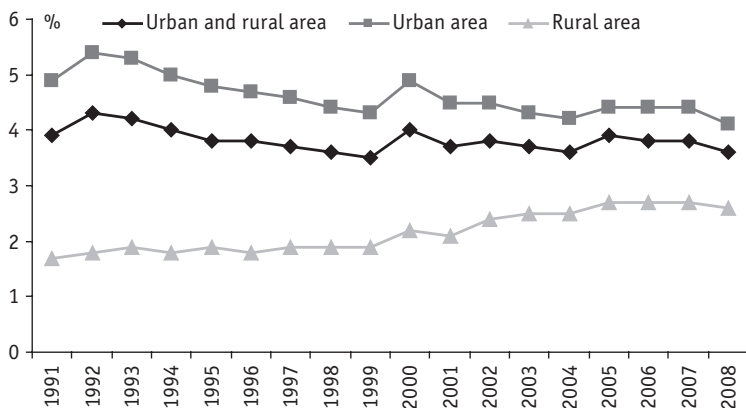
**Table 1.3.4. Mean age at marriage in Ukraine in 2001-2008, years**

	Mean age at marriage (all marriages)		Mean age at first marriage	
	males	females	males	females
2001	29.58	26.68	25.42	22.76
2002	29.54	26.57	25.54	22.81
2003	29.45	26.48	25.57	22.87
2004	30.06	27.08	25.80	23.10
2005	29.99	27.03	25.92	23.26
2006	29.75	26.82	25.91	23.33
2007	29.63	26.77	26.00	23.47
2008	30.18	27.31	26.27	23.69

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine and author's calculations based on these data*

Increased age at marriage is the factor which to a certain extent “slows down” family structure renewal. However, it should be mentioned that marriage in Ukraine is still “younger” than in the majority of European countries, i.e. marriages in Ukraine are concluded at a younger age. Mean age at first marriage in Ukraine is lower than in the majority of the European countries, and while in 2007 in 16% of marriages registered in our country the bride was under 20, in Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden and the Czech Republic this figure was 2% of marriages and 4-6% in Poland, Portugal, Latvia, Slovakia and Estonia<sup>37</sup>.

Although marriage orientation of the population is still high, as confirmed by marriage ratios, marriage structure of the population and data of sample socio and demographic studies<sup>38</sup>, marriages in Ukraine are characterized by instability and a high probability of divorce. Crude divorce rate (number of divorces per 1000 of population) was 3.8 ‰ in 2006–2007 and 3.6‰ in 2008. By this figure Ukraine is one of the leaders in Europe, giving way only to Russia. The divorce rate in urban localities (4.1‰ in 2008) considerably exceeds this rate in rural area; however, strong marriage traditions of the rural population gradually weaken and urban-rural difference gradually decreasing (Fig. 1.3.4).



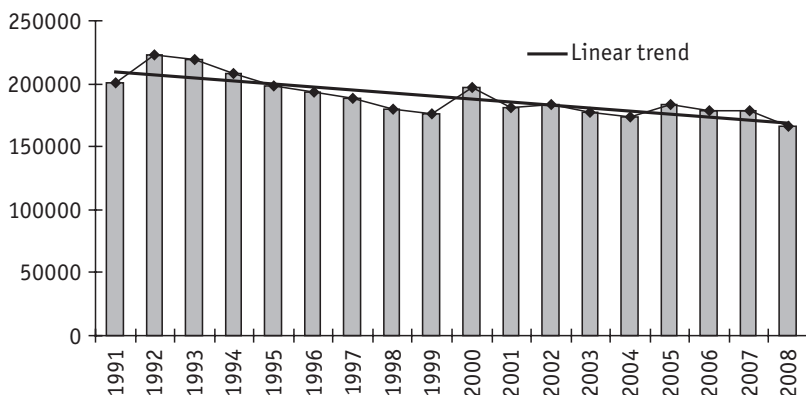
**Fig. 1.3.4. Crude divorce rate of the Ukraine in 1991-2008, ‰**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

Although the divorce rate shows a declining trend, each year over 170 thousand divorces were registered (except 2008, when the number of divorces was slightly lower – 166.8 thousand), in other words, the same number of families were broken (Fig. 1.3.5).

<sup>37</sup> Calculated according to Demographic Yearbook 2007, table 22. - <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/dyb2007.htm>

<sup>38</sup> Шлюб, сім'я та дітородні орієнтації в Україні. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008. – С. 88-95.

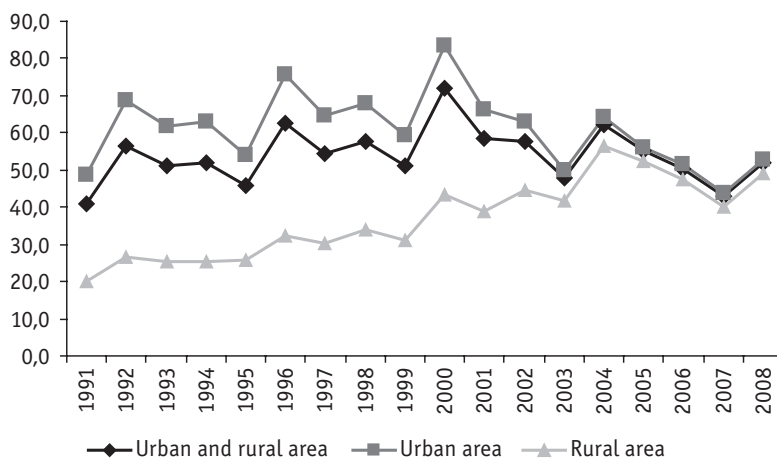


**Fig. 1.3.5. Number of divorces in Ukraine in 1991-2008 and its dynamics trend**

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

Marriage instability rate (divorces to marriages registered in a certain year) which shows the proportion of annual marriage growth “ruined” by divorces, was 42.8% in 2007 (43.6% in urban area and 40.2% in rural area) and 51.8% in 2008 (52.7% and 49.2% in urban and rural areas, respectively). The dynamics of this ratio to a considerable extent reflects the “waves” of the marriage curve, since marriage instability ratio grows in leap years due to a sharp drop in the number of marriages and falls in the years preceding a leap year due to its growth. After 2001, there is an overall favorable trend towards a decline in this ratio in Ukraine but only due to urban area (Fig. 1.3.6).

Families ruined by divorce of spouses do not disappear altogether but change their structure and pattern. A complete family with marriage nucleus is split according to different scenarios: into an incomplete family and a household consisting of one person or into two incomplete families etc. Furthermore, when a man or a woman returns to an unmarried state, this means a possibility of starting a new family cycle, i.e. entering into a new marriage and forming a new family unit. Men have a higher probability of remarriage than women: according to our estimates, in 2001–2002 the special remarriage ratio (marriages per 1000 divorced and widowers persons) was 46.3‰ for men and 12.5‰ for women. The reason for this difference is that it is difficult for a divorced woman, with whom children usually stay after divorce, to settle her private life and sex disproportions on the marriage market resulting from excess mortality rate of men.



**Fig. 1.3.6. Marriage instability ratio (number of divorces/number of marriages) in Ukraine in 1991-2008, %**

*Source: author's calculation based on data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

The probability of divorce exists at different stages of marriage and for different marriage types. Over 2001–2008 mean and median duration of dissolved marriages declined to certain extent due to a gradual growth of the absolute number and the percentage of marriages dissolved after a short period – 0–4 years, and of these – first of all, of marriages with duration up to 2 years, and due to a decrease in these figures for marriages with 5–14 year duration (Table. 1.3.5).

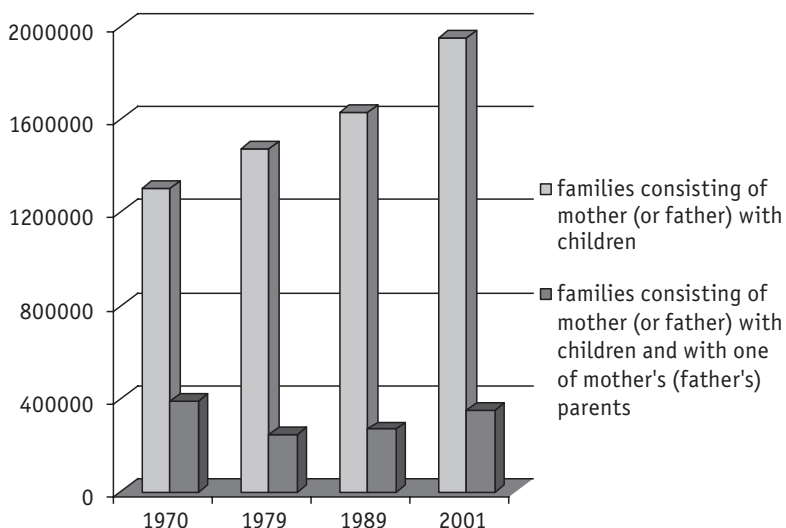
**Table 1.3.5. Divorce distribution by duration of marriages in Ukraine in 2001–2008, %**

	Percentage of the divorces by duration of marriage:					Mean duration of dissolved marriages, years	Median duration of dissolved marriages, years
	0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20 years and over		
2001	25.7	26.6	18.4	11.8	17.4	11.87	9.56
2002	26.0	26.8	18.9	12.1	16.2	11.67	9.49
2003	25.9	26.1	19.0	12.2	16.7	11.79	9.61
2004	26.5	25.0	18.9	12.2	17.4	11.88	9.70
2005	27.0	24.8	18.9	12.5	16.7	11.76	9.63
2006	27.7	24.0	18.4	12.8	17.1	11.81	9.65
2007	28.8	23.6	17.2	12.6	17.7	11.80	9.48
2008	31.1	23.5	16.1	12.0	17.3	11.47	9.03

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*



The majority of divorced spouses have common children (58.6% of divorced spouses in 2006, 57.3% in 2007 and 55.9% in 2008) and, consequently, as a result of their divorces incomplete families are formed in which children are raised by one of the parents (usually mother), sometimes together with a grandmother or a grandfather. The number of incomplete families and their proportion in the total number of families of all types currently grow, as evidenced by population census data (Fig. 1.3.7; Table. 1.3.6). The findings of sample surveys carried out by the State Statistics Committee show that incomplete families with children are quite widespread: in 2008, 19.4% of households with children were accounted families without one or both parents; this percentage was 21.2% in urban area and 15.2% in rural area<sup>39</sup>.



**Fig. 1.3.7. Number of incomplete families in Ukraine according to population census data of 1970, 1979, 1989, 2001 \***

\* 1970, 1979, 1989– families; 2001 – households

Source: data of population censuses

An increasing number of incomplete (single-parent) families is attributable to high rates of divorces, widow- or widowerhood and non-marital birth rate. Presently in Ukraine each one of five children is born by a woman who is not in a registered marriage (Table 1.3.7).

<sup>39</sup> Соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2008 році. Статистичний збірник. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 17.

**Table 1.3.6. Incomplete family per total number of families (family households) in Ukraine in 1989 and 2001, %\***

	Urban and rural areas		Urban area		Rural area	
	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001
Incomplete families with children	13.5	17.0	14.8	19.4	10.8	12.0
of which:						
families consisting of mother (or father) with children	11.6	14.4	12.7	16.4	9.2	10.2
families consisting of mother (or father) with children and one of mother's (father's) parents	1.9	2.6	2.1	3.0	1.6	1.8

*Source: calculations are based on population census data of 1989 and 2001*

\* 1989 – families; 2001– households consisting of two and more persons

**Table 1.3.7. Percentage of non-marital births in Ukraine, 1989–2008, %**

Years	Urban and rural areas	Urban area	Rural area
1989	10.8	10.1	12.4
1990	11.2	10.5	12.6
1991	11.9	11.6	12.5
1992	12.1	12.0	12.4
1993	13.0	13.1	12.8
1994	12.8	13.0	12.6
1995	13.2	13.4	12.8
1996	13.6	13.8	13.3
1997	15.2	15.4	14.8
1998	16.2	16.5	15.5
1999	17.4	17.9	16.7
2000	17.3	17.7	16.6
2001	18.0	18.3	17.5
2002	19.0	19.3	18.4
2003	19.9	20.0	19.6
2004	20.4	20.3	20.7
2005	21.4	21.2	21.8
2006	21.1	20.8	21.9
2007	21.4	20.9	22.3
2008	20.9	20.4	21.8

*Source: data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine*

However, if a child is born “outside” an official marriage union, this does not necessarily mean that he or she will be raised in a single-parent (incomplete) family. The spreading of unregistered marriage unions (cohabitation) is believed to be the main factor of non-marital birth rate growth in the majority of European countries<sup>40</sup>. It would be logical to assume that a rapid growth in the non-marital birth rate in Ukraine is also to a considerable extent linked with pluralization and “deformalization” of marriage relations, and some percentage of these children are born to parents in cohabitation. At the time of 2001 population census, in Ukraine the total number of married men and married women who were in cohabitation was 7.0% and 7.0% respectively, in other words, about 7% of marriage unions were not legally registered. The findings of a sample socio and demographic study “The Family and Children” (April 2008) show that about 10% of married persons aged 15–49 were in cohabitation, with this figure being even higher for the youth: 31.4% of married men aged 15–24 and 18.8% married women of the same age<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, the non-marital birth rate is one of the factors causing a growth in the percentage of single-parent (incomplete) families, i.e. it directly affects the family structure of the population; however, its influence is not as strong as it may seem at first.

As already mentioned, the family is a complex social body with its functional regularities and internal development logic. Structural and functional transformation of the family as a social and demographic institution is directly reflected in changes of family life cycle, i.e. in the sequence and duration of its different stages. The family life cycle (family cycle) is the sequence of socially and demographically significant states through which a family passes from the moment it is formed and to the moment it disappears<sup>42</sup>. P. Glick, american demographer, was one of the first to propose this term and determine the phases (stages) of the family cycle<sup>43</sup>. L.Chuyko studied stages of the life cycle of a young family on the basis of Ukrainian materials<sup>44</sup>.

The family cycle starts with marriage which is the moment when a family is formed. Before the birth of the first child the family is at the pre-parenting stage; the birth of the first child opens the period of family growth – the childbearing stage which ends with the birth of the last child. The next stage is the parenting period during which children grow and become socialized, with the quantitative composition of the family remaining unchanged. This stage ends when one of the children leaves the parents’ family – from this moment the family reduces in size

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<sup>40</sup> The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses. Edited by M.Macura, A.L.MacDonald, W.Haug. – UN, New York and Geneva, 2005. – P. 78.

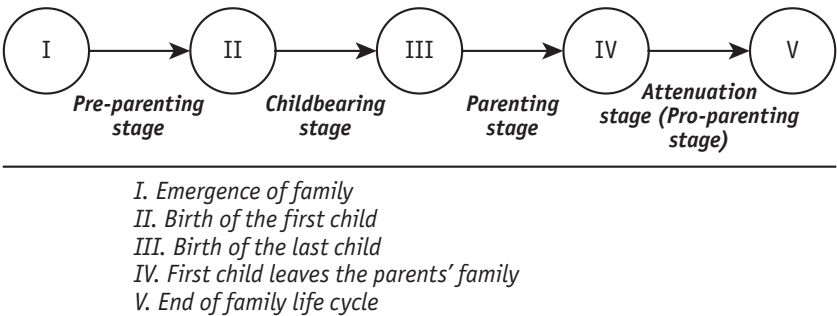
<sup>41</sup> Шлюб, сім'я та дітородні орієнтації в Україні. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008. – С. 96-100.

<sup>42</sup> Волков А. Г. Семья – объект демографии. – М.: Мысль, 1986. – С. 226.

<sup>43</sup> Glick P.C. The Family Life Cycle // American Sociological Review, 1947. Vol. 12. – P. 164.

<sup>44</sup> Трудовая активность женщин. – Киев: Наукова думка, 1984. – С. 129-144.

as children leave it and later – as one of the spouses dies. This period is defined as the family attenuation stage or the pro-parenting stage (children already have their own children and the founders of the family become grandparents), it ends when both of the spouses die (Chart 1.3.1). This stage can be subdivided into the period of “launching children” when the family is gradually reduced in size and the “empty nest” period when elderly parents stay alone. The period of parents’ family attenuation coincides in time with the childbearing or parenting period in the families of their children. All the families at different stages of their life cycle form the family structure of the population.



**Chart 1.3.1. Full family life cycle**

The family life cycle, the sequence and duration of its stages to a considerable extent depend on the existing marriage and childbearing behavior pattern. Age at marriage and age at birth determine the time of creating a family and the duration of the pre-parenting stage. The number of children determine the duration of the childbearing stage, which under the conditions when one-child families are widely spread is rather not a stage but a demarcation line between the pre-parenting and parenting stages.

The family attenuation stage scenario depends on the process of family “splitting” at final stages of family life cycle, which is typical for the given community. In certain cases adult children leave the parents’ family before marriage. However, having married and created own family, children may live together with their parents for a certain time and in such a case the family pattern is transformed into the extended family comprising several married couples. The time during which this family exists depends on traditions, behavior stereotypes typical for the given population and economic potential of family members. In the modern family the period of cohabitation of parents and the children’s family is quite short or often absent altogether. There is a trend when children leave their parents’ family immediately after marriage which results in spreading of nuclear families, i.e. the nuclearization process is observed. Ex-

tended families are not typical for modern society, including Ukraine; their proportion in the family composition of the population is insignificant (according to 2001 population census such families accounted for 4.9% of all families).

The scenario of the final stage of family life cycle also to a considerable extent depends on the nature of relations between different generations and on family traditions; there are significant variations in this scenario by countries with different history and culture. According population census data, in Italy 56% of young people aged 25–29 lived in the families of their parents, in Great Britain this number was 18%, in Finland – 11%, in Denmark – about 0<sup>45</sup>. In this respect, economic situation and the state youth policy are significant determinants. Over the recent decade there is a trend towards an increase of the period during which young people, especially men, live together with their parents. Researches explain this trend by such factors as an increased duration of the education period and worsened situation on the labor, residential property and loan markets, which makes purchase of own apartment or house increasingly difficult for young people. In Ukraine not uncommon are the cases when families which faced economic hardships join again - families of parents and children live together and the premises vacated as a result of this are leased out (this phenomenon was especially wide-spread during the crisis of the 1990s). These processes have a direct influence upon the family structure of the population: a growth in the percentage of extended families in rural area of Ukraine in the period 1989–2001 (from 6.1% to 7.2%) is explained by economic impossibility and, sometimes, inexpediency for married couples to leave their extended family under the conditions of the social and economic crisis of the 1990s.

The above family life cycle chart represents the full life cycle, when a married couple builds a family, goes through all of its stages together and has several children. Using the logic suggested by A. Antonov, we can approximately estimate the average duration of a full family life cycle<sup>46</sup>. Proceeding from age at first marriage (about age 26 for men and age 24 for women), the average lifespan of men and women in Ukraine is 39 and 55 years, respectively. Therefore, full family life cycle duration is 47 years, of which: the first stage (pre-parenting) – 1.5 years, the second stage (childbearing) – 3.5 years, the third stage (parenting, socialization of children) – 21.5 years (until marriage the first child) and, respectively, the fourth (and the final) stage – 20.5 years. Respective estimations made for husband and wife show that from the moment when the first child leaves the family (marries), husband will live 12.5 years on the average and wife – 28.5 years; in other words, wife will be a widow for 16 years and live alone in her household or will join her children's family.

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<sup>45</sup> Щербакова Е. Старение населения предъявляет свои вызовы обществу и семьям. - <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0307/barom02.php>

<sup>46</sup> Социология семьи. Под ред. А. И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005. – С. 261.

The majority of families complete their life cycles, although a considerable number of married couples separate by divorce or as a result of early death of one of the spouses. Family life cycle is directly affected by divorce and widowhood which result in incomplete family life cycle; it is a wide-spread phenomenon, as evidenced by a significant proportion of incomplete families in the family composition of the population. Therefore, a comprehensive chart of present-day family life cycle should envisage several family development scenarios and several development alternatives at each of the basic stages of the life cycle. At the first stage, before children are born, there is a possibility of divorce and, consequently, of spouses returning back to the families of their parents or living alone in separate households; subsequently, the family cycle may begin for each of the former spouses with a new partner. The second and third stages (childbearing and parenting) also have a high possibility of divorce and, consequently, of an incomplete family being formed in which children will live with one of the parents and, possibly, with representatives of the third generation (grandfather and/or grandmother); in this case the other spouse may either return back to his/her parents' family or reside alone or start a new family cycle by remarriage. Theoretically, it is possible that two incomplete families are formed if the spouses "divide" children between themselves; however, this option is actually impossible in Ukraine. At the parenting stage there is an increased possibility of widow- or widowerhood since during this period the peak excess mortality of men is observed. As for scenarios of the final stage at which the family is reduced in size after adult children leave it, here demographic development options may be diverse, with their course depending not only on the behavior pattern chosen by family members but also on the availability of economic potential for its implementation, as mentioned above.

Therefore, each stage of society's evolution correlates with a certain pattern of the family composition of the population. With the development of mankind, the family composition of the population changes as a result of natural evolution of the family as an institution and marriage and family relationship transformation which changes family life cycle, and also as a result of changes in the population reproduction regime. The family composition of the population is also affected by social and economic situation in the country to the extent that it influences demographic processes (birth, mortality and migration rates) and family cycle scenarios.

To date, there is an acute lack of information on the life cycle of a modern Ukrainian family, husband and wife and parents and children relationship at different stages of the family life cycle; this information can be obtained only in the course of special socio and demographic studies. Therefore, the study based on a representative sample survey of the population of childbearing ages titled "The Family and Family Relations" (April 2009) may be considered unique for Ukraine. The findings of this study will be presented in the next sections of this monograph.

## II. MATERIAL WELL-BEING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF FAMILIES IN UKRAINE

### 2.1. Household income and expenditure

According to the findings of surveys on household living conditions held in 2008, the average total equivalent household income was UAH 1,279.5 per month and the average total equivalent expenditure was 1,213.9 per month<sup>1</sup>. Just like in the previous years, there is a persistent and clearly marked income and expenditure differentiation by place of residence and household type (Table 2.1.1).

**Table 2.1.1. Total equivalent income and expenditure by different household types in Ukraine in 2008 (per month, UAH)**

Household type	Total equivalent income	Total equivalent expenditure	Total equivalent income – expenditure ratio
<i>By residence</i>			
City	1481.3	1415.1	0.955
Town	1220.2	1153.1	0.945
Rural area	1065.8	1002.0	0.940
<i>By household type</i>			
Households with children, including:	1140.3	1090.3	0.956
- with one child	1250.9	1186.8	0.949
- with two children	970.5	949.1	0.978
- with three or more children	777.6	736.2	0.947
- with children under 3	1097.6	1042.2	0.950
Households without children, including:	1443.7	1359.6	0.942
- comprising at least one retired person	1193.1	1122.9	0.941
- consisting of retired persons only	1178.3	1161.0	0.985
- consisting of employed persons only	1836.0	1730.1	0.942
Total	1279.5	1213.9	0.949

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute for Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey in 2008*

<sup>1</sup> For the equivalence scale, see. Рівень життя населення України / НАН України. Ін-т демографії та соц. дослідж., Держ. ком. статистики України; За ред. Л.М. Черенько. – К.: ТОВ Видавництво „Консультант”, 2006. – С. 30.

To date, the total equivalent income in cities is 1.2 times greater than that in towns and 1.4 times greater than in rural area. The average total equivalent income and expenditure of households with children is 21% and 20% smaller, respectively, than that of households without children. A clear relationship is observed: if the number of children in a family increases, the amount of its equivalent income and expenditure drops considerably. Thus, the total equivalent income of a one-child household is 87% of income of a household without children, a two-child household's income is 78% of that of a one-child household, and income of a household with three and more children is 80% of a two-child household's income. Having a child / children under the age of three has a marked impact on the size of equivalent income and expenditure: income and expenditure figures of these households are by 12% lower than those for one-child households.

Among households without children, the highest level of equivalent income and expenditure is recorded for households all members of which have employment. If at least one member of a household is retired, the amount of equivalent income and expenditure decreases by one-third. Households consisting only of retired persons have a slightly lower level of income and even insignificantly higher level of expenditure (see Table 2.1.1). Accordingly, these households have the highest total equivalent income and expenditure ratio - 0.985, i.e. on the average, equivalent expenditure is lower than income only by 1.5%. For almost all of the remaining household types, equivalent income exceeds equivalent expenditure approximately by 5%.

The structure of total income varies significantly between households with and without children (Table 2.1.2). As compared with households without children, households with children have a considerably higher percentage of income from wages and salaries (60.6% against 45.5%) and, likewise, the percentage of income from business and self-employment (7.5% against 3.9%) – this fact is attributable to a higher level of economic activity of persons who have to provide proper living conditions for their children, and also to a larger proportion of retired persons in the composition of households without children. This finding is confirmed by the fact that for the latter the percentage of pensions in the structure of total income is 32.6%, while for households with children this figure is just 9.8%. Furthermore, the percentage of other social transfers received by households with children is higher (4.1% against 1.5%) since they receive various child benefits and allowances.

It should be noted that the number of children in a household also has an impact on **the income structure** – an increase in this number correlates with a decrease in the percentage of income received in the form of wages and salaries (the latter being 63.5% for households with one child, 54.9% - with two children and 42.7% – with three and more children) and with an increase in the percentage of



Table 2.1.2. Total income structure by household type in Ukraine in 2008, %

Income type	Households with children	of which:				Households without children	of which:		
		one child	two children	three and more children	households with children aged under 3		with at least one retired person	consisting only of retired persons	consisting only of employed persons
Wages and salaries	60.6	63.5	54.9	42.7	54.5	45.5	28.5	2.6	72.7
Income from business and self-employment	7.5	7.6	7.7	4.5	7.4	3.9	2.5	0.2	5.8
Income from property	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.2	0.5
Income from sale of products produced on own farm	3.7	3.1	5.1	6.2	3.3	3.2	4.2	3.9	1.3
Value of consumed products produced on own farm or self-procured	4.3	3.4	5.9	10.9	4.2	4.2	6.1	6.8	2.1
Pensions	9.4	9.8	8.4	8.7	7.4	32.6	47.6	73.0	9.9
Subsidies	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0
Benefits	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.4	1.3	1.8	2.6	0.6
Other social transfers	4.1	3.0	5.7	14.7	11.9	1.5	2.1	0.9	0.8
Financial assistance from relatives and friends	5.2	4.8	6.1	5.6	5.9	4.4	3.9	5.0	4.3
Earnings from sale of own property	1.1	0.7	2.0	2.0	2.1	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.2
Other earnings	2.8	2.8	2.7	3.0	2.4	2.2	2.3	3.2	1.9
Total income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on household survey 2008

income from sale of products produced on own farm (3.1%, 5.1% and 6.2%, respectively) and in the value of consumed products produced on own farm and by self-procurement (3.4%, 5.9% and 10.9%, respectively). The percentage of social transfers, except for pensions (due to child benefits), in the income structure of families with several children grows – 3.0%, 5.7% and 14.7%, respectively. Therefore, for families with many children child benefits and allowances are the second most important source of income (after wages and salaries), with the third source being non-cash income from products of own farm.

Families with children under the age of three also have a very high percentage of other social transfers in their income structure (11.9%). Accordingly, for these families child benefits and allowances are also the second source of income by size (after wages and salaries, the percentage of which slightly exceeds half of total income).

In the income structure of households without children consisting only of persons who have employment, 72.7% of total income is formed by wages and salaries; the percentage of pensions is insignificant (9.9%) and the percentage of income from business is 5.8%, being lower than a respective figure for households with children. As compared with other households, the percentage of income from own farm, both in cash and non-cash form, is insignificant (1.3% and 2.1%, respectively). These households have the highest percentage of earned income and the lowest percentage of various social transfers.

Households consisting only of retired persons have a different income structure. Pensions are their main source of income, being 3/4 of total income. The percentage of non-cash income from own farm is quite high (6.8%), while cash income is at the medium level (3.9%). The percentage of benefits (2.6%) and subsidies (0.3%) in the income structure is higher as compared with other households (for instance, for households with children this percentage is smaller than 1.0%). Wages and salaries and income from business have almost no impact on the composition of such households' income.

In case a household without children has at least one retired person, the income structure is quite significantly changed because the impact of pensions grows and they account for almost a half of total income (47.6%), with wages and salaries being just 28.5%. Accordingly, the number of retired persons in such households is on the average greater than the number of employed persons or the total amount of pensions received exceeds the amount of income received for work performed as an employee.

The analysis of income structure of basic household types by the type of settlement demonstrates the following unchanged general trend in the income structure – high percentage of wages and salaries in urban area and low percentage in rural area, low percentage of pensions in urban area (especially cities) and high – in rural area (Table 2.1.3). In this respect, if a household has

**Table 2.1.3. Total income structure by household type depending on the place of residence in Ukraine in 2008, %**

Income type	Households with children			Households without children		
	City	Town	Village	City	Town	Village
Wages and salaries	68.8	64.8	43.6	55.0	46.3	25.9
Income from business and self-employment	8.4	8.1	5.5	4.4	4.1	2.8
Income from property	0.2	0.1	1.2	0.4	0.1	2.0
Income from sale of products from own farm	0.0	1.0	12.2	0.0	1.1	11.2
Value of consumed products from own farm and self-procurement	0.5	2.6	12.1	0.6	3.5	11.8
Pensions	8.9	8.5	11.1	29.2	35.2	37.1
Subsidies	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Benefits	0.9	0.9	0.5	1.5	1.3	0.8
Other social transfers	3.1	4.4	5.6	1.3	1.2	2.1
Financial assistance from relatives and friends	4.6	5.6	5.6	4.8	4.5	3.3
Earnings from sale of own property	1.7	0.9	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.3
Other earnings	2.9	3.2	2.2	1.8	2.5	2.7
Total income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey 2008*

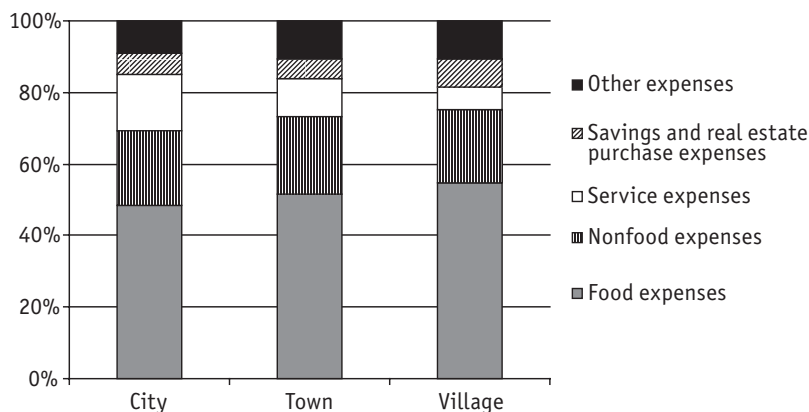
children, the percentage of wages and salaries grows and the percentage of pensions decreases for all settlement types. It should be mentioned that rural households without children are the only household type with pensions being the main source of income (37.5%), while wages and salaries make just 25.9% of total income.

It should be pointed out that households with children living in cities demonstrate the largest percentage of income from business or self-employment – 8.4% of their total income. In towns this percentage is slightly smaller. This source of income has the least impact on the income structure of households without children living in rural area, being 2.8%.

For households with children, the percentage of other social transfers (formed primarily of child benefits and allowances) typically rises with a decrease in settlement size– from 3.1% in cities to 5.6% in villages.

The total percentage of cash and non-cash earnings from own farm is equally high for rural households with children (24.3%) and without children (23.0%).

Some specific character is demonstrated by the **total expenditure** structure of households living in different settlement types. The greater the size of settlement, the lower the percentage of expenses on food and the greater the percentage of service expenses (Fig. 2.1.1). While in cities services account for 1/6 of all expenditure on the average, in towns this figure is 1/9 and in villages – only 1/16. Moreover, in rural area as compared with urban settlements expenses on savings and purchase of real estate is slightly higher and make 8.0% against 5.4% in towns and 5.8% – in cities.



**Fig. 2.1.1. Structure of total (aggregate) expenditure of households in Ukraine by settlement type in 2008,%**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 2008*

On the average, the percentage of food expenses of households with children is smaller than that of households without children – 49.4% against 52.0% (Table. 2.1.4). Only families with many children make a considerable difference, with their food expenses accounting for 60.3% of total aggregate expenditure. Accordingly, these households have a smaller percentage of other expenditure items and this is particularly true for service expenses: while households with children spend on services 12.6% of their aggregate expenditure, for families with many children this figure is only 7%.

Among households without children, the expenditure structure of households all members of which are employed is most close to rational. If a household has at least one retired person, its expenditure structure is shifted towards a growth in the percentage of food expenses and a decrease in the percentage of nonfood and service expenses. These shifts in the expenditure structure are even more pronounced for households consisting only of retired persons.

A comparison of the expenditure structure of the basic household types in different settlements shows that households with children are always characterized by a lower percentage of food expenses and a higher percentage of nonfood and service expenses (Table 2.1.5). Both types of households (with and without children) living in rural area typically spend on food more than a half of total expenditure, with this expenditure item being less than a half for households living in cities.

Households without children living in settlements of different types demonstrate a somewhat greater variation in the percentage of food expenses; the relationship between other expenditure items of these households is almost similar to that of households with children – insignificant variations in nonfood expenses and quite considerable variations in service expenses.

Therefore, to date in Ukraine families with many children and households living in rural area are most sensitive in terms of their purchasing potential and income earned.

## **2.2. Durable goods provision and consumption**

***Specific character of consumption across different household types.*** Living standards of the population of a certain country which are dependant on the economic growth or decline processes have a direct impact on the purchasing power of different population groups and determine how their expenditure structure is formed. Changes in the purchasing power of the population are most markedly illustrated by changes in the income and expenditure structure. Over the years passed in the current decade the purchasing power of Ukrainian households demonstrated positive changes attributable to a rise in the popula-

**Table 2.1.4. Structure of total (aggregate) expenditure by household type in Ukraine in 2008, %**

Expenditure item	Households with children	including:				Households without children	including:		
		one child	two children	three and more children	households with children under 3		with at least one retired person	consisting only of retired persons	consisting only of employed persons
Food expenses	49.4	48.9	49.4	60.3	47.5	52.0	54.7	60.4	47.6
Nonfood expenses	22.1	22.3	22.0	19.1	22.1	19.8	18.9	16.7	21.6
Service expenses	12.6	13.3	11.6	7.0	11.4	11.8	10.2	8.8	13.3
Savings and real estate purchase expenses	6.7	6.4	7.4	6.4	10.3	6.0	6.5	4.3	6.4
Other expenses	9.2	9.2	9.5	7.3	8.7	10.4	9.7	9.9	11.1
Total (aggregate) expenditure	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 2008*

**Table 2.1.5. Structure of total (aggregate) expenditure by household type depending on the place of residence in Ukraine in 2008, %**

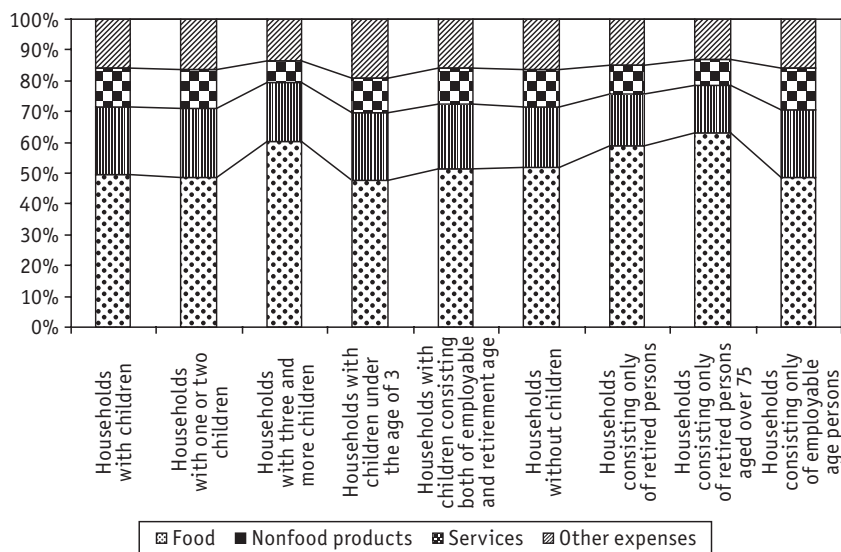
Expenditure item	Households with children			Households without children		
	City	Town	Rural area	City	Town	Rural area
Food expenses	47.4	49.2	53.0	49.2	53.6	56.3
Nonfood expenses	21.5	23.1	22.1	20.2	20.2	18.7
Service expenses	16.8	11.4	6.9	15.4	10.3	5.8
Savings and real estate purchase expenses	5.7	5.8	9.0	5.9	5.1	7.1
Other expenses	8.7	10.5	9.0	9.4	10.9	12.2
Total (aggregate) expenditure	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 2008*

tion's income under the conditions of economic growth in Ukraine. This is confirmed, in the first place, by growing figures of nonfood and service expenses and improved qualitative and quantitative characteristics of food products.

In 2008, as compared with the preceding year, the total expenditure structure of Ukrainian households demonstrated an insignificant (by 0.4%) decrease in the proportion of food expenses (to 50.8% or UAH 506.5 per capita per month), while in 1999 a respective figure exceeded 63%. Moreover, since 1999 there was an insignificant but steady growth in the percentage of nonfood and service expenses, the proportion of which in the structure of the population's total expenditure in 2008 was 20.8% and 12.2%, respectively.

Although the percentage of food expenses prevailed over other expenditure items across all household types, just like in the preceding years, it reached its peak in 2008 in retired households – 58.8%, particularly, in households consisting only of persons aged 75 and older – 63.0%. The general Ukrainian index of food expenses in 2008 was also exceeded by households with many children (by 9.5 percentage points) and by households with double demo-economic load on working members (i.e. households with children and retired persons) (by 0.7 percentage points) (Fig. 2.2.1).



**Fig. 2.2.1. Structure of total expenditure by household type in Ukraine in 2008, %**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 2008*

During 2008, the lowest total expenditure per conventional adult from the low-income population of Ukraine was recorded in rural area amounting to UAH 508.9 (against UAH 601.2 in urban area). At the same time, rural households spent 54.6% for food products and just 6.3% for services, as compared with 49.4% and 14.3%, respectively, for urban households, this also being an evidence of a low consumption level of the Ukrainian rural population.

The lowest absolute level of total expenditure on food products is recorded for families with many children making UAH 334.7 per capita per month, and the highest level (UAH 773.0) – for households without children all members of which have employment.

If a child is born to a household, this household's purchasing power decreases by all product groups without any exception. Insufficient consumption of meat and dairy products, fruit and vegetables which are the main sources of protein and other essential macro- and micro-elements for children by households with children is of particular concern. Thus, in 2008 households with children consumed on the average only 4.2 kg of meat and meat products per capita (this figure being lower than a respective figure for Ukraine by 0.9 kg), while consumption of these products by families without children was at the level of 6.3 kg. The most striking difference between the purchasing power of households without children and households with children is observed with regard to dairy products, bread products and vegetables. Even milk and dairy products consumption in households with children is still 1.5 times lower than in families without children (in 2004 this excess was 1.6 times).

Over 2008, the level of fish and fish products consumption in families with children was 1.7 lower than in families consisting only of adult persons, however, it should be mentioned that this product group demonstrates positive trends and in the period 2002-2007 there was an insignificant but steady reduction of a respective gap.

From year to year the worst situation with food products consumption among households with children is observed in families with many children and families with children under the age of 3 – the food of these families mainly consists of potato, potato products and bread and the level of meat, fish, milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit consumption is the lowest as compared with Ukraine-wide figures, this being the evidence of extremely low living standards and life quality (despite all efforts of the state to support these families, their poverty level is almost twice as high as the general figure for Ukraine). Over 2008, as compared with the preceding year, the poverty level of households with children fell by 2.2% to 62.4%, of households with children under 3 - by 1.9% to 37.6% due to an increase in the amount of social security benefits, however, their situation improved insignificantly compared with other household types and the Ukrainian-wide level.



The consumption level of households without children, particularly those consisting only of retired persons and retired persons aged over 75, exceeds Ukraine-wide figures by all food product groups, even meat, fish, vegetables, fruit, sugar and honey. An increase in the amount of pensions correlates with an improvement of the consumption structure. Although nutrition of retired persons still consists mostly of bread, potato, milk, animal and vegetable fats, however, these products are gradually replaced with products more useful for human body.

While quantitative nutrition indices generally improve, qualitative indices are still very low. Food consumed by Ukrainian households is characterized by very high calorie content (above 3000 kcal per diem), however, this does not mean that daily ration includes enough nutrients; moreover, unbalanced nutrition of the Ukrainian population raises the highest concern.

Over 1995–2008, the average intake of macro- and microelements with food products by the Ukrainian population was almost unchanged by all indices and varied within the limits of established standards. However, it should be emphasized that since Ukrainian households feel a permanent deficiency of fruits, berries, grapes, vegetables, meat and fish, the population experiences an imbalance of vitamins and minerals (their shortage, lack or excess) which may have harmful health impacts. The calorie content of food products consumed by the Ukrainian households in 2008 was 3534 kcal per diem on the average, which was mostly attributable to products with high fat content and low protein and carbohydrate content. The highest average daily calorie content – 3740 kcal – is typical for the rural population, while the lowest – 3370 kcal – for the population of cities. Nutrition of rural households is more rational, with protein and carbohydrate content even exceeding the general Ukrainian level and fat content being even slightly lower. In contrast to that, nutrition of residents of towns and cities is typically characterized by excess fat content and insufficient protein and carbohydrate content.

Since children in a family are the factor which has a significant effect on the quantitative nutrition indices which, in their turn, influence the qualitative indices, the worst situation among the Ukrainian households in terms of calorie content and nutrient content in food products is observed in families with many children: 76 g of proteins, 115 g of fats and 389.4 g of carbohydrates make a daily ration of 2856 kcal per each person. The situation in households without children, particularly those consisting of retired persons, is much better: the calorie content of their daily ration is 4961.4 kcal consisting of 129 g of proteins, 223 g of fats and 621.7 of carbohydrates.

Positive changes in quantitative indices of consumed food products occurring over the period 1999–2008 to some extent improved qualitative characteristics of Ukrainian families' nutrition due to an increase in consumption of meat

(without lard or more lean meat products), fruit, berries, milk and fish, resulting in an increase in the amount of proteins and carbohydrates and a reduction in the amount of fats consumed. As already mentioned, nutrition in Ukraine in general and by household types in particular is characterized by a deficiency of proteins and carbohydrates and a considerable excess of fats with high overall calorie content of food. Thus, both in 1999 and in 2008 fats consumed by families with children by 80% exceeded the established standards. On the contrary, the amount of proteins consumed by these families by 30-35% was below the standards, carbohydrates – by 15 – 20% below the standards established for such calorie content of food (Table. 2.2.1).

**Table 2.2.1. Real vs normative calorie content indices in Ukraine  
by household types, in 1999 and 2008**

Household type	1999			2008		
	Proteins	Fats	Carbo- hydrates	Proteins	Fats	Carbo- hydrates
Households with children	0.665	1.705	0.842	0.667	1.786	0.800
Household with one child or two children	0.665	1.719	0.836	0.669	1.792	0.797
Household with three and more children	0.668	1.538	0.918	0.649	1.604	0.887
Household with children consisting of employed persons and retired persons	0.640	1.503	0.932	0.668	1.737	0.816
Household without children	0.660	1.668	0.818	0.657	1.716	0.788
Household consisting of retired persons	0.658	1.603	0.832	0.641	1.653	0.801
Household consisting of employable age persons	0.664	1.749	0.797	0.669	1.786	0.766
Ukraine	0.663	1.687	0.831	0.661	1.746	0.793

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 1999 and 2008*

Consumption of carbohydrates both by families without children and families with children (irrespective of the number of children) is by 15% lower than envisaged by healthy nutrition standards. Moreover, food consumed by these families mostly consists of potato and bread products while consumption of fruit and vegetables is the lowest. Given that calorie intake of families without children is twice as high as that of families with children, both family types

demonstrate almost the same excessive intake of fats with deficiency of proteins and carbohydrates.

Although households without children are in a more favorable situation as to the amount of food consumed and its calorie content as compared with families with children, the same cannot be said of the balance and variety of their ration. It is particularly true for households consisting only of retired persons and households consisting of employable age persons whose daily calorie intake is chiefly provided by products characterized by significant content of fats and carbohydrates; these households experience permanent protein deficiency.

However, given a rather high calorie intake of the Ukrainian population, since 1999 there are still households which are unable to provide for sufficient calorie content of their food, with their daily calorie intake being less than 2100 kcal. It should be mentioned that calorie content of consumed food is one of the criteria allowing to determine the standards of living (poverty level). For Ukraine, a relative poverty line was established at the level of 2100 kcal, in other words, if a person's daily calorie intake is below the mentioned level, he or she is considered to be poor.

Over the mentioned period the percentage of poor households by this criterion fell from 22.8% to 13.2%, this being an evidence of a growing opportunity to provide for required quantity of food products (however, it should be mentioned that this food is not always of adequate quality). The largest proportion of households classified as below the poverty line by this criteria is recorded among families with three and more children. Thus, in 2008 almost each one in five households with many children was considered to be poor since daily calorie intake of one member of such a household did not exceed 2100 kcal.

As previously mentioned, in the period 1999 – 2008, along with a reduction in the percentage of food expenses in the total expenditure structure, there was a growth in the percentage of expenses on non-food products accompanied by almost a double rise of expenses on other goods and other services (personal care, social assistance, insurance etc.) which in 2008 made 16.2% of total aggregate expenditure (against 6.2% in 1999).

During 2008, Ukrainian households' expenses on nonfood products accounted for 20.8% of total aggregate expenditure (or UAH 221 per capita per month), with a respective percentage for households with children being 22.1% against 19.8% in households without children, or UAH 195.9 and UAH 236.4 per capita per month in monetary terms, respectively (Table. 2.2.2).

**Table 2.2.2. Total expenditure by Ukrainian household types in 2008, per capita per month**

Household type	Non-food products	Services	Non-food products	Services
	UAH		%	
Households with children	195.9	114.9	22.1	12.6
Household with one child or two children	197.3	114.1	22.2	12.7
Household with three and more children	107.1	39.6	19.1	7.0
Household with children consisting of employed persons and retired persons	168.0	96.6	20.8	11.6
Household without children	236.4	142.5	19.8	11.8
Household consisting of retired persons	200.5	109.7	17.2	9.3
Household consisting of retired persons aged 75 and older	159.8	84.5	15.7	8.4
Household consisting of employable age persons	292.4	193.0	21.8	13.9
Ukraine	221.1	132.1	20.8	12.2

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys 2008*

In 2008 households with children were able to spend 6.7% of their budget on purchase of clothing and footwear, while households without children spent 5.2% of their budget. Across the latter, the lowest percentage of expenses on clothing and footwear was recorded for households consisting only of retired persons, namely, 2.7% of their total expenditure. This percentage is even lower for households consisting of retired persons aged 75 and older, namely, 1.7%. At the same time, among households with children families with many children are in the worst situation – in 2008 they spent on clothing and footwear 6.1% of total aggregate expenditure. In Ukraine, families with 1-2 children exceeded the total percentage of clothing and footwear expenses by 0.8 percentage points and households without children and households with children all members of which are adults of employable age – by 1.1 percentage points.

In 2008 only 1% of total aggregate expenditure of the Ukrainian population was spent on personal care products (UAH 9.7 per capita per month in monetary terms). The percentage of expenses by this expenditure item demonstrated no variations across household types. At the same time the level of income of a certain household type has a significant impact on the amount spent

on personal care products. Accordingly, while households with children were able to spend UAH 8.9 per capita per month on personal care products, households without children spent almost by UAH 2 more. The lowest percentage of expenses on personal care products was recorded for households consisting of retired persons – about UAH 8.2 per capita per month, and especially for households with many children, this percentage being UAH 5.4. Among households with children, the largest percentage of expenses on personal care products was recorded for households with children under the age of 3, namely, UAH 11.4 per capita per month, and among households without children – for households all adult members of which have employment (UAH 16.6) and all adult members of which are of employable age (UAH 13.7).

Since main expenditure items of households' expenditure are associated with food and housing and utilities payments, rather an insignificant percentage, namely, 41.9% (this being on the average almost UAH 418 per capita per month in 2008) remained for health care, education, recreation, cultural events etc. Expenses of households with children on all of the mentioned items make 43.9% (UAH 374.4 per capita per month), whereas families without children each month during a year spent about 40% (UAH 469 per capita per month) of their total aggregate expenditure on education, recreation, cultural events, health care etc.

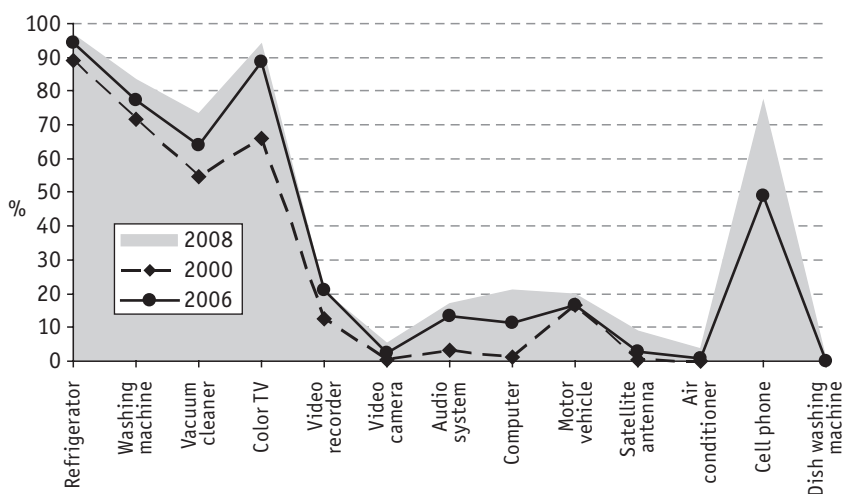
Among households with children, the smallest amount for educational, health care, cultural and sports needs etc. can be allocated by families with many children – just UAH 187.7 per capita per month or one-third (33.8%) of total aggregate expenditure. The largest expenses on these items are recorded for families with one child, namely, UAH 414.5, or 44.2% of total aggregate expenditure. At the same time, among families without children the largest percentage of expenses on the mentioned items is recorded for households all adult members of which have employment, namely, 44.6% or almost UAH 680 per capita per month, and the smallest percentage – 32.0% or UAH 365 – is spent by households consisting of retired persons.

Therefore, in 2008 the consumption level of Ukraine's population was still low and its structure - unbalanced. However, it should be mentioned that in the period 1999 – 2008 certain positive trends outlined even despite some negative aspects. Over the mentioned period, a gradual improvement of the structure of the Ukrainian population's expenditure was observed (even despite a generally low level of consumption) due to an increase in the percentage of total aggregate expenditure on nonfood products and services, with a simultaneous decrease in food expenses.

***Provision of families with durable goods.*** To date, it is impossible to imagine our life without personal assets such as durable goods. i.e. large- and small-scale domestic equipment and appliances, audio and video equipment, vehicles,

office equipment, means of communication etc. These goods make life comfortable and help in keeping the house; if purchased, these goods evidence good material well-being of a family or a household.

In Ukraine over the period under study (2000-2008) the general level of households' provision with durable goods increased on the average (Fig. 2.2.2). This is true both for traditional durable goods (refrigerator, washing machine, color TV etc.) and durable goods of infrequent use (such as video camera, computer) and means of communication. There was a considerable rise in the percentage of households possessing the following goods: color TV – almost a 1.4-time growth; video recorder - 1.7-time growth; audio system – 4-time growth and computer –8-time growth. Almost 77% of households in Ukraine have a cell phone<sup>2</sup> and 21% of Ukraine's households have a computer (against 1.4% in 2000). This increase can be chiefly explained by rapid development of the present-day market of domestic equipment and appliances over the past years due to the widening of the range of durable goods meant for households with different levels of well-being.



**Fig. 2.2.2. Provision of Ukraine's households with durable goods in 2000-2008, %**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys*

<sup>2</sup> As for cell phones and dishwashing machines, it should be mentioned that in 2000 they were not on the list of durable goods covered by surveys of household living conditions.

Household type is one of the factors determining the level of provision with durable goods. On the average, Ukrainian households with children are better provided with durable goods (both traditional and expensive) than households without children. This can be explained by the fact that families with children are more interested in purchasing up-to-date durable goods which not only help in house-keeping but also assist in development and education of children. This is particularly true for computers which are an essential part of modern life. Accordingly, in 2008 the rate of provision with traditional durable goods (refrigerator, washing machine, color TV etc.) was 1.2–2 times higher for families with children than for families without children. Thus, 91.3% of households with children (against 78.5% households without children) have a washing machine and almost 83.4% (against 67.2% ) have a vacuum cleaner.

As compared with households without children, households with children also demonstrate a higher rate of provision with expensive durable goods (computer, car etc.). Accordingly, more than 1/4 of households with children have own car, while a respective figure for households without children is about 15%; the level of provision with computers is 2.2 times higher for households with children than for households without children.

However, not all of households with children demonstrate a high level of provision with durable goods. Until now, families with three children have the lowest level of provision with durable goods (Table 2.2.3). Accordingly, about 5% of such households do not have a refrigerator at all (against 2% of households with children on the average); 11.2% do not have a washing machine (against 8.7% of households with children on the average); 3% do not have a color TV (against 2.5% of households with children on the average) etc.

**Table 2.2.3. Provision of households with children with certain durable goods, 2008, %**

	Households with one child	Households with two children	Households with three children	Average for households with children
Refrigerator	98.0	98.6	95.6	98.1
Washing machine	91.2	91.8	88.8	91.3
Vacuum cleaner	84.8	82.3	70.9	83.4
Color TV	97.6	97.3	96.9	97.5
Computer	33.7	29.7	24.7	32.3
Car	27.2	30.3	27.5	27.9
Cell phone	95.2	94.8	93.8	95.0

*Source: Наявність у домогосподарствах товарів тривалого користування. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2009 р.*

Among households without children, the worst provision with household goods is recorded for households of retired persons living alone (Table 2.2.4). Thus, while on the average 95.7% of households without children have a refrigerator, a respective figure for retired persons living alone falls down to 89.9%. 84% of retired persons living alone have a color TV, while for households of two and more retired persons the level of provision with color TVs is 93.7%. Likewise, the level of provision with cars also differs substantially between retired persons living alone and other households without children. Only 1.4% of retired persons living alone have own car, this being 10.6 times less than the average for households without children and 16 times less as compared with households consisting of adults of employable age and retirement age. Insufficient material well-being is the main reason why households consisting of retired persons, especially persons living alone, demonstrate such a low level of provision with durable goods.

**Table 2.2.4. Provision of households without children with durable goods in Ukraine in 2008, %**

	Adults of retirement age living alone	Households of retirement age persons	Households of employable age persons and retirement age persons	Average for households without children
Refrigerator	93.0	98.4	97.7	95.7
Washing machine	65.3	83.5	88.2	78.5
Vacuum cleaner	47.8	66.8	76.5	67.2
Color TV set	83.8	93.7	96.9	91.8
Computer	0.8	2.4	19.3	14.5
Car	1.4	13.0	22.4	14.9
Cell phone	30.1	51.1	81.2	65.7

*Source: Наявність у домогосподарствах товарів тривалого користування. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2009 р.*

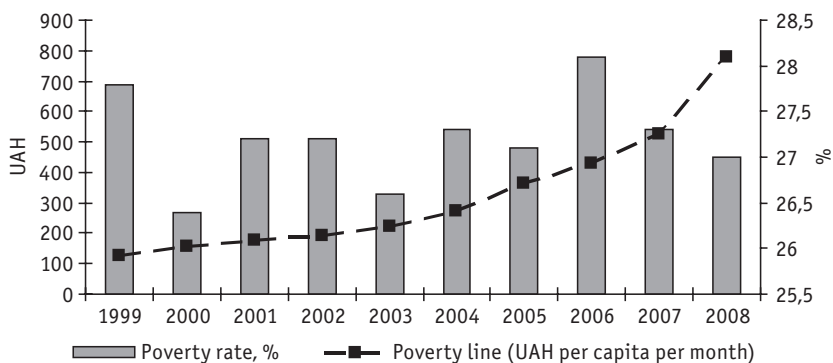
Therefore, it is possible to maintain that low material well-being of certain strata of the population is the reason of their inability to provide themselves with expensive durables goods of infrequent use, however, at the same time they demonstrate a rather high level of provision with traditional durable goods.



### 2.3. Poverty by different family categories

In 2008 the situation with poverty in Ukraine improved considerably as evidenced by a decline in the basic indices of poverty rate and spread. The poverty line determined by a relative criterion<sup>3</sup> has risen to UAH 778 per capita per month on the average, up by UAH 252 or 48% as compared with the preceding year.

Just like in the preceding year, in 2008 the national poverty line in terms of value exceeded the minimum subsistence level of the corresponding year (UAH 607.5 per capita per month on the average). 27.0% of Ukraine's population lived in poverty, this being the lowest figure for the period 2004-2008. Furthermore, almost a half of the poor population (50.6 %) lived in extreme poverty, i.e. the total equivalent expenditure of such persons was below UAH 622 per capita per month<sup>4</sup> (Fig.2.3.1).



**Fig. 2.3.1. Dynamics of poverty rate and poverty line in Ukraine, 1999-2008**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys*

Poverty scopes and poverty risks vary dramatically between different social and demographic population groups, the most vulnerable of them having particularly high poverty risks<sup>5</sup>. Elderly persons are undoubtedly vulnerable, chiefly due to a drop in the purchasing power of their pensions and depreciation of savings. Furthermore, transformation of social and economic systems made children a particularly vulnerable group. In some countries mothers living alone

<sup>3</sup> 75% of median total equivalent expenditure

<sup>4</sup> In 2007 the extreme poverty line established as 60% of the median level of aggregate equivalent expenditure was UAH 420 per capita per month.

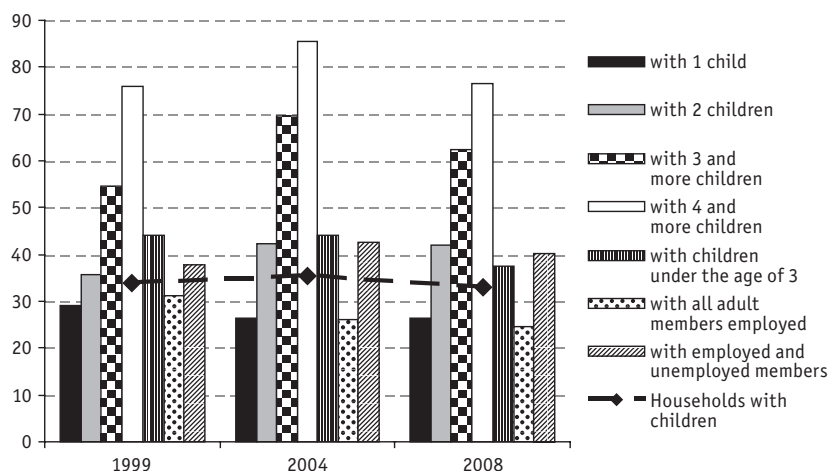
<sup>5</sup> Обратить реформы на благо всех и каждого. Бедность и неравенство в странах Европы и Центральной Азии. – Вашингтон, О.К. – 2001. – С. 59-94.

and elderly women living alone have high poverty risks. Poverty of the rural population is a specific problem as well.

The findings of poverty surveys of Ukraine's population in 1999-2008 showed that presence of the following factors in a household are key determinants of poverty risk:

- two and more children of any age;
- at least one child under the age of 3;
- at least one unemployed person;
- at least one person aged over 75;
- at least one child and adults of retirement age (one or more) simultaneously.

Therefore, the analysis by household types shows that the improvement of the poverty situation in Ukraine in 2008 was attributable to families with children – given that the poverty rate for households without children was almost unchanged, this rate across households with children gradually dropped, thus overcoming the disappointing trend of the preceding years. It should be mentioned that in 2008 the situation improved nearly by all types of households with children. As compared with 2004, the poverty rate of households with many children (with 3 and more children) dropped by 7 percentage points. In families with children all adult members of which have employment there is an optimistic decline in this rate – by 1.5 percentage points (Fig. 2.3.2).

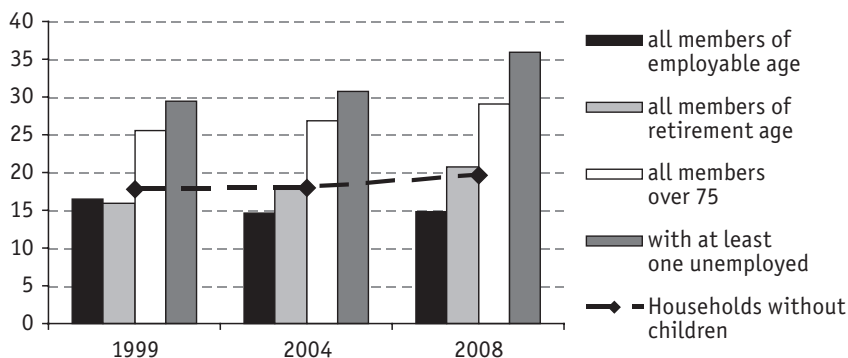


**Fig. 2.3.2. Poverty rate by different types of households with children in Ukraine, 1999, 2004 and 2008; %**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys*

On the contrary, over 2008 households without children showed a further insignificant rise in the poverty indices (Fig. 2.3.3). Among these households, the highest poverty rate – 35.9% - is recorded for households with at least one unemployed person, up 4 percentage points against 2008. Households consisting of person aged over 75 also have a high poverty rate - 29%, up by 8.3 percentage points compared with the average figure for households consisting of retired persons.

The current pension system guarantees that the minimum retirement pension for disabled persons is not less than the minimum subsistence level. This measure prevents absolute poverty among persons of retirement age. However, it covers only categories of retired persons who live as separate households. The poverty rate of retired persons who live together with other persons to a considerable extent depends on income of all the members of a particular household, i.e. on household composition.



**Fig. 2.3.3. Poverty rate by different types of households without children in Ukraine; 1999, 2004 and 2008; %**

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household surveys*

Households of retired persons can be conditionally divided into three groups:

- 1) retired persons living alone;
- 2) households consisting of two and more retired persons;
- 3) households consisting of retired persons and persons of other age groups.

Over the past year, relative poverty indices remained practically unchanged by all types of retired households: there was an insignificant rise in the poverty rate of retired persons living alone and a less noticeable decline in this rate by the other two household groups.

However, today the relative poverty rate of retired households of the first and the second groups is considerably lower than the average for the country (20.7% and 20.6%, respectively, against 27.0%). Only households of the third group stand out negatively on the Ukraine-wide background (28%). It should be mentioned that this household group is rather representative (nearly 25% of Ukraine's population reside in households of this type) and has heterogeneous composition. Extended households with double demo-economic load (retired persons and children) demonstrate the highest poverty rate as compared with the nationwide figure and with other retired households.

In extended households with one child the number of retired persons is the main factor influencing the poverty rate. Therefore, if an extended household includes one retired person and one child, its poverty rate according to the national threshold rises to 28.1%. If a household with one child has two retired persons, its poverty rate reaches 34.4%.

The poverty rate of households consisting only of retired persons (the first and the second groups) significantly depends on the age of retired persons. An increase in the amount of minimal retirement pension had some impact not only on general poverty indices but also on poverty profiles of retired households.

Poverty of the working population is a specific characteristic of the transition period in Ukraine. To date, 15% of employed persons earn less than the official minimum wage and the latter, in its turn, is lower than the minimum subsistence level. Therefore, in 2008 the poverty rate of households with at least one employed person was 26.2%, being almost equal to the rate of households without employed persons. The more the number of employed persons in a household, the lower its poverty rate, however, today in Ukraine employment does not insure a family against poverty. 80% of all poor people are comprised of households with at least one employed person. This situation clearly evidences that work remuneration standards in the country are low. Despite the fact that over the recent years there was a rather fast growth in real wages and salaries, the general situation with poverty is still unchanged.

Along with such a challenge as poverty of the working population, the unemployed make a high risk group. Even for households without children the poverty rate of which is much below the Ukraine-wide figures, an unemployed person is the factor that raises the poverty rate up to 35.9% as compared with 27.0% for Ukraine in general.

Over the entire period under study (1999-2008), such a factor of household poverty prevention as presence in a household of at least one person with a university degree demonstrated a positive impact. Accordingly, if at least one member of a household has a university degree, the probability of being classified as poor decreases for this household 2.5 times. In the period from 1999 to 2008 households with persons with a university degree demonstrated a growth

in the level of their well-being and a decline in their poverty rate and the risk of falling below the poverty line. Accordingly, since 2004 the percentage of the poor across the households with at least one person with a university degree declined by 8 percentage points.

## **2.4. Basic characteristics of family living conditions**

The majority of Ukraine's population (93.5%) lives in separate apartments or in individual houses. In different settlements distribution of households by housing types varies considerably: in cities separate apartments prevail (76.7%), in villages – individual houses (94.4%), in towns these housing types are almost evenly distributed (47.5 and 44.6%, respectively). Nevertheless, each one out of fifteen households still does not have separate dwellings and lives in shared apartments (0.6%), hostels (2.5%) or in a detached house sharing it with another household (3.4%). This is particularly true for urban settlements, especially cities, where 8.6% of households do not have separate dwellings. At the same time, although the majority of households live in separate dwellings, their size often does not meet those scanty requirements which are currently in force in Ukraine (living floor area standard of 13.65 sq.m per person has been established by the Housing Code of the Ukrainian SSR in 1983).

Household composition is one of important factors of population differentiation by living conditions. Across all the types of urban households selected for the analysis, a separate apartment is a prevailing type of housing (Table 2.4.1). Households consisting of retired persons and families with four and more children stand out against the general background, with 1/3 of them living in separate houses. Furthermore, quite a considerable percentage of such households share a house with other households – 5.3 and 6.9%, respectively. The fact that 1/5 of households with children and unemployed adults live in hostels raises particular concern since in the future centers where marginal population resides can arise there and this will have a negative impact on the crime rate in cities.

In rural area households of all types have separate dwellings, mostly individual houses. An insignificant percentage of rural families share a house with other families (from 0.9% to 3.3%).

Despite a high level of provision with separate housing, its size and quality of equipment do not always meet current standards. Among households with children, families with many children demonstrate insufficient provision with living space – just slightly more than 6 sq.m of living floor area per capita in urban settlements and 8 sq.m in rural area.

**Table 2.4.1. Household distribution by housing type in Ukraine in 2008, %**

Household type	Separate apartment	Shared apartment	Individual house	Part of an individual house	Hostel
<b>Urban area</b>					
Households without children consisting of retired persons only	59.0	0.7	34.6	5.3	0.5
Households without children consisting both of employable and retirement age persons	67.0	0.5	29.3	2.5	0.7
Households with children, all members of which are unemployed	55.4	2.1	20.9	1.1	20.4
Households with children under age 3	69.9	0.3	24.2	3.8	1.8
Households with 4 and more children	56.1	0.0	37.0	6.9	0.0
<b>Rural area</b>					
Households without children consisting of retired persons only	1.3	0.0	96.9	1.8	0.0
Households without children consisting both of employable and retirement age persons	2.4	0.1	96.1	1.4	0.0
Households with children, all members of which are unemployed	2.5	0.0	94.5	3.0	0.0
Households with children under age 3	4.0	0.0	92.7	3.3	0.0
Households with 4 and more children	0.0	0.0	99.1	0.9	0.0

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey 2008*

While characterizing living conditions of the population, special attention should be paid to provision of present-day housing with amenities (central heating, piped water, sewerage etc.).

Irrespective of settlement type, children in a family are the factor which generally correlates with an increase in provision of housing with amenities. All urban households with children are provided with basic amenities better than households consisting of retired persons. Accordingly, families with many children are better provided with hot piped water but, on the other part, a lower percentage of these families has a bath or a shower and a telephone (Table 2.4.2).

**Table 2.4.2. Provision of Ukrainian urban households  
with separate amenities, 2008, %**

Household type	Hot water	Bath or shower	Home telephone
Households without children consisting of retired persons only	30.7	70.9	62.7
Households without children consisting both of employable and retirement age persons	42.9	81.4	73.9
Households with children, all members of which are unemployed	48.9	81.3	45.6
Households with children under age 3	41.3	83.9	56.1
Households with 4 and more children	59.8	75.9	30.0

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey 2008*

Among rural families, the lowest level of provision with centralized gas supply is recorded for families with many children (Table 2.4.3) – this kind of amenities is inaccessible for almost 3/4 of such families. The level of rural dwellings' provision with piped water and sewerage is even lower and shows little correlation with the fact whether a family has any children. Accordingly, the lowest level of provision with such amenities is typical for households of retired persons (about 9.0%) and for families with many children (15.4%).

**Table 2.4.3. Provision of Ukrainian rural households  
with separate amenities, 2008, %**

Household type	Centralized gas supply	Piped water	Sewerage
Households without children consisting of retired persons only	36.4	9.7	9.0
Households without children consisting both of employable and retirement age persons	46.4	22.0	20.8
Households with children, all members of which are unemployed	42.2	17.2	15.9
Households with children under age 3	45.0	24.1	22.2
Households with 4 and more children	27.0	15.4	15.4

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey 2008*

Indices of provision of housing with amenities can be deemed a kind of an indicator showing sufficiency of a household's material well-being. Therefore, unavailability of basic elements of housing comfort in each particular settlement can be classified as lack of comfort or insufficient comfort of living conditions.

In urban area, availability of hot piped water, bath or shower and home telephone can be classified as basic amenities. In rural area, respectively, it is availability of centralized gas supply, piped water and sewerage (Table 2.4.4).

**Table 2.4.4. Level of housing comfort in Ukraine depending on household type and settlement type, 2008, %**

Household type	Urban area	Rural area
Households without children consisting of retired persons only	25.5	6.9
Households without children consisting both of employable and retirement age persons	39.4	16.3
Households with children, all members of which are unemployed	22.3	12.9
Households with children under age 3	29.0	14.0
Households with 4 and more children	18.7	5.4

*Source: estimates by specialists of the Institute of Demography and Social Studies based on the data of household survey 2008*

Housing comfort analysis demonstrates a disappointing picture: in urban area the largest percentage of households living in comfortable housing is 39.4% – these are families without children consisting of persons of employable age and older than employable age. The lowest level of housing comfort is recorded for families with many children: only 18.7% of such families live in adequate conditions.

In rural area, these two household types also occupy marginal positions in household distribution by the level of comfort. However, their percentage is 2–3 times less as compared with urban settlements. Accordingly, only 5.4% of rural families with many children live in dwellings with sufficient level of comfort.

Therefore, a significant percentage of rural population lives in uncomfortable housing, with household composition having a rather insignificant impact on the level of housing comfort. Generally speaking, the existing living conditions of all household types can be classified as unsatisfactory due to a low level of comfort of dwellings.



### **III. WOMEN AND MEN IN THE MODERN FAMILY (*based on the findings of sampling social and demographic survey “Family and Family Relations”*)**

#### **3.1. Family composition of respondents and social and demographic characteristics of their families**

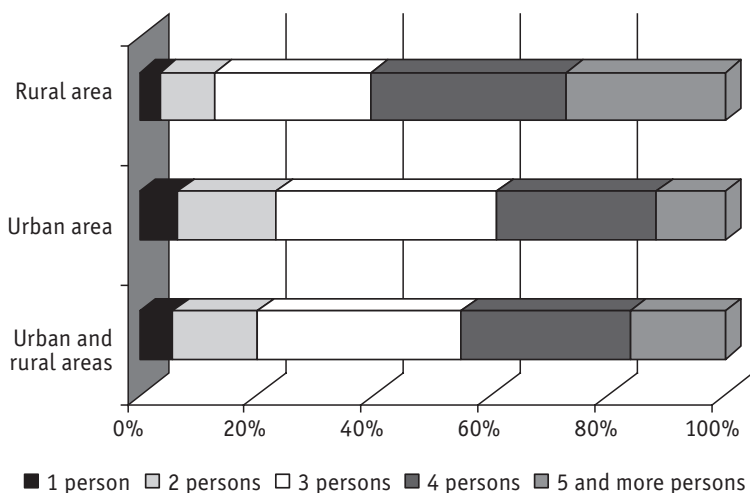
The family is one of primary population reproduction centers without which society in its present-day sense would be impossible. The completed social and demographic survey “Family and Family Relations” (April, 2009) for the first time in the period between censuses allowed to obtain unique data on the family structure of Ukrainian population, the types and structure of family unions. Previously, only population census materials could provide such information (years 1970 – 1979 – 1989 – 2001), in other words, we were able to obtain it once in ten years.

***Family composition of respondents. Size and type of family unions.*** The ratio of persons living in family and alone (in households consisting of one person) is regarded the most general characteristic of family composition of a population<sup>1</sup>. The survey held confirmed that the majority of Ukraine’s population lives in family households. Almost 95% of respondents indicated that they lived in a family and only 5% said they lived alone. In other words, households consisting only of one person accounted only for 5% of two thousand members of households surveyed. The majority of respondents lives in households consisting of three persons (almost 35% of respondents) or of four persons (29% of respondents) (Fig. 3.1.1).

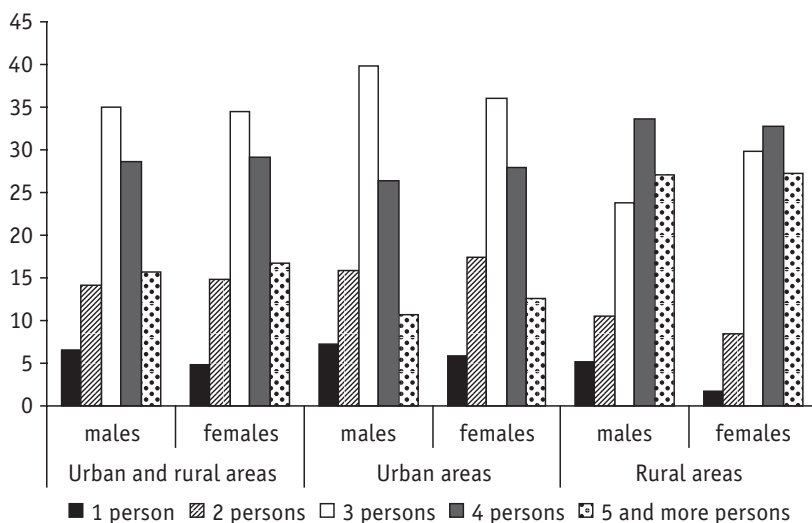
Rural area households are traditionally larger in size than those in urban: while in cities and towns the largest percentage of respondents lives in households consisting of 3 persons, in villages - in households of 4 persons. These urban-rural differences in distribution of respondents by household size are observed both for males and for females (Fig. 3.1.2).

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<sup>1</sup> Волков А. Г. Семья – объект демографии. – М.: Мысль, 1986. – С. 47.



**Fig. 3.1.1. Distribution of respondents by size of households in which they live, % (April, 2009)**



**Fig. 3.1.2. Distribution of males/females by size of households in which they live, % (April, 2009)**

The average size of respondents households in towns and cities is 3.3 persons and 3.8 in villages. These figures are higher than those obtained by the sampling survey conducted by the State Statistics Committee (2.5 and 2.7, respectively)<sup>2</sup>, with this difference resulting from the age composition of respondents (persons aged 15–49). It is known that in Ukraine the majority of persons living alone are elderly persons (70.3% of persons who live in households consisting of a single person are above the retirement age)<sup>3</sup>.

During the social and demographic survey, the respondents were asked a question: **“Please, select the type of household you live in from the below-mentioned household types”**. As response options, respondents were proposed to choose one family type from the family (household) typology used during a number of recent population censuses, including the All-Ukrainian Population Census held in 2001:

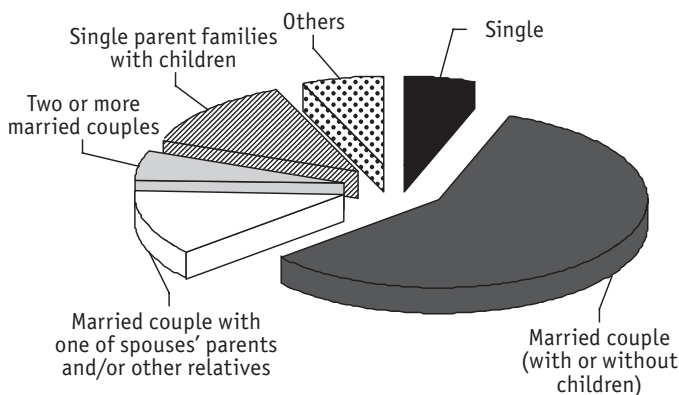
- 1. Single person (lives alone)**
- 2. Married couple (with or without children)**
- 3. Married couple with one of spouses’ parents and/or other relatives.**
- 4. Two or more married couples**
- 5. Incomplete/single parent family (mother or father with children) with other relatives or without them**
- 6. Other**

The responses collected provided the basis for making conclusions about the family composition of Ukraine’s reproductive-age population. The majority of respondents live in a nuclear family (a married couple with or without children) – almost 60% of those surveyed, and in an extended nuclear family (a married couple with one of spouses’ parents or another relative) – about 12% of those surveyed. The occurrence of complex families, i.e. families consisting of several married couples, is rather low, with this family type accounting for less than 6% of respondents. At the same time, incomplete (single parent) families, i.e. families without marriage kernel, have spread considerably, accounting for almost 13% of respondents (Fig. 3.1.3).

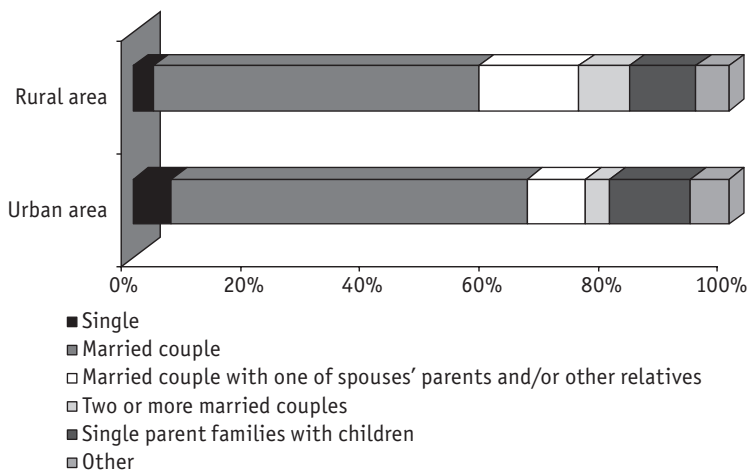
Family composition of urban and rural population shows some variations. Villages demonstrate higher occurrence of large complex families consisting of 2–3 married couples living together (with the percentage of these families being twice as high as compared with urban area), and one of spouses’ parents or another relative lives with a married couple more often. As for urban area, here the proportion of incomplete (single parent) families and reproductive-age persons living alone is higher (Fig. 3.1.4).

<sup>2</sup> Соціально-демографічні характеристики домогосподарств України у 2008 році. Статистичний збірник. – К.: Держкомстат України, 2008. – С. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The same, page 20.



**Fig. 3.1.3. Distribution of respondents by types of family unions in which they live, % (April, 2009)**



**Fig. 3.1.4. Distribution of urban and rural respondents by family union types, % (April, 2009)**

The survey's findings provided additional information on the structure of some family types. More than a half of extended nuclear families (a married couple with one of spouses' parents and/or other relatives) have only one of the parents living together with the married couple (56%), in other instances (44%) – one of the relatives. This correlation is found both in urban area and in rural. As for complex families (i.e. two or more married couples living together), three out of every four of such families consist of married children

living together with their parents, in other words, these families span several generations. More than two-thirds of single parent families (67%) consist only of one parent with children, with a grandfather or a grandmother or another relative living together with them in one out of every four of such families; and grandparents' couple living only in one of each ten of them. In urban as compared with rural area, single parent families more often live separately from their parents and other relatives (Table 3.1.1).

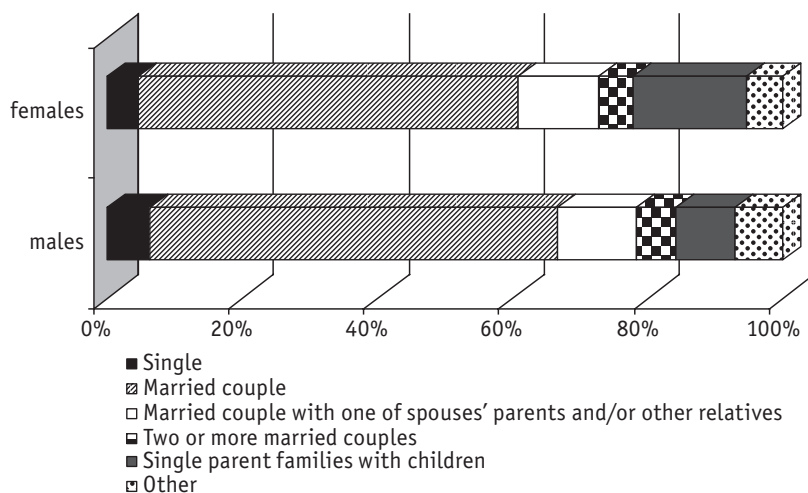
**Table 3.1.1. Distribution of single parent families of respondents by their structural features (April, 2009)**

	single parent families, total	including families consisting of:		
		mother or father with children	mother or father with children and with one of her/his parents or with another relative	mother or father with children and with her/his parents (both)
Urban and rural areas	100.0	66.8	23.1	10.1
Urban area	100.0	70.5	20.0	9.5
Rural area	100.0	54.9	33.8	11.3

A group of persons living alone without family is worth specific attention. To a certain extent, this group is outside the framework of the population's family structure; in population census materials information about this group is usually given separately<sup>4</sup>. As already mentioned, persons living alone account for 5% of the surveyed persons of reproductive age. The overwhelming majority of these persons (82%) reside in towns and cities, with males accounting for more than a half of all single persons (58%). As for marital status, 65% of single persons were never married, 30% are divorced and 5% are widowed.

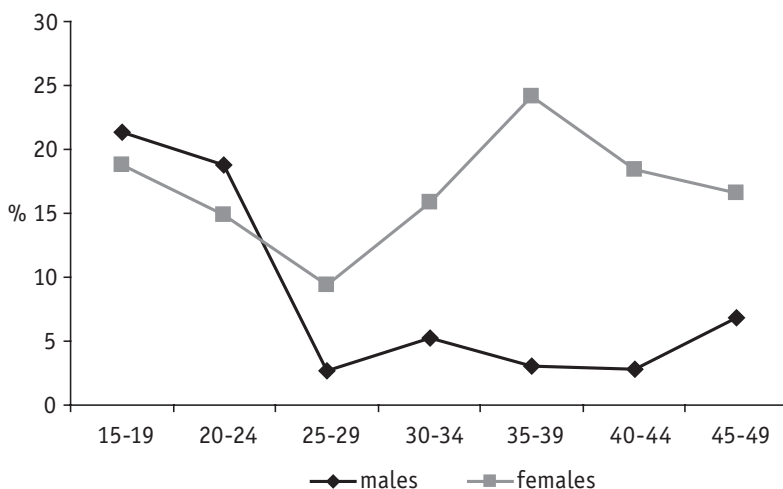
***Family composition of the population by sex, age and social and professional status.*** The survey data provided the basis for a comparative analysis of family composition of the population of different sex and age. Although there is no male-female variation in family composition, females make one significant difference – they account for a significant percentage of single parent families (17%), this figure being twice as high as a respective figure for males. This provides another confirmation that a majority of single parent families consist of children with a sole mother and only in separate cases – with a sole father (Fig. 3.1.5).

<sup>4</sup> Домогосподарства України. Домогосподарства за типами та кількістю дітей за даними Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року. – Київ: Держкомстат України, 2004. – С. 338-358.



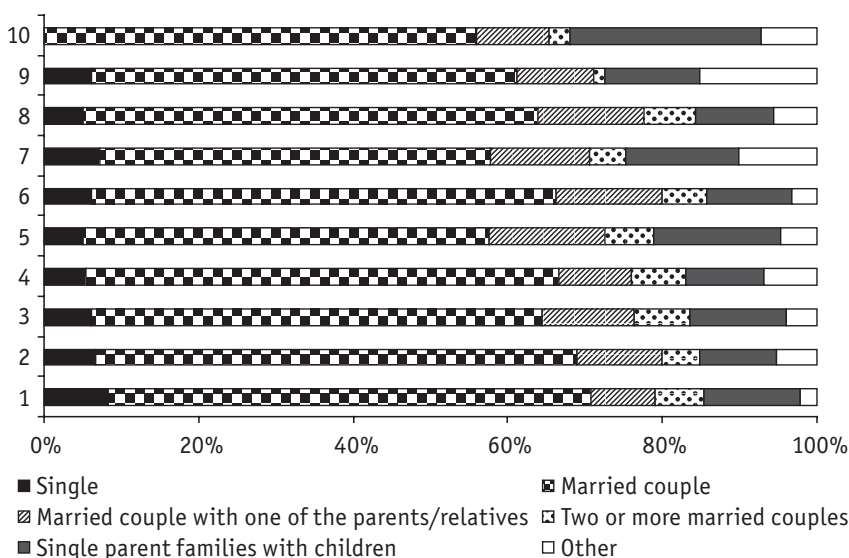
**Fig. 3.1.5. Distribution of male and female respondents by family union types, % (April, 2009)**

As for variations in family composition of different age groups of the population, it should be pointed out that the age group of young people under 25 demonstrates a larger percentage of persons living in single parent families (90% of them being teenagers and youth living together with one of the parents and the remaining percentage being young females with own children) and of persons living in the so-called “other household types” (students and working youth living together with friends or some of their relatives but not with parents). The age group of middle and above-middle childbearing age persons (age bracket 25–49) has a larger percentage of persons living in a family with marriage kernel (nuclear families, extended nuclear families, complex families). A more detailed study of family composition of population from different age groups with a further separate analysis of the situation by sex gives grounds to maintain that a larger proportion of persons living in single parent families is recorded among young people under 25, mostly due to males of this age. As for females, the percentage of persons living in single parent families declines as they approach the age of 30, however, it grows again with age, being 24% for females aged 30–35 and 18% for females aged 40–44 (26% and 19% in towns and cities, respectively, and 20% and 19% in villages). Therefore, almost one out of every four females aged 30–35 and one out of every five females aged 40–44 lives in a single parent family (Fig.3.1.6).



**Fig. 3.1.6. Percentage of respondents living in single parent families of total number of respondents, by age and sex, % (April, 2009)**

As for family composition of respondents falling into different social and professional groups, it is possible to maintain that these groups do not show any principle disparities: more than a half of respondents from each of these groups lives in a family consisting of a married couple with or without children; if we also mention here the persons living with one of the parents or another relative, this percentage will be about 70%. At the same time, each of these social and professional groups has its own distinctive features. Accordingly, one out of every four students of secondary and vocational schools (with this figure being 30% for urban area) lives in a single parent family, with the percentage of members of single parent families being 13% of total respondents. The group of higher education students shows a larger percentage of persons living alone and in "other household types" (15% of all students against 6% of all respondents), which can be explained by the specific nature of young persons' living arrangements during the period of study. Among stay-at-home members of households, including pensioners without employment and disabled persons, the percentage of persons living in full married couple families is higher as compared with other groups of respondents. Respondents falling within the elite social and professional group of top managers, owners of large- and middle-scale enterprises and firms, top- and middle-level public servants demonstrate the largest percentage of persons living alone and persons living in a nuclear family without parents and other relatives (Fig. 3.1.7).



**Fig. 3.1.7. Distribution of respondents from different social and professional groups by family union types, % (April, 2009)**

Therefore, family composition of each generation and social and professional group of the population to a considerable extent reflects the specific nature of their lifestyle and financial capacity.

**Children in the family.** Important demographic characteristic of the family are quantity children, because childbearing, upbringing and support are the primary (specific) functions of this social institution. According to the survey data, three out of every five households of respondents have minor children (under the age of 18); one out of every four households has children aged 18



and older<sup>5</sup>. More than 2/3 of families with children have only one child and just 4.5% of family unions raise three or more children. Therefore, despite growing birth rates in Ukraine in recent years, one-child families are still a mass phenomenon. Rural families have a traditionally larger number of children: while in urban area three out of every four families with minor children are one-child families, in rural area this figure slightly exceeds one half. In villages the proportion of families raising three or more children (which in the present-day context are regarded as families with many children) is almost four times higher than in urban area (Table 3.1.2).

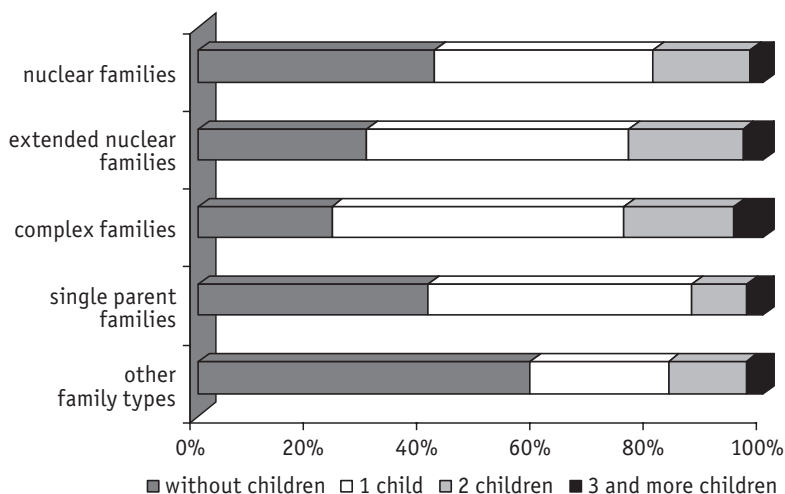
**Table 3.1.2. Percentage of respondents' families with children and their distribution by the number of children, % (April, 2009)**

	with children aged 18 and older	with children under 18	including:			without children
			with one child	with two children	with three and more children	
Urban and rural areas	26.4	60.1	68.0	27.5	4.5	13.5
Urban area	26.2	58.8	73.2	24.2	2.6	15.0
Rural area	26.6	63.3	56.6	34.7	8.7	10.1

The survey data provide the basis for analyzing the figures related to the number of children in a family by different family types. The largest percentage of families with minor children is recorded among complex families consisting of several married couples living together (because such a family consists of several family unions and each of them can have a child) and among families consisting of a married couple with one of the spouses' parents or another relative (extended nuclear family). Families with children constitute the largest percentage of all family types, with the only exception of families in the group "other family types", the majority of which (almost 3/5) have no children. Having only one child is typical for all family types but the highest occurrence of such families is observed across single parent families because if only one of the parents raises a child, the likelihood of other children being born to this family is very low (Fig.3.1.8).

An urban-rural comparison of the numbers of children in different family types provides another indirect evidence of a higher childbearing activity of the rural population: families without children are most widespread across all types of urban families which also demonstrate a higher percentage of one-child families as compared with corresponding types of rural families.

<sup>5</sup> Here the term "children" is not used in its generally accepted sense (i.e. persons under the age of 18), but means child generation in families, in other words, it should be interpreted in terms of kinship relations between members of a family (household).



**Fig. 3.1.8. Distribution of different family types by the number of children aged under 18, % (April, 2009)**

Growing numbers of children deprived of parental care is an acute problem in present-day Ukraine; therefore, any reliable information related to this group of children is of particular importance. It is generally acknowledged that adoption is the best way for arranging the life of such children. Accordingly, the survey included the following question to the respondents: ***“In your family/ household, are there any children adopted by your family or under your care and guardianship (children of deceased relatives etc.)?”*** From the total number respondents, affirmative answers were given by twenty five persons. Accordingly, 1.2% of households in which respondents live have children who were adopted or are under care and guardianship. This percentage may seem rather insignificant, however, it should be taken into account that the total number of children in this category (orphans and children under care or guardianship) makes 1.2% of all children aged under 18 in Ukraine, therefore, the percentage of respondents’ families in which these children live corresponds to real scopes of the problem. These children, given their situation and their exclusion from the natural children’s environment – parent’s family, need special attention. According to the survey data, families consisting of a married couple and children without other relatives (nuclear families) account for the majority of adoption or guardianship cases. Two thirds of these families reside in urban area and the remaining part – in rural area.

Along with such determinants as children in the family and their number, information about children’s parents is another important demographic charac-

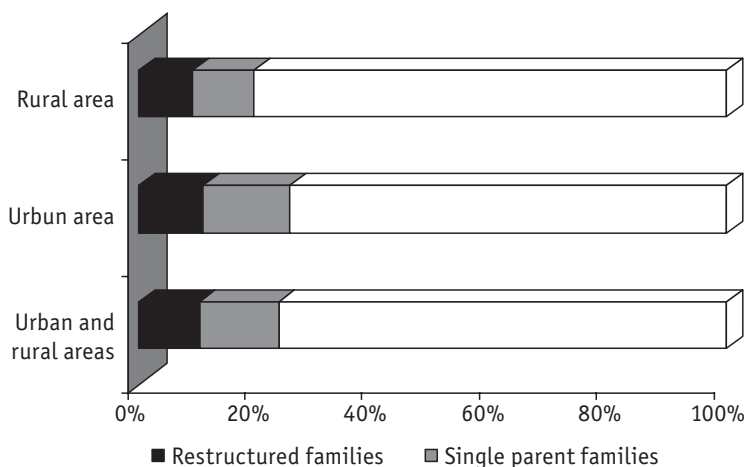
teristic of the family: whether children live with their father and mother or only with one of the parents and whether they are own children of the parents. Under the conditions when marriages are unstable, divorce rates and non-marriage birth rates are high, a significant proportion of children are raised in single parent families living with one of the parents. Researchers focus on problems of these families for a long time and population censuses (since the 1970 population census) mark out a single parent family with children as a separate family type. Along with this, another “problem” family type which is worth studying falls out of focus – these are restructured families formed as a result of re-marriage in which children are raised by a stepfather (or a stepmother). In this connection it should be mentioned that to date in Ukraine one out of every four registered marriages is in fact a re-marriage for one or both spouses. However, problems related to child upbringing and children-parents relationship in restructured families are no less and sometimes even more acute than in single parent families.

Within the framework of the survey, there was an attempt to single out restructured families in which minor children are raised and determine their occurrence rate. For this purpose, respondents with children under 18 were asked to choose one of the following answer options: ***the child is your and your husband's (wife's) own child; the child is only your own child; the child is only your husband's (wife's) own child.*** One out of every ten respondents (13% of females and 7% of males) indicated that children living with him/her are own children only of one of family members (of the respondent himself/herself or his/her marriage partner). The answers were analyzed taking into account respondent's sex and family type and the findings of this analysis showed that 10% of respondents' families with children (11% in urban area and 9% in rural area) are restructured families with children being raised by a stepfather or a stepmother. In the majority of cases, children are raised by a stepfather.

As for single parent families, our research shows that 13–14% of respondents' families with children under 18 are single parent families with children raised by one of the parents. The percentage of these families is 15% in urban area and 10–11% in rural area (Fig. 3.1.9).

Therefore, the survey data show that one out of every four families with minor children is a single parent or a restructured family, i.e. a family in which traditional children – parents relations undergo some deformations. These families need a more reasonable and modernized approach to the process of a child's socialization in the family. We are of the opinion that while single parent families mostly face financial problems related to raising their children, the main problems of restructured families originate from relationship of children and the mother's (father's) husband (wife) who are to take the place of their own parents, and this is not an easy thing to do. There is no doubt that these

families need psychological and pedagogical support as well as advice of competent experts.



**Fig. 3.1.9. Percentage of restructured and single parent families of total respondents' households with children under 18, % (April, 2009)**

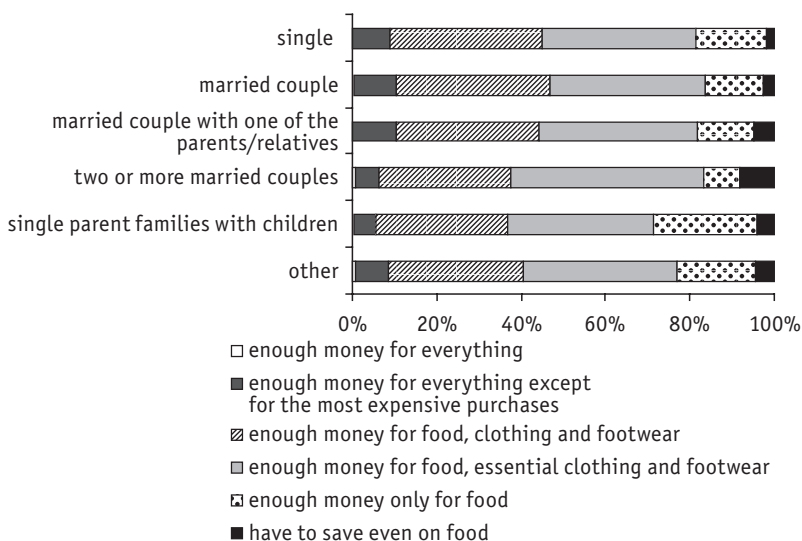
Here it should be mentioned that the survey data on the occurrence rates of single parent and restructured families are somewhat understated due to specific survey methodology, respondents' age etc. However, it is possible to maintain that in Ukraine the proportion of families in which children are raised by a stepfather or a stepmother is not less than 10% of all families with children.

***Financial position of different types of families.*** The survey held provided interesting information about financial position of different types of families based on respondents' self-assessments according to respondents' answers to the question **"How would you assess the financial position of your family?"**.

The majority of respondents assessed their financial position as average (from 66% to 76% of surveyed families of different types): these are persons who indicated that they have enough money to buy food, clothing and footwear but have to save if they want to buy more expensive goods (large domestic equipment – refrigerator, computer etc.) (31–37%) and respondents who have enough money for food and essential clothing and footwear items but who have to save or borrow money to buy average-value goods (cell phones, small domestic equipment etc.) (from 34% to 46%). Only a few persons can buy anything at any time and all of them are urban residents. Single parent families with children are most vulnerable in financial terms: one out of every four of such

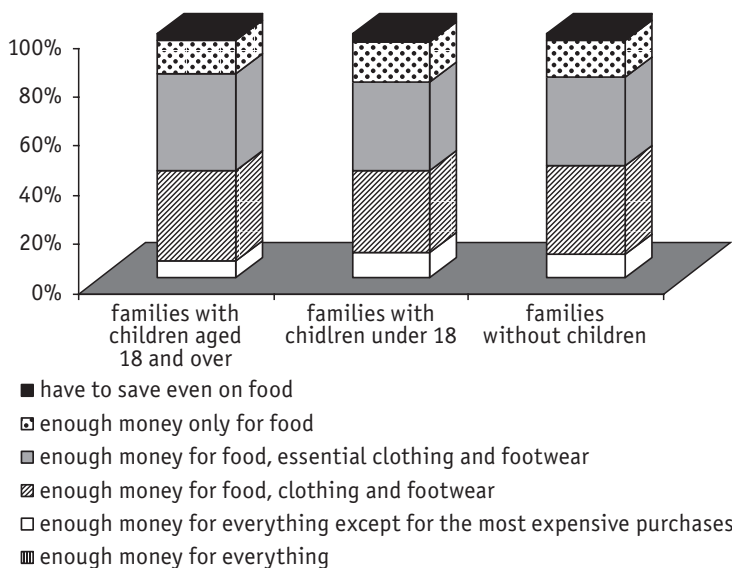
families (both in urban area and in rural area) has enough money only for food, in other words, they can be classified as poor; in addition, single parent families demonstrated the lowest percentage of persons who assessed their financial position as average. It should be mentioned that the difference between financial position of single parent families and families of other types is most noticeable in urban area: in towns and cities 28.6% of single parent families are classified as poor and the poorest (have enough money only for food or not enough even on food), with this figure for all families being 16.5%; in rural area these figures are 28.9% and 24.1%, respectively.

Families consisting of a married couple or a married couple with one of spouses' parents (nuclear families and extended nuclear families) seem to have the best financial position: they have the largest percentage of persons who can afford both essential and expensive things, except for the most expensive ones (a new car, summer house etc.) and the lowest percentage of persons who have to save even on food. As for financial position of large families with several married couples living together, although the majority of these families assess their financial position as average (i.e. they have enough money for food, clothing and footwear – 31% or for food and essential clothing and footwear – 46%), they show the largest percentage of families which have not enough money even on food, i.e. the poorest households (Fig. 3.1.10).



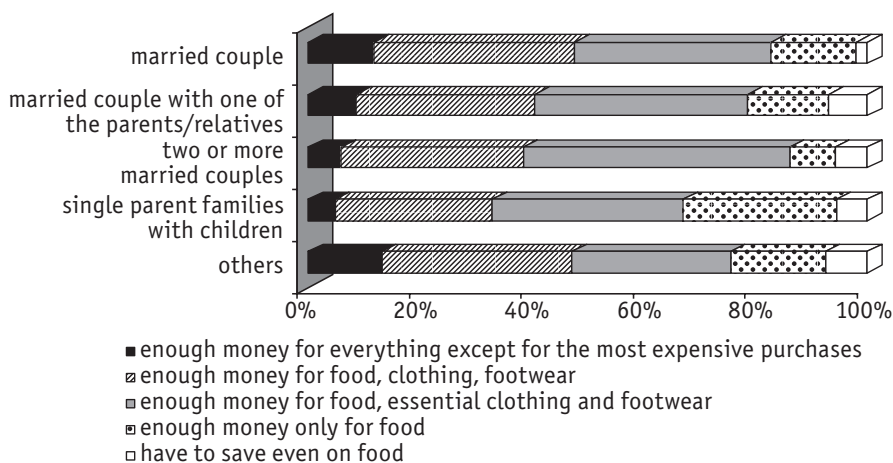
**Fig. 3.1.10. Financial position of different family types according to respondents' self-assessment, % (April, 2009)**

Financial position of a family to a considerable extent depends on whether it has any dependant children who are too young to have their own sources of income and thus are supported by the family. The survey held provided the basis for comparison of financial position of families with children and without children, including with minor children and children over 18. The majority of respondents (both living in households with children and in families without children) assessed their financial position as average or below average; no significant variations were observed in answers of respondents - members of families with children and families without children. However, the largest percentage of poor and the poorest families (i.e. those which have enough money only for food and have to save even on food) is recorded among the families with children under 18 (Fig.3.1.11).



**Fig. 3.1.11. Financial position of families with children and without children according to respondents' self-assessment, % (April, 2009)**

Furthermore, financial position of families with minor children was analyzed in more detail by family types; its findings are illustrated by Fig. 3.1.12.



**Fig. 3.1.12. Financial position of different types of families with children under 18, % (April, 2009)**

Across all families with children under 18, nuclear families consisting of parents with children without other relatives have the best financial position. Single parent families are most vulnerable in financial terms: one out of every three of such families has enough money only for food; furthermore, single parent families account for the lowest percentage of persons who assessed their financial position as average or above the average (i.e. having enough money almost for everything except for the most expensive purchases and enough money not only for essential food, clothing and footwear).

Therefore, respondents' family status data obtained in the course of the social and demographic survey allowed not only to study the occurrence of different family types in present-day Ukraine (including in different types of area and among representatives of different social and professional groups), but also provided the basis for making certain conclusions with regard to their structure and for analyzing social and demographic features of different family types. Families of different types do not demonstrate any significant variations in the characteristics under study; however, single parent families with children are the most problematic in financial terms. Restructured families with children and a stepfather (a stepmother) also need particular attention of society; the survey results show that such families are quite widespread and specific features of family relations and socialization of children in such families still require further study.

### 3.2. Family values in the life of respondents. Gender relations in the modern Ukrainian family

The family is one of traditional values of universal nature which accumulate the deepest wealth of historical and social experience and build the most crucial and solid foundation of the national culture and national character. It is widely thought that a certain nature of family values is the factor which contributes to stable functioning of society, keeps it more or less sustainable and lays the foundation of social integration mechanisms.

The modern transformation stage in the development of Ukrainian society coincided with the period of a growing occurrence of non-family orientations characterized by accelerated changes in an individual's value system with a shift towards dominating focus on professional self-realization and attainment of a high social status. However, modernization of value benchmarks does not mean that family values are denied or their significance is undermined. Family values do not lose ground but are rather adapted and reviewed to meet new demands.

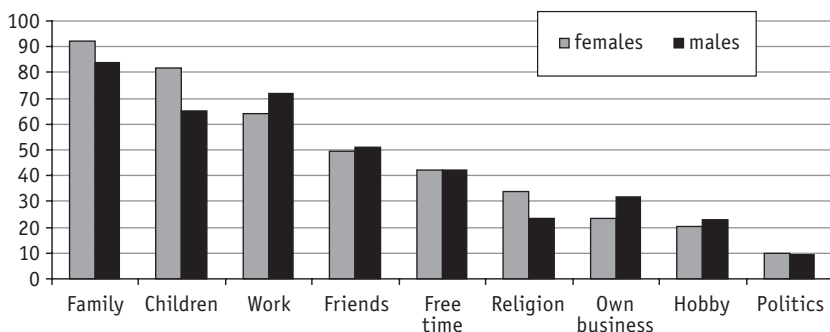
**Respondents' assessment of the role and significance of family values.** The survey held gives the grounds to maintain that significance and prestige of the family as one of the most essential values in the life of an individual is still unchanged. As shown in Fig. 3.2.1., the majority of childbearing-age respondents put **family** and **children** on top positions of their life values' hierarchy. Over 90% of females and 85% of males indicated that the family **"is very important"** for them. Again, the majority of respondents mentioned **children** among their **"very important"** life values; however, here a respective structural index shows a more significant gender gap (almost 82% of females against 65% of males); furthermore, the number of assessments **"very important"** ascribed to the mentioned category **children** by males is overtaken by the category **work** (72% of answers given by male respondents against 64% of answers of female respondents).

In the life value hierarchy, the mentioned three "leaders" considerably overtook the remaining categories. However, "...speaking of the value hierarchy, it is meant that the choice is made by "pure" preference without an impact of a specific situation, without influence of intents and aspirations, irrespective of benefits"<sup>6</sup>. To a certain extent, this explains the fact that while the majority of persons acknowledge that the family and family values are the most significant and important life values, in terms of real-life behavior non-family orientations often overrule, in particular, such as focus on self-realization in other fields, on more socially and economically attractive activities which give personal and financial independence.

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<sup>6</sup> Шелер М. Избранные произведения /Пер. с нем.; сост., науч. ред., предисл. Денежжина А. В.; послесл. Л. А. Чухиной.— М.: Гнозис, 1994. — С. 306.





**Fig.3.2.1. Respondents' assessments of the most important life values (% of respondents who marked a respective category as "very important") (April, 2009)**

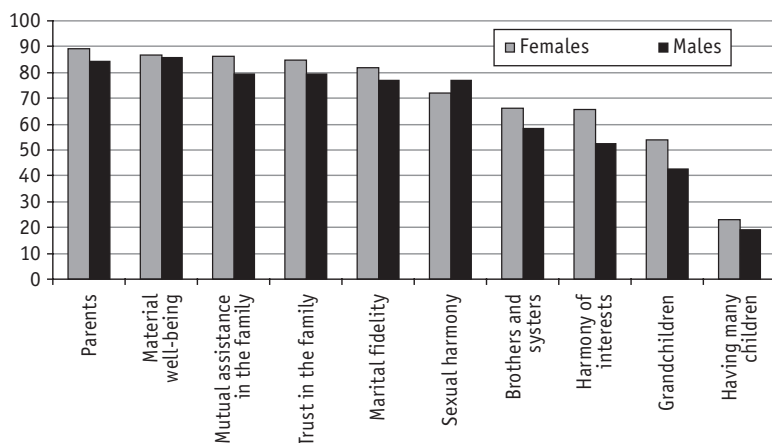
At the same time it should be noted that the divergence between inward convictions and real-life behavior is an everlasting one. Undoubtedly, values are a powerful motivational lever for various activities; however, a particular inward conviction is a necessary but not the key factor determining a person's behavior in a certain situation. We believe that the divergence between the disposition and real-life behavior is seen most clearly under unfavorable circumstances which aggregate existing contradictions between values-goals and values-means. In general, we believe that we should not disregard the fact that to date a new system of values and standards is taking roots in society and this system is not "transparent" enough for its unambiguous interpretation.

Within the framework of the survey "Family and Family Relations", respondents were also asked to assess the significance of separate family values. Results of this assessment are summarized in Fig. 3.2.2.

As we can see, in the hierarchy of social family values, along with the most traditional ones – *"parents"*, *"mutual assistance in the family"*, *"trust"* – such a value as *"material well-being"* has come to the front under the impact of social and economic factors. In the mentioned hierarchy, a rather high significance is ascribed to informal, individual-and-personal fundamentals which are the driving force of the changes underway in the marriage and family system. In the long run, the significance of such values as *"sexual harmony"* (more important for males, as could be expected) and *"marital fidelity"* is not much lower than that of leading traditional values.

It is indicative that although children are ranked exceptionally high on the life value scale of the Ukrainians, only an insignificant percentage of respondents believe that *"having many children"* is *very important*. It is worrying that the significance of "brothers and sisters" at the general background is

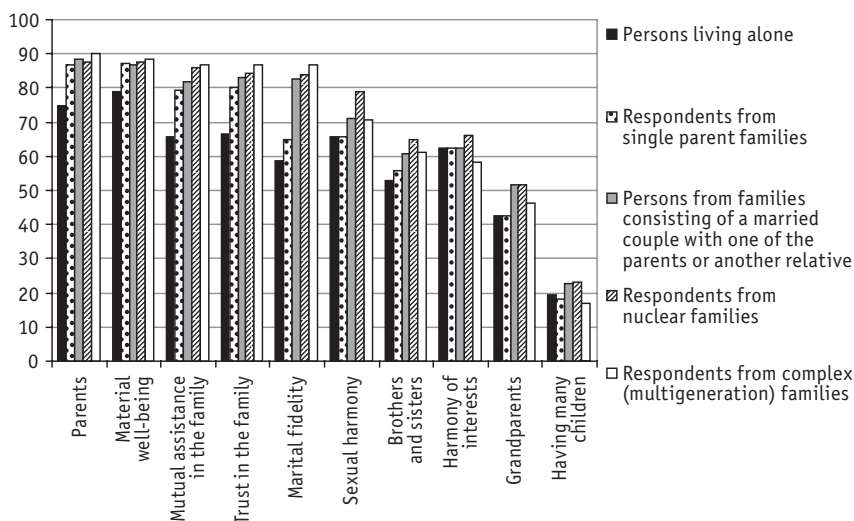
rather modest and we believe that this value is underestimated in our society, with a one-child family model gaining a foothold. As for *“grandchildren”*, the position held by this value in the system of family values was probably under a certain distorting impact by age-specific characteristics of respondents (it should be remembered that all respondents were under 49), with a percentage of young persons for whom it is difficult to acknowledge and comprehend this family value because of a long time span to pass before they actually become grandparents being rather high.



**Fig. 3.2.2. Respondents' assessments of the most important family values (% of respondents who marked a respective category as "very important") (April, 2009)**

Although basic family values hold a prominent place in the life of the majority of respondents – both females and males, however, their significance varies to a certain extent depending on respondent's sex and household type. Fig. 3.2.3 illustrates the differentiation of the assessments analyzed by the last of the mentioned characteristics.

As we can see, the lowest percentage of persons for whom almost all assessed family values are *“very important”* is recorded among respondents living alone. The gap between their assessment of significance of such family values as *“mutual assistance in the family”*, *“trust in the family”*, *“parents”* and the assessments given by representatives of other households types is especially indicative. The highest commitment to basic family values is demonstrated by respondents from complex families (in respect of such values as *“mutual assistance in the family”*, *“material well-being”*, *“trust”*) and respondents from nuclear families (for whom *sexual harmony*, *harmony of interests* are exceptionally important).



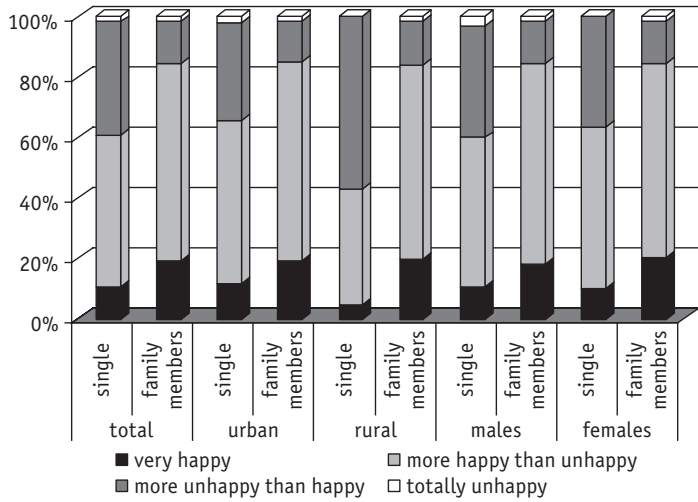
**Fig. 3.2.3. Attitudes of respondents from different types of families towards basic family values (% of respondents who marked a respective category as “very important”) (April, 2009)**

As a final characteristic reflecting value priorities and views of childbearing-age respondents, let's examine respondents' satisfaction with their life circumstances and their feeling of happiness. The majority of respondents gave affirmative answers to the question **“Can you say that you are happy”**, however, distribution of answers of persons with different marital status and from different household types demonstrates certain variations (Fig. 3.2.4.).

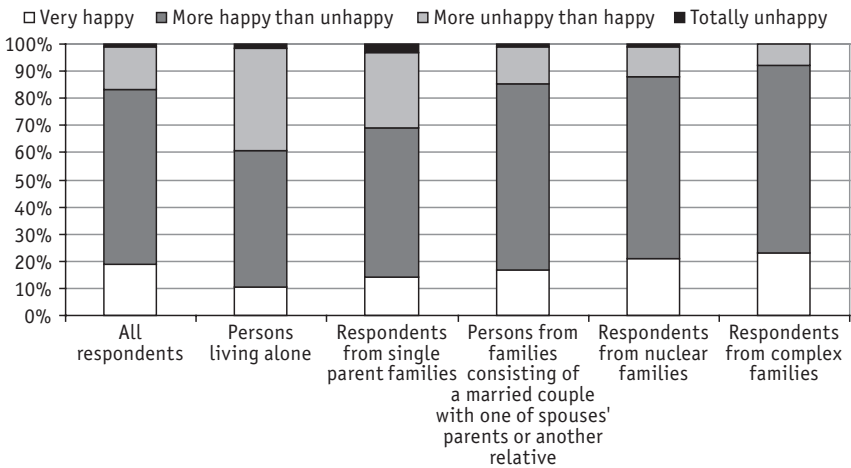
The most notable difference in the assessment of satisfaction with own life is found between single respondents and respondents living in a family. The survey results show that males and rural residents are somewhat less likely to tolerate loneliness well as compared with females and urban residents.

After analyzing the distribution of assessments under study by types of households in which respondents live, it is possible to maintain that although there is no very significant variation in this characteristic, a comparatively higher percentage of mostly *unhappy* persons is observed among persons living alone and also among respondents from single parent families. As for those who are most satisfied with the circumstances of their lives, this category consists of persons living in complex multigenerational families. Generally speaking, the survey findings confirm a rather trite statement that if a person “in full vigor” has a family and a marriage partner, in particular, and also has an opportunity of direct contacts with immediate relatives, these are important factors which make him/her satisfied with his/her life and give

the feeling of completeness of own life and human happiness. At the same time, as we will further see, the world outlook of a person and his/her satisfaction with his/her family circumstances (marriage, distribution of duties in the family etc.) is to a considerable extent influenced by the nature of gender relations in the family.



**Fig. 3.2.4. Distribution of single and family respondents by degree of satisfaction with own life, % (April, 2009)**



**Fig. 3.2.5. Distribution of respondents from different household types by degree of satisfaction with own life, % (April, 2009)**

***Gender roles and relations in the family and society.*** Modern society pays considerable attention to gender aspects<sup>7</sup> of social and demographic development issues, this being the implication of gradual, although inconsistent, aspiration of humanity for democracy, emancipation, equal opportunities (including for persons of different sex) as well as the consequence of transformation of gender relations and roles under the conditions of post-industrial society resulting from objective changes in the nature of production, in the substance and types of labor. Therefore, the gender aspect of society's functioning retains its significance, especially at the time when society faces radical changes and contradictions which are not likely to be resolved within the framework of existing standards and cultural attitudes<sup>8</sup>.

Examination of gender relations-inequalities is, in fact, the analysis of relations of power between men and women in different realms of life. In particular, it is important to study gender relations in the present-day family, their development being at the same time both the pre-condition and the consequence of its structural and functional transformations. The family as a multifunctional social organism performs a number of socially indispensable functions – both the specific (childbearing, upbringing and maintenance of children) and non-specific ones (family production, domestic services and personal consumption organization) which, as any other activity, presuppose segregation of duties and establishment of a certain hierarchy between family members, first of all between husband and wife, since their marriage union is the nucleus of the family. The nature of these relations can be either authoritarian or democratic, thus determining the structure of leadership and segregation of duties between husband and wife; on this basis modern researchers classify families into the following patterns: patriarchal, traditional, partner and egalitarian family.

Strict conditions under which the family existed in pre-industrial society (resulting from low labor productivity, high dependence on natural forces, high premature mortality rates etc.) required unambiguous family hierarchy and the authoritarian nature of relations – the requirements which patriarchal family

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<sup>7</sup> The term gender (which, in its literal sense, is the grammatical category) is currently used to emphasize rather a socio-cultural nature of relations between the two sexes than the biological one, unlike the term *sexus* (biological sex), which implies that not only biological difference of males and females but also different needs of males and females and social attitudes towards them are determined by nature. A. Giddens is of the opinion that "gender does not refer to the physical attributes in terms of which men and women differ, but to socially formed traits of masculinity and femininity", it is first of all "social expectations about behavior regarded as appropriate for the members of each sex (Гіденс Е. Соціологія / Наук. ред. О.Івашченко. – К.: Основи, 1999. – С.665).

<sup>8</sup> Делокаров К.Х. Женщина и ценности западноевропейской индустриальной цивилизации // Общественные науки и современность. – 2000. – №4. – С.68–74.

met. A family of this type has a clearly determined scope of man's and woman's duties: a man is the head of the family, its breadwinner and security guard, who does all the hard physical labor – these duties required strength, endurance and courage; a woman is the wife and mother, she organizes and does household work in the family, her duty is to bring up children, make arrangements for everyday life and consumption. Industrial society which has involved a woman into social production made segregation of family duties more flexible and democratic, however, in the majority of cases a man remained the main (although not the sole) breadwinner of the family and the nature of husband's and wife's family roles remained traditional. Therefore, a traditional family pattern became widely spread under the impact of economic relations, composition of family income sources and traditions of family life organization established in the historical perspective.

In modern society which is classified by researchers as post-industrial or information society, gender disparities in social and professional, educational and occupational composition of the population are to a certain extent minimized, with women being quite actively involved in all spheres of society's life. This stage of historical development correlates with a partner or democratic family pattern when all decisions are made jointly, power distribution is situational, husband, along with wife, is actively involved in upbringing of children, segregation of duties is democratic, although there is a certain gender distribution of work in the family. Sometimes this family pattern is called egalitarian<sup>9</sup>, however, some researchers classify the egalitarian family pattern as one of the types of the partner family characterized by full "interchange" of husband's and wife's roles, full absence of strict delimitation and allocation of their duties<sup>10</sup>. Relations of this kind are more often observed in young families without children. It is arguable whether absence of gender distribution of family duties is rational and what its implications are. Some researchers believe the egalitarian family pattern to be the most progressive and promising one, while others are of the opinion that it is a manifestation of the institutional crisis of the family<sup>11</sup>.

Each of the above-mentioned family types very seldom can be found in its "pure" form, however, in certain countries a certain type of gender relations in the family dominates, this deterministic by the degree of social and economic

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<sup>9</sup> Калабихина И. Гендерный фактор в воспроизводстве человеческого капитала - <http://www.owl.ru/library/041t.htm>

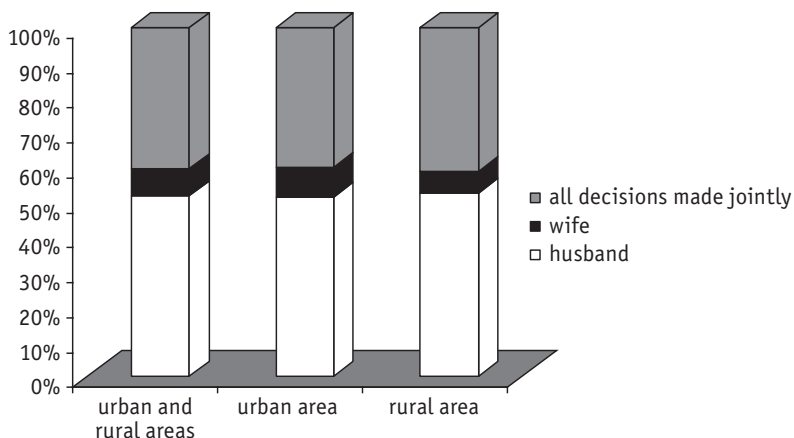
<sup>10</sup> Социология семьи. Под ред. А. И. Антонова. – Москва: ИНФРА-М, 2005, с. 49; Zel-dich M. Family, Marriage and Kinship // Handbook of Modern Sociology – Chicago: 1964. – P. 700.

<sup>11</sup> Allan Carlson. Society – The Family – The Person: The Social Crisis of America. The Alternative Sociological Approach / Edited by Prof. A.I. Antonov. – M.: 2003. – Pages 83-100.

development, traditions and specific mentality of a certain population formed over the entire period of its historical development.

In Ukraine, traditions of the family lifestyle and traditional family and marriage values are retained to a considerable extent, as also confirmed by findings of the survey “Family and Family Relations”. At the same time, a high level of economic activity of Ukrainian women, their high educational attainment and high professional and occupational status undoubtedly have an impact on the changes in the leadership structure of the family. The questionnaire of the social and demographic survey contained questions on leadership, income sources and household duties distribution in the family for the purpose of determining the nature of gender relations prevailing in a modern Ukrainian family and the family pattern which is typical for our society.

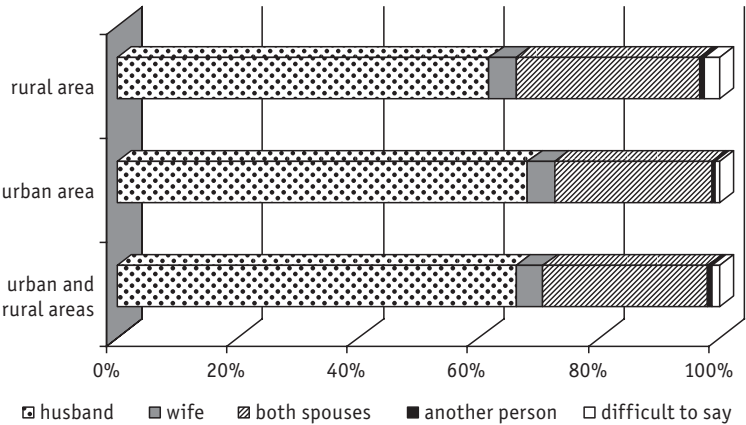
Married respondents were asked the following questions: **“Who is the head of your family?”** and **“Who is the main breadwinner in your family?”** They allowed to conclude what family patterns are more widespread in the country – traditional, patriarchal or partner, egalitarian. More than a half of the respondents indicated husband as head of the family (52%), 8% – wife, 40% of married couples have all decisions made jointly by husband and wife and thus can be classified as having partner relations (Fig. 3.2.6).



**Fig. 3.2.6. Distribution of respondents by answers to the question “Who is the head of your family”, % (April, 2009)**

The survey confirmed that in the majority of cases the family is headed by husband, this being the economic basis of his role as family head. According to the survey data, husband is the breadwinner in more than 60% of families, both spouses – in one-third of families and wife – in less than 5% of families. It is of

interest that the percentage of families with both spouses as breadwinners is somewhat higher in rural area than in urban area where this role is more often assumed by husband (Fig. 3.2.7). It should be mentioned that the status of family head is determined not only by the amount of income earned by family members: the percentage of partnership families in which decisions are made jointly exceeds the percentage of families with two breadwinners. Accordingly, some proportion of respondents' families is characterized by the relations of equality between husband and wife despite the fact that one of the spouses may earn much more than the other one. The percentage of families with a woman as family head exceeds the percentage of families with a woman as the main breadwinner.



**Fig. 3.2.7. Distribution of respondents by answers to the question “Who is the main breadwinner in your family”, % (April, 2009)**

Responses about leadership in the family and the main breadwinner show some sex-specific variations: males mention themselves as the head and breadwinner of the family more often than females and females are more inclined to believe that in their families all decisions are made jointly and both spouses are the breadwinners. Also, females more often mention themselves as the family leader (both in the organizational and economic sense) (Table 3.2.1).



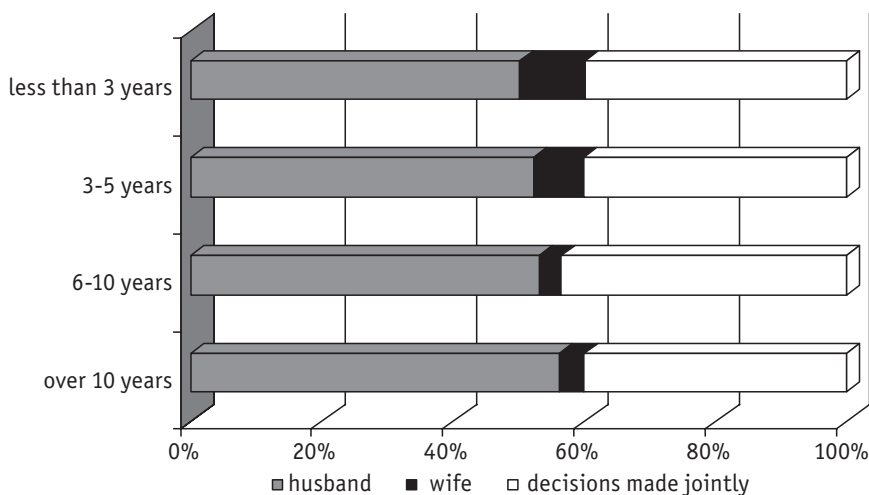
**Table 3.2.1. Distribution of respondents of different sexes by their responses about the head and breadwinner in their families, % (April, 2009)**

Answer options	Who is the head of the family?		Who is the main breadwinner in the family?	
	males	females	males	females
Husband	56.6	46.8	69.6	62.8
Wife	7.0	8.9	3.6	5.3
Both spouses	36.4	44.3	25.4	29.4
Other	-	-	1.4	2.5

In our opinion, these variations not only reflect different situations in families (since every respondent's opinion is based on relations in his/her family), but also to a considerable extent result from different assessment of the existing situation by husband and the wife, from their views – more traditional or egalitarian - on gender delimitation of roles in a modern family. It could be assumed that answers acknowledging the leadership of another gender are “cleared” from the impact of gender competition and traditional gender ambitions. That is why it is important to emphasize that not only the majority of males but also the majority of females (almost 63%) recognize males as main breadwinners in their families and almost half of females (46.8%) regard male as head of the family. At the same time, one out of every three males indicated that relations in his family can be characterized as partnership (all decisions are made jointly). Some percentage of males (although very insignificant) acknowledged that wife is the breadwinner in their families (7% and 3.6%, respectively).

The family is a dynamic social formation which is under continuous development, with family hierarchy and gender relations, an essential part of family relations, being liable to changes at different stages of the family life cycle. The survey “Family and Family Relations” attempted to determine the nature of these changes by comparing the situation in young newly-married families with families which have a longer marriage record. For this purpose we analyzed the leadership structure in families of married respondents with different duration of marriage (Fig. 3.2.8).

As evident from the Figure, over the years of marriage the percentage of couples which could be conditionally called patriarchal (i.e. with husband as head of the family) declines and the proportion of couples with wife as head of the family grows considerably: only 3.8% of respondents married less than three years indicated that their families are headed by women, as against 1/10 of the same answers given by respondents married for more than 10 years. The percentage of families where the leader is determined on a case-by-case basis (i.e. all decisions are made jointly) is 40% and we have discovered absence clear trend towards any changes in this percentage over the years of marriage.

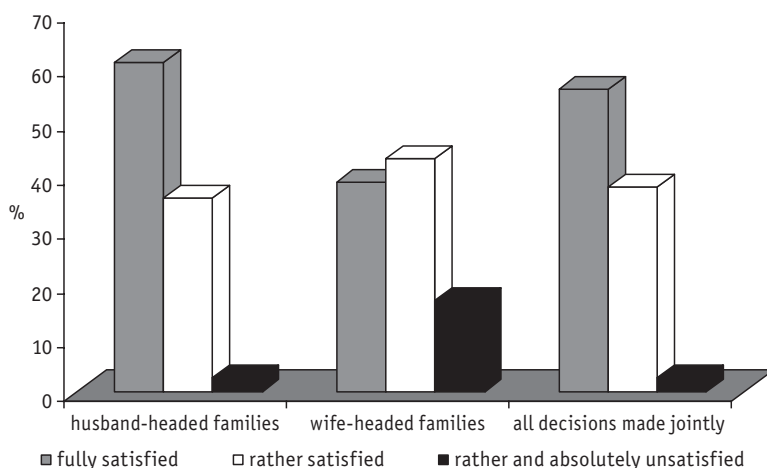


**Fig. 3.2.8. Distribution of married respondents with different duration of marriage by answers to the question “Who is the head of your family” (April, 2009)**

It is difficult to suggest explanation to these findings. At least it is possible to state that no confirmation was found for the assumption that the percentage of partnership (egalitarian) families is higher among young families (young in terms of age of spouses and duration of marriage) due to more modern views of young people on gender allocation of family roles and more romantic and less conflict relations during the first years of marriage. We can only assume that leadership in the family is developed under the influence of spouses’ views and priorities concerning the system of gender family relations formed before marriage as well as social and economic situation in which a particular family exists. It may be that life hardships (husband’s unemployment or disease, or his asocial behavior) force a woman to “assume the command of the family ship”; however, further research is needed to either confirm or deny this assumption.

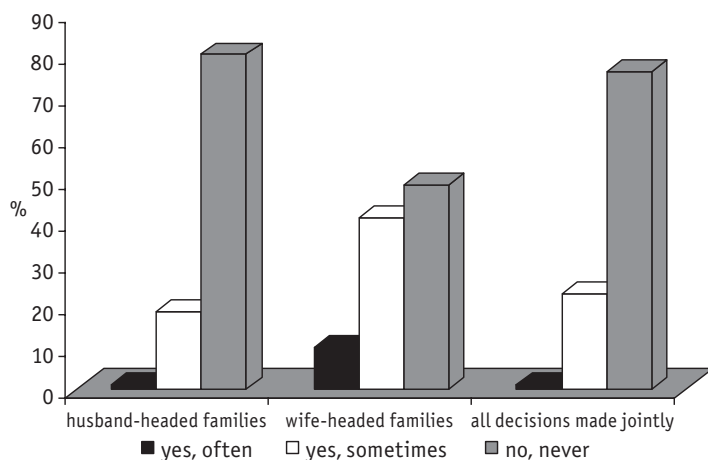
The analysis of respondents’ satisfaction with their marriage by families with different leadership system helps to determine the extent to which family hierarchy has a forced nature and to which it reflects the views and intentions of spouses and represents their life attitudes. Accordingly, the analysis covered answers to the questions **“Are you satisfied with your marriage?”** and **“Have you ever had any intention to divorce?”** of respondents who gave different answers as to who is the head of their family. There are no significant divergences in answers to these questions given by respondents with a male as head of the family and respondents from partnership families where

all decisions are made jointly. The majority of respondents from both mentioned family types are satisfied with their marriage and have never thought of divorce, in other words, we can assume that the leadership system is not rigid and both spouses are in general satisfied with the existing relations (Fig. 3.2.9 and Fig. 3.2.10). However, an absolutely different situation is observed in female-headed families: answers of respondents who are members of such families demonstrate a significantly higher percentage of persons who are fully or partially *dissatisfied* with the marriage and who sometimes or often have *intentions of divorce*. Therefore, “matriarchy” in the Ukrainian families is of a forced nature and results from a difficult situation (economic, social or moral and psychological) which has emerged for the family; rather often this does not satisfy both spouses.



**Fig. 3.2.9. Distribution of respondents with different leadership system in family by assessment of their marriage, % (April, 2009)**

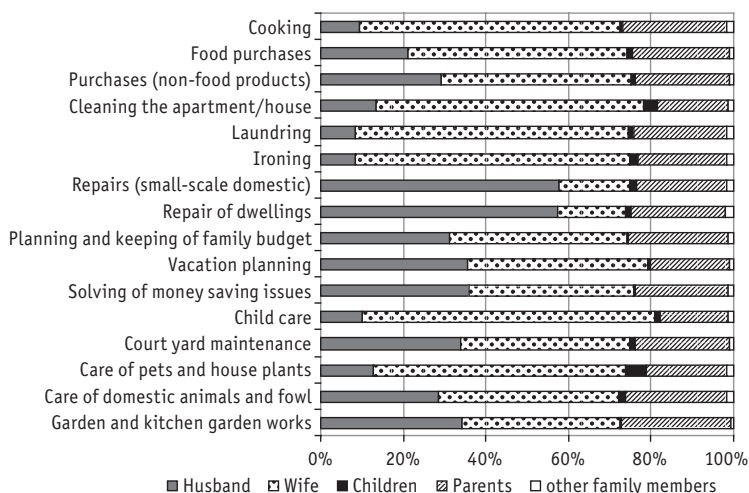
Allocation of basic household responsibilities, first of all, between husband and wife, is an important characteristic of gender relations in a family. The kinds and scope of household labor assumed by a male and a female is one of the most important manifestations of their gender roles and functions, a characteristic of their family hierarchy and informal leadership and the assessment of the extent of dependence and independence, solidarity and exploitation, actual or formal gender equality. While identification of family head is to a certain degree conditional and sometimes even formal, description of household duties allocation in the family as well as information about its main breadwinners can provide explicit data.



**Fig. 3.2.10. Distribution of respondents with different leadership system in family by frequency of divorce intentions, % (April, 2009)**

Analysis of answers of respondents of different gender to the question: **“Please specify how rights/responsibilities are distributed in your household as to the following: cooking; laundering; ironing; repairs (small-scale domestic); repairs of dwellings; planning and keeping of the family budget; planning of vacation/free time of the family; solving of issues related to saving of money; child care; courtyard maintenance; care of pets and house plants; care of domestic animals and fowl; works in the garden and kitchen garden”** provided another confirmation that in a modern Ukrainian family basic duties of keeping the house and child care are performed by females. Almost in 70% of respondents’ families, household work is done mostly by wife: cooking, cleaning, ironing, laundering, child care. Household responsibilities almost fully assumed by men are only those related to repairs (both small-scale domestic repairs and repairs of dwellings); besides, men almost to the same extent are responsible for setting a family life policy, in particular, for planning and keeping the family budget, planning of vacation and issues related to money saving. At the same time, one out of every two married women mentioned that her husband takes part in purchasing food and non-food products and in child care, one out of every three married women mentioned that her husband takes part in cooking and cleaning and one out of every five married women – that her husband is involved in laundering and ironing.

Works typical for rural area and owners of detached houses – courtyard maintenance, garden and kitchen garden works, care for domestic animals and fowl – are allocated between all members of the family (Fig. 3.2.11).



**Fig. 3.2.11. Allocation of main household responsibilities (by responsibility types) in respondents' families, % (April, 2009)**

Therefore, the majority of respondents' families demonstrate a considerable gender differentiation of household responsibilities, with prevailing "woman's" and "man's" ones. Nevertheless, a woman is still "the main labor force" in the family household and it may be that for this reason she is also the family leader (family head) in the families with husband as the main breadwinner. The above-mentioned observations lead to the conclusion that presently in Ukraine double employment of women – their economic activity and involvement in family production – is the problem that remains unsolved; it results in a considerable extension of their "weekly working hours" and currently is the main indicator of gender inequality by aggregate labor costs<sup>12</sup>. However, a significant percentage of families have a rather democratic and partnership sharing of household duties between spouses, with the husband helping the wife with "woman's labor" being involved in many kinds of household work. As for the situation with allocation of gender roles and duties in the family, we can generally agree with the opinion of T.Lytkina who believes that cultural stereotypes such as a conviction that in a family the man should be the breadwinner and the woman should be in charge of housekeeping are intensified in case there is no practice of household duties allocation and some financial and housing problems exist<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Балабанова Е. С. Домашний труд как символ гендера и власти // Социологические исследования, 2005. - № 6. - С. 109-119.

<sup>13</sup> Лыткина Т.С. Домашний труд и гендерное разделение власти в семье / Социологические исследования, 2004.-№ 9. - С. 85 - 90.

Trying to find some ways to reduce gender asymmetry in different domains of social life under the conditions of transition to post-industrial society, U. Beck suggests to experiment with new forms of life organization beyond the framework of traditional male and female social roles<sup>14</sup>. This option, being an attractive alternative both to the enhancement of gender equality within the traditional market model and to the return to traditional family and gender roles, requires institutional reforms aimed at creating and sustaining the possibilities for new forms which would merge paid and unpaid domestic work<sup>15</sup>, market production and family reproduction.

### 3.3. Marital status of respondents. Forms of marital relations

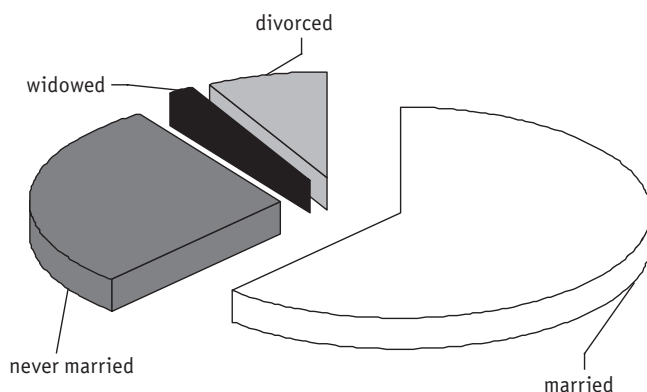
Marriage can be defined as a constant union of a man and a woman established on the basis of personal feelings and sexual relations and aimed at building a family. This union regulates man-woman relations in terms of child-bearing, upbringing and maintenance. Marriage is a prerequisite for building a family; a married couple is the nucleus of a family union. For this reason the analysis of marital characteristics of the population is an essential element of family and family relations studies.

***Marital status and matrimonial plans of respondents.*** The Ukrainian population keeps traditionally high marriage rates as evidenced both by data of current statistical reporting and by sampling social and demographic surveys, including the survey "Family and Family Relations". In response to the question: **"Please, specify your current marital status"** over 60% of respondents said they were married, less than 30% – never married, about 2% were widowed and 8% – divorced (Fig. 3.3.1).

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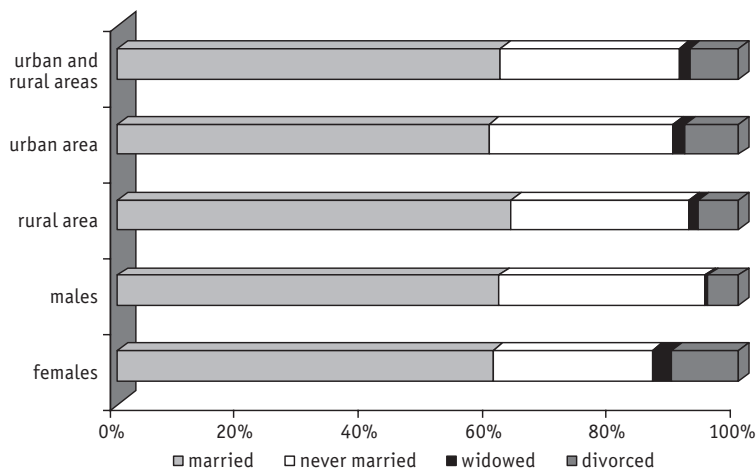
<sup>14</sup> Beck U. Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity. – L.:SAGE Publications, 1996. – Page 251.

<sup>15</sup> It is generally known that economic contribution of women related to their unpaid labor (child care, care of the elderly and sick family members as well as of able-bodied men) is still underestimated and undervalued. At the same time, it has long been acknowledged that unpaid labor becomes the most essential factor in the development of post-industrial society development since it plays an exceptional part in reproduction of human potential. It is notable that as long ago as in the late 70s of the last century G.Bekker included non-market behavior of individuals and their interaction into his economic analysis.



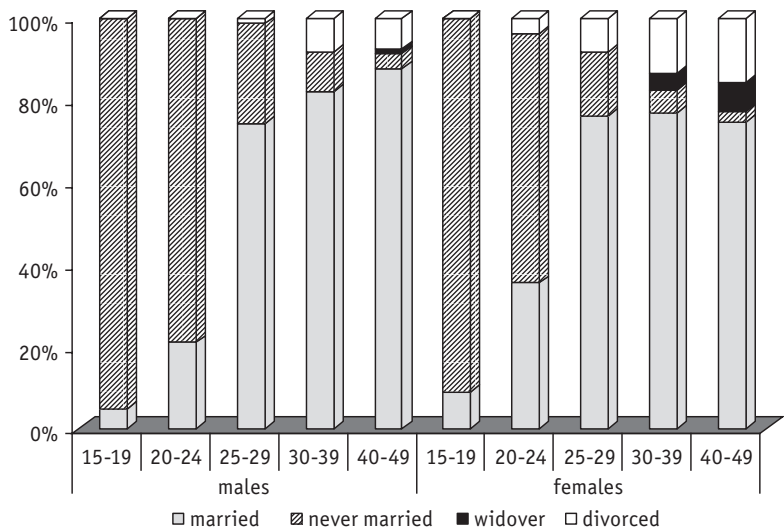
**Fig. 3.3.1. Distribution of respondents by marital status, % (April, 2009)**

There are no significant urban-rural or male-female variations in marital composition of respondents, however, urban areas demonstrate a smaller proportion of married respondents and a larger proportion of divorced respondents resulting from later age at marriage and higher divorce rates as compared with rural population. The percentage of divorced female respondents is twice as high as that of males (10.7% and 5%, respectively) and the percentage of widows is by an order greater than widowers (3.1% and 0.3%, respectively), being another confirmation of a very high mortality rate of males of marriage age (Fig. 3.3.2).



**Fig. 3.3.2. Distribution of male-female and urban-rural respondents by marital status, % (April, 2009)**

Age is a very important determinant of a respondent's marital status. While 90% of persons in the age group 15–19 were never married (more than 95% of males in this age bracket), this figure is less than 70% in the age group 20–24, less than 20% in the age group 25–29, and over 90% of respondents aged over 30 have some marriage experience, i.e. are now or have been previously married. At the same time, one out of every ten respondents aged 30 and over is divorced, with a percentage of divorced females significantly exceeding that of males, as already mentioned. Furthermore, one out of every fifteen females aged 40–49 is widowed (Fig. 3.3.3).

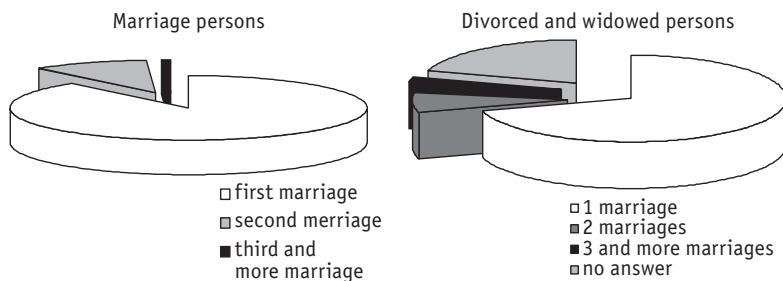


**Fig. 3.3.3. Distribution of males and females of different age by marital status, % (April, 2009)**

The survey findings provided another confirmation of the fact that in our country the percentage of single unmarried persons of childbearing age is insignificant: just 3% of respondents aged 35–49 have no marriage experience, i.e. are not married now and have not been married before. The proportion of such respondents among males is slightly higher than among females: in the oldest age group 40–49 almost 4% of males and 2.8% of females have never been married.

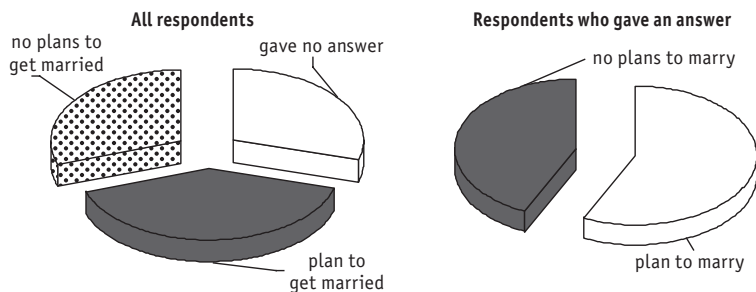
Although in our country remarriages are quite widespread, the majority of persons marry only once in a lifetime. Almost 90% of respondents who are married now mentioned that their marriage is the first one for them; responding to the question “How many marriages have you had”, 70% of persons with a post-nuptial status (divorced and widowed) mentioned that they had only one marriage (Fig. 3.3.4).





**Fig. 3.3.4. Distribution of respondents who are married now or have been married before by the number of marriages, % (April, 2009)**

It is impossible to forecast a country's demographic situation without a thorough knowledge of a future scenario of the marriage situation development. Knowledge of matrimonial plans of those who are not yet married, first of all – young people who only plan their future, is essential for forming an idea about prospective developments in marriage composition of the population. In order to determine whether unmarried respondents have any intentions of building a family, they were asked a question **“Do you have any intention of getting married (or establishing long-term marriage relations (officially registered or unregistered) in the future)?”** Unfortunately, almost one-third of respondents gave no answer to this question, thus, the value of the results is somewhat undermined (only 4% of respondents provided no answer to this question in the survey “Family and Children” (April, 2008)). Among those who answered the question, the majority (almost 60%) indicated that they plan to get married in the future (Fig. 3.3.5). This finding is in line with the results received within the framework of the survey “Family and Children”<sup>16</sup>.



**Fig. 3.3.5. Distribution of unmarried respondents by their matrimonial plans for the future, % (April, 2009)**

<sup>16</sup> Шлюб, сім'я та дітородні орієнтації в Україні. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008.– С. 91-93.

The majority of respondents with no marriage experience plan to get married (almost 70%), while the overwhelming majority of divorced and widowed persons have no marriage plans for the future (Table 3.3.1).

**Table 3.3.1. Distribution of respondents with different marital status by their matrimonial plans for the future, % (April, 2009)**

Question "Do you have any intention of getting married in the future?"	All currently unmarried persons	including:		
		never married	widowed	divorced
gave no answer	29.3	28.5	16.2	32.7
gave an answer	70.7	71.5	83.8	67.3
of which:				
plan to get married	57.1	68.0	16.1	29.7
have no plans to get married	42.9	32.0	83.9	70.3

Matrimonial plans of respondents of different age and sex demonstrate significant variations (Table 3.3.2). Accordingly, in the age group 30–39 more than a half of currently unmarried males and females have no plans of getting married in the future, this figure for respondents in the age group 40–49 being over 80%. These are persons with a post-nuptial status (divorced and widowed) and those who have never been married and who do not expect their marital status to change over time. The majority of young people aged 20–29 plans to get married, while a significant proportion of the youngest respondents, i.e. those aged 15–19, do not have such intentions. Denial on marriage in this age may probably be the manifestation of teenage radicalism which vanishes with years, or an explanation may be that this issue is of no interest for them yet. However, it is possible to conclude that a significant percentage of young people aged 15–19 does not look at married life as an essential part of their future and does not understand the significance of marriage in the life of an individual.

**Table 3.3.2. Distribution of unmarried males and females of different age by their matrimonial plans for the future, % (April, 2009)**

Question "Do you have any intention of getting married in the future?"	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49
MALES					
gave no answer	24.5	25.2	39.5	18.4	30.6
gave an answer	75.5	74.8	60.5	81.6	69.4
of which:					
plan to get married	58.1	72.4	91.3	42.5	20.0
have no plans to get married	41.9	27.6	8.7	57.5	80.0

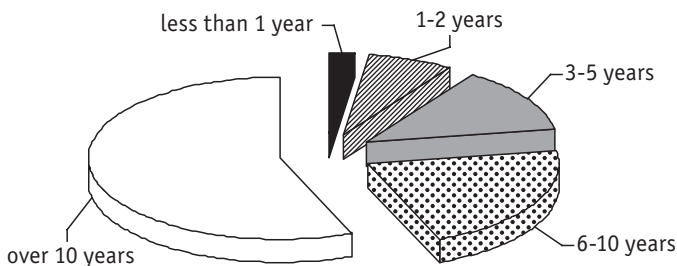
Question "Do you have any intention of getting married in the future?"	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49
FEMALES					
gave no answer	36.6	21.9	31.6	35.4	31.7
gave an answer	63.4	78.1	68.4	64.6	68.3
of which:					
plan to get married	68.7	75.6	73.1	35.7	14.3
have no plans to get married	31.3	24.4	26.9	64.3	85.7

***Marriage relations according to respondents' answers.*** Surveys of respondents who are currently married or have been married before provide the basis for the analysis of modern marriage relations. To get some knowledge about durability of marriage and harmony of marriage relations, married respondents were asked the following questions: **"Are you satisfied with your marriage?"** and **"Have you ever had any intentions to divorce?"** Almost 95% of respondents answered that they are *absolutely satisfied* or *more satisfied than dissatisfied* with their marriage, with the majority being *absolutely satisfied*. Both males and females give positive assessments of their marriage. At the same time, while only 2% of respondents *often had intentions to divorce*, one of every five males and one of every four females *sometimes thinks about divorce* (Table 3.3.3). Therefore, even married couples who are generally satisfied with their marriage face the risk of divorce.

**Table 3.3.3. Distribution of male and female respondents by their assessment of own marriage, % (April, 2009)**

	Total	Males	Females
Are you satisfied with your marriage:			
absolutely satisfied	57.1	60.1	54.1
more satisfied than dissatisfied	37.3	33.8	40.7
more dissatisfied than satisfied	3.6	4.0	3.2
absolutely dissatisfied	0.4	0.5	0.4
difficult to say	1.6	1.6	1.6
Have you ever had any intentions to divorce:			
yes, frequently	2.2	2.0	1.6
yes, sometimes	21.7	20.3	24.0
no	76.1	77.7	74.4

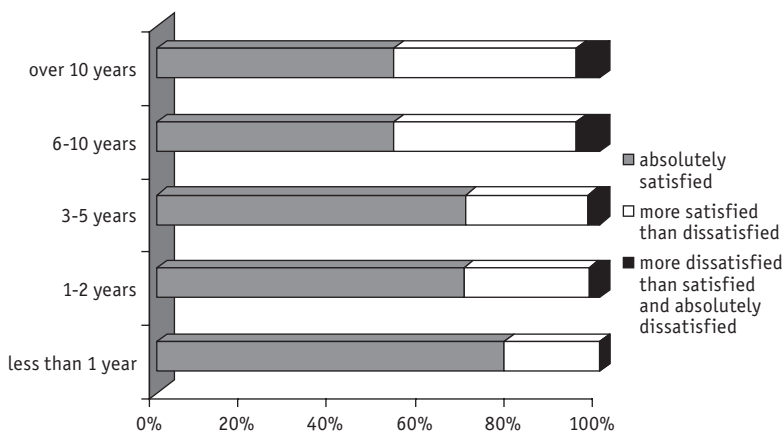
Marriage attitudes to a certain extent depend on duration of marriage. Our survey involved respondents with different duration of marriage: more than a half of married respondents were married for more than 10 years, one out of every five respondents – 6–10 years, one out of every ten respondents – less than 2 years (Fig. 3.3.6). The survey provided the basis to compare attitudes towards own marriage expressed by respondents with different duration of marriage.



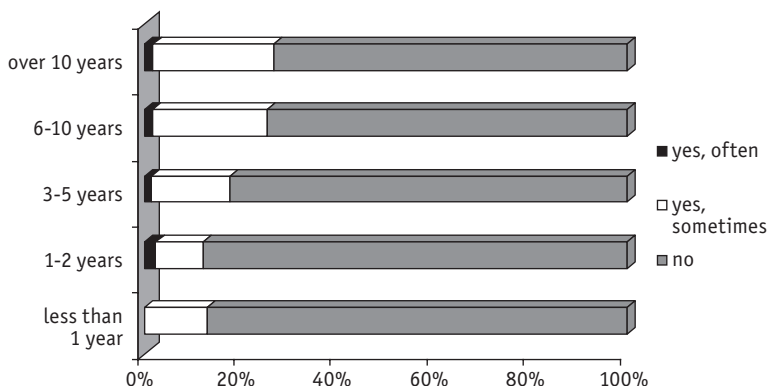
**Fig. 3.3.6. Distribution of married respondents by duration of marriage, % (April, 2009)**

The analysis of answers to the questions **“Are you satisfied with your marriage?”** and **“Have you ever had any intentions to divorce?”** given by respondents with different duration of marriage showed that attitudes and assessments of own marriage vary over time. While there were no respondents *dissatisfied* with their marriage among those married less than 1 year, the group of those married for 1–2 years had some *somewhat dissatisfied* spouses, with the percentage of the latter growing with increasing duration of marriage. The most critical attitude towards own marriage was expressed by persons married over 6 years, although a half of them was also *absolutely satisfied* with marriage and 40% were *more satisfied than dissatisfied*. Likewise, increasing duration of marriage reduces the percentage of persons who never thought of divorce and increases the percentage of those who have divorce intentions (Fig. 3.3.7 and 3.3.8).

Respondents’ answers demonstrate that during the first two years of marriage the spouses are absolutely satisfied with their marriage; during 3–6 years in marriage the spouses develop a more critical attitude towards marriage relations and some thoughts about the possibility of divorce emerge, with these pessimistic attitudes being intensified after 6 years in marriage.



**Fig. 3.3.7. Distribution of married respondents with different marriage duration by assessment of own marriage, % (April, 2009)**



**Fig. 3.3.8. Distribution of married respondents with different marriage duration by frequency of divorce intentions, % (April, 2009)**

A comparison of answers given by males and females shows that within the first two years of married life males are more careful in their assessment of own marriage than females (the percentage of males *absolutely satisfied* with their marriage is lower), however, generally, with increasing marriage duration the views of males and females change in the same manner. Figures 3.3.7 and 3.3.8 clearly show that increasing marriage duration correlates with a trend towards a growing percentage of persons dissatisfied with their marriage and intensification of divorce intentions. However, the data of current statistical reporting on the distribution

of divorces by duration of marriage before divorce do not confirm these findings: over the period 2001–2008, marriages with 0–4 year duration accounted for 25% of registered divorces. In our opinion, this can be explained by lower durability of marriages with short-term duration: with young married couples, dissatisfaction with a partner promptly leads to divorce, especially if the family has no children. Married couples with long duration of marriage have a more considered attitude towards drastic changes in life and, as soon as they overcome the crisis period of dissatisfaction, can “patch up” their marriage relations.

Success and stability of marriage depends on many factors which are also essential for implementation of an efficient demographic policy with regard to marriage and family. All of the respondents were asked a question: **“What are the main determinants of a successful marriage?”** to determine public views in this respect. Respondents’ assessments of the importance of suggested determinants of successful marriage are given in Table 3.3.4.

**Table 3.3.4. Distribution of respondents by their assessment of important determinants of a successful marriage, % (April, 2009)**

		Very important	Rather important	Rather unimportant	Absolutely unimportant
1.	Respect and mutual support of spouses	89.1	10.5	0.4	0.0
2.	Separate dwellings	78.1	18.1	3.1	0.7
3.	Marital fidelity	88.4	10.7	0.9	0.0
4.	Material well-being	80.3	18.5	1.0	0.2
5.	Satisfaction with sexual relations	77.9	21.0	1.1	0.0
6.	Readiness to discuss problems of family life	75.2	23.7	1.0	0.1
7.	Children	70.1	22.5	6.4	1.0
8.	Possibility to spend as more time together as possible	56.6	37.0	5.6	0.8
9.	Fair allocation of household duties between the spouses	55.7	35.6	8.1	0.6
10.	Close religious convictions	26.9	32.1	29.7	11.3
11.	Close social origin / social status	28.1	34.3	27.6	9.9

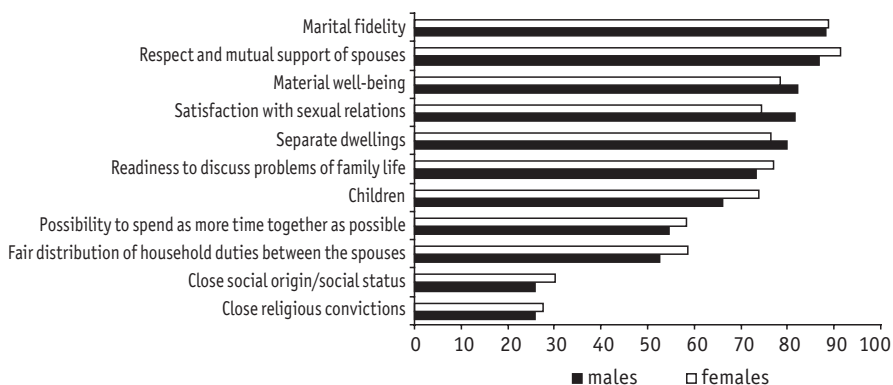
The majority of respondents mentioned respect, mutual support of spouses and marital fidelity as the most important determinants of a successful marriage: the highest percentage of respondents (almost 90%) assessed these factors as *very important*. Well-being factors – material well-being and separate

dwellings, in the respondents' opinion, are slightly less important but, nevertheless, significant: four out of every five respondents assessed each of these factors as *very important* and only 1–3% of respondents believed them to be *rather* or *absolutely insignificant*. According to respondents' assessment of factors essential for a successful marriage, such determinants as sexual harmony and sincerity and confidence of relations (readiness to discuss family problems) are no less significant than the ones mentioned before – 75–78% of respondents indicated these factors as *very important* and about 1% – *rather* or *absolutely unimportant*. It is indicative that only 70% of respondents believe that children are *very important* for a successful marriage, with 7% of respondents mentioning this factor to be *rather* or even *absolutely unimportant*.

The survey results show that such factors as a possibility to spend more time together and fair distribution of household responsibilities were ascribed comparatively less significance by the respondents: only a half of the respondents assessed them as *very important* and nearly one out of every ten respondents – as *unimportant*. For one out of every four respondents close religious convictions and close social origin and social status of spouses are *very important*, although two out of every five respondents regard them as *unimportant*.

There are some gender variations in the assessment of prerequisites for a successful marriage, although they are rather insignificant: both males and females agree that respect and mutual support of spouses, marital fidelity and, on the third place, material well-being are the most important prerequisites for a successful marriage. However, males give the next place in the "rating" to such a factor as satisfaction with sexual relations (81.6% of males against 74.4% of females regard them as *very important*), while females give this place to readiness to discuss family problems (77% against 73.3%, respectively). Children in the family are more significant for females than for males (73.8% of females assessed this factor as *very important*, as against 66.2% of males), the same is also true with regard to fair allocation of household responsibilities between spouses (58.6% and 52.5%, respectively) (Fig. 3.3.9).

Within the framework of the social and demographic survey "Family and Family Relations", for the purpose of widening the scope of sample interview and increasing the number of persons about whom information is provided, questions about social and professional status, nationality and educational attainment referred both to the respondents themselves and to their partners in marriage. These questions had the following wording: **"Which social and professional group you and your partner belong to?"**; **"What is your and your partner's nationality?"**; **"Please, specify your and your partner's educational attainment"**. These questions allowed to obtain more detailed information about social and professional as well as national composition of childbearing-age persons and their distribution by educational attainment etc.



**Fig. 3.3.9. Male and female respondents' assessments of prerequisites for a successful marriage (% of persons assessing a respective factor as "very important") (April, 2009)**

At the same time, this allowed to obtain respective characteristics of married couples and unique information on how persons with different social and demographic characteristics join in marriage. "Marital gravity" has been of interest for demographers long before this survey. Accordingly, interethnic marriage indices allowing to determine the degree of attraction between marriage cohorts of different nationalities were calculated by L.Chuyko based on Ukraine-wide statistical materials for the year 1969<sup>17</sup>. However, today current statistical reporting does not provide necessary information which would be sufficient for such scientific scrutiny. For this reason, the study of respective processes conducted on the basis of the situation existing in present-day Ukraine is to a certain extent exclusive.

The survey results demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of married respondents (about 87%) have a marriage partner of the same nationality, in other words, the majority of marriages is mononational. This finding to a considerable extent may be explained by a rather homogeneous ethnic composition of respondents, a significant majority of which are Ukrainian by nationality: 83.8% of respondents were Ukrainians, 12% – Russians, 4.2% represented other nationalities. This generally coincides with the ethnic composition of Ukraine's population at the moment of the most recent population census (77.8% of the population are Ukrainians and 17.3% are Russians)<sup>18</sup>. According to the survey data, the largest percentage of marriage partners of the same nationality is re-

<sup>17</sup> Чуйко Л. В. Браки и разводы. – М.: Статистика, 1975. – С. 73-75.

<sup>18</sup> Перший Всеукраїнський перепис населення: історичні, методологічні, соціальні, економічні, етнічні аспекти. – К.: ІВЦ Держкомстату України, 2004. – С. 326.



corded among Ukrainians and more than a half (50–60%) – among respondents of other nationalities (Table 3.3.6).

**Table 3.3.6. Percentage of married couples with marriage partners of the same nationality, % (April, 2009)**

	have a marriage partner of the same nationality
All respondents having a marriage partner	86.7
of which: – Ukrainians	92.9
– Russians	51.4
– other nationalities	61.7

Information provided by respondents about themselves and their marriage partners shows that one out of every three married couples unites a man and a woman with the same social and professional status. This finding generally coincides with respondents' opinion that close social origin and social status of partners is an important determinant of a successful marriage (28% of respondents believe this to be very important). The largest percentage of married couples with spouses being representatives of the same social and professional group is recorded among student youth; at the same time, spouses very often are top-managers, owners of large- and middle scale businesses or top-level public servants (Table 3.3.7). Preliminary conclusions indicate that representatives of top social and professional groups are more inclined to join in marriage with representatives of the same group, however, the information available is not sufficient to prove this affirmation and some further studies are needed.

**Table 3.3.7. Percentage of married couples with spouses falling within the same social and professional group, % (April, 2009)**

	have a marriage partner from the same social and professional group
All respondents having a marriage partner	34.1
of which:	
top-managers, owners of large- and middle-scale businesses, top-level public servants	52.6
owners of small-scale companies and enterprises, middle-level public servants	43.2
highly skilled intellectual labor workers	33.9
specialists on non-management positions and their assistants	40.7
unskilled intellectual and physical labor workers	28.7

Continuation of the Table 3.3.7

	have a marriage partner from the same social and professional group
skilled physical labor workers	33.6
unemployed	23.0
persons keeping the house, non-working persons, retired persons and disabled persons	11.8
students	56.1
secondary and vocational school students	53.3

According to survey results, spouses of a half of married couples of respondents had the same educational attainment (Table 3.3.8). Therefore, persons with similar educational attainments are quite often inclined to join in marriage unions, although it is not infrequent when males and females with different educational attainments also get married. Persons with tertiary education 5A and persons with primary education join in marriage with similar educational partner most often.

**Table 3.3.8. Percentage of married couples with spouses having the same educational level (according to ISCED Classification), % (April, 2009)**

	have a marriage partner with the same educational attainment
All respondents who have a marriage partner	54.4
including respondents with the following educational attainment: primary education	62.5
lower secondary education	52.9
upper secondary education	54.0
post-secondary non-tertiary education	52.4
tertiary education 5B	47.1
tertiary education 5A and 6	65.1
advanced research programmer	11.1

The available information on to how persons with different social and demographic characteristics join in marriage unions, this being one of the indicators of “transparency of borders” between social groups, may be used for further scientific studies of specific features of social stratification in the present-day Ukrainian society, rigidity of social hierarchy, as well as achievements and contradictions on the way to a democratic “society of equal opportunities”.

**Forms of marriage and cohabitation.** One of the specific characteristics of demographic development on its modern stage is pluralization of marital and family relations, a wider occurrence of new forms of cohabitation resulting from

complicated processes of marital and family relations transformation which are presently underway. Marital partnership without registration of marriage (cohabitation) is typical for the population across all European countries, with the overwhelming majority of marriages starting with partners living together. For this reason, researchers singled out persons who are at this stage of marriage into a separate group, along with single persons and persons in a legally registered marriage<sup>19</sup>. This phenomenon is becoming a more widespread practice in Ukraine. Scientists classify these cohabitation into several types: for instance, P. Heuveline and J. Timberlake single out six types: marginal union; prelude to marriage; stage in marriage process; alternative to singleness; alternative to marriage; indistinguishable from marriage<sup>20</sup>.

First information about the occurrence of new forms of marriage across the marriageable age population of Ukraine was obtained on the basis of materials of the 2001 population census. Within the framework of that census, married respondents answered a question about whether their marriage was legally registered or not, thus allowing to determine the percentage of married persons whose marriage was not registered. The questionnaire of the social and demographic survey "Family and Children" (April, 2008) was worked out by the organizers using the same principle. The survey results provided the basis for the following conclusion: while new forms of marital relations – unregistered marriage, distance marriage – are becoming a traditional form of marital relations, a traditional officially registered marriage still remains the basic form of marriage. In the majority of cases, unregistered marriage is a trial stage before official marriage, which is especially true for young people<sup>21</sup>.

The study of modern forms of marriage relations within the framework of the survey "Family and Family Relations" (April 2009) attempted to apply two approaches to this issue: the first approach applied in the survey "Family and Children", already a traditional approach in Ukraine, according to which population is subdivided into unmarried and married persons, with their further subdivision into those in registered and unregistered marriage; and the second, more broad approach when the study focuses on cohabitation which may or may not be classified as marriage. These approaches had an impact on the wording of the questions included into the questionnaire.

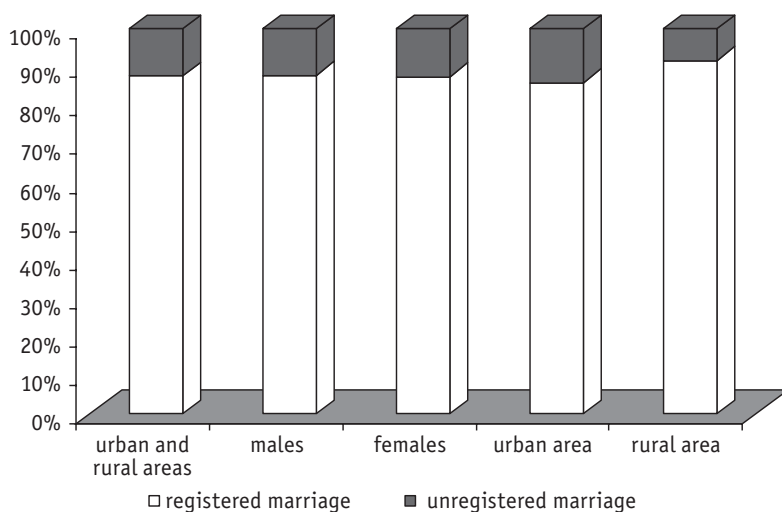
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<sup>19</sup> Partnership, childbearing and parenting // The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses. Edited by M. Macura, A.L. MacDonald, W. Haug. – UN, New York and Geneva, 2005. – P. 63-66.

<sup>20</sup> Heuveline P. and Timberlake J.M. Cohabitation and family formation across western nations // The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses. Edited by M. Macura, A.L. MacDonald, W. Haug. – UN, New York and Geneva, 2005. – P. 66-67.

<sup>21</sup> Шлюб, сім'я та дітородні орієнтації в Україні. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008. – С. 104.

Like in the preceding survey (“Family and Children”) respondents were asked the question **“What is your current marital status?”** with the following response options suggested, along with other possible ones: *I am in a registered marriage; I am in an unregistered marriage*. Almost nine out of every ten married respondents indicated that they are in a registered official marriage. The percentage of persons living in unregistered marriage among married males and married females is equal – about 12%, with a corresponding proportion significantly greater among urban residents than among rural residents (Fig. 3.3.10). Therefore, the data on the rate of unregistered marriages confirm the findings of the survey “Family and Children”.

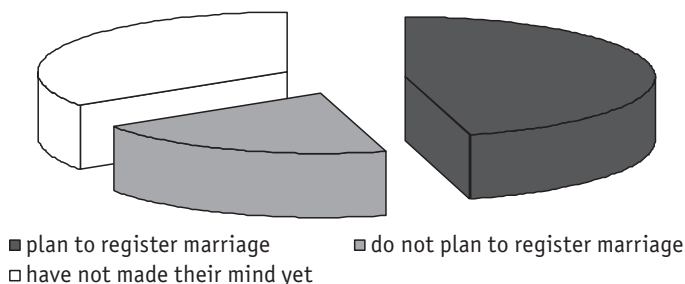


**Fig. 3.3.10. Distribution of married respondents by form of marriage (registered or unregistered), % (April, 2009)**

Respondents in unregistered marriage were asked the question: **“Do you plan to register marriage with your partner?”**. The responses demonstrate that half of them plan to register their marriage officially and one out of every three of them has not made his/her mind yet. This may serve as another indication that in the majority of cases unregistered marriage is a kind of a trial stage after which the marriage is either officially registered or broken up (Fig. 3.3.11).

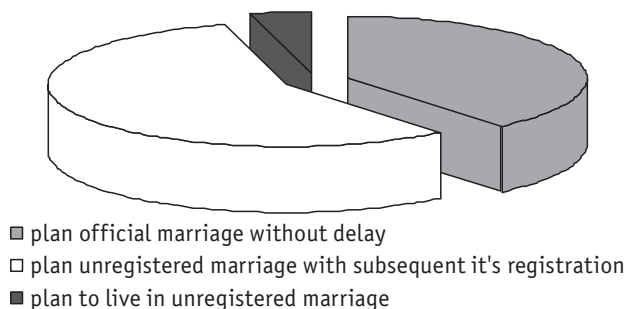
With the aim of determining the likely scenario of further transformation of marriage forms in Ukraine, the questionnaire included questions concerning the form of marital relations which currently unmarried respondents plan to choose in the future. Persons who were then unmarried but intended to get married in the future were asked a question: **“Do you plan to get officially married?”**

with the following answer options: *yes, without delay; yes, but I would like my marriage to begin with a trial marriage (cohabitation) with its subsequent registration; no, I plan to live in an unregistered marriage.*



**Fig. 3.3.11. Distribution of respondents in unregistered marriage by their intentions as to further registration of marriage, % (April, 2009)**

The majority of respondents (almost 60%) indicated that they would choose unregistered marriage (cohabitation), but only as a trial stage before its subsequent official registration. A significant percentage of respondents (one out of every three) plan to register his/her marriage without delay; and only 5% plan to refuse from official marriage at all and live in an unregistered marriage (cohabitation) (Fig. 3.3.12).

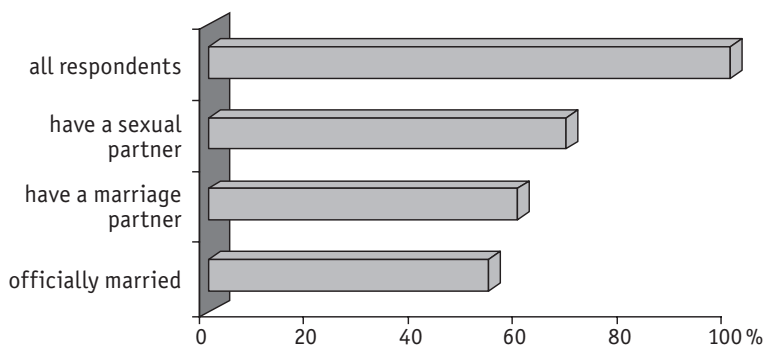


**Fig. 3.3.12. Distribution of respondents who plan to get married in the future by the preferred form of marriage, % (April, 2009)**

As mentioned above, to obtain additional data on the specific character of present-day marital relations, one more approach was applied within the framework of the survey. Given that modern marital relations have a somewhat vague nature and “blurred” boundaries between marriage, cohabitation and sexual

partnership<sup>22</sup>, an attempt was made to study the forms of cohabitation which may or may not be marriage, as classified by respondents themselves. With this aim, the questionnaire included questions related to sexual partnership with their further narrowing to determine when sexual partnership becomes cohabitation and cohabitation becomes marriage; in this connection the experience of the international program “Generations and Gender Programme” was used with the focus on family, family ties and social and economic conditions under which households function in modern well-developed industrial countries. This program was coordinated by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe<sup>23</sup>.

Respondents were asked the following questions, one after another **“Do you have a partner with whom you have stable sexual partnership (this may be your partner in marriage)?”**; **“Are you in marital relations with your partner (or do you regard relations with your partner as marriage)?”** and, finally **“Is your marriage registered?”** Responses show that the majority (70%) of respondents have a partner with whom they have stable sexual relationship; 90% of these respondents regard these relations as marital relations and in nine out of every ten cases marital relations exists in the form of an officially registered marriage (Fig. 3.3.13).



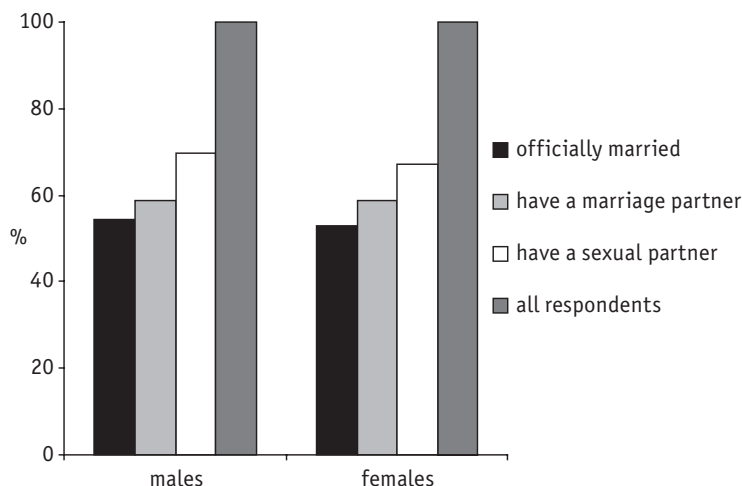
**Fig. 3.3.13. Percentage of respondents in marital relations of any form, % (April, 2009)**

One-third of childbearing-age respondents do not have a sexual partner relations which could be characterized as stable. The majority of respondents who have such a partner (80%) are in an officially registered marriage with him/her; a half of respondents who are not officially married regard their cohabitation as marriage, with another half being of the opposite opinion. No significant male-

<sup>22</sup> Населення України. Народжувальність в Україні у контексті суспільно-трансформаційних процесів. – Київ: АДЕФ-Україна, 2008. – С. 168.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2006/0237/tema01.php>

female variations exist in the distribution of respondents by forms of marital relations (Fig. 3.3.14).



**Fig. 3.3.14. Percentage of males and females in marital relations of any form, % (April, 2009)**

Therefore, in Ukraine registered marriage is the main form of sexual partnership (meaning permanent partnership). A half of respondents who have a permanent sexual partner and are not officially married classify their relationship as marriage union (unregistered marriage/cohabitation). It is of interest that according to answers to the questions: **“Please, specify your current marital status”** and **“Is your marriage registered?”** (with regard to marital partnership), the numbers of respondents who specified that they are in registered marriage coincide. However, the number of persons who reported that they are in unregistered marriage (when specifying their marital status) and the number of persons who mentioned that they have a marriage partner but their marriage is not registered do not coincide. This, most probably, shows that these respondents could not clearly identify the form of their marital relations; it may be that their relationship is just being formed.

Respondents’ answers concerning the form of marital relations very depending on age. The older age groups show greater proportion of persons who have a sexual partner, with a growing percentage of persons in a marital partnership, including registered marriage. This trend is well-traceable for males but the situation with females is not so unambiguous because of divorce and widowhood processes which have a greater effect upon their marital status.

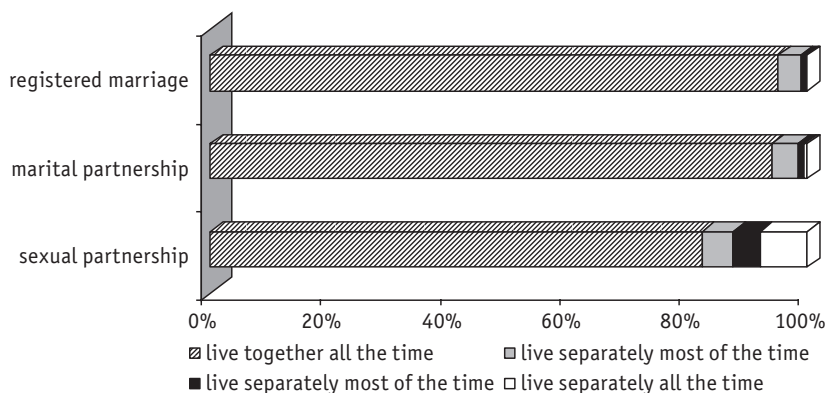
Responses of young males and females under 25 very significantly: the percentage of respondents who regard their relationship as marriage, including the proportion those who registered their marriage officially, is considerably higher among females of this age than among males. This observation indicates the fact that females are likely to marry at an earlier age than males and may also evidence that they have a more serious attitude towards sexual relations (Table 3.3.9).

**Table 3.3.9. Distribution of males and females by the form of marital partnership, % (April, 2009)**

	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	15-49
<b>MALES</b>						
All respondents:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
including: have a permanent sexual partner	17.1	42.2	83.2	86.7	89.2	69.8
of which: are in marital relations with him/her	16.0	35.7	84.7	93.4	94.6	84.0
of which: are in a registered marriage	50.0	68.0	87.6	94.7	95.5	92.7
<b>FEMALES</b>						
All respondents:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
including: have a permanent sexual partner	17.4	53.1	81.8	81.6	76.6	67.1
of which: are in marital relations with him/her	40.0	57.0	91.5	93.5	95.9	87.7
of which: are in a registered marriage	30.0	91.8	87.4	91.2	92.2	90.2

The form of living arrangements of partners in a marriage union was identified using the question **“Do you live together or separately?”** with the following answer options: *we live together all the time; we live together most of the time and sometimes separately; we live separately most of the time and sometimes together; we live separately all the time*. The answers obtained show that the overwhelming majority of respondents live together with his/her partner all the time or most of the time, and the closer marital partnership form to marriage, the lower the percentage of respondents living separately (Fig. 3.3.15). Long-distance and guest marriages are not common practices for Ukraine: an insignificant 0.3% of respondents who are officially married live separately from their partners and about 1% of respondents live separately most of the time and only sometimes together.





**Fig. 3.3.15. Distribution of respondents in different forms of marital relations by living arrangements, % (April, 2009)**

Currently there is much information about same-sex marriages; this issue arouses strong disputes and is given polar assessments. The question **“Is your partner a male or a female?”** was used to determine whether this issue is currently of any importance in Ukraine; answers of respondents of different sexes were analyzed separately. As the results show, 2% of males and 1% of females reported that the partner with whom they are in permanent sexual relationship is of the same sex. However, the questionnaire contained the following footnote recommendation in respect of this question: *if partner and respondent are of the same sex, do not inquire whether this is not a mistake*; accordingly, it should not be ruled out that there was a probability of misunderstanding by respondents of the question or an erroneous answer when partner is understood as a friend, especially if residing together in the household. This question was included in the survey questionnaire in the first attempt to conduct a social and demographic study of this phenomenon in our country and, therefore, the reliability of the information received can be assessed only with further studies which are undoubtedly indispensable.

## IV. PARENTS AND CHILDREN AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE FAMILY (*based on the findings of sampling social and demographic survey "Family and Family Relations"*)

### 4.1. Childbearing orientations in Ukraine

***Desired number of children.*** The desired number of children should be understood as the number of children a respondent would like to have under appropriate conditions based on his/her personal preferences only and without regard for his/her particular life circumstances (material well-being, in the first place) and biography.

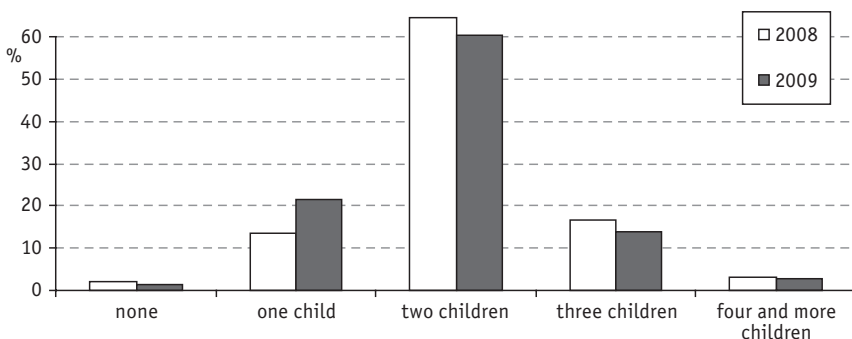
19.3% of total respondents indicated that even if they had all the necessary conditions they would prefer to have only one child; 12.8% expressed a preference for three children and only 2.5% – four children and more. The highest proportion of respondents said they would like to give birth to two children (54.7%). 9.5% were unable to specify the exact number of children they would like to have, with 2.8% of them phrasing the answer to the question about the desired number of children *"as many as will be born"* and 6.7% of respondents, although planning to limit the number of children in their families, said they *"do not know"* how many children they would like to have. 1.2% of respondents indicated they would like to have no children at all under any circumstances.

Identical phrasing of questions about childbearing orientations of respondents in the special sampling social and demographic survey of population of childbearing ages "Family and Children" held in April 2008 and of questions in the survey "Family and Family Relations" (April 2009) allowed to compare the findings obtained. Such comparisons, *inter alia*, illustrate the extent to which childbearing orientations may be sensitive to changes in social and economic environment.

The programs used to design both surveys, along with such response option as a particular number of desired children, also included such answers as *"as many as will be born"* and *"I do not know"*. This has sense since such alternative responses (as an alternative to numeric responses) help to find out whether respondents' opinions on the number of desired children are clear and considered. If a respondent hesitated for too long but still did not make his/her mind as to a particular number of children, an interviewer checked the answer *"I do not know"*. If a respondent did not plan to limit the number of children, the answer *"as many as will be born"* was checked. In the survey "Family and Children, 2008" the proportion of respondents who did not make

their mind as to how many children they would like to have under appropriate circumstances exceeded the corresponding proportion determined according to results of the survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009”. In our opinion, it is more expedient to compare responses obtained within the framework of two successive surveys only for the populations of respondents who knew clearly how many children they wished to have and who had explicit reproductive plans for the future.

The survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009”, as compared with the preceding year’s survey, clearly demonstrates a declining trend in the proportions of respondents wishing to have two, three, four and more children, with an increase in the proportion of those wishing to have only one child (Fig. 4.1.1). While within the survey of 2008 the percentage of respondents who would like to have three children if their circumstances were appropriate exceeded the percentage of respondents preferring to have only one child, the survey of 2009 demonstrated a shift of this excess in favor of the latter. The process of transition from a three-child family pattern to a two-child one and from a two-child family pattern to a one-child one is likely to continue under the continuing deterioration of the social and economic situation in which families exist.

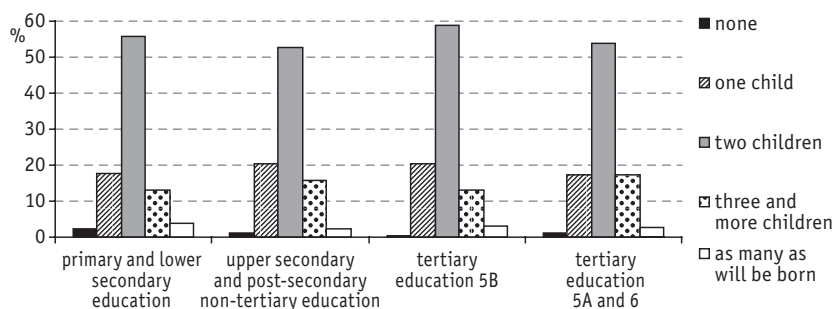


**Fig. 4.1.1. Distribution of respondents by the desired number of children (without regard for answers “as many as will be born” and “I do not know”, (April 2008 and 2009)**

Although the respondents who *didn’t know* how many children they would like to have if their circumstances were appropriate and the respondents who answered “as many as will be born” were not taken into account for the sake of reliability of comparison of respondents’ answers on their childbearing intentions obtained in the surveys of 2008 and 2009, these respondents should not be disregarded altogether. There is an opinion that this group of respondents

does deserve attention since due to their *uncertain childbearing plans* they can be most sensitive to the demographic policy measures<sup>1</sup>.

A distinctive feature of the group of respondents with no clear childbearing plans (answers “*I do not know*” and “*as many as will be born*”) is that their majority (four in every five) are urban residents. The lowest percentage of respondents who did not indicate any particular number of desired children was recorded among respondents aged 30–34. Persons aged under 25 accounted for one third of the respondents with uncertain childbearing orientations. Since at this age young people are more concerned with getting education and building a career, it could be assumed that their childbearing plans will depend on whether they complete graduation and getting an employment successfully. However, a variation in distribution of answers of respondents with different educational level by the desired number of children was rather insignificant (Fig. 4.1.2).



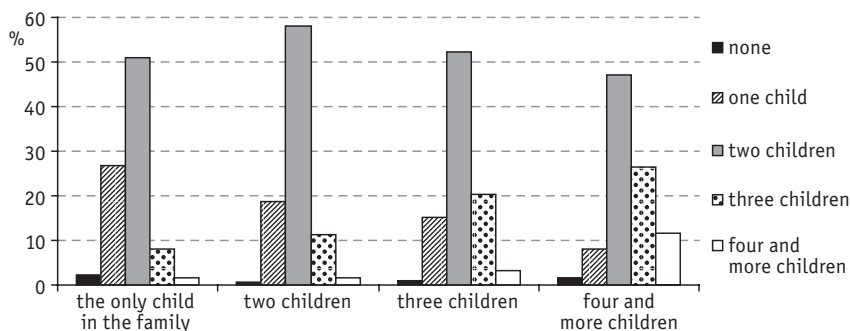
**Fig. 4.1.2. Distribution of answers of respondents with different educational level (according to ISCED Classification) by the desired number of children, % (April 2009)**

The proportion of persons who would like to have one and two children under appropriate circumstances among respondents with tertiary education 5B was somewhat higher than the corresponding proportions in the groups of respondents with other educational levels. At the same time, the proportion of respondents wishing to have three and more children among respondents with tertiary education 5A and 6 slightly exceeded the corresponding proportion among respondents with lower educational level. Likewise, the average desired number of children of respondents with tertiary education 5A and 6 was slightly higher, being 2.02 children, while this figure for respondents with

<sup>1</sup> Henriette Engelhardt. Fertility Intentions and Preferences: Effects of Structural and Financial Incentives and Constraints in Austria. 2004.  
<http://paa2005.princeton.edu/download.aspx>

tertiary education 5B was 1.95 children and 1.96 children for respondents with upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education.

While there was a low correlation between childbearing orientations of respondents and their educational level, the dependency of the desired number of children on the number of children in a parent's family was very pronounced. Accordingly, the proportion of persons who would wish to have only one child even if appropriate conditions were available was considerably higher among respondents who were the only child in the family, as against the corresponding proportion in the group of respondents who had brothers or sisters. The percentage of persons wishing to have two children was the high in all groups of respondents, however, the corresponding figures were the higher among respondents who were raised in a two-child family. Respondents from families with many children preferred to have three and four or more children more often as compared with other respondents wished (Fig. 4.1.3).

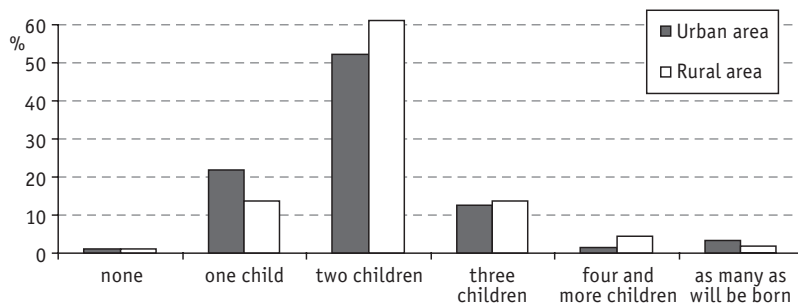


**Fig. 4.1.3. Distribution of respondents' answers about the desired number of children depending on the number of children in the parent's family (April, 2009)**

Both urban and rural residents mostly expressed a preference for a two-child family. However, the percentage of respondents wishing to have two children among rural residents considerably exceeded the corresponding share for respondents from urban area (60.8% and 52.2%, respectively). At the same time, urban area accounted for a larger percentage of respondents who preferred to have one child as compared with rural area where the percentage of respondents wishing to have three children was similar to the percentage of those wishing to have only one child (Fig. 4.1.4).

**Planned number of children.** Planned (or expected) number of children is one of the most important characteristics of an individual's childbearing behaviour representing the number of children which this person plans (expects)

to have till completion of his/her childbearing period depending on his/her life circumstances, including well-being and financial situation, as well as personal preferences. If the reproductive attitude is harmonious<sup>2</sup>, the planned number of children coincides with the desired one and with views of both spouses concerning the ideal number of children in the family. However, generally the average planned number of children is lower than the average desired number and the average ideal number of children.



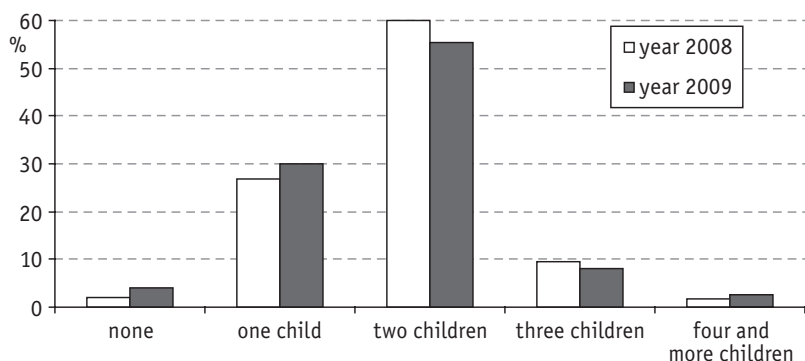
**Fig. 4.1.4. Distribution of respondents' answers about the desired number of children by the type of settlement (April, 2009)**

The results of social and demographic survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" show that half of respondents planned to have two children; this finding, along with the relevant data of the survey "Family and Children", 2008<sup>3</sup>, confirms that a considerable majority of Ukraine's population have a preference for a two-child family.

As shown on Figure 4.1.5, during the period between the two surveys respondents' plans shifted mostly towards one-child family pattern and childlessness and, accordingly, the proportions of respondents who planned to have two or three children were reduced, this reduction most likely being a reflection of the impacts on the population of the destabilized social and economic situation in the country in the period 2008 – beginning of 2009. According to results of the survey "Family and Children, 2008", average total planned number of children was 1.82 children, while the results of the survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" showed a decline in this figure to 1.76 children (1.70 children in urban area and 1.92 children in rural area).

<sup>2</sup> Белова В.А. Число детей в семье. М.: Статистика, 1975. – 114 с.

<sup>3</sup> Note: questions about childbearing orientations in the surveys "Family and Children", April 2008 and "Family and Family Relations", April 2009 were phrased identically to ensure comparability of survey results.



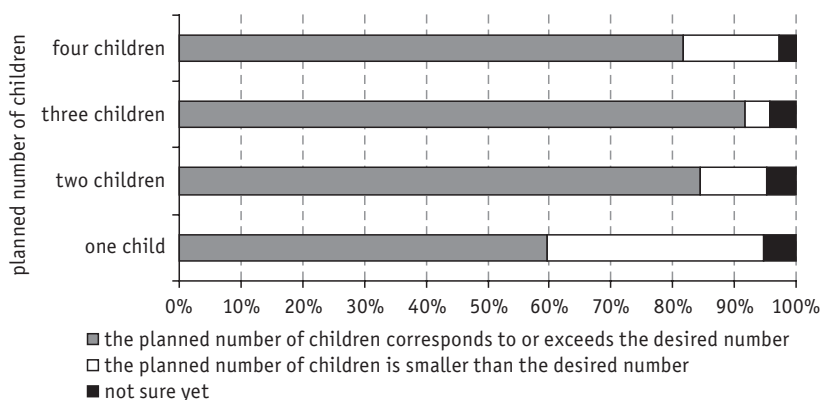
**Fig. 4.1.5. Distribution of respondents by the planned number of children without regard for answers “as many as will be born” and “I don’t know” (April, 2009)**

While determining *a desired number of children*, a respondent refers to the situation which depends only on his/her personal aspirations and this number of children is perceived by the respondent as one of the constituents of his/her personal realization<sup>4</sup>. However, due to particular life circumstances, a wish to have a certain number of children may remain unrealized. Since *a planned number of children* is determined not only on the basis of a respondent’s subjective attitudes but also taking into account his/her actual life circumstances, the comparison of the desired and planned (or expected) numbers of children allows to estimate the extent to which particular life circumstances affect implementation of this wish.

Three out of every five respondents who planned to limit the number of their children to one child would not change their fertility plans even if appropriate circumstances existed. One third of those polled who planned to have one child would change their plans towards having two and more children under appropriate conditions (Fig. 4.1.6). If particular life circumstances of these respondents remain unchanged, their wish for more (than one) children is unlikely to be fully realized.

Four out of every five respondents who planned to have two children indicated that this number of children is optimal for them personally and almost 11% would like to have three and more children, however, life circumstances force them to limit their childbearing plans only to two children.

<sup>4</sup> For such function of children as self-realization of their parents, see Бойко В.В. «Ценность детей в жизни семьи и личности» // Семья сегодня. – М.: Статистика, 1979. – С. 28–39.



**Fig. 4.1.6. Consistency of opinions of respondents about planned and desired number of children (April, 2009)**

It should not be expected that under certain conditions favorable for having a child there would be a significant rise in birth rates among persons planning three children, since in 92% of cases the planned number of children of these respondents coincided with their desired number of children (Fig. 4.1.6). However, in the total population of respondents with clear reproductive plans for the future, one out of every five respondents does not see any opportunity for full realization of his/her need in desired number of children.

Questions about main obstacles to having a desired number of children were aimed at identifying the circumstances which hinder full realization of need in desired number of children. Answers of respondents who indicated actual and not hypothetical (as in the case when the planned and the desired number of children coincide) reasons, which make them limit the number of children in the family, are crucial for development of demographic policy. **Insufficient well-being of the family** was most often indicated by respondents as the main obstacle to having a child. While in the total population only 58.3% of respondents mentioned this factor, among respondents who planned to have one child but would like to have two and more children if appropriate conditions existed this factor was indicated by 68.6%. Among persons planning to have two children but who would like to have three and more children under appropriate conditions, 72.4% said they were unable to realize this wish because of financial difficulties. **Inappropriate housing conditions** as an obstacle to having the desired number of children was mentioned more often by respondents who planned to limit their family size to two children but would like to have more children if appropriate conditions existed (51.6%) than by respondents from other groups. However, among respondents who planned to have one child but would like to have two



and more children if appropriate conditions existed the proportion of those who refused from having the desired number of children through this constraint was higher than in the general population of respondents.

It is of interest that for respondents with an “imbalance” between the planned and the desired number of children such a constraint as ***inability to provide necessary conditions for children’s future (to ensure proper education of children etc.)*** as a factor limiting the number of children in the family had much more significance than for respondents whose planned and desired number of children coincided. Furthermore, respondents who planned only one child but expressed a wish for having two or more children if appropriate conditions existed more often mentioned ***health problems***. Such social and psychological factors limiting the number of children in a family as ***I want to focus on my own interests*** and ***I need more free time*** have insignificant impact on childbearing intentions of respondents (Table 4.1.1).

**Table 4.1.1. Main obstacles to having the desired number of children for respondents whose desired number of children exceeded the planned one, in % of a respective group of respondents\* (April, 2009)**

Obstacles to having the desired number of children	All respondents 2009	One child is planned, two or more children are desired	Two children are planned, three or more children are desired
Insufficient well-being of the family	58.3	68.6	72.4
Aspiration to build a successful career	17.3	9.1	15.5
Not enough time for child care and upbringing because of work and professional activities	12.9	10.5	13.5
No appropriate housing conditions	41.0	44.8	51.6
Tense relations in the family (including between spouses)	10.0	14.1	6.7
Health problems	18.4	28.2	17.2
Inability to provide necessary conditions for children’s future (to ensure proper education of children etc.)	26.7	30.2	35.4
Marriage partner doesn’t want more children	5.6	7.0	9.4
Reduced competitiveness and loss of earnings as a result of having a child	3.1	2.7	4.8
I want to focus on my own interests	6.6	3.3	3.6
I need more free time	4.4	2.5	3.1

\* respondents could choose from several answer options

According to results of the survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009”, the difference between the average desired and average planned number of children which indicates the extent to which fertility can be raised by providing favorable conditions for having a child was considerably reduced (from 0.30 children to 0.22 children) as compared with the survey “Family and Children, 2008”. The primary reason for this reduction was a more significant drop in the average desired number of children according to results of 2009 survey as compared with that of 2008. It could be assumed that the percentage of respondents with unrealized desire for children will be more considerable among respondents aged 35 and older, especially among women. Female respondents approaching the end of their childbearing activity had the lowest average planned number of children – 1.53 children, being by 23.4% lower as compared with females in their most active childbearing years who, by the way, demonstrated the highest average desired number of children across all the groups of respondents (Table 4.1.2).

**Table 4.1.2. Average desired and planned number of children for males and females by age groups (April, 2009)**

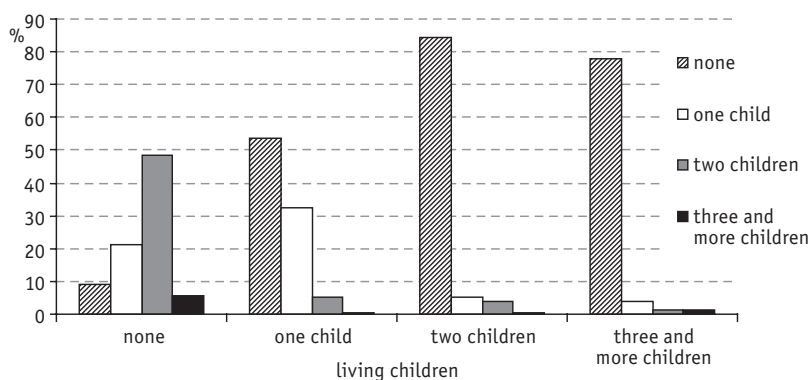
Age groups	Average desired number of children			Average planned number of children			Difference between average desired and planned number of children		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
15–19	1.92	1.82	2.03	1.72	1.60	1.84	0.20	0.22	0.18
20–24	2.07	2.03	2.11	1.83	1.79	1.88	0.23	0.24	0.23
25–29	2.05	2.02	2.08	1.92	1.97	1.88	0.13	0.05	0.20
30–34	2.00	1.96	2.04	1.83	1.85	1.81	0.17	0.11	0.23
35–39	2.01	2.04	1.98	1.77	1.87	1.69	0.23	0.17	0.29
40–44	1.92	1.92	1.93	1.64	1.63	1.64	0.29	0.29	0.29
45–49	1.86	1.91	1.82	1.63	1.75	1.53	0.23	0.16	0.29
Total	1.98	1.96	2.00	1.76	1.78	1.75	0.22	0.18	0.25

**Expected more number of children.** For the sake of detailed study of childbearing intentions of respondents, in addition to the question about total expected number of children, the respondents were asked to specify the number of *other* children they plan (expect) to have in addition to the children already born. This specifying question was necessitated by a strong impact of the number of an individual’s living children on his/her further childbearing plans. Among respondents with one child (who accounted for 35.1% of the total respondents (Table 4.1.3)) 53.5% did not plan to have one more child; 32.5% expressed a wish to have one more child and 5.4% - to have other two and more children (i.e. preference for a family with many children).

**Table 4.1.3. Distribution of respondents by age groups and by the number of born children (April, 2009 )**

	No children	One child	Two children	Three children	Four children and more	Total
15–19	98.0	1.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	100
20–24	82.2	14.8	2.7	0.3	0.0	100
25–29	36.6	48.1	14.1	1.2	0.0	100
30–34	22.3	47.6	26.6	2.7	0.7	100
35–39	7.5	46.3	40.7	4.4	1.0	100
40–44	8.9	48.6	36.0	5.2	1.2	100
45–49	6.9	40.9	44.8	6.6	0.9	100
Total	38.3	35.1	23.2	2.9	0.5	100

The proportion of respondents with two children wishing to have a third child was even lower. Thus, 84.4% of persons with two children definitely said that they had no wish to have another (third) child in their family (Fig. 4.1.7). In this connection it should be noted that three out of every four respondents with two children who did not plan a third child had already realized their childbearing plans, since even if appropriate conditions existed the number of children they would like to have still did not exceed two children. One out of every five respondents who had three and more children (those respondents accounted for 3.4% of the total population of respondents) expressed no intention to limit themselves to the number of children already born. It appears that childbearing orientations of this group of respondents stem from their religious convictions since all of them indicated that they believed in God.



**Fig. 4.1.7. Distribution of respondents by the number of expected more children depending on the number of born children (April, 2009)**

38.3% of respondents had no children at the moment of the survey. The largest percentage of childless persons was recorded among respondents aged under 25. In the next age groups the percentage of respondents without children gradually decreased. Among respondents aged 45–49 only 7% were childless. Since according to current statistic materials the number of children born to females 45 and older does not exceed 0.1% of the total number of children born, the percentage of childless females aged 45–49 (7.6%) may be regarded as the figure of final childlessness of generation of women they represent.

The percentages of respondents intending to have *one more* child and *two more* children were almost equal. Only 2.5% of respondents made a decision to have *another* three or more children. 7.5% of those polled had no clear childbearing plans; an insignificant percentage of those respondents (3.0%), although not objecting to have *another* child/children, could not tell how many children they would like to have, and 44.6% of all respondent did not plan to have more children in the future.

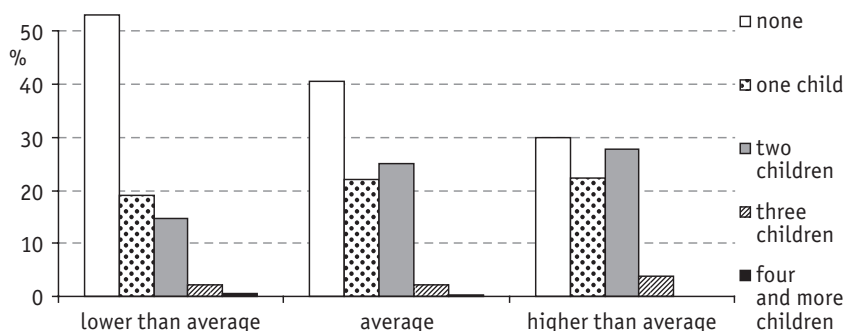
Intentions to stop childbearing were somewhat stronger among females than among males. Accordingly, 56.3% of females with one child said they did not plan *another* child(ren), with this figure among males with one child being less than a half; 86% of females with two children expressed no wish to have more children, as against 82% of males with two children<sup>5</sup>.

The analysis of fertility intentions of respondents with different self-assessment of own well-being showed that 53% of those polled who assessed their economic situation as below the average did not plan to have *another* child, while the percentage of negative answers in the group with higher than average well-being was 30%; at the same time, the proportion of respondents wishing to have *another* two-three children was the highest (Fig. 4.1.8).

***Intentions to have a child in the next three years.*** Almost 48% of respondents expressed an intention to have a child/children, however, only 22% planned to implement this intention within the next three years. Age, marital status, living children and their age undoubtedly are the most powerful factors having an impact on decisions to have a child in the next years. Accordingly, 87.5% of respondents who planned to have a child in the next three years were from the age group under 35. The majority of those respondents either had no children at all or had given birth only to one child.

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<sup>5</sup> Similar gender-specific disparities in childbearing intentions were identified within the demographic and health survey of 2007 „Україна. Медико-демографічне обстеження 2007 року” – С. 95.

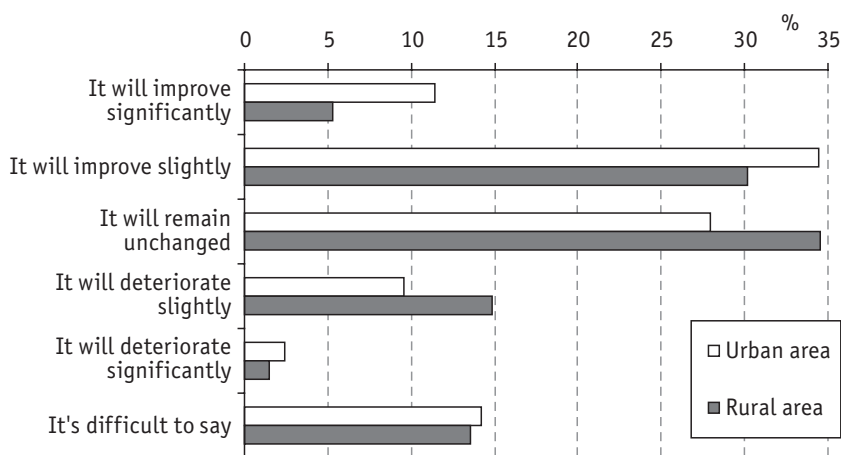


**Fig. 4.1.8. Distribution of respondents with different assessment of well-being by answers about expected more children, (April, 2009)**

In addition to that, childbearing plans for the next three years to a considerable extent depended on changes in material well-being anticipated by respondents in the nearest future. 42.8% of respondents who expressed an intention to have a child in the next three years expected improving of economic situation over that period. Unlike this, the percentage of respondents who had pessimistic expectations as to own well-being (i.e. those who expected it to deteriorate) but, nevertheless, planned to have a child in the next three years, was three times less (13.3%). Although it well may be that this group of respondents associated deterioration of their family's well-being with the birth of a child (or another child). About 30% of respondents who planned to have a child in the next three years did not expect any changes of own well-being.

Urban-rural differentiation of respondents' answers showed that urban residents had more optimistic expectations as compared with rural residents and to a greater extent anticipated improvement of their economic situation in the next years. Moreover, among urban residents the proportion of respondents anticipating an improvement of their well-being was significantly higher than the proportion of persons who did not see any grounds for some substantial changes. Respondents from rural area mostly believed that their well-being either would remain unchanged or would slightly deteriorate (Fig. 4.1.9). However, despite different expectations, the proportions of persons planned to have a child in the next three years were almost identical among respondents from urban settlements and respondents from rural area.

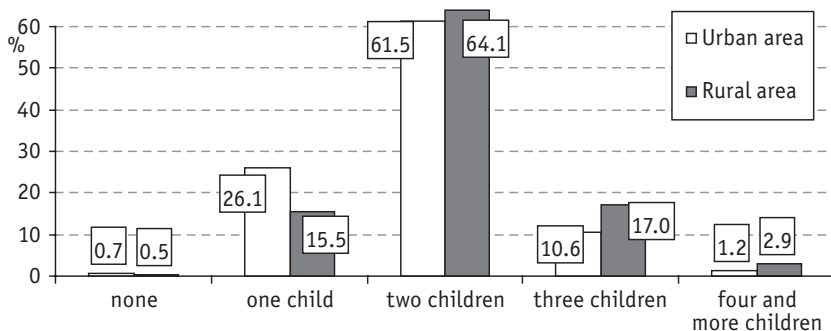
***Ideal number of children in the family.*** The ideal number of children means the number of children which a respondent considers most optimal both for the family and the child. The question was worded in such a manner as to emphasize that respondents should answer irrespective of their preferences and plans focusing on a hypothetical ideal family.



**Fig. 4.1.9. Opinions of respondents planning to have a child in the next three years about changes of their well-being over this period (April, 2009)**

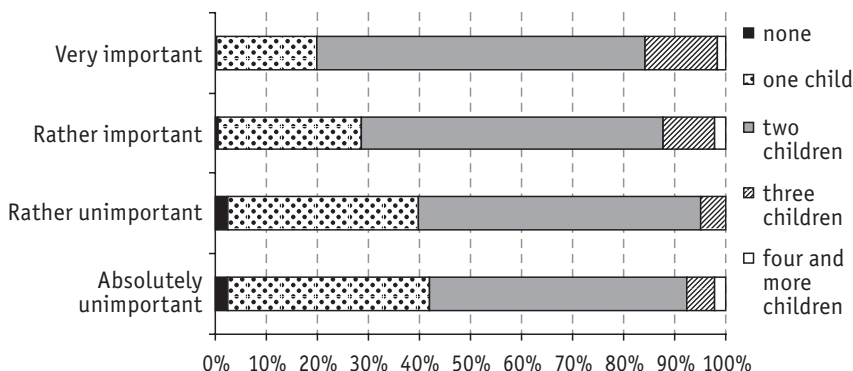
According to results of the survey “Family and Children, 2008”, almost two-thirds of total respondents believed that a modern family should have two children. In the survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009” the percentage of such answers decreased to 62.2%, with a statement that one child is enough for a present-day family becoming somewhat more popular (almost 23% (year 2009) against 17% (year 2008)). 12.5% of respondents believed that the ideal family is family with at least three children and just 1.7% agreed with the statement that the ideal number of children in a family is four and more children. According to survey findings of 2009, the average ideal number of children was 1.92.

The gender variation in the average ideal number of children was insignificant: from 1.89 children for males and 1.95 for females. At the same time, there was a considerable variation in the distribution of answers about the ideal number of children given by respondents from urban and rural areas. Accordingly, the proportion of urban residents convinced that the ideal family should have only one child, was 1.7 times greater than that corresponding proportion of rural residents. Respondents from rural area considered more often that the ideal family is a family with three children. For this group of respondents, the frequency of this answer was higher than the corresponding figure for urban residents and the frequency of selecting an answer option “one child” (Fig. 4.1.10). Consequently, for urban respondents the average ideal number of children was considerably lower than the corresponding number for respondents from rural area: 1.85 children and 2.08 children, respectively.



**Fig. 4.1.10. Distribution of respondents' answers about the ideal number of children in a family (April, 2009)**

A two-child family was regarded as ideal even by those respondents who clearly indicated that children were “*absolutely unimportant*” for them. Among respondents who assessed children as a family value very high (3/4 of total respondents mentioned that children as a life value were “*very important*”), 64.2% believed that the ideal number of children in a family is two children, 14.1% specified three children, with the proportion of respondents convinced that a one-child family is the ideal family being smaller than the corresponding proportion in respondents who gave lower assessment of the significance of children (Fig. 4.1.11).



**Fig. 4.1.11. Distribution of answers of respondents with different assessment of significance of children by the ideal number of children (April, 2009)**

Table 4.1.4 allows a comparison of the average *ideal*, *desired* and *planned* number of children against each other and by the type of settlement separately

for males and females. Numerous surveys of reproductive orientations determined that the desired and planned number of children for males is on the average greater than for females<sup>6</sup>. This correlation is confirmed by the findings of the survey “Family and Children, 2008”, as all of the mentioned figures were higher for males. However, the findings of the survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009” showed that the ideal and desired number of children was somewhat higher for females than for males. In 2009, only the average planned number of children was slightly higher for male respondents.

**Table 4.1.4. Average ideal, desired and planned number of children for respondents of different gender by type of settlement (April, 2009)**

	Urban and rural areas		Urban areas		Rural area	
	males	females	males	females	males	females
Ideal number of children	1.89	1.95	1.82	1.89	2.06	2.10
Desired number of children	1.96	2.00	1.89	1.94	2.11	2.14
Planned number of children	1.78	1.75	1.71	1.68	1.93	1.91

**Childbearing directives.** *Demographic directives* should be understood as instructions, insistent advice or recommendations from an individual’s immediate environment, usually relatives, by which they predispose (prepare) him or her to certain demographic events. Instructions, advices and persuasions are an external factor for individual, but their regularity, persistence and frequency gradually predispose an individual to a behavior which is mostly suitable for the immediate environment. Over time, if no conflicts arise, advice given by relatives may be perceived by an individual as his/her own intention.

Instructions, insistent advices and recommendations of relatives and friends from the immediate environment concerning the number of children a family should have, and also concerning the optimal age for having the first, second, third etc. child are regarded as childbearing directives. Answers given by respondents to the question: **“How many children would you advise your (or your future) children to have?”** allow to identify the nature of childbearing directives.

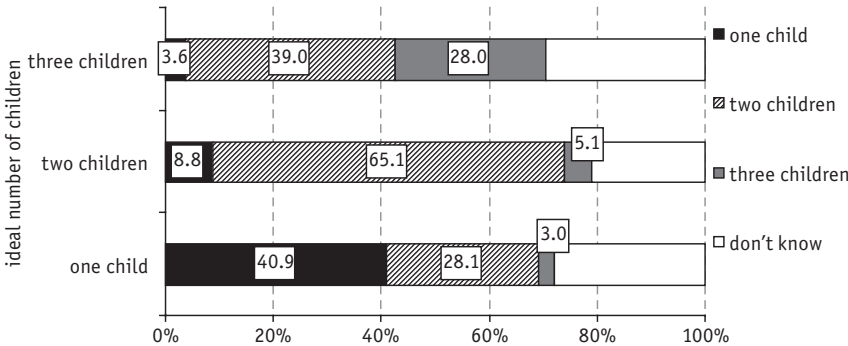
About 24% of respondents did not specify any particular number in their answers to this question because they never thought about it or believed that it’s up to their children to decide. At the same time, 52.5% of respondents said

<sup>6</sup> Архангельский В.Н. Факторы рождаемости – М.: ТЕИС, 2006. – С. 67.



they would advise their children to have two children; 15.6% would advice to have only one child and just 7.8% or respondents would like their children to have three or more children. In this connection it should be noted that 9.4% of respondents planned to have three and more children; currently 15.3% of those polled indicated that for them this would be a desired number of children; 14.2% of respondents regarded a family with three children as the ideal family and less 8% of respondents would advise their children to have three or more children.

It could be assumed that advice given to own children is a reflection of respondents' own view on the ideal number of children in a family. However, 31% of respondents for whom a one-child family is the ideal family size would advise their children to have several children. Respondents convinced that two children was the ideal number of children in a family were more consistent: 65.1% of them specified that they would advise their children to have two children. But the largest gap between advice and own intentions was observed in the group of respondents who indicated that the ideal family should raise three children: less than 28% of these respondents wished the same number of children for every own child; 39% would advise own children to limit their family to two children and 3.6% - even by one child (Fig. 4.1.12).



**Fig. 4.1.12. Distribution of answers of respondents with different views on the ideal number of children to the question “How many children would you advise your (your future) children?” (April, 2009)**

If children of respondents, who had clear views as to how many children they would advise, followed this advice, the average number of children per individual would be 1.91 children.

**Opinions of respondents on the optimal age at first birth.** Respondents were asked to express their ideas concerning the minimal (lower limit) and the maximal (upper limit) of age at first birth for a woman. Answers concerning

***the minimal age at first birth for a woman*** varied within the age from 16 to 30 years. More than 40% of respondents said a woman should have her first child when she is not younger than 20 years old; 16.8% believed that a woman may have her first child after she reaches 18 years old. About 16% indicated the age of 22–23 as the minimal age to have the first child. Only 1.5% of respondents expressed an opinion that a woman should have her first child after 25. Accordingly, the average lower age limit for a woman to have the first child across the total respondents was the age of 20.7.

It was more difficult to determine ***the maximal age at first birth for a woman***. Almost half of respondents were convinced that a woman should give birth to her first child until she is 35, with another half of respondents convinced that the first child can be born at the age of 35 and older, however, 43.5% of them noted that this should happen at the age from 35 to 40 years. Finally, the average upper age limit for a woman to have the first child was the age of 33.3.

Answers to the question: ***“In your opinion, what is the age for a male to have his first child?”*** showed even more disparities than answers concerning females. However, the average lower age limit for a man to have his first child only by 3.5 years exceeded the corresponding figure for females and the average upper age limit exceeded the corresponding figure for females only by 5.5 years.

***Obstacles to having children depending on their desired number.*** The findings of the surveys “Family and Children, 2008” and “Family and Family relations, 2009” showed that currently in Ukraine the most powerful obstacles to having the desired number of children are ***insufficient well-being of the family*** and ***no appropriate housing conditions***. It is indicative that in the recent survey the frequency of choosing these factors grew as compared with the previous survey. Accordingly, in 2009 58.3% of respondents indicated insufficient well-being of the family as an obstacle to having the desired number of children, as against 53.7% in 2008. Unavailability of appropriate housing conditions was mentioned as a constraint to realization of reproductive intentions by 41.0% of respondents in the survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009”, while the percentage of persons who selected this answer option in 2008 was slightly lower. A wider incidence of pessimistic assessments of own ability to support and raise children is evidenced by a growth in the percentage of respondents mentioning ***inability to provide necessary conditions for children’s future*** (to ensure proper education of children etc.) as an obstacle to having the desired number of children (26.7% of those polled in 2009 against 23.6% in 2008).

Some variations were observed in distribution of answers of respondents from settlements of different type (Table 4.1.5).

**Table 4.1.5. Opinions of respondents from settlements of different types as to main obstacles to having the desired number of children, %\* (April, 2009)**

Obstacles to having the desired number of children	All respondents 2008	All respondents 2009	Respondents residing in		
			oblast centers	urban area except for oblast centers	in rural area
Insufficient well-being of the family	53.7	58.3	57.5	62.9	54.7
Aspiration to build a successful career	18.2	17.3	20.3	21.1	10.9
Not enough time for child care and upbringing because of work load and professional activities	13.0	12.9	14.9	14.2	9.2
No appropriate housing conditions	38.6	41.0	43.7	40.3	39.0
Tense relations in the family (including between spouses)	8.5	10.0	10.2	9.5	10.5
Health problems	16.9	18.4	17.2	18.8	20.1
Inability to provide necessary conditions for children's future (to ensure proper education of children etc.)	23.6	26.7	32.0	23.4	25.3
Marriage partner doesn't want more children	6.7	5.6	5.9	4.2	6.8
Reduced competitiveness and loss of earning as a result of having a child	3.1	3.1	3.7	3.4	2.1
I want to focus on my own interests	6.1	6.6	6.6	7.4	6.1
I need more free time	4.9	4.4	5.3	4.5	3.8
I see no obstacles to having the desired number of children	–	10.3	6.4	9.4	14.4

\* respondents could choose from several answer options

**No appropriate housing conditions** as an obstacle to having the desired number of children was more frequently mentioned by respondents from oblast centers. These respondents, as compared with respondents from settlements of other types, were to a greater extent affected by **inability to provide necessary conditions for children's future**: this obstacle was mentioned by 32% of respondents residing in oblast centers, as against 23.4% of the remaining respondents from urban area who selected this answer option.

Wider opportunities for career development in cities explain why a larger percentage of urban residents as compared with rural dwellers mentioned ***aspiration to build a successful career*** as an obstacle to have the desired number of children.

Two-thirds of respondents with an experience of parenthood whose intention to have a certain number of children had not been fully realized (who would like to have other children if appropriate conditions existed) declared that for them ***insufficient well-being of the family*** was the main obstacle to have the desired number of children. It is logical to assume that all of these respondents will mention ***intentions to improve their well-being and financial situation*** as the reason for delaying the birth of the next child. However, among respondents who would like to have two or more children but at the time of the survey had one or two children and mentioned ***insufficient well-being*** as the factor impeding realization of their childbearing plans, only 60% said that they intended to improve their well-being and financial situation before planning another child. A mostly objective nature of ***insufficient well-being of the family*** as an obstacle to having the desired number of children explains its higher frequency in answers of respondents as compared with ***the intention to improve well-being and financial situation*** as the reason for delaying the birth of the next child – the reason which presupposes a respondent's active position and his/her readiness to certain actions.

The analysis of respondents' views on the main obstacles to having the desired number of children depending on the number of children which the respondents would like to have if all the appropriate conditions were available showed an incontestable leadership of the well-being factor and also demonstrated that the more the desired number of children, the higher the frequency of selecting this factor by respondents. Accordingly, among respondents who would like to have only one child even if appropriate conditions were available, the percentage of persons referring to insufficient well-being of the family was 55.5%; among persons wishing to have two children, the corresponding percentage was 59.5%; 61.5% of respondents wishing three or more children mentioned financial hardships as the factor limiting the number of children in their family.

An increase in the number of desired children correlates with an increasing significance of such an obstacle to having desired number of children as ***inability to provide necessary conditions for children's future***. Among respondents who would like to have four and more children, the percentage of those specifying this obstacle 1.4 times exceeded the corresponding percentage of respondents wishing to have only one child.

On the other part, the number of children in a family reduces with an reinforcing ***aspiration to build a successful career. Work load and professional activities*** leading to a lack of time that a respondent would need for child care

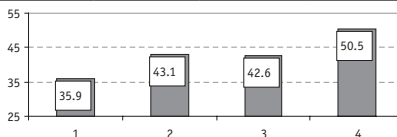
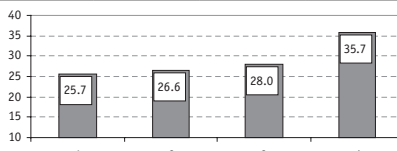
and upbringing were regarded as an obstacle for having the desired number of children mostly by respondents who would like to have only one child even if appropriate conditions existed. The respondents who wished to focus on career development and realized that career requires too much time were unlikely to believe in the very possibility of *appropriate conditions* allowing to combine professional activity and parenthood without mutual losses for both activities. The complicated character of problem and a sluggish attitude of governmental authorities towards the need of creating a friendly environment for families with children will rather intensify an intention to limit the number of children than facilitate attempts to find some balance between professional activity and the desired number of children.

The value of children for the respondents who would like to have four and more children if appropriate conditions were available explicitly demonstrates that among these respondents there were no persons who would refuse from the desired number of children because of the reason *I want to focus on my own interests*.

**Table 4.1.6. Main obstacles to having children depending on the desired number of children, % of the corresponding group of respondents\* (April, 2009)**

Obstacles to having the desired number of children	All respondents 2009	Respondents who would like to have (desired number of children) if appropriate conditions were available			
		One child	Two children	Three children	Four and more children
Insufficient well-being of the family	58.3	55.5	59.5	61.5	61.8
Aspiration to build a successful career	17.3	23.0	17.3	14.2	8.0
Not enough time for child care and upbringing because of work load and professional activities	12.9	14.5	12.3	11.5	9.7

Continuation of the Table 4.1.6

Obstacles to having the desired number of children	All respondents 2009	Respondents who would like to have (desired number of children) if appropriate conditions were available			
		One child	Two children	Three children	Four and more children
No appropriate housing conditions	41.0				
Inability to provide necessary conditions for children's future (to ensure proper education of children etc.)	26.7				
Tense relations in the family (including between spouses)	10.0	8.9	9.6	10.4	17.3
Health problems	18.4	20.1	17.0	19.0	24.0
Marriage partner doesn't want more children	5.6	5.8	5.1	8.2	7.9
Reduced competitiveness and loss of earnings as a result of having a child	3.1	2.9	3.6	3.0	—
I want to focus on my own interests	6.6	9.1	5.7	6.1	—
I need more free time	4.4	4.4	4.0	4.2	1.7
I see no obstacles to having the desired number of children	10.3	6.1	10.7	11.1	10.0

\* respondents could choose from several answer options

An undoubted significance of the well-being factor for childbearing, care and upbringing not only "justifies" the fertility behavior focused on limiting the number of children in a family but also leads to its acceptance by society since it is regarded (interpreted) as a sign of responsible parenthood. In order to determine whether the well-being factor is the main obstacle to having the desired number of children, respondents were asked the following question: **"If you received a large amount of money which you should spend (and not keep for yourself) what would you spend it for at the first place?"** (maximum

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three options could be chosen)". It is indicative that the answer **"We would have a(nother) child"** was chosen only by 7.9% of respondents.

One out of every ten respondents saw no obstacles to having the desired number of children. Two-thirds of these respondents specified the same number of desired and planned children; 31.5% did not know how many children they would like and plan to have. As for the latter, these respondents were likely to choose the answer **"I see no obstacles to having the desired number of children"** because of uncertain childbearing plans.

**Reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child depending on the desired number of children.** The analysis of respondents' answers distribution to the question: **"What can make you delay the birth of the first/next child?"** demonstrate that **intentions to improve well-being and financial situation** is the most common reason for delaying the first as well as the next child for all groups of respondents irrespective of the desired or already born number of children. The choice of this factor means a rational decision since each family realizes that birth of a(nother) child will to a certain extent decrease this family's well-being; the higher a family's well-being before the birth of a child, the lower this family's sensibility to financial hardships. The significance of this reason grows pro rata the desired number of children: among respondents who would like to have one child if appropriate conditions were available, 46.2% of respondents expressed an intention to improve own well-being before the birth of a child, as against 53.8% of respondents with the same intention among those who would like to have four and more children (Table 4.1.7). However, there was a contrary dependence of the frequency of selecting this reason by respondents as the reason for delaying the birth of a child on the number of already born children (Table 4.1.8). Respondents without children mentioned this reason most often (54.5%). These respondents were mostly young persons (three out of every four aged under 25) studying at different educational institutions (45.3% – students and school students).

The second place in the ranking of main reasons for delaying the birth of a child/children is held by **intentions to create proper living conditions for the child**. The frequency of choosing this reason was lower among respondents who would like to limit the number of their children to one child even if appropriate conditions were available as compared with other groups of respondents (36.7% against 42.7% of respondents who wished to have three children).

An increase in the number of desired children correlates with a reduction in the percentage of respondents mentioning **"I wish to enjoy my life"** as the reason for delaying the birth of a child (Table 4.1.7).

**Table 4.1.7. Reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child  
of respondents with different desired number of children,  
% of a respective group of respondents \***

Obstacles for delaying the first/next child	All respondents 2008	All respondents 2009	Respondents who would like to have (desired number of children) if appropriate conditions were available			
			One child	Two children	Three children	Four and more children
Intention to complete one's education	19.0	21.8	23.7	23.9	16.8	10.4
Intentions to create appropriate living conditions for the child	37.8	39.1	36.7	39.3	42.7	39.8
Intentions to improve well-being and financial situation	45.9	46.9	46.2	47.5	48.8	53.8
Tense relations in the family	8.7	9.4	9.7	8.6	12.2	9.0
Intention to enjoy one's life	20.2	19.2	24.7	17.0	14.7	11.3
Plans to improve one's health	13.6	15.0	13.6	15.6	15.3	22.6
Spacing birth (or pregnancies)	6.1	6.4	3.4	6.2	11.6	14.3
Intention to wait until the situation in the country becomes socially and politically stable	11.3	16.0	16.9	17.1	15.2	18.7
Expectations for improved situation with health care; pre-school (school) education; social protection for mothers and children	9.7	6.2	6.1	6.1	8.3	5.0
Intentions to become sure of one's feelings (stability of relations with a partner)	6.6	8.0	7.9	7.5	8.7	8.1
Waiting for official registration of marriage	4.8	5.5	4.7	5.4	6.4	5.5
I see no reasons for delaying the birth of a child	–	5.7	4.1	5.1	7.9	10.3

*\* respondents could choose from several answer options*

Along with the distribution of respondents' answers about the reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child depending on the desired number of children, it is also expedient to analyze distinctive features of a respective distribution of answers by the number of living children. Opinions of young re-



spondents with no parenting experience are special interest as compared with respondents who already have such an experience. Table 4.1.8 shows a significant variation in the answers given by the mentioned groups of respondents. The sharpest contrast was observed with regard to ***intention to complete one's education*** as the reason for delaying the birth of a child: the percentage of childless respondents who referred to this reason was four times greater than the percentage of other respondents. These respondents planned to complete their education and get some professional training first and have a child only after achieving this goals – such a plan may be characterized as responsible parenthood because child care and upbringing requires much time and attention and if combined with studies will surely have an impact either on the quality of child care or upbringing or on professional development and, as a result, on one's career. The priority of obtaining education is reduced over time (however, not disappearing altogether in the context of lifelong education) and, therefore, small percentages of respondents with children who mentioned this reason is quite an expected and a rather logical result.

**Table 4.1.8. Reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child depending of the number of respondents' living children, % against a respective universe of respondents\* (April, 2009)**

Reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child	All respondents	Respondents by the number of living children:			
		have no children yet	one child	two children	three and more children
Intention to complete one's education	21.8	40.4	10.2	10.6	9.0
Intentions to create appropriate living conditions for the child	39.1	48.4	37.1	29.0	22.5
Intentions to improve well-being and financial situation	46.9	54.5	46.9	35.6	38.8
Tense relations in the family	9.4	7.4	13.1	7.3	8.3
Intention to enjoy one's life	19.2	22.8	16.0	17.5	22.4
Plans to improve one's health	15.0	10.8	16.6	19.4	14.8
Spacing birth (or pregnancies)	6.4	1.7	11.1	6.3	10.0
Intention to wait until the situation in the country becomes socially and politically stable	16.0	13.8	19.1	16.5	5.6
Waiting for improved situation with health care; pre-school (school) education; social protection for mothers and children	6.2	4.0	9.2	5.6	5.6

Continuation of the Table 4.1.8

Reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child	All respondents	Respondents by the number of living children:			
		have no children yet	one child	two children	three and more children
Intentions to become sure of one's feelings (stability of relations with a partner)	8.0	12.9	7.1	2.5	-
Waiting for an official registration of marriage	5.5	11.2	1.8	2.1	3.4
I see no reasons for delaying the birth of a child	5.7	4.3	5.8	7.0	10.1

\* respondents could choose from several answer options

As already mentioned, the significance of **intentions to improve well-being and financial situation** grew pro rata respondents' desired number of children. The percentages of respondents with one child and two children who mentioned the need to improve one's well-being was lower as compared with respondents without children. The survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" confirmed that distribution of answers of respondents with different numbers of children on the reasons for delaying childbearing as determined by the survey "Family and Children, 2008" was not a coincidence<sup>7</sup>. Phrasing of a reason for delaying childbearing as **an intention** presupposes a respondent's active position. Accordingly, respondents with two children who had already achieved a certain level of well-being, having evaluated the particular situation in their family, one's social and professional status and the prospects associated with it, and also having compared well-being and financial situation of their family with more well-to-do families, did not see any opportunities for its further improvement, at least to the extent which would allow them to have another child. A similar situation is also observed with regard to the factor of housing conditions, since the frequency of choosing **intentions to create appropriate living conditions for the child** ranged from 48.4% among respondents without children to 22.5% among those who already had three or more children.

Such reasons for delaying the birth of the first/next child as **intentions to improve well-being and financial situation** and **create appropriate living conditions for the child** have the first and second top positions in the rating.

<sup>7</sup> Шлюб, сім'я та дітородні орієнтації в Україні. – К.: АДФ-Україна, 2008. – С.143.

As for the third place, it is different for respondents with different number of living children. The significance of ***intention to wait until the situation in the country becomes socially and politically stabile*** as a reason for delaying the second child, along with the factor of well-being, was very high. However, among respondents with three and more children the proportion of those who indicated these reasons for delaying the birth of another child was considerably lower. At the same time it should be mentioned that the significance of ***waiting for improved situation with health care; pre-school (school) education; social protection for mothers and children*** for respondents with one child was higher than for other groups of respondents. Respondents with two children mentioned ***plans to improve one's health*** more often, and ***intention to enjoy one's life*** took the third place by frequency among answers of parents with many children. It is indicative that the frequency of selecting this reason by these respondents was almost the same as for respondents without children (22.8% of them indicated they would like to enjoy one's life before they had the first child). Respondents who would like to limit the number of children to one child also demonstrated a less altruistic attitude: one out of every four of these respondents mentioned they would like to enjoy his/her life before having a child.

Suggested options of answers about the reasons for delaying the first/next child included an alternative ***I see no reasons for delaying the birth of a child.*** The frequency of selecting this answer by respondents increased with an increasing number of respondent's children, however, this is mostly explained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents with two and more children who see no reasons for delaying a child do not plan to have other children.

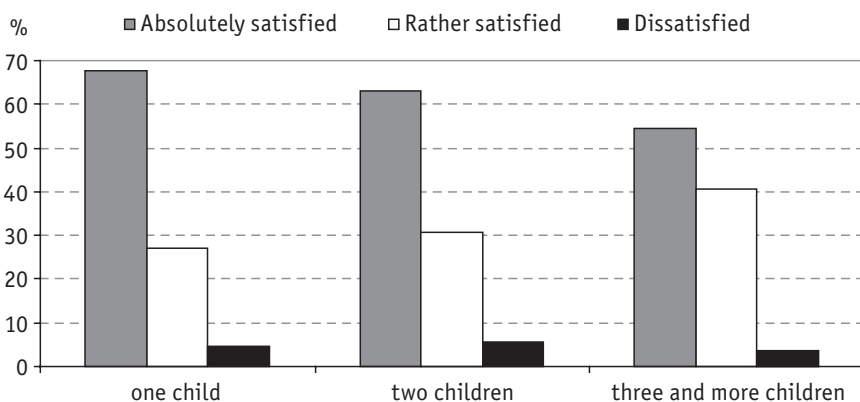
## 4.2. Relations with minor children, their support and upbringing

The family is a natural environment for a child's primary socialization, the quality and completeness of which have a significant impact upon an individual's further life. Relations between parents, the character of relations between parents and their children, daily activities have an impact upon formation of a child's values and attitudes as well as behavior, including vital and reproductive behavior.

***Relations with children.*** Answers to the question: ***"Are you satisfied with relations with your children?"*** allow to determine the family microclimate in which a child is raised. The findings show that the overwhelming majority of respondents are satisfied with relations with their children, 65.3% of respondents being absolutely satisfied and 29.2% of respondents selecting an option ***"rather satisfied"***. 5.1% of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with relations

with their children, with 0.5% of them being utterly dissatisfied. Gender-specific differences in respondents' answers are not significant, although males generally expressed more dissatisfaction with relations with their children as compared with females (6.9% of dissatisfied male respondents as against 3.7% female respondents, respectively).

The extent of satisfaction with parent-children relations varies depending on the number of respondent's children. Accordingly, respondents with one child selected the answer "*absolutely satisfied*" more often. Respondents with two children and all the more so respondents with three children were more reserved in their assessment of relations with their children and more often selected "*rather satisfied*" to characterize these relations. While 27.1% of respondents with one child selected this answer, a respective proportion among respondents with two children was 30.7%, with a rise to 40.5% among respondents with three children (Fig. 4.2.1).



**Fig. 4.2.1. Distribution of respondents by the extent of satisfaction with relations with their children depending on the number of children, (April, 2009)**

Along with determining the nature of respondents' relations with their children, the survey also focused on whether there is mutual understanding (understanding of each other) between adults and children. Respondents were asked to give a clear answer as to whether such mutual understanding existed (i.e. to choose between "*yes*" or "*know*"). 93.8% of respondents with children answered positively to this question. The percentage of respondents clearly stating that there was no understanding between them and their children was comparatively low. At the same time, there is a certain correlation between answers and the number of children in the family. A growth in the frequency

of choosing a negative answer by respondents correlated with an increasing number of children. Accordingly, 5.6% of respondents with one child, 6.7% of respondents with two children and 8.3% of respondents with three and more children stated they had no understanding with him/her. Male respondents indicated they had no understanding with their children almost two times more often than females. The highest proportion of respondents who answered negatively (9%) was recorded among respondents aged 40–44, while only 2.5% of respondents in the age group 30–34 gave the same answer.

**Assistance to parents with caring, raising and supporting children.** Respondents with minor children were separately asked, firstly, about whether their parents (both respondent's parents and his/her spouse's parents) helped them with child care and upbringing and, secondly, about financial assistance for children from close relatives. 23.4% of respondents with minor children indicated that *none* of their relatives helped them to care and raise their children. Almost 41% of respondents with children noted that *sometimes* they got some help and 35.7% of respondents mentioned *considerable assistance* of grandmothers and grandfathers in caring and raising their grandchildren.

The survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" showed a considerable gender-specific variation of answers to these questions. Thus, while almost 20% of females with children noted that their parents didn't help them to care for and raise the children, the proportion of males who gave the same answers was 28.0%, with 2/3 of them mentioning that wife's parents also didn't help with caring and raising the children, one out of every five of them stating that wife's parents helped occasionally and just 12.5% indicating *considerable assistance* of mother-in-law or father-in-law. As compared with males, females more often mentioned regular and significant assistance from their parents. At the same time, males mostly reported occasional assistance of their parents. Only one out of every four male respondents said his wife's parents didn't help at all and one out of every three females complained that her husband's parents stood apart from caring and raising their grandchildren (Table 4.2.1). Psychological surveys also show a smaller involvement of husband's mothers in caring and raising grandchildren and this behavior can be explained by mothers-in-law's intention to avoid conflicts with their daughters-in-law's. However, psychologists maintain that at the second stage of grandparenthood (grandmothers aged over 58–60 and grandchildren aged 11 to 18), at which grandmothers step aside from the role of a "nanny" and assume the role of a "tutor", it is not significant any more whether the grandchildren are a son's or a daughter's children<sup>8</sup>. At the same time, it is noted that the probability of

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<sup>8</sup> Белогай К.Н., Красная Е.А. Прародительство как этап развития материнского отношения // Психология зрелости и старения, №4. – М. – 2008. – С. 62-79.

grandmothers performing their duties is high if grandmothers are under 65 and grandchildren are under 11<sup>9</sup>.

**Table 4.2.1. Assistance of respondents' parents and their spouses' parents with caring and raising grandchildren, % (April, 2009)**

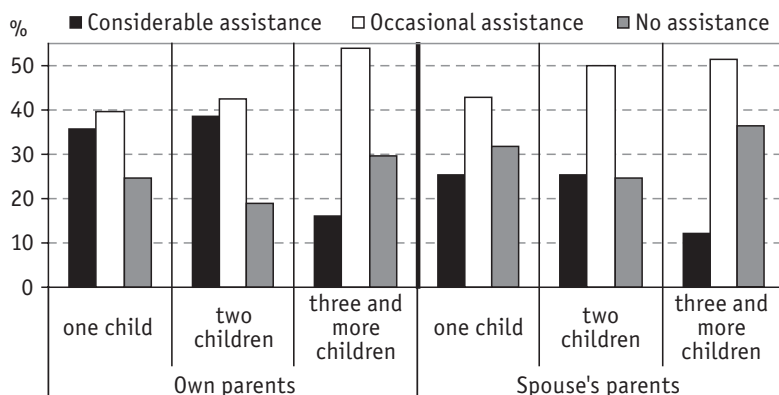
	Respondent's parents		Spouse's parents	
	males	females	males	females
Considerable assistance	24.2	45.0	25.2	24.2
Occasional assistance	47.8	35.3	50.5	40.7
No assistance	28.0	19.7	24.3	35.1

Respondents with two children most often mentioned assistance with child care and upbringing provided both by own parents (81.2%) and by spouse's parents (75.4%). In contrast to that, respondents with many children more often indicated that there was no such assistance at all: almost 30% of respondents who already had three and more children at the moment of the survey reported that their parents did not help them to care and raise the children; 36.4% of respondents in this group gave negative answers about assistance from their husband's/wife's parents. Respondents with three and more children mostly mentioned occasional, irregular assistance, with the proportion of these respondents who specified "*considerable assistance*" being more than two times lower than a corresponding proportion of respondents with one child or two children (Fig. 4.2.2). A more detailed study showed that respondents with many children were also raised in families with many children and, therefore, we can assume that their parents most likely are unable to help them considerably.

The question "**Do you get any financial assistance for support of children from any of your relatives?**" had three answer options: "**yes, I get significant assistance**", "**yes, I get assistance occasionally**" and also "**no, no one helps me**". The second option was chosen by respondents most often (45% of all answers).

The subjective nature with which financial assistance for child support was perceived (its amount, frequency, its "implications", in particular: sincerity of intentions of the person who gave this assistance; initiator of assistance – whether it was an initiative of the person who gave it (a relative) or a request of the person who needed it) was reflected by the fact that females, as compared with males, since they have more natural tolerance, were more inclined to indicate that they get significant financial assistance from relatives (18.4% and 11.0%, respectively).

<sup>9</sup> Краснова О.В. Бабушки в семье // Социальные исследования, № 11, 2000. – М., 2000. – С. 108–116.



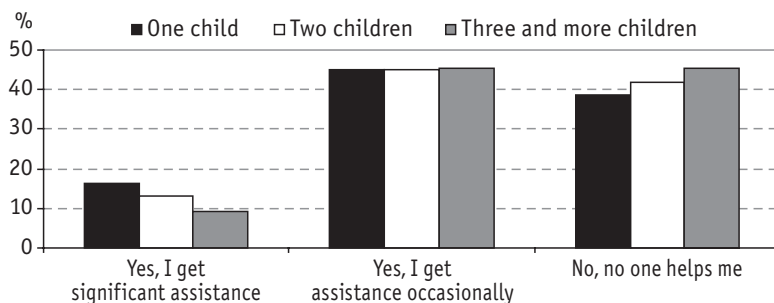
**Fig. 4.2.2. Distribution of answers about parents' assistance with child care and upbringing depending on the number of respondent's children (April, 2009)**

The proportion of respondents who indicated that they supported their children by own efforts without any assistance from their relatives was significant. Such "financial independence" was mostly demonstrated by males. It is of interest that among respondents who got no financial assistance for child support, 54.0% assessed their economic situation as *average*; 7.8% – *higher than average*; 38.2% – *lower than average*. According to another self-assessment scale allowing to assess financial position of respondents, almost 70% of respondents who answered negatively about financial assistance from relatives for child support mentioned that they had enough money for food, clothing and footwear; another 10.7% said they had enough money for expensive purchases as well. With a certain degree of speculation it can be asserted that these respondents do not receive any external assistance because they do not need it. Along with this, one of every five respondents who got no financial assistance for child support had to save money to buy even the most essential clothing and footwear.

As an explanation to a low level of financial assistance from relatives we can indicate that parents of many respondents are elderly people and their retirement benefits are most likely the only source of their income, with the amount of such benefits not allowing even to support themselves, to say nothing of helping others. Almost 40% of respondents who selected answer "*no one helps me to support the child*" indicated that they helped their parents financially (occasionally or regularly); 17.3% said they would like to help their parents but they had no opportunity to do so then.

Respondents referred to the occasional financial assistance irrespective of the number of their living children (Fig. 4.2.3). As for the answer "*significant*

assistance”, there is an inverse relation: the more children respondents had, the more seldom they mentioned that they received regular financial assistance.



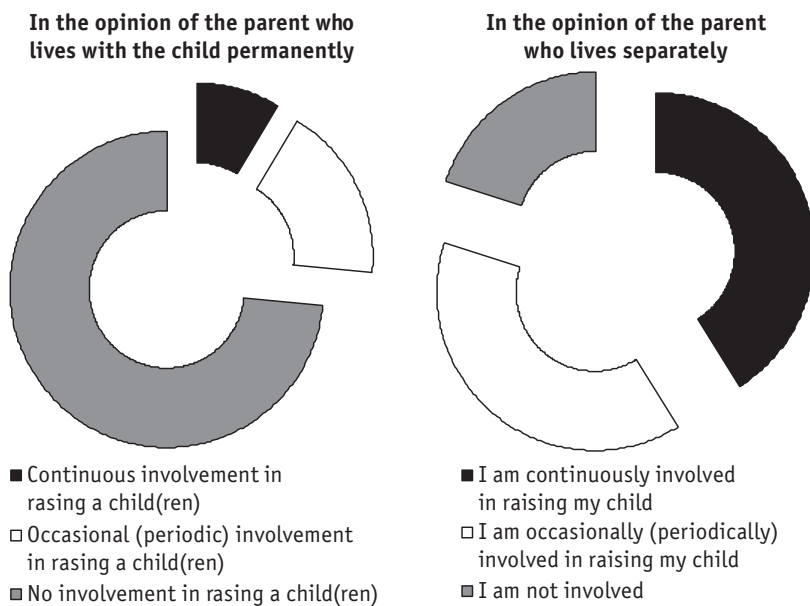
**Fig. 4.2.3. Distribution of answers about financial assistance from relatives for child support depending on the number of respondent's children (April, 2009)**

***Specific nature of care and educational function and child support in single-parent and restructured families.*** As already mentioned, single-parent and restructured families are the families requiring special attention to children's situation and their upbringing. In this monograph we have briefly reviewed the specifics of economic situation of single-parent families, their members' assessments of relations within the family, and also the significance of some family values and satisfaction of members of such families with their life circumstances. Furthermore, the survey "Family and Children" for the first time included questions aimed at determining the relations between minor children from single-parent and restructured families and their own parent who lives separately. For this purpose the questionnaire included a question about involvement of the parent who **does not live together** with his/her minor child in caring and upbringing of the child. This question was asked to female respondents – mothers who raise their children in a single-parent family or in a restructured family (with a stepfather); to females/males whose current marriage partners have children from previous marriages not residing with them; and to male respondents who have minor children but live separately from them.

The findings of a comparative analysis of answers given by respondents (mostly females) who raise their children in a single-parent family or a restructured family and live together with them and answers from respondents (mostly males - fathers) who live separately show that there is no uniform opinion as to how to assess the role of separately residing parents in the care and support of their children. While mothers who live with their child most often mention that the father is not involved in raising his child(ren) at all, fathers who live in



another family (household) insist that they do take part in raising his child(ren) regularly or from time to time (Fig. 4.2.4).



**Fig. 4.2.4. Assessment of father's/mother's involvement in raising of children living in another family, % (April, 2009)**

The emerging distribution of answers to this question raises doubts about sincerity of answers given by both groups of respondents (especially by parents who live separately) and provides grounds to assume that, firstly, "Sunday fathers" overestimate their involvement in raising their children and, secondly, mothers from single-parent families sometimes have a too much prejudiced attitude towards their ex-husbands.

As the main reason of father's non-involvement in raising own children living in single-parent and restructured families, their mothers indicated **father's unwillingness to raise the child** (47.4%), as the second reason they mentioned **different places of residence** (23.2%), **father's death** as the third reason (17%) and **mother's unwillingness** as the next reason ("I don't think it necessary" 12.4%). However, in the opinion of the father who lives separately from his child, the main reason of his non-involvement in raising the child is that **the child's mother is against such involvement** (30%). **Own unwillingness** was indicated by 18.1% of parents who live separately, 17.4% mentioned **objections of other members of the family in which the child currently lives**, and 14% -

both ***objections of current marriage partner*** and ***different places of residence***. A significant imbalance in respective assessments and attitudes towards this issue is an indirect indication that necessary understanding between parents of a child who lives in a single-parent or restructured family is very often lacking and this, as a rule, affects the upbringing in such family.

Even less consistency is demonstrated by answers given by respondents who raise a minor child/children in a single-parent or restructured family and who live separately from their children in response to questions concerning involvement of separately living parents in financial support of their children. Females who raise their children alone most often complained about lacking financial support for the child from the child's father, while a standard answer to this question by fathers who live separately was ***"yes, I support my child(ren) regularly within the limits stipulated by legislation"***.

As other surveys' findings show, financial support of children is low mostly in case if after divorce a child's parents made no voluntary arrangements concerning the division of their financial liabilities. Such cases may also be associated with alimony evasion and attempts to reduce alimony amounts. For instance, Russian and French researchers of living conditions of single mothers agree that voluntary agreement reached by spouses without court mediation is the strongest foundation for alimony payments. In such cases the frequency and amount of payments are on average 2 times greater than the amounts and frequency ordered by the court<sup>10</sup>.

In general, given the findings of our survey, it should be emphasized that in Ukraine there is no tradition of ongoing involvement of father who lives in another family in the life and upbringing of a child/children from previous marriage, and also that such fathers drift apart from their children (especially over time after divorce) and that involvement of separately living parents in support and upbringing of their children is insufficient. Not the last reason explaining this situation which is also observed in a number of former USSR countries is that "currently relations between parents and children are formed under the impact of the Soviet-time inertia of division of family responsibilities when, despite intensive occupational load, women were in fact fully responsible for raising their children"<sup>11</sup>.

***Forms of preschool care of children.*** The market of such social services as child care and upbringing is an integral structural component of socially

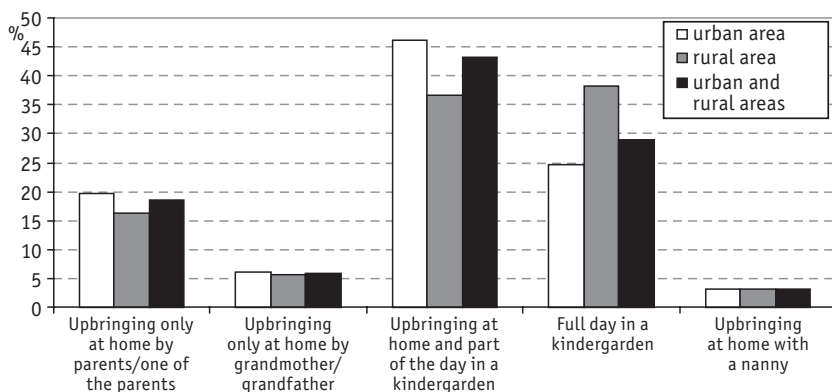
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<sup>10</sup> Фести П., Прокофьева Л. Алименты, пособия и доходы семей после раз вода.// Мир России, 1997.- №4. – С.19.

<sup>11</sup> Калабихина И. Теоретические направления гендерного анализа домохозяйств и некоторые вопросы социальной политики // Гендер и экономика: мировой опыт и экспертиза российской практики / Отв.редактор и составитель Е.Б.Мезенцева. М.:ИСЭППН РАН-МЦГИ-«Русская панорама», 2002.– С.102.

orientated market economy. Preschool institutions are the largest segment of social services under consideration; demoreproduction in wide sense in these institutions provides for development of children's communicative skills and collective labour experience, thus ensuring comprehensive socialization of a child; however, group work takes little to attention individual skills of every child and his/her personality. Individual work with a child, which considers his/her individual physical and psychological features and identifies his/her abilities, is advantage of raising a child at home, however, due to insufficient or lacking skills of communication in the groups of same-age children such a child's socialization remains uncompleted. As each form of child upbringing has some strong and weak points at the same time, it was expedient to include into the questionnaire a question about the most acceptable form of preschool care and upbringing of children based on individual preferences of respondents (the question started with a qualification "if you could choose between ...").

The overwhelming majority of respondents liked the idea of preschool institutions with flexible working hours allowing to combine upbringing of child at home and his/her socialization in group of age peers. For 46.2% of urban residents with an experience of child upbringing, the best form was to take a child to a child care for half of the day and stay with him/her at home for the remaining part of the day. A considerable percentage of respondents from rural area supported the idea of taking a child to a kindergarten for the whole of a working day (38.3% of respondents with children in rural area against 24.7% of respondents with children in urban area). Upbringing of a child at home with involvement of an unrelated person (baby-sitter) was the least supported by both rural and urban residents (Fig. 4.2.5).



**Fig. 4.2.5. Opinions of respondents on the best form of preschool upbringing of children (April, 2009)**

A large proportion of respondents who supported the idea of children's upbringing in preschool institutions (both for a full day and part of the day) among rural residents evidences that there is a need for such institutions in rural area and it still remains unsatisfied. As state statistics materials show, despite the fact that in rural area coverage rate with preschool children's institutions demonstrates a gradually rising trend (only 17% of rural children attended preschool institutions in 2001, with rise in the corresponding percentage to 27% in 2005 and to 33% in 2008), however, it is still two times lower than a respective figure for urban area (Table 4.2.2).

**Table 4.2.2. Preschool institutions in Ukraine**

	1995	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008*
Number of institutions, ths, of which	21.4	16.3	15.7	14.9	15.1	15.1	15.3	15.4
in urban area	10.5	7.4	7.1	6.7	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.7
in rural area	10.9	8.9	8.6	8.2	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.7
Children's coverage by preschool institutions, %, of which	44	40	41	50	51	53	54	57
in urban area	53	52	55	65	64	66	66	69
in rural area	28	18	17	24	27	29	31	33
Attendance rate of institutions, children per 100 places, of which	76	88	90	96	98	102	105	108
in urban area	84	99	100	107	109	112	116	119
in rural area	57	56	58	65	68	72	75	78

\* Preliminary data

Source: *Preschool institutions in Ukraine in 2008. Statistical Bulletin.* – K., 2009. –

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Likewise, kindergarten attendance rates in rural area remain considerably lower than that in urban area. Moreover, since in rural area for a long time kindergarten attendance rates indicated a certain extent of non-attendance of these institutions, this gave grounds to assume that rural residents prefer other forms of child upbringing and preschool institutions are not in high demand. The survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" disproved this assumption since respondents from rural area were even more interested in this form of upbringing.

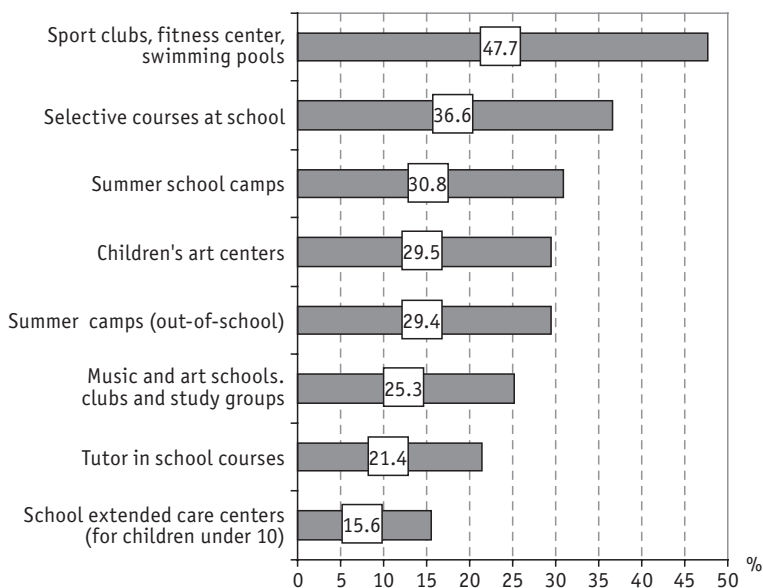
ing than urban residents<sup>12</sup>. Low coverage of children by preschool institutions and their low attendance rates most likely can be explained by a more difficult access to them (first of all in terms of territorial access).

**Consumption of services provided by out-of-school children institutions of education and development.** Respondents with school-age children were asked a question **“Do you use services of out-of-school children education and development institutions regularly?”** The most popular answer option was *“sport clubs, fitness centers and swimming pools”*. One of every two respondents who had a school-age child mentioned that the child attended sport clubs or swimming pools on a regular basis. 36.6% of respondents indicated regular *elective courses at school*. About one-third of respondents used the services of *summer camps (school and out-of-school)*. *School extended care centers* were mentioned just by 15.6% of respondents who had school-age children (Fig. 4.2.6), however, taken in attention that such groups exist only at primary schools it is expedient to determine the percentage of respondents with children aged 6-10 who mentioned regular use of such services. As it was found out, one out of every four fathers/mothers of primary school students used the services of school extended care centers.

**Division of child care responsibilities in the family.** The survey “Family and Family Relations, 2009” aimed at determining individual characteristics and opinions of respondents – members of different households, therefore, it would be expedient to analyze answers about division of child care responsibilities in the family given by respondents of different genders. Almost 61% of polled males with children indicated that in their family child care is mostly wife’s responsibility; 15.7% said that they were mostly in charge of this responsibility. Among women with children, 79.2% indicated that in their family they bear main responsibility for child care. 5.3% of females mentioned that child care was the responsibility of their husband. The above-mentioned survey results provided another confirmation to the fact that even at the beginning of the XXI century child care and attention, as a rule, still remains a woman’s responsibility.

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<sup>12</sup> It is worth reminding that results of a questionnaire survey of ten oblasts located in different natural and economic areas and historical and ethnographical regions of the country held by Rural Social Development Department of the Institute of Agrarian Economy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences showed that almost two thirds of females in all social and age groups wanted their children to attend preschool institutions and daycare centers. // Якуба К.І. Жінки в трудовому потенціалі села. – К.: Аграрна наука 1998. – С.106.



**Fig. 4.2.6. Regular use by respondents with school-age children of services provided by out-of-school education and development institutions for school children (April, 2009)**

The findings of the Russian social and psychological longitude survey of 1994–2002<sup>13</sup> show that despite actually uniform opinions of respondents that children should be raised both by mother and by father, mostly women do it in reality. The authors of the mentioned survey arrived at the conclusion that women's activity and extended responsibilities in the family result in men's exclusion from involvement in domestic cares, strengthen a woman's positions in the family and allow her to establish family order and standards, behavior of family members and the way of life in general. Therefore, a woman acquires certain power in household domain and does not intend to share it. Child care is one of household responsibilities<sup>14</sup> and the above-mentioned statements di-

<sup>13</sup> Лыткина Т.С. Домашний труд и гендерное разделение власти в семье / Социологические исследования, 2004 г. – № 9. – С. 87.

<sup>14</sup> It is beyond the scope of our monograph to discuss the legal grounds for classifying child care as a kind of household labor, however, we support the opinion that household labor is a kind of activity which can be replaced with market labor. Since one can use paid services of a baby-sitter or a kindergarten, child care is a kind of household labor. See Радаев В.В. Человек в домашнем хозяйстве / Социологические исследования, 1997, № 4. – С. 64 – 72.

rectly refer to it as well. In this connection, a large percentage of females as *the persons providing most of the child care* can be explained by their matriarchal position in the family, since these women are sure that no one can give their children better care than they, as a consequence, men are "forced out" from this activity.

It should be mentioned that within the survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" one of every five females who provided most of the child care in their families had no marriage partner at the moment of the survey (divorced, separated, terminated relationship, widowed or had an outmarital child). These females' active position and their leading role in raising their children were determined, so to say, "by a twist of fate". However, in order to determine the type of relations which are established between the spouses with regard to division of child care and upbringing responsibilities and also to either sustain or disprove the conclusion of the above-mentioned Russian survey, it is necessary to conduct a more detailed study of women who are married (both in registered and unregistered marriage), have children and provide most of the child care in the family. 63.0% of these females mentioned that their husbands were also involved in this activity and 37.0% said their husbands were not involved. This gives rise to the question: "What are the factors determining either active or passive position of males with regard to providing assistance with child care and upbringing?"

An assumption that males do not take part in upbringing of their children because of their function as the main breadwinner (which does not leave them enough time for their children) was disproved by the fact that 62.8% of females whom their husbands helped with raising the children indicated that he was the main breadwinner, however, among female respondents mentioning that their husbands did not help them with child care virtually the same amount - 63% said the husband was the main breadwinner.

Among female respondents with the main responsibility for child care and upbringing in the family, only 8.7% said they were heads of the family. 48.6% of women among female respondents whose husbands helped with child care said all decisions in their families were made jointly, as against 43.5% of polled females who indicated their husbands were not involved in child care.

Another assumption was that husband's involvement in child care depends on the number of children in the family. This assumption turned out partially true since respondents from families with many children mentioned husband's help more often than those from families with one or two children (82% of females with three and more children indicated that they got their husbands' help with child care).

Studying gender aspects of house work division, American sociologists determined that married males with small children do a larger amount of house-

hold work as compared with other categories of married males, but family has children in older ages, this does not increase husbands' involvement in domestic cares<sup>15</sup>. The findings of the survey "Family and Family Relations, 2009" show that in one-child families with women providing most of the child care, 71% of mothers of pre-school age children mentioned that their husbands helped them in raising their children (with the percentage of female respondents with children aged under 3 who mentioned husband's participation in child care being even higher – 78.6%), as against mothers of school-age children, among which the proportion of respondents who mentioned their husband's help was considerably lower (55.3%). The findings related to one-child families do not contradict American researchers' conclusion about a more active involvement of husbands in household responsibilities if the family has small children. Two out of every three female respondents from two-child families with both children of pre-school age said their husbands helped them with child care. If an older child was of school age, husband's participation in child care decreased notably.

A certain differentiation of husband's involvement in child care depending on the duration of marriage was observed. 67.8% of female respondents married less than five years said their husbands helped them with child care, with this percentage among females married over five but less than ten years being 56.0%; as for females whose marriage lasted more than ten years, two-thirds of them indicated their husband's active position with regard to raising their child. There is a correlation between the duration of marriage and certain stages of the family life cycle. It may be that husband's involvement in child care is rather influenced by the stage of the family life cycle (birth of a child/next child, preschool age of a child, return of a female back to work etc.) than by the actual duration of marriage.

It is indicative that four out of every five females who provided most of the child care in their families and received no assistance with this responsibility from their husbands mentioned they were *satisfied* and *rather satisfied* with the division of child care responsibilities between them and their husbands. However, if husbands helped with raising the children, women more often indicated that they were *absolutely satisfied* with the division of responsibilities as compared with those female respondents whose husbands stood aside from child care (46.0% against 29.4%, respectively). Among the latter, the percentage of respondents dissatisfied with the division of responsibilities was 1.6 times greater as compared with women whose husbands took part in child care.

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<sup>15</sup> Д. Брайнс Экономическая зависимость, гендер и домашнее разделение труда / Гендер и экономика: мировой опыт и экспертиза российской практики / Отв. редактор и составитель, к.э.н. Е.Б. Мезенцева. М.: ИСЭПН РАН - МЦГИ - "Русская панорама", 2002.– С. 328-351.



As previously mentioned, women in a registered marriage were asked about whether they were satisfied with their marriage. Among females who provided most of the child care and whose husbands helped them, 95.7% expressed satisfaction with their marriage, with 65.7% of them being *absolutely satisfied* with their marriage. An answer option *absolutely satisfied* was less often selected by female respondents if their husbands did not help them with child care (39.4%) and they more often assessed their marriage in terms of *rather satisfied than dissatisfied* (54.3%).

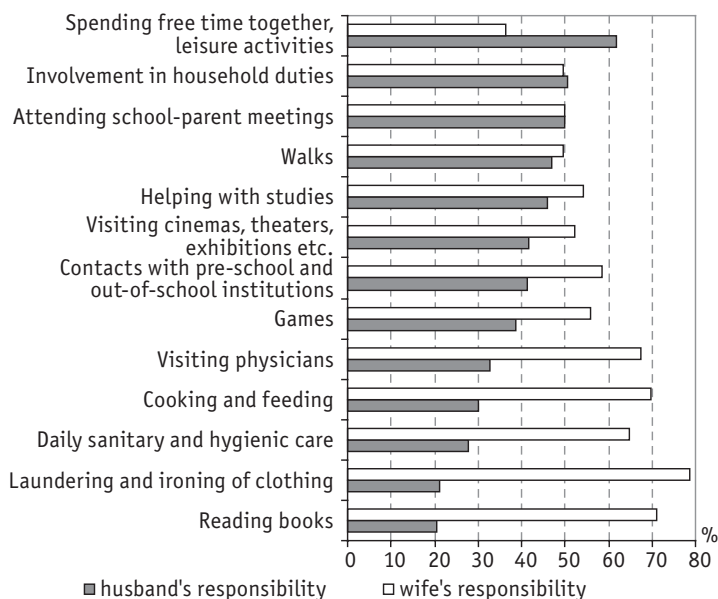
Therefore, it could not be firmly maintained that the “matriarchal” position of women results in exclusion of men from child care since, on the whole, husband’s assistance makes a woman *absolutely satisfied* with her marriage and family life. Therefore, it is rather men’s inactivity that drives these women to increase their activity and makes them take a matriarchal position; in the domain of child care this, in fact and reality, is equal to a mother’s sole responsibility for the health and safety of her children.

It should also be mentioned that traditional social and cultural norms which regard child care and upbringing mostly as “a woman’s duty” still remain in force. Only one out of ten respondents mentioned that husband provides most of the child care. Given a considerable difference in males’ and females’ answers about main responsibility for child care, we believe that males were inclined to overestimate it, while women’s assessment of men’s role in this respect seems rather underestimated.

82.8% of male respondents with children who indicated that they provided most of the child care in the family were officially married and another 5.7% were in unregistered marriage. Almost 60% of males who mentioned themselves as in charge for the child care had one child, 32.2% – two children, 7.8% – three and more children. Half of these respondents had tertiary education; 30.0% of them had post-secondary non-tertiary education. While only 63% of females with children who mentioned themselves as the person who provided most of the child care in the family said their husband was also involved in raising the children, 85.2% of males with children who said they played the main role in caring for their children mentioned that their wife was also involved in child care. In the latter group of male respondents, 65.5% said they were *absolutely satisfied* with the division of child care responsibilities and another 28.2% mentioned they were *rather satisfied than dissatisfied*, as against 6.4% who were *dissatisfied* with the situation when they provided most of the child care. Males who answered that their wives provided no support in caring for the children were more reserved in assessing the division of responsibilities: 42.1% of them mentioned they were *rather satisfied*.

Within the framework of the survey, along with the question: **“Who provides most of the child care?”** respondents were asked another question:

**“Please specify type of child care and upbringing responsibilities in your family”** which allowed a more detailed study of males indicated that they provided most of the child care in their families. The findings are to a certain extent intriguing. As it turned out, males who indicated that they provided most of the child care in the family mentioned their leading role only with regard to one activity: almost 62% of these male respondents noted they were main organizers of *leisure, free time for the whole family*. Half of respondents who provided most of the child care in the family mentioned that they were in charge of *visiting school – parent meetings and involving the children in household duties*. As for other more regular and labor-intensive child care responsibilities, these respondents indicated that they were mostly their wives’ responsibility. The following activities were the least attractive for male respondents: *laundrying and ironing of children’s clothing, meal preparation and feeding the children, daily sanitary and hygienic care for children* (Fig. 4.2.7).



**Fig. 4.2.7. Answers of males who indicated they provided most of the child care in the family as to division of child care and upbringing responsibilities (April, 2009)**

Comparison of answers given by males who stated that they provided most of the child care in the family about their and their wives’ involvement in different activities related to child care and support raises doubts as to whether the

percentage of male respondents in this group of respondents as determined by the survey conforms with reality.

***Child care and upbringing responsibilities in the family.*** The figures presented in Table 4.2.3 provide a convincing evidence that in the majority of cases all activities related to child care and upbringing are performed by women. In cases when such responsibilities as “daily sanitary and hygienic care”, “visiting physicians”, “meal preparation and feeding the child(ren)”, “laundrying and ironing of clothing” were mentioned, nine out of every ten respondents indicated that they were performed chiefly by mother of children/child.

**Table 4.2.3. Respondents performing most of the child care and upbringing responsibilities, in % of respective group of respondents (April, 2009)**

Child care and upbringing responsibilities	Urban area				Rural area			
	hus-band	wife	chil-dren	grand-parents	hus-band	wife	chil-dren	grand-parents
Daily sanitary and hygienic care	6.1	89.0	4.4	0.5	7.0	90.6	2.3	0.0
Walks	11.3	80.6	6.3	1.8	9.7	82.5	7.4	0.5
Helping with studies	15.9	80.4	3.3	0.4	17.9	78.5	2.7	0.9
Visiting physicians	7.7	89.3	2.3	0.7	9.9	90.1	0.0	0.0
Attending school-parent meetings	17.9	80.5	0.2	1.5	16.9	81.8	0.0	1.3
Contacts with pre-school and out-of-school institutions	11.3	86.5	1.0	1.2	8.0	92.0	0.0	0.0
Reading books	9.9	80.2	7.2	2.7	7.8	79.4	11.9	0.9
Games	19.8	70.4	8.9	0.9	17.1	69.1	13.4	0.5
Visiting cinemas, theaters, exhibitions etc.	18.1	73.6	7.5	0.8	17.7	67.3	15.0	0.0
Spending free time together, leisure activities	22.7	74.0	2.6	0.7	24.7	72.2	3.0	0.0
Involvement in household duties	13.7	82.7	0.6	3.0	21.3	77.5	0.4	0.8
Meal preparation, feeding the child(ren)	5.8	90.1	0.7	3.5	8.5	90.1	0.0	1.5
Laundrying and ironing of clothing	5.3	91.8	1.0	2.0	6.9	92.8	0.0	0.4

Positions which were the father’s responsibility are mostly associated with “non-everyday life”: “*spending free time together, leisure activities*”, “*games*”, “*visiting cinemas, theaters, exhibitions etc.*” As for the last two statements, respondents also mentioned children as responsible for those activities more

often as compared with other activities. At the same time answers demonstrated the largest urban-rural disparity: in rural area children more often assume responsibility for organizing games, visiting cinemas or reading books as compared with urban area.

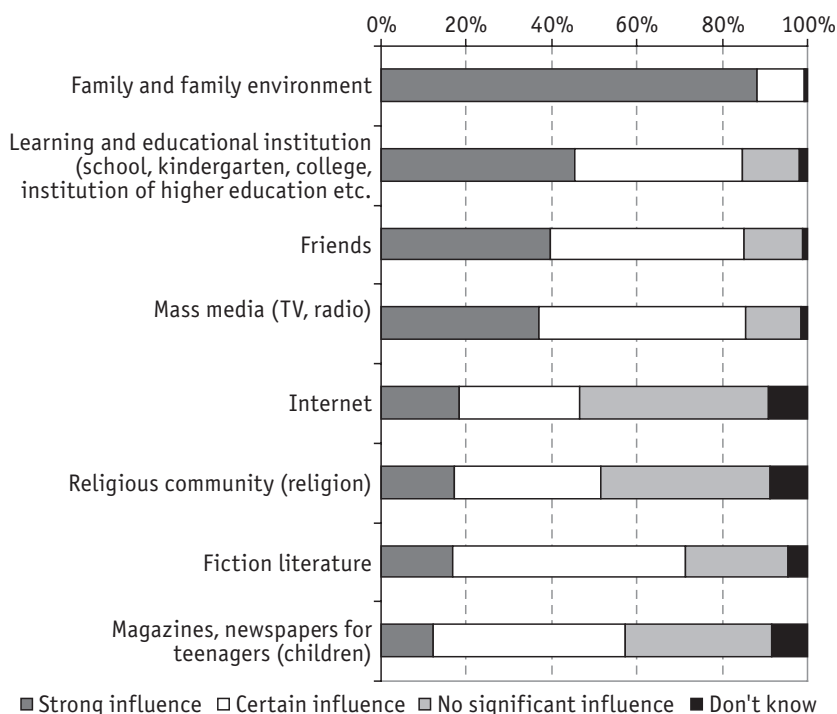
Along with determining who is in charge of certain child care and upbringing activities in the family, it would be expedient to make a separate study of the time budget for a particular activity and, consequently, to get a more critical assessment of the actual situation. The situation in rural area is most complex and uncertain. The study of a rural woman's demographic portrait, which also focused on her time budget, led to the conclusion that "in rural area child care and upbringing is in fact the sole responsibility of women"<sup>16</sup>. This problem is more aggravated by unavailability of child care institutions in small villages or by difficult access to them.

***Impact of different factors on the formation of a child's personality.*** A child's personality to the largest extent is formed under the influence of *family and family environment*. This was acknowledged by 88.1% of respondents with children; another 11.3% agreed with the statement that *family and family environment* have some effect. Among the factors forming a child's personality, the second place with a wide gap from the first one is held by *learning and educational institutions* (schools, preschool institutions, colleges, institutions of higher education etc.): 45.5% of respondents indicated that educational institutions have a significant impact in forming a child's world outlook, 39.4% acknowledged that schools, preschool institutions and colleges do have a certain, although insignificant influence. About 40% of respondents with children believed that *friends* play a considerable part in shaping a child's personality, while 13.7% of respondents did not agree with the statement that *friends* can have a significant influence upon their children's character and actions (Fig. 4.2.8).

Nearly 13% of respondents maintained that mass media have no impact in shaping a personality. However, respondents who acknowledged such impact sometimes underestimated the role of mass media: 36.7% of respondents with children checked the answer "***strong influence***" and 48.6% – "***certain influence***". At the same time, statistical data do not conform with the above-mentioned distribution of answers: half of the children watch TV programs without any discretion or exceptions; one-fourth of children aged 6-10 watch the same TV programs from 5 to 40 times in succession; in the rating of free time activities, 35% of children in this age group gave the first place to watching TV, thus excluding such options as sports, walking outdoors or staying with the family<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Якуба К.І. Жінки в трудовому потенціалі села. – К.: Аграрна наука 1998. – с. .

<sup>17</sup> Пензова Т. В. Родительское собрание: Дети и телевидение  
<http://festival.1september.ru/articles/505790/>



**Fig. 4.2.8. Parents' assessment of factors influencing the personality of their children (April, 2009)**

In the respondents' opinion, the least significant factor among those shaping the personality of children and teenagers was the Internet – 44.3% of respondents indicated it has ***no significant influence***. On the one hand, the Internet is an important source of various and diverse information and a means of its prompt retrieval allowing more rational use of time. On the other hand, a growing popularity of the Internet has created certain problems particularly related to the shaping of personality of a young individual, with Internet addiction most likely being the most acute of them. Addiction to virtual reality, long hours at the computer (sometimes up to 18 hours per day) lead to mental disorders accompanied by the state of uneasiness, anxiety, emotional excitement and internal tension. Teenagers often use the Internet for playing games; in such cases Internet addiction can go along another problem – game addiction. However, given a comparatively small proportion of Ukrainian households with free Internet access, in general, its influence has not yet reached the scopes observed in well-developed countries.

It is of interest that respondents with different number of children gave different assessments of factors which influence the shaping of a child's personality. In general, respondents with a larger number of children more often mentioned that a certain factor under assessment had "*significant influence*" and had a more critical attitude towards the answer "*no significant influence*". Some positions demonstrated rather considerable variations. For instance, 35.1% of respondents with one child indicated that mass media had a *significant* influence, while 17.3% disagreed with the proposition that mass media can have any influence upon a child's personality. Unlike that, respondents with three children more often mentioned "*strong influence*", with the percentage of those who believed that mass media had no influence being three times less than the corresponding figure for respondents with one child (Table 4.2.4). Assessments provided by respondents with different number of children are likely to be indirectly influenced by other factors such as children's age, relations between children and between parents and children, help of relatives (mostly of grandmothers and grandfathers with regard to care and upbringing of grandchildren), intergenetic intervals etc.

**Table 4.2.4. Assessment of factors with an effect upon personality depending on the number of children in the family, % (April, 2009)**

	Respondents with one child			Respondents with two children			Respondents with three and more children		
	Strong influence	Certain influence	No influence	Strong influence	Certain influence	No influence	Strong influence	Certain influence	No influence
Family and family environment	88.2	11.1	0.3	88.0	11.5	0.2	87.1	12.9	0
Mass media (TV, radio)	33.1	48.0	17.2	41.4	49.3	8.2	44.4	49.2	6.3
Friends	35.1	46.1	17.3	45.6	43.9	9.6	46.8	46.8	6.5
Internet	17.0	25.6	48.2	20.5	31.8	38.4	21.0	29.0	43.5
Learning and educational institution (school, kindergarten, college, institution of higher education etc.)	41.3	37.6	19.1	50.2	42.2	5.4	56.4	38.6	5.0
Religious community (religion)	11.2	34.1	43.3	22.8	35.1	36.9	40.4	32.3	22.6
Fiction literature	17.1	51.4	26.8	17.3	58.5	20.2	11.1	58.9	25.5
Magazines, newspapers for teenagers (children)	12.1	42.9	37.8	12.6	47.3	30.4	13.1	45.7	29.4

A large percentage of persons who believe in God among respondents with many children explains why the proportion of respondents who agreed with the proposition about strong influence of religious communities (religion) upon a child's personality was also the highest among respondents with three and more children (40.4%). In the group of respondents with one child, the percentage of persons believing that religious communities (religion) have a strong influence was considerably lower (just 11.2%), while the percentage of respondents convinced that religion has no significant influence was the highest.

Assessment by respondents of suggested factors shaping a child's personality determined that *family and family environment* maintains the lead. The impact of this factor raises no doubts and was assessed as *strong*. The fact that respondents understand this, as demonstrated by their answers, is an evidence of their responsible parenthood.

### **4.3. Parents and adult children: modern forms of family relationship**

Before describing family relationship between parents and adult children in the family, let's have a brief look at the statistics characterizing the age composition of Ukrainian families as local units setting the territorial and time boundaries for this relationship, as well as at the correlation between respondents' and their children's age and distribution of children aged over 18 by types of households. In the totality universe of respondents of the social and demographic survey "Family and Family Relations", 16.0% had children aged above 18, 45.8% had children under 18 and 38.2% had no children at all. The number of adult children was first of all determined by the age of respondents. Respondents aged 30–39 accounted for the highest percentage of persons with children under 18, while those aged 40–49 – with children over 18. Accordingly, 50.9% of respondents in the age group 40–49 had adult children, with the corresponding figure for rural residents of this age being even 53.5%. It is notable that a rather considerable percentage (7.8%) of those polled in the age group 40–49, i.e. persons who have almost completed their childbearing, had no children and 3.3% of them were never been married, this being the factor affecting their fertility. The difference between urban area and rural area is that the percentage of children aged under 18 as well as aged 18 and over was lower for urban area and the percentage of respondents without children was higher (Table 4.3.1).

**Table 4.3.1. Distribution of different age respondents  
by the age of their children, % (April, 2009)**

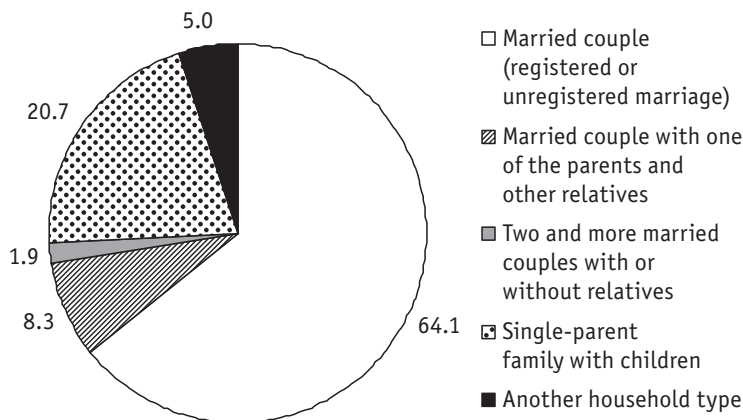
Respondent's age (years)	Without children	With children		Total respondents
		under 18	18 and over	
	Urban and rural areas			
15-19	97.9	2.1	0	100
20-24	82.1	17.9	0	100
25-29	36.5	63.5	0	100
30-39	15.3	80	4.6	100
40-49	7.8	41.3	50.9	100
<b>15-49</b>	<b>38.2</b>	<b>45.8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>
	Urban area			
15-19	98	2	0	100
20-24	83.3	16.7	0	100
25-29	38.3	61.7	0	100
30-39	15.8	78.8	5.4	100
40-49	7.9	42.3	49.8	100
<b>15-49</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>100</b>
	Rural area			
15-19	97.8	2.2	0	100
20-24	78.6	21.4	0	100
25-29	31.8	68.2	0	100
30-39	14.2	82.8	3	100
40-49	7.6	38.9	53.5	100
<b>15-49</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>47.2</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>100</b>

The fertility situation of respondents in particular and in Ukraine in the whole can be described as generally low number of children in a family i.e. demographically unfavourable one (at least, this is the assessment given in descriptions of the demographic situation in countries with the highest level of economic development). At the same time, this situation creates preconditions for lessening the loads in the system "parents – children" and, therefore, reduces the need for an increased participation of "the third generation" in the child care and upbringing function of the family.

As mentioned earlier, married couples are kernels of the majority of households (58.2%). Married couples which form a household together with parents and other relatives account for 11.8% of respondents, with the percentage of single-parent families (mother/father with children) which most acutely need their parents' involvement in raising their grandchildren being 13.0%, and the percentage of respondents living alone being 5.5%. The highest percentage of respondents living alone was recorded among females aged 45–49 (8.8%). Over time, these respondents will be in the old and elderly age groups and this



will intensify the problems of family assistance to old and elderly persons and the issues of development of social forms of geriatric service. The analysis of distribution of respondents with children aged 18 and over by types of households shows that adult children mostly live in households with a married couple (64.1%) and in single-parent families (20.7%) (Fig. 4.3.1).



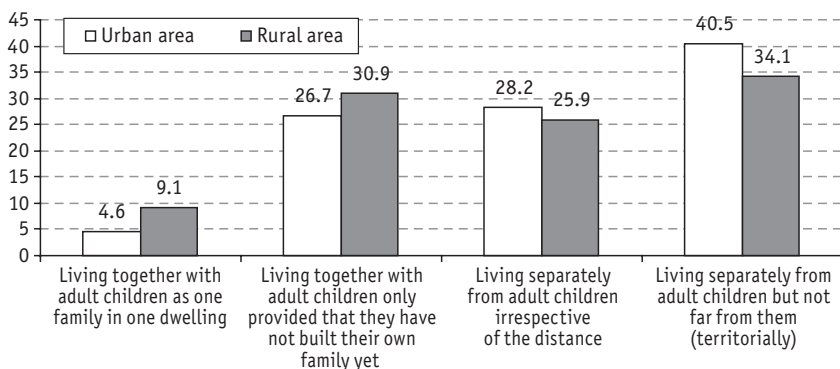
**Fig. 4.3.1. Distribution of respondents with children aged 18 and over by types of households, % (April, 2009)**

**Forms of living arrangements of respondents and their adult children and mutual help between them.** As we know, in economically developed Western countries the overwhelming majority of adult children live separately from their parents. In our country, under the conditions of unsolved housing problems, a common practice is when parents and their children live together.

Answering the question about **the most acceptable (desirable) living arrangements**, 27.5% of respondents expressed a preference for **living separately from adult children**, with 38.6% indicating they would like to **live separately but not far** from their children. 27.9% of respondents selected an option **living together with adult children only provided that they have not built their own family yet** and only 6% - an option **living together with adult children (as one family in one dwelling)**. The proportion of respondents who would prefer *living together with adult children* grows with increasing age of respondents. The highest percentage of respondents for whom *living together with adult children* was an acceptable option was recorded among those aged 40–49. Among rural respondents, the percentage of those who selected *living together with children* was higher and the percentage of those preferring *living separately* was lower, respectively (Table 4.3.2, Fig. 4.3.2).

**Table 4.3.2. Distribution of respondents from different age groups by the most acceptable living arrangements of parents and adult children (aged over 18) under free choice, % (April, 2009)**

Age, years	The most acceptable living arrangements of parents and adult children				All respondents
	Living together with adult children as one family in one dwelling	Living together with adult children only provided that they have not built their own family yet	Living separately from adult children regardless of the distance	Living separately from adult children but not far from them (territorially)	
15-19	12.9	14.6	18.7	10.2	13.9
20-24	9.7	13.2	17.6	16.9	15.6
25-29	8.9	13	15.5	16.4	14.8
30-39	28.2	28	24.1	27.8	26.8
40-49	40.3	31.2	24.1	28.8	28.9
<b>15-49</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>38.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**Fig. 4.3.2. Most acceptable living arrangements of parents and adult children for urban and rural respondents, % (April, 2009)**

The option *parents and adult children live separately but not far from each other* was most acceptable for all types of households, including respondents living alone and single-parent families with children. In particular, for single respondents this percentage was 49.1%; for married couples (both in registered and unregistered marriage) — 39.0%; for married couples with one of the parents and other relatives — 37.1%; for households with two and more married couples and other relatives or without them — 45.5%; for single-pa-

rent families with children – 32.2%. As the above-mentioned figures show, the highest proportions of respondents wishing to live separately but not far from their adult children were recorded among persons living alone and respondents from households with two and more couples, with these findings most likely explained by low housing provision and high occupancy rates as the factor arousing dissatisfaction with living together. Living **together with adult children** as the most acceptable option was chosen by 3.5% of persons living alone, 4.7% of respondents from nuclear families, 7.3% of respondents from extended nuclear families, 8.9% – from complex families and 10.1% – from single-parent families.

It is no doubt that aggregate family income and its current well-being determines whether adult children live separately or together with their parents. But, unfortunately, figures characterizing this aspect of family relations depend both on the total number of respondents and their distribution by material well-being of the family. They mostly refer to respondents who characterized material well-being of their family as average and lower than average. Accordingly, those respondents accounted for the highest percentage of persons living both separately and together with adult children in correlation with the first- and second-order births. These figures, first of all, indicate that both respondents living together with adult children and respondents living separately are from the population strata with lower than average and average standard of living. If we look at these strata separately from other ones, we will see that 60.6% of these respondents live together with adult children and 39.4% live separately.

As for the **reasons for which respondents' adult children live separately from their parents**, the main one is **children have own family**, however, with an increasing number of respondent's children this reason for separate living arrangements loses its significance (Table 4.3.3). **Studying** was the second reason by significance explaining why adult children live separately from their parents, since educational institutions at which children study may be located beyond the place of their parent's residence. It is indicative that the percentage of adult children living separately from their parents respondents with three children is high, however, among these children the proportion of persons with own family which could be interpreted as the reason for living separately from their parents is comparatively low.

Within the framework of family relationship research, **mutual help between parents and children** is of particular interest. As for financial support of respondents – parents by their adult children, the survey showed that 55.6% of respondents **help their adult children regularly**, 22.2% **help occasionally** and 22.2% **do not help**.

As for financial support by adult children of their parents respondents and the need for such support, 46.2% of respondents indicated they needed such support, 48.7% did not need such support and 5.1% of respondents who regu-

larly receive financial support from their children believed that their children had not yet reached the age at which they should help the parents. Among respondents who did not receive any financial support, 0.5% needed it, 64.3% did not need any support from their children and 35.2% of respondents believed their adult children had not yet reached the age at which they should help the parents (Table 4.3.4).

**Table 4.3.3. Reasons for separate living arrangements of adult children, % (April, 2009)**

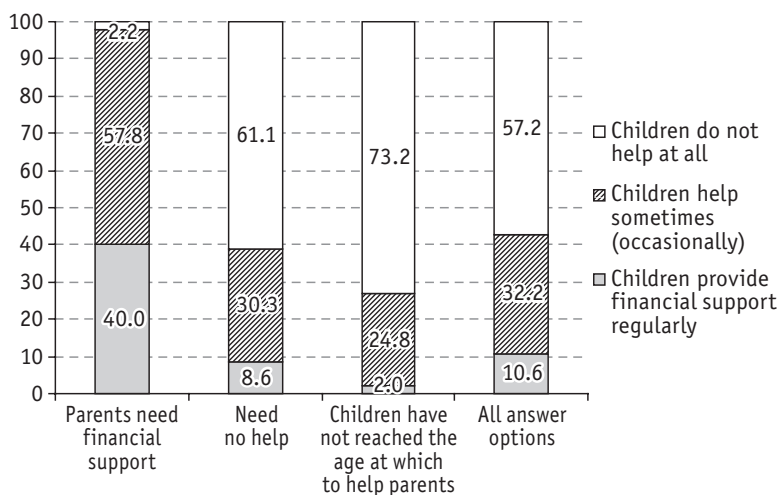
Reason	First child	Second child	Third child
Own family	61.2	44.2	11.7
Lives separately, although has no own family	7.3	11.0	21.8
Lives with respondent's husband/wife or another member of the family / relative	10.7	6.6	31.9
Study	17.0	24.4	21.8
Work	3.8	12.4	12.8
Other reasons	0.0	1.4	0.0
All reasons	100	100	100

**Table 4.3.4. Distribution of respondents by the extent to which they need financial support from their adult children in correlation with such support provided, % (April, 2009)**

Parents' need for financial support from their adult children	Extent to which the need is satisfied: Do your adult children (aged 18 and over) help you financially?			All answer options
	Help regularly	Help sometimes (occasionally)	Do not help	
Respondents requiring financial support	46.2	22.0	0.5	12.3
Respondents who need no financial support	48.7	56.8	64.3	60.2
Children have not yet reached the age to help financially	5.1	21.2	35.2	27.5
All answer options	100	100	100	100

As for the extent to which the need for financial support is satisfied, 40.0% of respondents received it continuously, 57.8% sometimes and 2.2% of respondents did not receive it at all. 8.6% of respondents who did not need any finan-

cial support regularly received such support from their adult children, 30.3% of respondents received it sometimes, and 57.2% did not receive it at all (Fig. 4.3.3).



**Fig. 4.3.3. Distribution of respondents by the extent to which their need for financial support from their adult children is satisfied in correlation with the extent to which such support is required, % (April, 2009)**

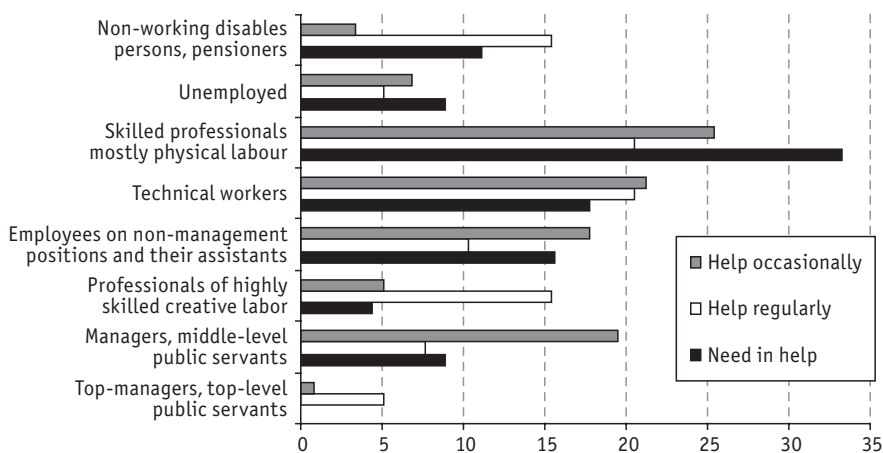
Financial support by respondents of their parents to a considerable extent depends on the well-being of their families. The largest percentage of respondents who needed financial support of their adult children assessed the well-being of their families as lower than average or average (77.7%). Likewise, the largest proportion of respondents who did not need such support also were from these population strata (77.4%). As illustrated by figures in Table 4.3.5, the need almost completely coincides with its regular satisfaction. The analysis of these figures in respect of the poorest and well-to-do respondents (representatives of “marginal” groups) provides no reliable basis because of small size of the populations.

The analysis of the correlation between respondents’ need for financial support from their adult children and its satisfaction in combination with social and professional characteristics of respondents is also of particular interest (Fig.4.3.4). A high percentage of respondents who needed financial support is recorded among skilled workers, mostly those performing physical labor (33.3% of total respondents). However, this group of respondents accounted only for 20.5% of total respondents who received support regularly, i.e. it was signifi-

cantly smaller than the percentage of respondents who needed such help, which to a certain degree was compensated by occasional support received by 25.4% of total respondents. Among the persons who did not need any financial support from their adult children (top managers and top-level state employee), 5.1% of respondents received it regularly and 0.8% – sometimes.

**Table 4.3.5 Percentage of respondents who need financial support from their adult children and percentage of respondents who receive it depending on the well-being of respondent's family according to his/her self-assessment, % (April, 2009)**

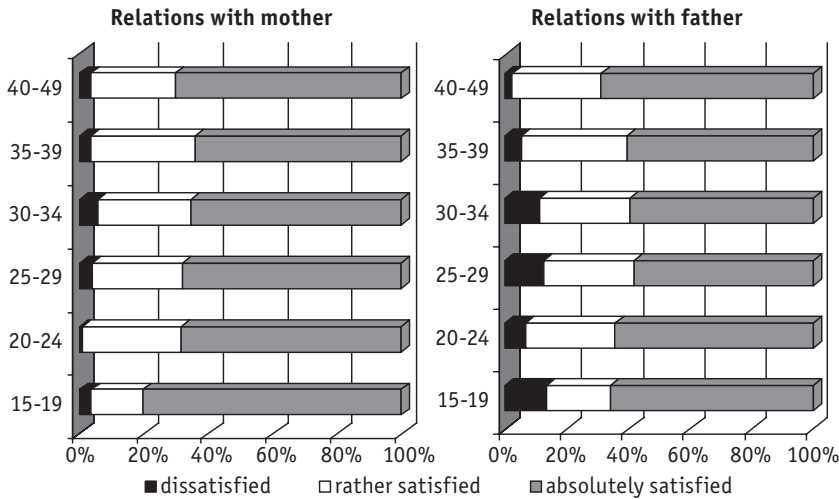
Respondent's assessment of his/her family's well-being	Respondents' need for financial support from their adult children		Financial support of adult children to their parents		
	Need help	Do not need any help	Help regularly	Help sometimes	Do not help
Very low	4.4	2.3	5.1	3.4	1.4
Low	17.8	16.3	12.8	15.1	17.6
Lower than average	44.4	28.1	46.2	28.6	35.7
Average	33.4	49.2	30.8	51.3	40.5
Higher than average	0.0	4.1	5.1	0.8	4.3
High	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.5
All respondents	100	100	100	100	100



**Fig. 4.3.4. Need of respondents-parents for financial support from their adult children and its satisfaction depending on respondent's social and professional status, % (April, 2009)**

A separate review of the mentioned social and professional group of skilled workers who mostly perform physical labor shows that in this group 15.8% needed financial support of their adult children, 54.7% did not need it at all and 29.5% of respondents believed their children had not yet reached the age at which they should help their parents. Among respondents of the mentioned social and professional status, 8.4% received financial support from their adult children, 31.6% received it occasionally and 60.0% did not receive it at all. For this social and professional group, the correlation of proportions of respondents witnessing the said need and its satisfaction by regular financial support is 68.6%.

**Respondents' assessment of relations with their parents.** The survey focused on identifying the specific features of intergenerational relations in their diversity, including the nature of relations between persons from different age groups and their parents. Results of the analysis of answers given by child-bearing-age respondents who have parents to the question: **"Are you satisfied with relations with your mother/father?"** allow to come to the conclusion about certain regular patterns of changes in relations between adult children and their parents with an increasing age of respondents (Fig.4.3.5).



**Fig.4.3.5. Distribution of respondents from different age groups by assessment of their relations with mother/father,% (April, 2009)**

The overwhelming majority of respondents are satisfied (fully or partially) with their relations with the parents, while the percentage of those who do not get along with the parents (who are dissatisfied with these relations) being

insignificant. However, a considerable variation is observed in relations with father and mother: while 3.6% of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with relations with their mothers (with the highest proportion of these respondents – 5.9% recorded in age group 30–34), 8% of respondents were dissatisfied with relations with their fathers (being 2.2 times greater), with the highest proportion of these respondents – 13.4% recorded in teen age group 15–19. The reasons leading to this situation need further research but even as such they witness that males are not always successful in performing their duties of a father, especially in difficult situations when children are raised in single-parent or restructured family.

It is also of interest that respondents' relations with their mothers/fathers, after the period characterized by a certain "intensified tension" (in the age interval from 25 to 35–39), become considerably warmer in the older groups of childbearing-age respondents, when respondents' children are already in their teens or in the adolescent age and their parents are getting older and need more care and attention.

***Relations of respondents with their elderly parents and their support.*** In order to identify specific features of relations between childbearing-age persons with their parents, and also to determine whether adult respondents and their elderly parents live together or separately and what is the occurrence for both types of living arrangements, to find out whether respondents support their elderly parents financially and provide instrumental assistance etc., respondents were asked a number of questions concerning their father/mother (if he/she is alive), as well as concerning living parents of respondent's spouse (for married respondents). Those questions referred to the following: **care for parents by adult respondents** (respondent's or his/her spouse's parents) and **helping parents with keeping the house; financial support** of parents (respondent's or his/her spouse's parents); **place of residence** of parents and **with whom parents live**.

According to the survey findings, the overwhelming majority of respondents' parents live with their marriage partner. However, the more children respondents have, the lower the percentage of "third generation" persons who live alone or with their spouse. It is clear that this finding is explained both by age-specific mortality (females live longer than males) and by divorce rates. However, there are also grounds to maintain that this situation to a certain extent may result from the need to help a respondent's family with raising his/her children (Table 4.3.6). A similar dependency is observed in respect of living arrangements of respondent's mothers who live alone: if there are no children in a respondent's household, 21.3% of respondents' mothers live alone and if a respondent has three and more children, this percentage is 15.9%. As for males of "the third generation", it seems that they try to avoid living with respondents

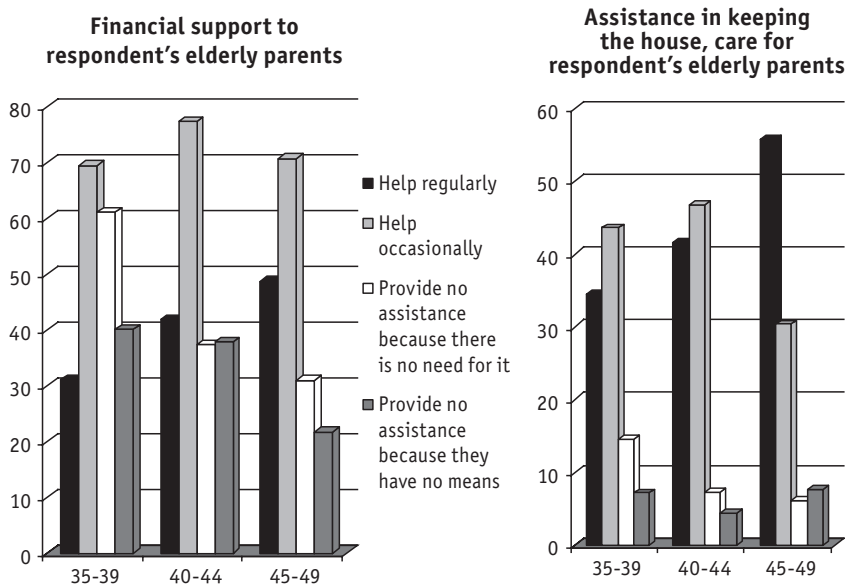


who have many children: the more children a respondent has, the higher the percentage of their parents who live alone. It should be mentioned that if a respondent has three and more children, even females of “the third generation” in the majority of cases choose to live with a respondent’s brothers, sisters or other relatives.

**Table 4.3.6. Respondent’s parents living separately from him/her and the number of children in the respondent’s family, % (April, 2009)**

Respondent’s own children	Respondent’s parents living					Total respondents
	alone	with their spouse	with respondent’s brother (sister)	with other relatives	with friends	
	<b>Respondent’s mother</b>					
No children	21.3	73.1	3.7	1.9	0.0	100
One child	17.5	73.7	5.5	3.1	0.2	100
Two children	18.6	66.4	11.4	3.6	0.0	100
Three and more children	15.9	47.7	31.9	4.5	0.0	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>69.9</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Respondent’s father</b>					100
No children	3.3	91.2	3.3	1.1	1.0	100
One child	3.3	91.9	3.9	0.9	0.0	100
Two children	3.3	87.8	6.6	2.3	0.0	100
Three and more children	8.7	82.6	8.7	0.0	0.0	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>90.1</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Mother of respondent’s husband/wife</b>					100
No children	15.4	76.4	4.1	4.1	0.0	100
One child	16.2	77.4	3.9	2.5	0.0	100
Two children	18.3	66.3	9.9	5.1	0.4	100
Three and more children	20.0	52.5	12.5	15.0	0.0	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>72.4</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Father of respondent’s husband/wife</b>					100
No children	6.0	91.0	1.0	2.0	–	100
One child	5.2	91.6	2.6	0.6	–	100
Two children	5.4	87.7	5.4	1.5	–	100
Three and more children	7.4	77.8	3.7	11.1	–	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>89.7</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>100</b>

The analysis of answers to the questions “Do you help your parents/ your spouse’s parents with keeping the house, do you provide them with necessary care?” and “Do you support your parents / your spouse’s parents financially?” allow to get some idea about how often respondents in childbearing age help their elderly parents (respondent’s parents and his/her spouse’s parents). In fact, here of interest is the distribution of answers to these questions given by respondents in childbearing-age who have *elderly parents* (persons in their post-employment years), since the latter are most likely to need both financial and (especially) instrumental assistance. Under the general rule, these respondents are persons at least 35 years old; the survey mostly focused on relations between these respondents and their parents (Fig.4.3.6 ).

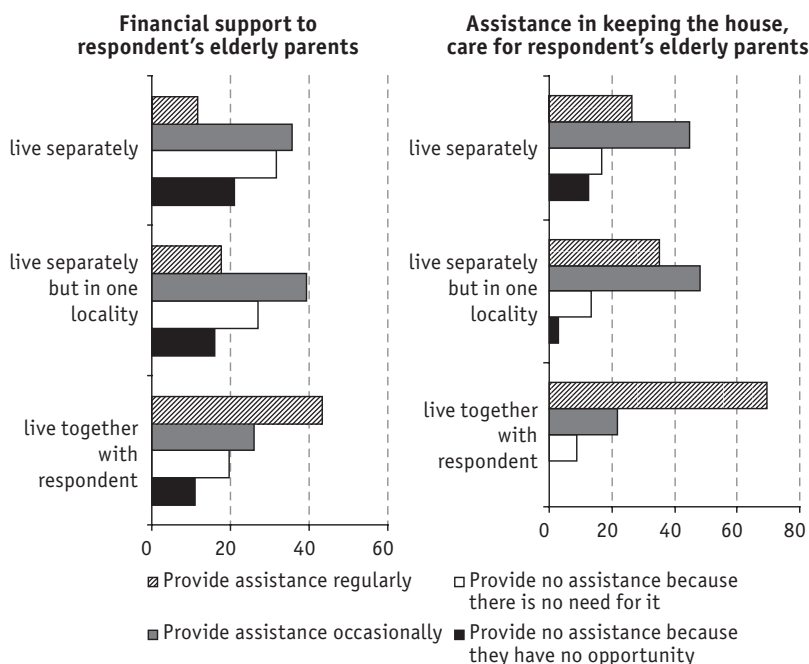


**Fig. 4.3.6. Distribution of respondents aged 35 and over by assessment of assistance to their elderly parents, % (April, 2009)**

As we can see, the frequency of assistance to elderly parents grows with respondents’ age. This correlation is especially pronounced in respect of assistance with keeping the house and care for the elderly parents who need regular instrumental assistance from their children as they become older. Generally, as the survey findings show, regular help with keeping the house and care for the elderly parents are a more widespread practice than financial support. As for the latter, it is mostly occasional. It may be assumed that provision of this

support is conditioned by occasional need for certain additional expenses (resulting from health problems, renewal of some durable goods etc.). Along with this, with increased age of respondents (and of their parents, respectively), the distribution of respondents changes to a certain extent in favor of those who provide regular financial support to their parents, since retired persons in the elderly age groups have an increased need for such support; at the same time the percentages of respondents of senior childbearing age who **provide no support** to their parents because **there is no need for it** and also those who **provide no support because they have no means** decrease considerably.

Relations between adult children and their parents to a large extent depend on the living arrangements of a particular family (together or separately). In the majority of cases children who live together with their parents care for the latter, while respondents who live separately, especially in another locality, do not always have such an opportunity (Fig.4.3.7).



**Fig. 4.3.7. Respondents' assistance to elderly parents depending on living arrangements, % (April, 2009)**

Therefore, a trend towards adult children living separately from their parents, especially under conditions of high mobility of the population, increases

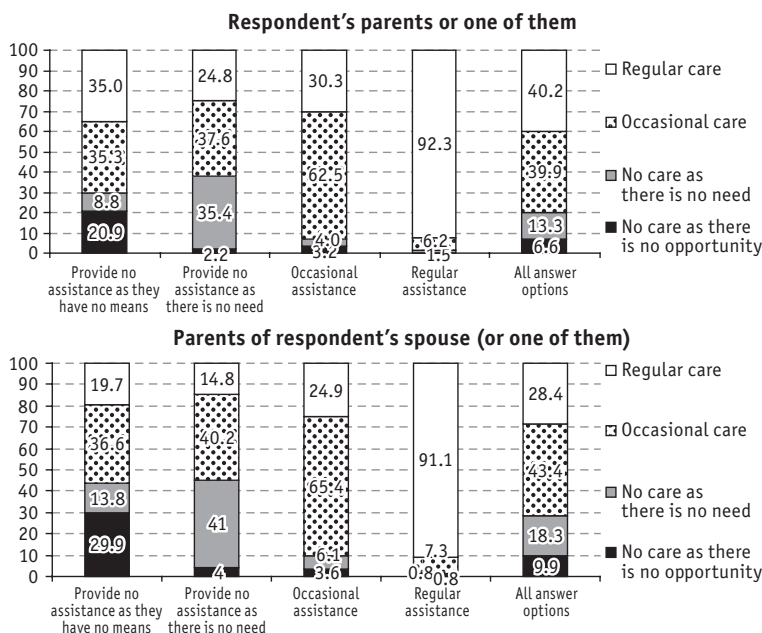
the risk of loneliness and lack of care in the elderly age. As for financial support, here the most important determinant is whether children have an means to provide this support (the majority of respondents do not have this means), regardless of the living arrangements of children and parents. In this respect, distance does not matter much, however, respondents living together with their parents more often support their parents financially.

The survey materials also allow to analyze the correlation between financial support and domestic assistance to respondents' parents (i.e. helping with various everyday household responsibilities). 16.6% of respondents indicated regular financial support to their parents and 32.2% said they helped from time to time; 27.1% mentioned they did not help since it was not necessary and 24.1% – because they had no opportunity. Respondents who did not help their parents because of no opportunity to do so accounted for the largest percentage of those who did not provide necessary care for the parents because they also had no opportunity for that (75.6%). Almost the same situation exists in respect of assistance to parents of respondent's spouse (Table 4.3.7).

**Table 4.3.7. Distribution of respondents by financial support to their parents in correlation with care provided, % (April, 2009)**

Care for the parents (assistance with housekeeping etc.)	Financial support to parents				All answer options
	do not help because of no means	do not help because of no need	help occasio- nally	help regularly	
to respondent's parents (or one of them)					
No care because of no opportunity	75.6	9.0	15.4	0.0	100
No care because of no need	16.0	72.5	9.6	1.9	100
Care occasionally	21.3	25.6	50.5	2.6	100
Care regularly	20.9	16.7	24.3	38.1	100
All answer options	24.1	27.1	32.2	16.6	100
to parents of respondent's spouse (or one of them)					
No care because of no opportunity	74.5	12.7	11.8	1.0	100
No care because of no need	18.5	70.4	10.6	0.5	100
Care occasionally	20.8	29.1	48.1	2.0	100
Care regularly	17.1	16.4	28.0	38.5	100
All answer options	24.6	31.5	31.9	12.0	100

40.2% of respondents **provide regular care** for their parents or one of them (help with keeping the house etc.) and 39.9% of respondents do it occasionally; 13.3% of respondents **provide no care since there is no need for it** and 6.6% **provide no care since there is no means**. The largest proportion of respondents who care for their parents (92.3%) was recorded among respondents who provide regular financial support to their parents. The respondents who do not support their parents financially because they have no opportunity, provide regular care to a considerably smaller extent, this percentage being only 35%. As for the correlation between financial support provided by respondents to spouse's parents (or one of them) and care for them, it does not significantly differ from the support and care provided to respondents' parents (Fig. 4.3.8). Therefore, there are grounds to conclude that there is a close correlation between the extent to which respondents care for their parents and the extent of financial support provided by them.



**Fig. 4.3.8. Distribution of respondents by the extent of care for their parents in correlation with the extent of financial support to them, % (April, 2009)**

**Family relationship and population ageing.** In the context of the analysis performed, we should not disregard that in Ukraine ageing is the most significant characteristic of long-term changes in the age composition of the population, just like in many other countries of the Old and the New World.

It is a common problem for all economically developed countries. However, the crisis condition of our society has accelerated the process of ageing to the extent that provides grounds to classify it as one of manifestations of the demographic crisis<sup>18</sup>. Further development of studies on ageing is to a considerable extent kept back by the lack of results of special empirical studies of this phenomenon, including sociological research, particularly, at the level of family. This kind of research is especially urgent for Ukraine, since it is the country with the oldest population: in Ukraine the percentage of persons over the age of employment is about one-fourth of total population. Under such a high level of demographic ageing, the problem of quality of parent-children relations, which for the most part concerns the family, reaches far beyond its limits turning into the problem of relations between generations at the level of society. In this situation increasing importance is gained by the issues of ensuring proper living conditions for senior generations, active involvement of the elderly persons in activities beyond the family<sup>19</sup>, elimination of remaining impacts of age discrimination and humanization of social policy in respect of the elderly persons. The attitudes of countries towards this population group is chiefly regulated by provisions of the Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing (1982) and Cairo International Conference for Population and Development (1994). However, there are a great number of related problems resulting mostly from sharp ageing of the population. As emphasized by the Regional Population Ageing Meeting which was held in Budapest in 1998 and which focused, inter alia, on the problems of ageing, the measures which could improve currently insufficient and short-term solutions to long-term problems inherent in social security systems should be targeted to the very core of the post-industrial society, i.e. at its knowledge base "...the highly qualified human capital assuring productivity and economic success will show the way out of societal strains and shortcomings... There is needed an action which mobilises knowledge, productivity and wisdom, also from the elderly's side"<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Демографічна криза в Україні. Проблеми дослідження, витоки, складові, напрями протидії. – К.: Ін-т економіки НАН України, 2000. – С. 210–222. Перший Всеукраїнський перепис населення: історичні, методологічні, соціальні, економічні, етнічні аспекти. – К.: Держкомстат України, Ін-т демографії та соціальних досліджень НАН України, 2004. – С. 291–310 с.

<sup>19</sup> Here, in the first place, a fuller use of the so-called "residual" working capacity of retired persons is meant. The modern communication level provides the needed conditions of cooperation between family members working in the family and outside it, which are more favorable as in the past.

<sup>20</sup> Шмид Й. Старение населения: динамика, социальные и экономические последствия для семьи, общин и общества в целом // Региональное совещание по народонаселению. – Будапешт, 7–9 декабря 1998 г. (CES/PAU/1998/6, 21 October 1998). – С. 37–38).

However, currently in Ukraine for the majority of people retirement is first of all interpreted in terms of joining the poorest population strata and becoming “a retiree” from a full-fledged life.

Under such conditions, efficient use of “the third generation’s” labor potential not only at the level of society but also within the family becomes crucial. It is clear that the space and time in which parent-children relationship exists are broader than the space and time of a particular family. For example, an adult child who created his/her own family maintains contacts with his/her parents who keep on living together (in the family in which this child was born), live in new families or alone. It is also clear that relations between parents and adult children may be realized within space and time limits of other centers of parents’ and adult children’s lives in which they are active. For instance, parents and their adult children may work at the same enterprise or be members of the same party etc. However, lack of communication between parents and their children within the family makes the process of “humanization” of newborns impossible, as well as their “primary” socialization, “the second” birth resulting from interiorization of fundamental means and rules of human life, limitation of spontaneous satisfaction of the needs of own bios by moral imperatives of man’s life in the social organism. In other words, only the family can provide sustainable and particularly favorable conditions for efficient communication between parents and their children; in terms of experience and knowledge sharing, communication between children and elderly persons is most efficient within the family.

The survey has demonstrated that in our country the potential for “the third generation’s” contribution to realization of child care and upbringing responsibilities within the family is underestimated and the knowledge and experience accumulated by the elderly is insufficiently used. For example, respondent’s and his/her spouse’s parents are those *in charge* for such family responsibilities relating to children under 18 as their involvement in house work – in 1.8% of cases, reading books – in 1.6% of cases, spending free time together – in 0.5% of cases, helping with studies – in 0.3% of cases. Here it should be mentioned that although representatives of the grandparent population in respondents’ families comparatively seldom are the main persons *in charge* of many child care and upbringing responsibilities, they *take an important part* in meal preparation, feeding children, supervision of meals; they are also involved in house work, laundering and ironing of clothing, reading books for children and walking in the fresh air. Along with this, only 4.9% of respondents, who were completely satisfied with division of child care and upbringing responsibilities in their families, said they would prefer their pre-school age children are brought up only at home by grandmother or grandfather, which is a considerably lower percentage that could be expected. This provides the basis for the conclusion

that there is “a shift” towards underestimation of the potential that “the third generation” may have in raising grandchildren.

It should be emphasized that with an anticipated rise in the average life expectancy the time span during which generations live together will also increase and, as a consequence, the issue of ensuring coordinated action of these generations will become more crucial. The number of generations living together will also grow, thus enhancing the opportunity and need for a more comprehensive use of cooperation of family members. At the same time, at the level of society there will be an increased problem with expanding and improving the quality of the infrastructure providing for the needs of the ageing population (residential institutions for the elderly, day care facilities and other service forms), which should become an essential element of the so-called successful ageing (i.e. ageing which does not make the life of elderly people gloomy and does not become a burden for society), the concept of which was developed by American scientists<sup>21</sup>. They came to the conclusion that successful ageing of the population consists of three essential components – active engagement with life, low probability of disease or disability (active prevention), high cognitive and physical function capacity of the elderly. The national population policy should be ready to implement this concept in reality, including at the family level, when the needed social and economic conditions emerge.

As shown above, the findings of the survey held also provide the basis for examining the relations between individuals which characterize them as family members, in other words, for examining the forms of interrelation between respondents, and also for analyzing the specific nature of mutual help between them and, to a certain extent, for identifying the need of parents for support from their children and the extent to which this need is satisfied.

As it turned out, the more the number of children in a respondent's family, the higher the percentage of respondent's and his/her spouse's parents living alone – the factor which makes assistance of the third generation with raising children more difficult. This may result from a gradual establishment of the trend towards separate living arrangements of parents and adult children widely observed in economically developed countries which relates both to the relationship “respondent – adult children” and the relationship “respondent – his/her parents”. This trend, while positive on the one part, on the other part has some negative aspects: firstly, it hinders involvement of “the third generation” in raising their grandchildren and, secondly, has a negative influence upon the health of the elderly due to a low level of development of the system of social assistance to this population group. When care for the elderly parents becomes

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<sup>21</sup> Rowe John W., Kahn Robert L. *Successful Ageing*. – New York: Pantheon Books, 1998. – P. 38–39.



occasional or lacking altogether, in other words, when active and most efficient contacts in the family, as well as communication and interaction between individuals – representatives of different generations which is built on such communication become irregular, this situation has negative impacts both for young generations and for the elderly. Obviously, a family co-existence of several generations which do not live together in one dwelling all the time but keep close contact with each other may be regarded as one of acceptable options of common living arrangements and life of a family which includes children and representatives of the grandparent population.

## V. FAMILY AS AN OBJECT OF SOCIAL-DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

### 5.1. Modern family policy experience in industrialized countries and in Ukraine

In the European countries, approaches to *family policy* implementation varied considerably over the long period of its development. As a consequence, different countries focused on different ways of the state's influence upon the family and family life and the extent of such influence differed as well. Before World War II, French-speaking European countries (France and Belgium) in their family policy emphasized financial support of families, German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria and Switzerland) focused primarily on the policy of maternity leaves, Scandinavian countries traditionally made an emphasize on women's rights, gender equality and, thus, on the levers allowing a woman to reconcile family life and professional activity, while English-speaking United Kingdom and the USA supported only those families which needed such assistance. Of course, in the post-war years those sharp differences in approaches to the family policy became less pronounced, however, certain implications of those differences are still felt today.

There are many approaches to the classification of countries by *family policy types*, and here very diverse parameters may serve as a starting point. There are several *regimes (or types)* of the family policy determined by the correlation of a range of characteristics of this policy in separate countries, which serve to classify all countries into several groups. Another term with the meaning close to the term "*family policy regime*" is "*family policy model*". A certain difference between them is that the term "model" is more often used to characterize the family policy of a particular country and determine its main focus. The traditional classification of family policy regimes identifies the following *four regimes* in industrialized countries: social democratic, conservative, South-European and liberal<sup>1</sup>. This classification was first suggested by G. Esping-Andersen at the beginning of 1990s and subsequently expanded by other well-known scientists in their works. This classification is based on the characteristic of relations in the system the state – the family – the market and on providing and ensuring social rights to different categories of the population. The classification, inter alia, determines the extent to which a worker is dependent on market conditions and the extent to which this dependence is reduced by social policy (here we mean the opportunity to exit the labor market without the risk of being deprived of any means of subsistence). Let's examine these regimes in detail.

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<sup>1</sup> Gosta Esping-Andersen The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Cambridge: Polity Press & Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

**1. The Social-Democratic regime.** This regime is characterized by considerable government assistance to families with children in general and working parents in particular, as well as by a high level of emancipation and gender equality. Monetary support is provided in the form of medium-level monetary payments - universal benefits, however, other forms of monetary assistance to parents with children are also common; as a result, the poverty level of families with children is low. Working parents are supported through the system of long-term maternity/paternity leaves and child care leaves, as well as through a well-developed system of social childcare services. This regime is typical for Scandinavian countries – Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark.

**2. The Conservative regime.** As compared with other regimes, it is characterized by a medium-level support for families with children, support that tends to vary according to the parents' employment status, and support that tends to be driven by a more traditional view of a woman's place in society. Monetary support and support to working parents is provided at the medium level – some countries have introduced long-term parental and childcare leaves but child care services are insufficiently developed. This regime is typical for such Western European countries as Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Ireland and Luxemburg.

**3. The Southern European regime.** This regime exists in countries with comparatively high population stratification by levels of income and is characterized by a combination of universal and personified social services and benefits. However, it is also characterized by a comparatively high poverty level of families with children which can be partially attributed to a low level of monetary support for parents with children. Furthermore, insufficient attention is paid to the opportunities allowing a person to have a child and continue his/her professional activity. As its name suggests, this regime characterizes the policies in place in Southern Europe – Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

**4. The Liberal regime.** This regime is characterized by a low level of state support for families with children, support that tends to be targeted at the families with greater needs, and support that leaves much room to private and market welfare schemes, especially with regard to the provision of pre-school childcare facilities. Monetary support for parents with children is quite insignificant, however, it can be quite considerable if the need is great. Support for working parents is provided on a similar basis. Among the European countries, this regime characterizes the policies in place in the United Kingdom and Switzerland, and also in other countries of the world such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.

The above classification was the first fundamental attempt to group the countries by family policy types; to a large extent, it formed the directions for a further analysis of family policy development in the industrialized countries. It

is believed that its main shortcoming is that the analysis was performed within the framework of social policy research in general and the research process involved a large number of indices having a very indirect and arguable relation to the family policy, for instance, retirement benefits, unemployment and disability allowances etc. Over the next years, many researchers in their scientific works focused on classification of countries by family policy types using different approaches. Based on the findings of the social policy analysis of the OECD countries, a well-known Canadian scientist A Gauthier identifies several family policy models typical for Europe of 1990s, namely: the Pro-natalist model, the Egalitarian model, the Traditionalist model and Pro-family but non-interventionist model<sup>2</sup>. The analysis was conducted using indices which characterize the family policy in the narrow meaning of this term, namely, indices of monetary benefits for families with children and support for working parents. Although this classifications stems from the materials of 1990s, the specific features of these models to a large extent are still topical today.

**1. Pro-natalist model.** The primary goal of this model is to overcome low fertility rates and, therefore, it is mostly focused upon encouraging childbirth and creating opportunities allowing to reconcile childbearing and upbringing with economic activity. Family support is regarded as the responsibility domain of the state and, owing to that, the system of social childcare services is highly developed and the amounts of monetary support for mothers on maternity leave are high. Cash allowances are very crucial, especially at birth of the third child. All the necessary conditions are created to avoid the situation when mother's employment can become an obstacle to having a child. France may serve a classic example of this model's implementation.

**2. Traditionalist model.** In this model, the main policy task is to maintain and support the family and family values in their traditional meanings. The state assumes certain responsibility for monetary support of families, however, the general rule is that a family should support itself by own efforts. Private non-profit organizations play a significant role in monetary and non-financial support of families. In general, the mentioned model is characterized by a comparatively low medium level of monetary support for families with children. To a certain extent, the traditional male-breadwinner model of the family is encouraged and still, there are obstacles to women's participation in the labor force, for example, those resulting from the fiscal system. Low development of the system of social childcare services does not allow mothers to adequately combine employment with family life. This family policy model is typical for Germany.

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<sup>2</sup> Anne H. Gauthier Family Policies in Industrialized Countries: Is There Convergence? Population-E, 2002;57(3):447-474.

**3. Egalitarian model.** The main task of the family policy based on this model is to assure gender equality. The state assumes full responsibility for creating the environment which would allow women to reconcile paid employment with family life, and with this aim father's greater involvement in child care and upbringing is encouraged. Unlike the traditionalistic model, here women and men are regarded as breadwinners of the family to an equal extent. State support of childcare and working parents is provided at a high level. The foundation of the egalitarian model is the childcare leave legislation. The marriage legislation is rather liberal. Sweden is a classic example of this model.

**4. Pro-family but non-interventionist model.** If this model is applied, the government's responsibility covers only low-income families. Here it is regarded that the family is self-sufficient and its well-being is regulated by the market; such an approach results in a generally low level of monetary support for families and low functioning of the system of social services. Women's participation in the labor force is not limited but childbirth allowance is very small, in other words, the traditional male-breadwinner model is also encouraged to a certain extent. In general, support for working parents is understood rather as the responsibility domain of non-governmental organizations than that of the government. The United Kingdom may serve as an example of this model.

Here it should be noted that the family policy of every particular country has its own distinctive features formed historically and every model is to a certain extent unique. Family policy models of some countries became a classical example of implementation of this or that approach to understanding of the policy and the field for sharing this experience with other countries. Models of such countries as France, Germany, Sweden and the UK may be regarded as representative family policy models.

Over the recent decade, the mentioned models have changed significantly. The traditionalist approach to the family and a woman's place in society, at least at the state policy level, has made way for a more up-to-date approach based on gender equality which encourages women's employment and an increased practical role of a father in the child upbringing process. Low fertility rates call forth the introduction of various family policy instruments which were applied earlier in other countries and proved to be expedient. For example, over the last decade Germany has implemented a number of family policy reforms, some of them being of a pronounced pronatalist nature. Accordingly, after 2005 monetary childcare allowance for parents has been considerably increased. The fundamental moments of reforms also declare support of the opportunity for parents to reconcile employment and family life by expanding part-time employment arrangements for women with children, introducing flexible working hours, increasing the duration of paternity leave and enhancing its greater attractiveness for fathers (for example, to give a father the right to work certain

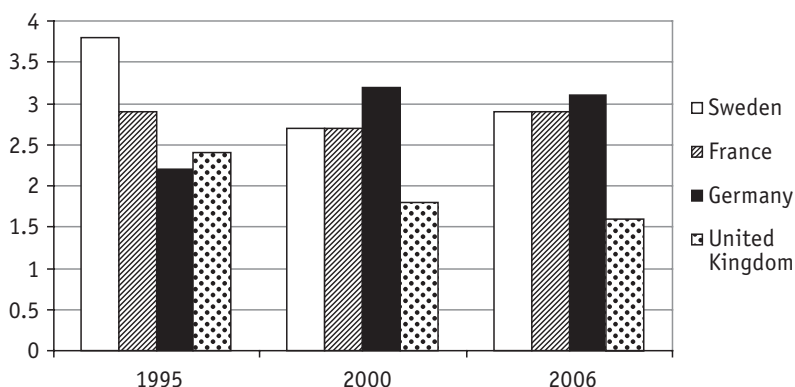
hours during the paternity leave period, thus retaining his position with the employer). Along with a focus on measures which potentially encourage to have a child, efforts are also directed at overcoming poverty of families with children (by helping their parents with employment and giving tax credits to low-income families), and also at improving the quality of childcare at pre-school institutions<sup>3</sup>. As we can see, the list of areas to be reformed is quite extensive. However, unlike the state policy which can be changed very quickly, evolution of social relations is a very long-term and complex process. In Germany, women who decided to have a child may face various informal obstacles to employment resulting from employers' unwillingness to have any staff problems.

Family policy reform processes are also underway in the United Kingdom, however, their direction is somewhat different. In general, if compared with French-speaking and Scandinavian countries of Europe, here the mentioned policy is implemented at a very insignificant level; nevertheless, over the past years the state's influence upon family life and its extent gradually increases. Nearly all of the family policy instruments applied in the country are gradually subject to reforms. However, to date the size of benefits and childcare leave opportunities are still considerably lower than in the Scandinavian countries or France. A great emphasis is laid on the broadening of borrowing opportunities for families with children and on the development of pre-school childcare which increasingly becomes the responsibility of the government. However, today family policy reforms in the UK (unlike Germany) do not demonstrate a pronounced pronatalist nature – they are rather aimed at improving the quality of life of families with children. Hence, it is possible to maintain that the scope of the state's responsibility with regard to the family is gradually widened but not on the pronatalist or egalitarian basis; here we can refer rather to the transformation of the model as such: the family is increasingly regarded as the target of social initiatives and, in general, its support is improved.

Certain changes in the mentioned family policy models may be illustrated by the dynamics of ***governmental social benefits for families with children***. Let's examine this dynamics by main countries "embodying" different family policy development models (Fig. 5.1.1).

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<sup>3</sup> Ostner I R.eif M. Turba H.Family Policies in Germany - Third report for the project, Welfare Policies and Employment in the Context of Family Change - <http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/spru/research/nordic/gerpoli.PDF>



**Fig. 5.1.1. Family and children expenditure in several European countries, % of GDP<sup>4</sup>**

Source: Eurostat//[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/living\\_conditions\\_and\\_social\\_protection/introduction](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/living_conditions_and_social_protection/introduction)

As shown in the Figure, over the last decade expenditure in France was virtually stable – 2.5–3.0% of GDP. Expenditure in Sweden over the last 5 years is stable and high, although in the middle of the 1990s the corresponding figure was even higher reaching 4%. Germany tries to solve its demographic problems by activating pronatalist policy and, consequently, the amount of family and children expenditure rose significantly as compared with the middle of the 1990s. To date, a respective relative index for Germany exceeds the corresponding figure for Sweden and France. The UK, on the contrary, reduced the percentage of family and children expenditure considerably and currently it is rather insignificant, being 1.5 % of GDP.

As a rule, the specific features of this or that family policy model are determined by a certain unique correlation between its components and their development level. The family policy of every particular country consists of a rather large number of elements which can have an impact on the state of the family in its social and economic environment. A family policy may cover many fields of social and economic life and take into account their various and diverse aspects. Over the last decades, numerous attempts to classify *the components* of the family policy were made. We regard the following as the most appropriate classification.

4 Social protection benefits for family and children are interpreted according to definitions of the European Commission and the Council of Europe Regulation (EC) No 10/2008 //<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:005:0003:0012:EN:PDF>

### **1) Financial initiatives:**

- periodic cash payments;
- lump sum payments or loans;
- tax rebates, credits or deductions;
- free or subsidized services or goods for children;
- housing subsidies.

### **2) Support for parents to combine work and family:**

- paternity and maternity leave;
- childcare;
- flexible working hours and short-term leave for family-related purposes;
- anti-discrimination legislation and gender equity in employment practices.

### **3) Broad social change supportive of children and parenting:**

- employment initiatives;
- child-friendly environment;
- gender equity;
- marriage and relationship supports;
- development of positive social attitudes towards children and parenting.<sup>5</sup>

Elements of the last group may be regarded as policy components to a large extent conventionally, since they are subject to regulation by governmental authorities only partially and considerably depend upon the level of society development in general.

As for the family policy of Ukraine, it has no clearly formulated concept in general, although separate family policy components included into the mentioned classifications have reached a certain level of development. We believe that in Ukraine the family policy should aim at encouraging the family way of life, supporting families with children and creating optimal conditions allowing to build and develop a family and for functioning of the family. The main tasks of the family policy should lie in enhancing the need for family, marriage, parenthood and motherhood in social and individual consciousness and in providing social and economic conditions for fulfillment of this need.

In Ukraine, the weightiest component of the state's assistance to families is a lump-sum allowance paid when a child is born. A high rate of childbirth allowances and their significant differentiation by the order of birth gives grounds to characterize the family policy of Ukraine as the policy with a ***pronatalist focus***. Strictly speaking, this is a logical consequence of a long-term fertility rate decline which was observed in the country in the 90s of the XX century.

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<sup>5</sup> Heitlinger A. Pronatalism and women's equality policies // European Journal of Population - N7- C. 343-375.



Under the conditions of present-day Ukraine, *financial initiatives* seem the most appropriate instrument of influence on the fertility behavior and material well-being of families with children. Along with their potential for improvement of parents' and children's material well-being, many surveys have also shown a certain positive effect of financial initiatives on the fertility rate. If families/individuals get an opportunity to spend enough money, this will undoubtedly have a positive effect upon their self-assessment and assessment of own well-being and, consequently, promote vital decisions on marrying and having children. But if their assessment of own material well-being is negative, well-being improvement issues will remain a priority and childbearing will be either delayed or refused altogether.

France may be mentioned as an example proving the efficiency of financial components of the family policy. The reform of the benefits system of 1994 which introduced special childcare allowances paid starting with the second- and higher-order children encouraged a 7% growth of the birth rate in the period from 1995 to 2000, with the number of newborns increasing by 10.9% over that period; however, the birth of a third child became less attractive, with the number of third-order births dropping by 2.4%. The next reform was held in 2004; it combined several different childcare allowances into one and substantially broadened the list of persons entitled to it; after the reform, the allowance was provided for all children born after 2004 regardless of the birth order. As soon as the next year, this "pronatalist" reform resulted in an insignificant rise of the general number of births.

For a long time, *childbirth allowances* in Ukraine were foreseen by the legislation but their amounts were so insignificant that they had almost no effect. As of 01.01.2001, the lump-sum childbirth allowance was UAH 180<sup>6</sup> and as of 01.01.2002 – UAH 200; the monthly allowance for children under 3 was UAH<sup>7</sup> at that time. At the same time, the statutory minimum subsistence level amounted to UAH 342 per month (UAH 307 for children under 6)<sup>8</sup>. The comparison of these figures gives grounds to maintain that monetary allowances for birth and further upbringing of a child were not enough to cover even the most essential needs of families with children. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the statutory minimum subsistence level was always lower than necessary to cover actual needs of the Ukrainian population.

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<sup>6</sup> Decree N 33 of 19.09.2001 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>7</sup> Decree N 2780-III of 24.12.2001 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>8</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the Approval of the Minimum Subsistence Level for the year 2002 N 2780-III of 15.11. 2001.

Over the next years, the allowances increased insignificantly. In 2003 the lump-sum childbirth allowance was UAH 320<sup>9</sup> and the monthly childcare allowance was UAH 80<sup>10</sup> (with the minimum subsistence level remaining as in the previous year – UAH 342<sup>11</sup>). 2004 to a certain extent can be regarded as the crucial year for the monetary childbirth benefits system. However, the opinion formed in our society that the significant monetary allowance paid when a child is born is an exclusive achievement of those political forces which came to power after the presidential elections and the Orange Revolution is only partially true. In reality, at the beginning of 2004 the lump-sum childbirth allowance was rather high as for the Ukrainian conditions - UAH 684<sup>12</sup>, with effect from 01.01.2004, and UAH 725<sup>13</sup> with effect from 01.05.2004 (being almost twice as high as the minimum subsistence level, which amounted to UAH 362<sup>14</sup> from 27.05.2004, and almost three times greater than the minimum salary, which at that time was UAH 205<sup>15</sup>). Another crucial factor is a significant politicization of the issue of the amount of lump-sum allowance and the status of this issue is still unchanged. As a consequence, monetary childbirth allowances increased considerably, while other social standards changed very insignificantly.

After the new political elite came to power, the lump-sum childbirth allowance was significantly increased (and the population was widely informed about that during the presidential campaign). From 01.01.2005 the allowance amounted to UAH 1500<sup>16</sup>, from 01.04.2005 – UAH 8497<sup>17</sup>, and from 01.01.2006 – UAH 8500<sup>18</sup>. Here it should be mentioned that at that time, as well as today,

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<sup>9</sup> Decree N 45 of 26.09.2002 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>10</sup> Decree N 6 of 12.03.2003 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>11</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the Minimum Subsistence Level for the year 2003 № 247-15 of 28.11.2002.

<sup>12</sup> Decree N 11 of 04.03.2004 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>13</sup> Decree N 51 of 25.06.2004 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>14</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the Approval of the Minimum Subsistence Level for the year 2004 пік N 1704-IV of 11.05.2004.

<sup>15</sup> The Law of Ukraine on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for the year 2003 № 1328-IV of 25.11.2003.

<sup>16</sup> Decree N 171 of 17.12.2004 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>17</sup> The Law of Ukraine on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for the year 2005 and some other legislative acts of Ukraine N 2505-IV of 25.03.2005.

<sup>18</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for the year 2007 N 489-V (489-16) of 19.12.2006.

this amount was and is quite large not only in Ukraine's context but also is one of the largest childbirth grants compared with other European countries. The next reform of the allowance system took place in 2008; along with significant changes in the amounts and principals of allowance provision, the reform was largely politicized. The most important element of the reform the lump-sum childbirth allowance was the differentiation of its amount by the order of birth. Currently, the childbirth allowance for a child born after December 31, 2007 is UAH 12,240 for the first child, UAH 25,000 for the second child, UAH 50,000 for the third child and next children. This allowance is paid not in a lump sum but by several installments within a year or several years. Accordingly, the first installment is UAH 4,800 at the birth of the first child, UAH 4,840 – the second child, UAH 5,000 – the third child and is paid immediately after birth. The remaining amount is paid according to the following scheme: within the next 12 months for the first child (UAH 620 per month), within 24 months for the second child (UAH 840 per month), within 36 months for the third child and the next children (UAH 1,250 per month) in equal installments<sup>19</sup>. It can be asserted that the family policy of Ukraine has acquired a distinct pronatalist focus.

Over the recent years, there were also some changes in the monthly allowance for children under 3; however, all the changes had one common feature – the amount of this allowance was always very insignificant as compared with other social standards. In 2005 it was UAH 104<sup>20</sup>, in 2006 – UAH 114<sup>21</sup>, in 2007 – UAH 120<sup>22</sup>, in 2008 – UAH 130<sup>23</sup>, and the allowance was paid without any differentiation by the order of birth.

In general, the lump-sum childbirth allowance is the most essential element of governmental assistance to families with children. The survey findings indirectly confirm the efficiency of these measures since the factors related to growing monetary incomes of families with children are acknowledged to be the most crucial potential determinants of increasing the fertility rates of Ukraine's population. Most likely, this state of affairs is rather situational but, given the population's preferences and provided that their opinions are reliable, in the context of present-day Ukraine these financial initiatives should be

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<sup>19</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for the year 2008 and on Amendments to Some Legislative Acts of Ukraine N 107-17 of 28.12.2007.

<sup>20</sup> Letter N 01-16-211 of 11.02.2005 of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>21</sup> Decree N 218 of 27.12.2005 of the Board of the Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability.

<sup>22</sup> Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine N13 of 11.01.2007 (13-2007-p) Fund of Social Insurance against temporary disability, Letter N 04-29-293 of 15.02.2007.

<sup>23</sup> The Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for the year 2008 № 107-VI of 28.12.2007.

primarily taken as the basis for building of the family policy. Strictly speaking, it is so in reality but, in practice, this considerable childbirth grant ends the family policy as such. Further development of the family policy in Ukraine should first of all be aimed at diversification of instruments from the group “financial instruments”. Here monthly allowances are meant, first of all, which should be increased for the period when payments of the lump-sum childbirth allowance are finished. It would also be expedient to increase the age limit of entitlement and introduce differentiation of allowances by birth order (perhaps, this should be done along with a certain reduction of the lump-sum childbirth allowance).

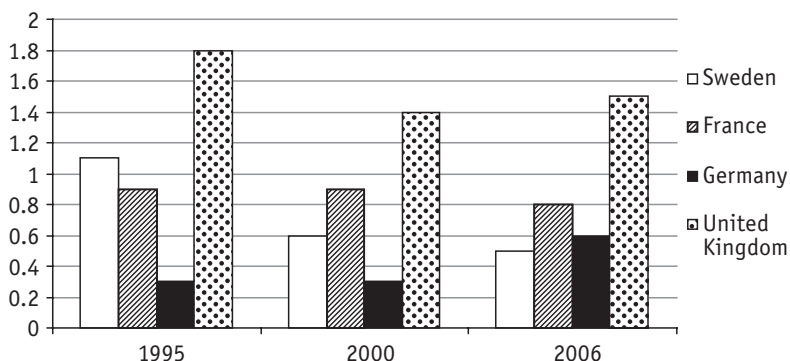
As for separate components of the policy in respect of ***assistance to parents who combine economic activity with childbearing and child care***, in the opinion of Ukraine’s population, they cannot be properly efficient under the present-day conditions. Accordingly, various systems of childcare leaves which are actively used in some European countries (first of all, Scandinavian countries) are not in demand in our society.

Solving of housing problems of families with children is another factor which may potentially increase fertility rates. In many European countries ***the housing policy*** is regarded as an essential element of the family policy, although it does not have any direct pronatalist aim. In Europe, housing costs account for a considerable part of a family budget. For example, as the survey data show, in Austria one-third of young people aged 20-39 are convinced that excessively high housing costs are a considerable obstacle to having a child (children)<sup>24</sup>.

Monetary benefits related to housing purchase and maintenance costs may be provided as periodic monetary allowances (for example, as the allowances existing in Sweden for a long time), lump-sum grants (for example, for purchase of a house) or a gradual reduction of payments for housing purchased on credit after the birth of each child, tax benefits or a reduction of housing maintenance costs or related services. If in a country there are some housing-related taxes, taxpayers with children may be granted a certain abatement. Corresponding state programs may provide for construction of housing for families with children or make the provision of housing to such families at the expense of the state as a priority. Let’s review housing policy expenditure of the European countries (Fig. 5.1.2).

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<sup>24</sup> Hoem J. M. Prskawetz, A. Neyer, Gerda R. Autonomy or conservative adjustment? The effect of public policies and educational attainment on third births in Austria //Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research Working Paper – 2001 – N 16.



**Fig. 5.1.2. Expenditure for housing in European countries, in % to GDP<sup>25</sup>**

Source: Eurostat//[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/living\\_conditions\\_and\\_social\\_protection/introduction](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/living_conditions_and_social_protection/introduction)

A comparison of the state housing policy expenditure shows that in the United Kingdom over the entire period under review its amount was considerably higher than in other countries – 1.4–1.8% of GDP. A low level of expenditure for families and children is to a certain extent compensated by greater financing of the housing policy. Over the recent years, in France this expenditure stays at a stably unchanged level (although a certain reduction of a respective index was observed after 2000) which is slightly higher than in Germany and, in the current decade – than in Sweden, where a systemic reduction of housing policy expenditure was also observed in 2006. This figure was the lowest among all the countries under comparison. A stable rise in housing policy expenditure in Germany is also of interest and this may also be interpreted as a sign of stepping-up of the family policy in this country.

Ukraine also needs a certain stepping-up of its housing policy. Numerous governmental programs declare a rather wide coverage of housing problems of families in general and families with children in particular (for example *The State Youth Housing Program for 2002–2012*, *“Ukrainian Family” 2001–2005*, *The State Family Support Program for 2010 etc.*). However, implementation of these programs is not infrequently hampered by lack and irrational allocation of funds – a traditional impediment to all positive initiatives in Ukraine.

<sup>25</sup> Expenditure for the housing-related social policy are interpreted according to definitions of the European Commission and the Council of Europe Regulation (EC) No 10/2008 – <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:005:0003:0012:EN:PDF>

Among other components which, if implemented, may have a certain effect under the conditions of present-day Ukraine, ***free-of-charge (or discounted) goods and services for children*** should also be emphasized. It is a form of financial support for families with children which is based on granting these families the right to acquire goods and services for children free-of-charge or purchase them with considerable discounts. A similar instrument may be used in the field of education at all levels, and also in the field of medical services, public transportation, holidays and recreation, access to sports services and leisure and in many other fields. Child care services as such may also be included into this category, but it would be expedient to classify them as a means of assistance to working parents. Various textbooks, educational materials, sports outfit etc. may be sold with a discount as the goods necessary for children. This category may also include discounts on such services as electric power supply, petrol, insurance etc. In addition, families with children may receive various discount cards for the amounts which vary depending on the number of children. Here it should be noted that a similar instrument was used as a part of the USSR's social policy – families with children were given the opportunity to buy certain necessary goods with significant discounts in specialized shops.

Therefore, in Ukraine the pronatalist family policy aimed at increasing the population's fertility is formed. Accordingly, the instruments applied at the current stage are rather narrow. To date, we observe a certain effect from considerable financial investments in the form of childbirth allowance but their long-term sustainable effect can hardly be expected. As one of the measures for further stepping-up of the family policy, the role of monthly allowances can be enhanced by increasing a respective age limit of entitlement. Hence, it would be expedient to pay these allowances for solving of housing problems of families with children by introducing respective grants, benefits, loans or by differentiating current housing payments depending on the number of children. It also seems advisable to support families with children by providing them with free-of-charge (or discounted) goods and services necessary for raising a child (the range of these goods and services may be very broad). An instrument like this (along with tax benefits) would be more advantageous for the scanty Ukrainian economy than huge allowances and benefits.

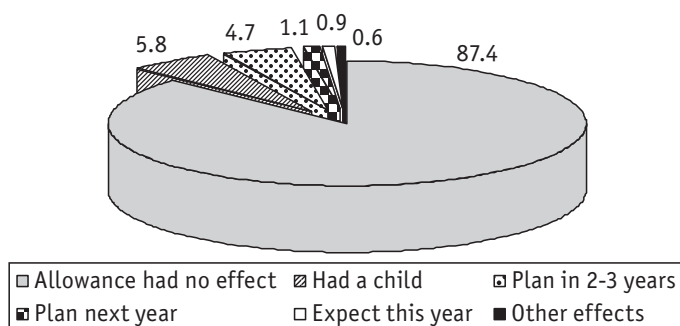
## **5.2. Public opinion as a reflection of the family and pronatalist policy of Ukraine**

The survey "Family and Family Relations" included a group of questions related to the country's family policy. The aim of this block of the survey is to study the public opinion in respect of the family policy currently applied in the

country and the ways of its modernization. Such an analysis allows to determine the attitudes of the population towards pronatalist measures implemented in the country and other components of the family policy, to outline in brief its results and potential fertility determinants and, to a certain extent, to lay the basis for further improvement and development of the family policy currently existing in Ukraine. The study of changes in the public opinion on the state family policy in the contest of the present-day financial and economic crisis would also be relevant.

First of all, it should be mentioned that almost half of respondents (47.9%) believe that in the present-day Ukraine raising a child requires **significantly more time and money** than 20–30 years ago (in the eighties of the XX century). Another 24.2% think that raising a child requires **insignificantly more** time and efforts than before. These two groups of respondents form the overwhelming majority (more than 72.1%) of the persons polled. Therefore, society acknowledges that currently upbringing of children is more difficult than it was under socialism, with the percentages of respondents convinced that raising a child requires **rather less and considerably less time, efforts and money** being 1.6 and 0.5%, respectively. Therefore, over the last two decades the issues of monetary support of parents and children, the problems of reconciling employment and having and raising a child(ren), as well as other problems of families with children have become considerably more urgent and, accordingly, more attention and resources should be mobilized to solve them.

As already mentioned, from 2005 the family policy of Ukraine in respect of support for families with the youngest children has been considerably stepped up. The lump-sum childbirth allowance was significantly increased, its amount becoming one of the highest in Europe. In 2008 this allowance was increased again. As it is known, this generous financing aimed at encouraging a rise in the population's fertility by improving the well-being of certain categories of families with children. In this contest, it is very useful to obtain information about the public opinion on whether introduction of a large lump-sum childbirth allowance is expedient and efficient. We can surely maintain that assessment by the population of the effect this allowance may have or had upon their fertility intentions is considerably less positive than it would be desirable, however, a certain positive effect should not be denied and is traced quite clearly (Fig. 5.2.1).



**Fig. 5.2.1. Effects of introduction of a considerable lump-sum childbirth allowance on fertility plans of the population, % (April, 2009)**

As shown in the Figure, in general, introduction of a considerable lump-sum childbirth allowance on fertility plans of the population can be assessed as rather insignificant. The majority of respondents (87.4%) mentioned that the allowance **had no effect at all** on their fertility plans. Among respondents upon whom the considerable monetary childbirth allowance **had an effect**, 5.8% **had a child** over the period after its introduction, 4.7% planned to have a child **in 2-3 years**, 1.1% expected a child **the next year** and 0.9% expected this in **the current year**. Thus, in general, 12.6% or respondents admitted that a considerable monetary childbirth allowance to this or that extent had an effect on their fertility intentions. The significance of this figure may be given different assessments. Of course, on the one part, this figure is low and hardly meets the expectations for stepping-up of the family policy in Ukraine. At the same time, we should not forget that respondents may give a rather incorrect assessment of their fertility intentions. Most probably, the births which occurred during that period and which were encouraged by introduction of this allowance were originally planned for a more remote period, in other words, this demopolitical measure encouraged a shift in the birth schedule but had no effect upon the need for children and the very attitudes (and decisions) of respondents with regard to the final number of desired (and planned) children, given the improved financial opportunities for support of a child in early childhood. For this reason, the real effect of introduction of a considerable lump-sum childbirth allowance may finally be lower than it is recorded.

On the other hand, given the extremely low birth rates in Ukraine over a long period, even the slightest effect of respective measures upon fertility orientations should be regarded as very important and crucial and, therefore, in this context introduction of considerable childbirth allowances should be deemed generally justified.



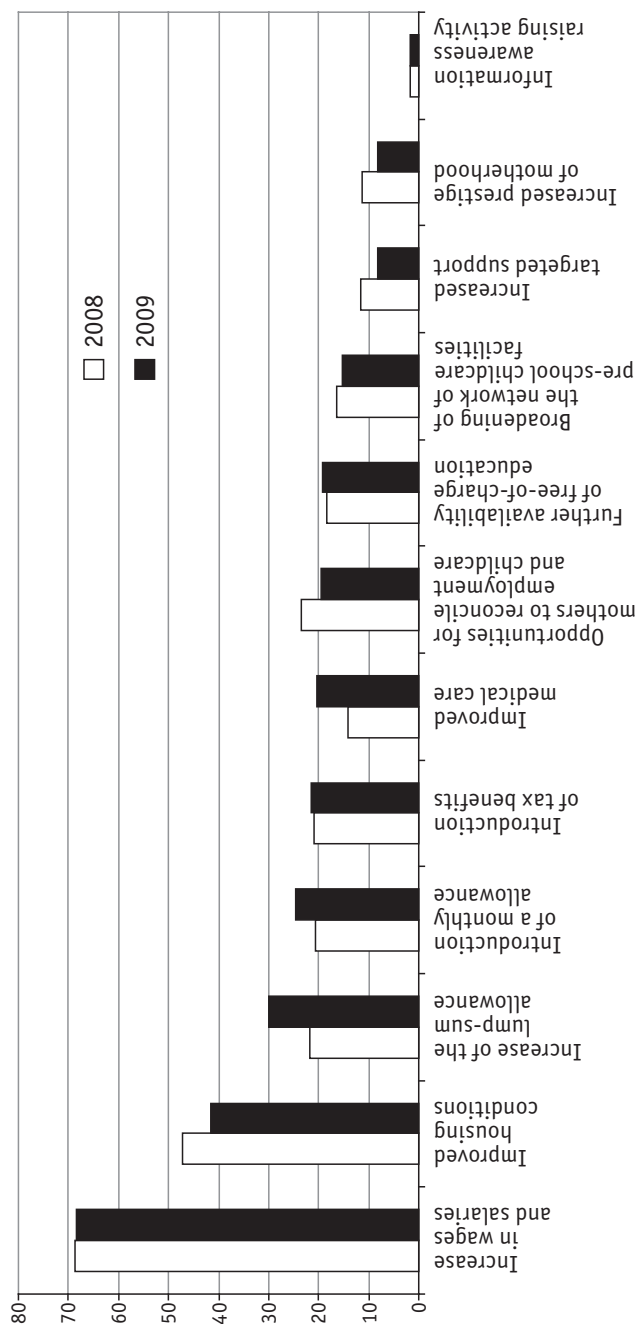
The comparison of the findings this survey of the childbearing-age population (April, 2009) with the last year's survey (survey "Family and Children", April, 2008) shows that the percentage of respondents who acknowledged that the lump-sum childbirth allowance did have an effect upon their fertility plans remained virtually unchanged (last year positive answers to this questions were given by 14% of females and 12% of males).

Within this survey, it was very important to identify the respondents' attitude to potential factors which may increase the birth rate in Ukraine. This information allows to assess the attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the circumstances which hinder full implementation of their fertility orientations (Fig. 5.2.2).

Against the background of the factors which could increase fertility rates, one factor stands out clearly: 68.4% of respondents believed that **increased wages and salaries** can encourage an increase in the fertility rate. Therefore, in respect of financial support of the family and children, the majority of childbearing age population are rather inclined to rely upon own earnings than upon monetary support provided by the state. It should be emphasized that the gap between this factor and the factor following it in the rating is significant, therefore, insufficient wages and salaries can be regarded as a powerful factor influencing the implementation of fertility orientations. Based on this finding, we can identify the measures which are expected by the population in terms of improvement of monetary support for families with children: it is increased wages and salaries, along with the actual improvement of material well-being, which will encourage a more positive individual perception of own well-being and make the population more sure of own future, thus leading to a fuller implementation of their fertility orientations.

Improved **housing conditions of families with children** is another factor which is quite important but lags far behind the above-mentioned one. 41.5% of respondents mentioned it as a powerful determinant of fertility increase. As we can see, housing is an acute problem for the majority of the population. Accordingly, before having a child many persons of childbearing age think about comfortable living conditions for the increasing family.

Each of the remaining factors which can potentially increase the fertility rate was mentioned by less than 30% of respondents. Among them, traditional components of the family policy turned out to be the most important, in particular: **increase of the lump-sum childbirth allowance** (26.9%), **introduction of a monthly allowance for families with children** (24.7%) and **significant tax benefits for families with children** (21.4%). The positions of the mentioned factors in the rating allow to come to the conclusion that further financial initiatives within the framework of the family policy will not achieve any considerable effect, since they to a large extent do not meet the population's expectations for the



**Fig. 5.2.2 Respondents' opinions about main determinants increasing the fertility rate of Ukraine's population \*, % (April 2008, April 2009)**

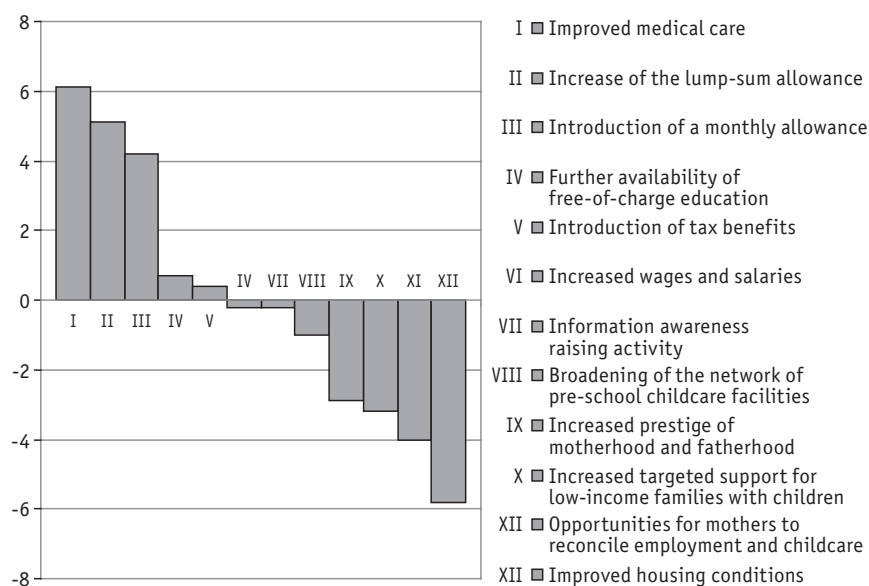
*\*This Chart represents the percentage of respondents who characterized this or that factor capable of increasing the fertility rate as important.*

conditions needed for having a child. Although, on the other hand, an increase in monetary support will have a certain insignificant effect and, quite possibly, in the context of low fertility even such an effect will be crucial and justified.

Furthermore, such potential means of influence upon the fertility rate as **increased availability of high-quality medical care for children** (20.3%), **further availability of free-on-charge education** (19.4%) and **broadening of the network of pre-school childcare facilities** (15.3%) were given quite high assessments by the population. At the same time, these factors are to a considerably lesser extent associated with improvement of conditions for having a child as compared with the factors mentioned above. The potential factors of fertility rate increase which stand at the end of the rating list can be regarded as of virtually no effect at all, namely: **increased targeted support for low-income families with children** (8.3%), **increased social prestige of parenthood and motherhood** (8.3%), **information awareness raising activities aimed at shaping necessary fertility orientations** (1.6%).

An examination of the changes in respondents' attitudes towards the potential factors of fertility rate increase under the conditions of the financial and economic crisis shows that no fundamental changes have occurred. As compared with the last year's study, the significance of the identified potential factors of fertility rate increase stays almost at the same level. Last year, just like in this survey, the absolute majority of respondents indicated **increased wages and salaries** as the most influential factor of fertility rate increase (68.6% and 68.4%, respectively). The second place with a considerable gap was taken by **improved housing conditions** (47.3% and 41.5%, respectively). All the other reasons were not regarded by respondents as potential determinants of the fertility dynamics both in the last year's and this year's surveys. However, certain changes in the perception of the significance of separate social and economic fertility determinants did occur. A more detailed analysis is given by Fig. 5.2.3.

According to the respondents' assessments, the most significant increase was recorded for **increased availability of high-quality medical care** (by 6.1 p.p.) Given the current high amount of the birth grant, the increased significance of such a factor as **increase of the lump-sum childbirth allowance** looks somewhat unexpected. An expectation of its further increase may be associated with the general need for additional monetary funds which is felt by the population in the context of the social and economic crisis. As compared with the last year's survey, the percentage of respondents who believed that such changes might encourage an increase in the fertility rate rose by 5.1 p.p. The percentage of respondents who mentioned **introduction of monthly allowances for families with children** as the factor which could increase the fertility rate grew by 4.2 p.p. It could be assumed that this finding is a sign of deterioration of the population's well-being as a result of the crisis which led to an increased need for financial means as a factor encouraging fertility.



**Fig. 5.2.3. Changes in the assessment of separate potential factors of fertility rate increase\* in 2009 as compared with 2008, in percentage points**

\*Difference between percentages of respondents who indicated respective factors.

The least decrease in significance was recorded for **improved housing conditions** (by 5.8 p. p.). This finding can also be linked to the influence of the financial and economic crisis which makes the population more concerned with essential aspects of life than with improvement of housing conditions. As compared with the last year's survey, there was also a drop in the percentage of respondents who believed that the fertility rate can be positively influenced by provision of **opportunities for mothers to successfully reconcile employment and childcare** (by 4 p.p.), **introduction of targeted allowance for low-income families with children** (by 3.2 p.p.) and **increased social prestige of motherhood and fatherhood** (by 2.9% p. p.).

The results of the surveys of 2008 and 2009 were used to form the ranged list of main determinants which can increase the fertility rate of Ukraine's population (Table 5.2.1). Positions of the first two factors – **increased wages and salaries** and **improved housing conditions** – remained unchanged, with a certain rearrangement of less important factors. The most significant drop was observed in the rating of provision of **opportunities for mothers (fathers) to successfully reconcile employment and childcare**: this factor dropped from the third to the seventh place. Several positions were lost by such factors as:

***broadening of the network of pre-school childcare facilities*** (a drop from the eighth to the ninth place) and ***further availability of free-of-charge secondary and high education*** (a drop from the seventh to the eighth place). At the same time, ***increase of the lump-sum childbirth allowance*** moved from the fourth to the third place and ***introduction of monthly allowances for families with children*** – from the sixth to the fourth place. Against this background, the factor of ***increased availability of high-quality medical care*** strengthened its positions to the largest extent (a move up three places).

**Table. 5.2.1. Opinions of respondents about main factors of fertility rate increase of Ukraine's population in 2008 and 2009, %\***

Factors	Percentage of respondents who mentioned a respective factor in 2008, %	Factor's position in the rating	Percentage of respondents who mentioned a respective factor in 2009, %	Factor's position in the rating	Change of place
Increased wages and salaries	68.6	I	68.4	I	0
Introduction of substantial tax benefits for families with children	21.0	V	21.4	V	0
Increase of the lump-sum childbirth allowance	21.8	IV	26.9	III	+1
Broadening of the network of pre-school childcare institutions and improvement of the quality of their services	16.3	VIII	15.3	IX	-1
Provision of opportunities for mothers (fathers) to successfully reconcile employment and childcare	23.4	III	19.4	VII	-4
Improved housing conditions	47.3	II	41.5	II	0
Increased targeted support for low-income families with children	11.5	X	8.3	X	0
Increase of social prestige of motherhood and fatherhood, shaping of social environment friendly for families with children	11.2	XI	8.3	XI	0

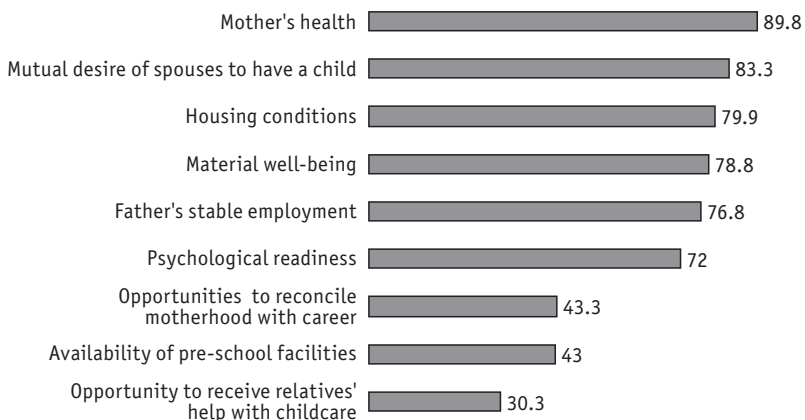
**Continuation of the Table 5.2.1**

Factors	Percentage of respondents who mentioned a respective factor in 2008, %	Factor's position in the rating	Percentage of respondents who mentioned a respective factor in 2009, %	Factor's position in the rating	Change of place
Further availability of free-of-charge secondary and high education	18.5	VII	19.2	VIII	-1
Increased availability of high-quality medical care for children	14.2	IX	20.3	VI	+3
Introduction of monthly allowances for children (till full age) for all families	20.5	VI	24.7	IV	+2
Information awareness raising activity aimed at shaping orientations for having two-three children etc.	1.8	XII	1.6	XII	0

*\*Sum total of the percentages is not 100% because respondents could choose several answers*

Based on the above-mentioned, we can state that the population has an increased need for additional monetary resources and factors related to financial provision of families become increasingly influential for making childbirth decisions. Although according to results of both surveys, the level of wages and salaries was acknowledged the main factor facilitating a rise in the fertility rate, there is an increased need in society for receiving as much money as possible from the state through social transfers: factors related to social benefits have moved up in the rating list or, at least, have not lost their positions. It can be assumed that this is a reflection of the consequences of the financial and economic crisis which has considerably deteriorated financial situation of many families; as a result, monetary allowances paid by the state are increasingly expected by the population and have more and more influence upon the population's reproductive behavior, at least under the current conditions.

Along with factors influencing the fertility rate in the country, the survey also examined the attitudes of the childbearing-age population towards life circumstances which should be taken into account for making childbirth decisions (Fig. 5.2.4).



**Fig. 5.2.4. Respondents' opinions about circumstances which should be taken into account for making childbirth decisions, %\***

\* The Figure shows the percentage of respondents who mentioned respective circumstances as important (respondents were allowed to choose several answer options and for this reason sum total of the percentages exceeds 100%)

The respondents unanimously mentioned mother's health and mutual consent of parents to having a child as the factors which are most important. The next place is taken by a group of circumstances responsible for material well-being of families. Appropriate living conditions as the factor influencing a decision on having a child received rather high assessments – this factor turned out to be more significant than material well-being of the family and stable employment of the father. This is another confirmation of the acute nature of the housing problem and its urgency for those who do make a decision to have a child. While mutual consent of spouses to have a child takes one of the leading positions in the rating of factors influencing childbirth decisions, the psychological readiness to motherhood (fatherhood) is much lower in this rating, giving way to factors linked to material well-being of the family. Nevertheless, quite a significant percentage of respondents acknowledged that the psychological readiness is important for making a decision about having a child.

Factors relating to the system of support of parents in respect of reconciliation of employment and childbirth and childcare – access to pre-school childcare facilities, the possibility that relatives will help with childcare, opportunities for mother to work and avoid considerable negative implications for her carrier as a result of having and raising a child – were not mentioned by the majority of respondents. Therefore, financial problems, with the housing problem among them, were regarded by potential parents as by far more urgent

and distressing than the problems of parents' time allocation or organization of childcare and upbringing. As already mentioned, in the context of the crisis the housing problem loses its immediate urgency; however, this is rather a temporary effect and subsequently this problem will be extremely pressing again.

A comparison of the results of this survey with analogous surveys held in Europe allows to identify the difference in opinions of the population about the determinants of fertility. In the European countries, opinions of the population about impediments to having the desired number of children (Eurobarometer 2006 Survey covering respondents from 25 EU countries) make up the following picture<sup>26</sup>. The most significant impediments to having the desired number of children are as follows: health problems (attitudes of EU's and Ukraine's citizens coincide quite naturally), problems with a partner (this factor is also important for Ukraine where mutual desire of both partners to have a child is regarded as a necessary precondition), lack of free time, more for males than for females, and changed life priorities. Such factors as family couple's financial problems, difficulties in reconciliation of employment and motherhood or fatherhood or excessively high costs of having a child were regarded as impediments to a lesser extent, with housing problems assessed as quite insignificant. However, it should be emphasized that for all of **the post-socialist EU countries** represented in the survey material/financial problems remain a priority<sup>27</sup>.

As we can see, personal circumstances – health problems and lack of free time – are the most powerful factors hindering the implementation of fertility plans. At the same time, the most pressing problems for Ukraine – material well-being and housing provision – were assessed by citizens of the EU as the least significant. This finding indirectly confirms that in Europe material/financial issues have been generally solved and currently the main obstacles to having children result from the population's attitudes towards motherhood and fatherhood, from the understanding of own place in society in which children are given less and less role.

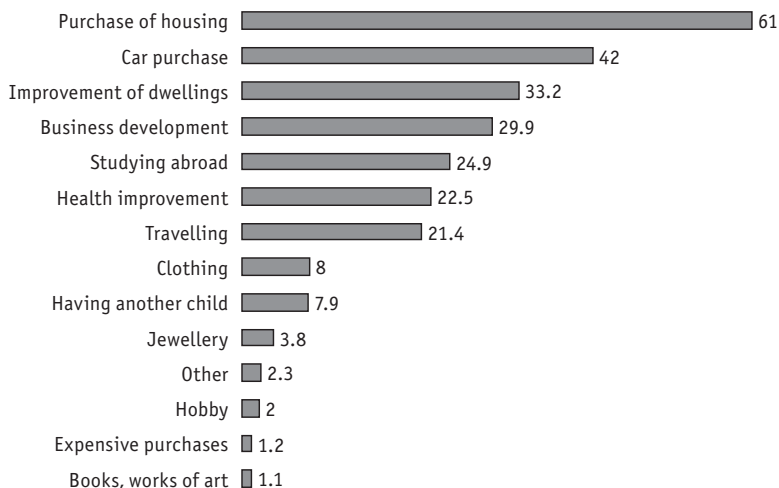
The analysis of answers given by respondents to the question **“If you received a large amount of money, what would you spend it for?”** to a certain extent allows to determine whether implementation of respondents' fertility orientations would be encouraged by solving of urgent material and housing problems. The picture emerging from the answers received is rather ambiguous (Fig. 5.2.5). It turned out that if respondents had an opportunity to spend more money, a very insignificant percentage of respondents (about 8%) would use the money for having a(nother) child. Here it should be mentioned that while

<sup>26</sup> Although the survey had a similar focus, the principles of its organization were quite different, therefore, direct comparison of results is not possible.

<sup>27</sup> Maria Rita Testa Childbearing Preferences and Family Issues in Europe - TNS Opinion & Social Special Eurobarometer 253 / Wave 65.1 –



the fact that for the majority of respondents purchase of housing as the priority issue for which they would spend money could be linked with the problems hindering respondents to have a desired number of children (since this factor at least correlates with improvement of housing conditions as a significant determinant of fertility rate increase), other priority goals have no immediate relation to it.



**Fig. 5.2.5. Money spending priorities of respondents according to their assessment, % (April, 2009)**

*\* The Figure shows the percentage of respondents who mentioned respective expenditure items (respondents were allowed to choose several answer options and for this reason sum total of the percentages exceeds 100%)*

As we can see, birth of a child turned to be a less popular investment than car purchase (42.0%), improvement of dwellings (33.2%), development of own business (29.9%), studying abroad (24.9%), health improvement (22.5%), traveling (21.4%) and even purchase of clothing (8.0%). Accordingly, the population is much more inclined to improvement of own well-being and self-development than having children and, therefore, the need for more financial resources (first of all, salary increase) is probably dictated rather by individual inclinations than by the perception of actual obstacles to having another child. The Ukrainians' attitude towards having a child is similar to that of the Europeans, with children being of a lesser value for potential parents than material benefits, however, this attitude is much more disguised. This may be interpreted as the circumstance that significantly decreases the efficiency of the family and pronatalist policy.

Summarizing the above-mentioned, we can state that a considerable increase in the amount of the lump-sum childbirth allowance several years ago had a certain, although insignificant, positive effect upon fertility intentions of Ukraine's population and, hence, to a certain extent encouraged a fertility rate increase over the last several years. However, under extremely low birth rates this measure was necessary and, in general, an increase of the monetary childbirth allowance can be regarded as justified.

The most significant problems impeding an increase in the fertility rate in Ukraine are focused in two fields – material well-being (of the population in general and of families with children, in particular) and housing. A respective “statistics of thoughts” justifies the conclusion about the influence that these factors have upon the fertility rate. Therefore, finding solutions to respective problems is the most topical issue of the family and pronatalist policy in Ukraine.

As for the potential factors which can increase the fertility rate in Ukraine, the absolute majority of respondents indicated an increase in wages and salaries, this being an indirect indication of their intention to rely upon own financial ability for supporting the family. On the other hand, there are grounds to assume that in the context of the crisis, the situation will be changed to a certain extent and the need for additional financial resources provided by the state for support of the family will become more pronounced. Although today financial initiatives in the field of the family policy to a lesser extent meet the population's views on the ways of solving financial problems of families with children, it is possible to assume that their further development (if any, under the current conditions) will yield some fruit. It is quite probable that as soon as we overcome the crisis and material well-being of the population improves, the population's orientations will also change and, hence, the population will to a lesser extent rely upon social transfers. Along with financial hardships, the housing problem was and still remains urgent – it is a very powerful factor influencing the decisions about having a child. It can be maintained that the majority of the population needs these additional money to improve their living conditions and, therefore, efforts of the state aimed at overcoming the housing problem will facilitate implementation of fertility orientations in Ukraine to the fullest possible extent.

### **5.3. Support for separate categories of families**

Given the instability of social and economic situation and, respectively, the conditions of the families functioning in Ukraine, as well as certain marriage and family deformations and signs of disorganization of the family as an

institution in our country, support for separate categories of families (most problematic or vulnerable) are still important. Therefore, in order to decrease the poverty level and raise low family income, and also to improve the targeting of allowances and coverage of persons in need, special attention should be paid to such problematic (in terms of financial self-sufficiency) families as families with a disabled child or disabled mother/father, single-parent families with several children, families with many children, complex families with minor children and sick elderly persons and families facing some hardships.

In Ukraine, only in the recent years the foundations have been laid for establishing a general and efficient system of support for families which face crisis situations. Since 2006, the Ministry of Family, Youth and Sports began to create the Uniform Databank of families which face hardships and require support from social services. Over the period 2006-2008, more than 195.5 thousand families (310 thousand children) in hardship were identified and referred to social services. According to the information in this data bank, in Ukraine as of the end of 2008 61.4 thousand families were registered as the families which needed social support, with 123 thousand children; however, over the recent years a significant percentage of these families were removed from this data bank with a positive result.

In general, the State Social Service for Family, Children and Youth was established in Ukraine with the aim of providing support to everybody who needs it. Centers of social services started to operate in 1992, when centers of social services for youth were created; the period of 1992-2008 was the period of their formation and establishment as institutions of social support for families, children and youth. In 2001 the Law of Ukraine on the Social Work with Families, Children and Youth (as amended) was adopted and it is still in effect. The main kinds of social work performed by the centers of social services are social service, social support, social prevention and social rehabilitation. They provide legal, psychological, social and medical, social and economic and information services. As of the end of 2008, 1024 centers of social services for family, children and youth functioned in Ukraine, including regional, city and district centers (and, since recently, also settlement and village centers). To date, there are comparatively new social services aimed at providing support for families with children in Ukraine, which include: prevention of social orphanage (social support of family-like orphanages and foster families; prevention of refusal from newborns etc.); prevention of homelessness and lack of care, violations of law and crimes; social education and upbringing (development of the volunteer movement and students' social services etc.); development of the network of settlement and village centers of social services for family, children and youth.

In Ukraine there are different types of monetary support for families (for example, for low-income families, families with children etc.). According to the

analysis carried out by experts of the Institute of Demography and Social Research of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine, over the recent years child allowances and allowances to low-income families, as compared with other social transfers, have a more notable effect in terms of leveling the population stratification by income. Allowances to low-income families, despite some visible positive trends, are still ineffective from the point of view of overcoming poverty. Furthermore, to date social support for families with children mostly benefits well-to-do population strata.

Under the current economic conditions, mechanisms of support for separate categories of families with children (one-parent families, families with many children) in Ukraine should be improved by improving their targeting. The practice of paying equal amounts of allowances to all families of a certain category should be abandoned and, based on the social monitoring of this group of families, social patronage of the families which really need it should be introduced and these families should be provided both monetary and social support of necessary type and amount. In this respect it will be necessary not only to provide proper financial support to respective families, but also ensure further development of the social and medical patronage system and social rehabilitation for such families. In the future, experience of other European countries may be useful for solving financial and organizational issues related to provision of monetary, social and psychological support to the mentioned families.

***Single-parent families.*** In industrialized countries, the policy of single-parent families support is mostly aimed at improving their well-being. Lone parents may be the target of a special policy, or they may get the state's support within the framework of programs aimed at overcoming poverty and increasing labor force participation, or policies aimed at creating favorable conditions for reconciliation of employment and parenthood, as well as within other kinds of social support to families with children. In general, after reforms of the social welfare system which took place in many of the industrialized countries over the last two decades, financial support more and more often gives way to the state means of encouraging self-sufficiency and participation of lone parents in the labor force.

In many of the ***English-speaking*** countries, the role of a male – father of children – is leading. If there is no male in the family, the role of its “breadwinner” is taken by the state. In Austria, for instance, the amount of monetary allowances for lone parents is even formally based on the average earnings of a male worker. Therefore, a considerable share of the state's support is provided to single-parent families in the form of social transfers. Participation in the labor force, as a rule, is voluntary but the state encourages it in every possible way. The procedure of social transfers provision to lone parents in Ireland and Austria foresees that a person who receives social transfers may have additional

earnings from hired labor. In the UK, there is a *special program of encouraging lone parents' participation in the labor force*, the aim of which is to bring participation of lone parents in the labor force to 70% by 2010. As an interim result, this program has already raised the percentage of working lone parents to 56% in 2005 as compared with 45% in 1997<sup>28</sup>. In general, the state policy of support for single-parent families is built in such a manner as to be most beneficial for lone parents with low earnings who, as a rule, are also given considerable tax benefits.

In **Ireland** an individual who applies for *One Parent Family Payment (OFP)* should comply with the following qualifying conditions: be a lone mother (father) and have the main care and charge of a child; meet the requirements of the well-being check; have gross earnings not exceeding EUR 400 per week<sup>29</sup>; make efforts to arrange alimony; reside separately; be divorced/separated or have the relationship with a partner actually broken at least one year before the application date.

The well-being check takes into account the amount of salary, alimony, income from real estate (excluding the dwellings where the family actually resides) and capital. If salary exceeds EUR 146.5 per week, the amount of payment is reduced by 50 cents from every 1 euro exceeding this maximum amount. The persons receiving OFP are also entitled to apply for *Family Income Supplement (FIS)* if they qualify as applicants for this subsidy. In 2007, in this country the total amount of all payments with supplements for children was EUR 185.8 per week. Average time beneficiaries stay in the OFP program is 5–6 years<sup>30</sup>.

In **Australia** single parents receive *Parenting Payment Single (PPS)* support. As of 2000, it amounted to AUD 387 per two weeks. The amount of this payment is adjusted twice a year according to the changes in Male Total Average Weekly Earnings and should not be lower than one-fourth of this amount. To qualify for this payment, a person should meet the following requirements: care for a child who studies (under 16), live in Australia at least two years or acquire the status of a single mother (father) immediately after he/she has arrived to the country. Beneficiaries should not be in the consensual union. Starting with 2003, parents of children aged from 6 to 12 should try to find a job. If a child is 13 or over, parents should have paid employment – at least 6 hours per week. The maximum amount of this benefit is paid to persons whose income is less than AUD 130.6 per two weeks for families with one child (AUD +24.6 per two weeks for each next child). If income is above this level, the amount of payment

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<sup>28</sup> Rector R. Next Steps in Welfare Reform/  
<http://www.heritage.org/Research/Welfare/Test041102.cfm>

<sup>29</sup> Data as of the middle of 2007.

<sup>30</sup> Callan T. Tackling Low Income and Deprivation: Developing Effective Policies // ESRI research series.– Vol. 1 – P.53.

is reduced by 40 cents from each 1 dollar of gross taxable income. Single parents with one child are not entitled to this benefit if their income is or exceeds AUD 1000 per two weeks. Beneficiaries are also entitled to a special small allowance which partially covers the cost of medicines.

In addition to that, in Australia single parents may use a considerable tax benefit which is available to all families with children; it is granted for each child. Family Tax Benefit, Part A is meant for parents who are PPS beneficiaries or have a low-paid employment. Family Tax Benefit, Part B does not depend on the amount of earnings and is available to all families with children under 5. Both benefits are granted in the form of a tax credit. In Australia, the total package of all benefits for single parents with one child makes 45% of male total average weekly earnings, with PPS being 25% of male total average weekly earnings. Single parents are entitled to PPS until their own income reaches 70% of male total average weekly earnings<sup>31</sup>.

**The United Kingdom** is the country which implements the policy of single parents support within the framework of the national program United Kingdom: Ending Child Poverty by 2020. Working parents (provided that they have employment of at least 16 hours per week) with low earnings are entitled to Working Tax Credit (**WTC**). In 2005-2006 its maximum amount for single parents was GBP 1595; however, if their earnings exceed the statutory limit, the credit amount is reduced by 37 pence from each pound over the limit. In order to reduce child-care costs, Childcare Tax Credit (**CTC**) has been introduced within WTC; in 2005-2006 it amounted to 70% of the first GBP 300 per week spent on child care services for two children and GBP 175 for one child. Therefore, maximum amounts of CTC were GBP 210 per week for families and single parents with two children and GBP 122.5 for one child<sup>32</sup>.

The **USA** counterpart of WTC is Earned Income Tax Credit (**EITC**), in **Canada** it is the Self-Sufficiency Project (**SSP**).

With the aim of encouraging the participation of lone parents in the labor force in order to increase their self-sufficiency level, the UK government started implementation of the program New Deal for Lone Parents, **UNDFLP**. Parents who participate in this program (on a voluntary basis) are entitled to use the services of job search, training and professional development provided by their personal consultant, as well as out-of-school child care services. Furthermore, parents receive GBP 15 per week for participation in training programs. Child-care Subsidy covers child care costs of single parents who have found employment under the NDFLP program, for a one-week period before the first date of

<sup>31</sup> Millar J. and Rowlingson K. (eds.) Lone Parents, Employment and Social Policy: Cross-national Comparisons. – Bristol: Policy Press, 2001. – P.65-67.

<sup>32</sup> Whiteford P. and Adema W. What Works Best in Reducing Child Poverty: A Benefit or Work Strategy? /OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers – P. 15.

employment. Work Search Premium in the amount of GBP 20 per week is paid to lone parents who agree to active participation in job search under the UNDFLP program.

In *the Scandinavian countries*, support to lone parents (first of all mothers) primarily means providing women with an opportunity to reconcile paid employment with child care responsibilities. The current social model allows divorced or widowed women to proceed with mother's duties with minimum economic losses. Childbirth leaves (up to 18 months) are for the most part highly paid. In Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Island out-of-family childcare is a part of social rights: when a child reaches certain age, the parents may be sure that their child will attend a pre-school childcare institution. Alimony as a form of support for single-parent families is also common (it is paid by a child's father, the state or as a combination of both). In general, the family policy is of a universal nature and most of social guarantees are provided to lone parents within the framework of measures aimed at all the families with children. Participation in the labor force is not only encouraged but also is a mandatory requirement for receiving additional benefits.

The only North-European country which sticks to the categorical approach towards lone parents support is Norway. Amendments to the legislation introduced in 1981 provided access to the state support for lone parents also to divorced/separated parents who raise a child alone, while previously this support was available only to widows and women who had a child born out of wedlock; therefore, the nature of this support became gender-neutral. At the end of 1990s it became clear that the nature of the existing state support did not encourage lone parents' participation in paid labor force and increased the term of their economic dependency on the state's support. Next steps in reforming the state policy related to single-parent families focused on the development of the state out-of-family childcare system which would allow lone parents to reconcile employment with child care.

The main changes in the lone parents policy occurred within the framework of the reform aimed at improvement of the population's well-being (beginning of the 1990s). The reform targeted at an increase in the employment rate, in particular, encouraging women's participation in the labor force and establishing gender equality. The following changes in the social provision of parents from single-parent families were that: child benefits term was limited to three years and to two years for parents still in education; benefits became available only to parents with children under eight; after a child reached the age of 3, the parents received the right to return back to the labor force provided that they worked at least half of the working week, studied or actively participated in job search; a special benefit was introduced for parents with children aged above 8 but under 10 – the benefit could be granted to persons who faced some hardships. The

level of financial support has slightly grown and most of the childcare costs are covered by the state. The analysis of the implications of the mentioned changes evidenced that they allowed to reduce the amount of state support provided<sup>33</sup> and maintain the risk of single-parent family poverty at a comparatively low level. Although Norway still sticks to the categorical approach towards payment of support for lone parents (with children under 12) and there are no mandatory employment requirements, recent reforms have brought this country closer to other Scandinavian countries.

The practice of lone parents support in the countries of *continental Europe* varies depending on the country. The majority of the countries (especially in the South of Europe) apply the model of “strong breadwinner”. In Greece, Spain and Italy child benefits and allowances are targeted, with lone parent families being able to receive monetary support from the state in case if their income is low. In these countries opportunities for reconciliation of employment and child care are also limited. In countries such as France and Belgium, this opportunity is provided by the system of parental leaves, and considerable tax credits available to workers with children encourage lone parents’ participation in the labor force. In the countries with low divorce rates (Spain, Portugal, Italy) the alimony system is inefficient<sup>34</sup>. In other countries this system is mostly of a mixed nature, i.e. money may be paid both by a child’s father or by the state. In France, for instance, the support provided by the state makes a considerable part of single-parent families’ income and replaces alimony, if the latter is not available. Sometimes the state support in case of divorce is regarded as the only and the last means of monetary support. Accordingly, the legislation of Germany stipulates that if alimony is insufficient or unavailable, lone parents may receive respective allowances from the state (for the maximum period of six years for children under 12); however, if a woman divorces, her parents have to support her (this provision does not apply to women who were never married)<sup>35</sup>.

Some countries try to adjust their models of lone parent social welfare to the model used in the Scandinavian countries, however, these attempts are not always successful. Over the last two decades, the Netherlands implemented the

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<sup>33</sup> Syltevik I.J. Norway: Creating a Work/Welfare Divide – Lone Parents Experiencing the New Employment Strategy // Millar J. and Evans M. (eds.). *Lone Parents and Employment: International Comparisons of What Works*, Bath: Center for the Analysis of Social Policy, 2003.

<sup>34</sup> Kaufmann F.X. *Family Life and Family Policies in Europe: Problems and Issues in Comparative Perspective* // *Family Life and Family Policies in Europe*. Oxford University Press, 2002. – Vol.2 – P.210.

<sup>35</sup> Daly M., Clavero S. *Contemporary Family Policy: A Comparative Review of Ireland, France, Germany, Sweden and the UK* – Institute of Public Administration, 2002. – P. 88.



policy encouraging lone parents' employment and enhancement of their participation in the labor force. Since 1996, changes to the legislation introduced by the new General Social Assistance Act required lone mothers to find a job after the youngest child reaches the age of 5<sup>36</sup>. However, the law allows local government to make exceptions to this rule depending on particular circumstances. Local politicians and government officials had a rather tolerant attitude towards intentions of lone mothers to dedicate themselves to child care and upbringing and did not apply any sanctions to the persons who tried to avoid mandatory employment. As a consequence, in September of 2002 only 20% of lone parents worked full-time, another half had an official permit to stay at home for child care (their majority – on the grounds that a child was under 5) and the remaining percentage did not enter the labor force and were not forced by local government to do that. The next reform commenced in 2003 was also aimed at improvement of self-sufficiency opportunities. Since that time special conditions for lone parents of minor children were abolished. If they had no job, they were required to register with a local employment service for finding a job or for retraining. That approach was introduced to encourage all beneficiaries of social assistance, including lone parents, to a wider use of self-sufficiency opportunities.

In the light of the analysis of single-parent family support systems existing in different countries and their efficiency, certain shortcomings and ambiguous implications of these systems should also be highlighted. Thus, the UK social welfare system is subject to criticism because it does not encourage lone parents to marry. If a child's parents have a low-paid job, after marriage the actual amount of state support to the newly created family decreases as compared with support amounts received by spouses individually before marriage. British researches from the Institute for the Study of Civil Society estimated that in case of marriage, financial losses of low-income families may constitute from 7% to 28% of their income in the period before marriage, even regardless of a decrease in housing costs (because spouses share such costs)<sup>37</sup>. Shortcomings of the universal system of support for lone parent families which prevails in the Scandinavian countries result from reduction of lone parents' competitiveness on the job market (as compared with parents from complete families), especially in the context of economic recession. Thus, for instance, during the recession of 1990s the position of lone mothers on the Swedish labor market was more

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<sup>36</sup> Knijn, T. and R. van Berkel Again Revisited: Employment and Activation Policies for Lone Parents on Social Assistance in the Netherlands// Millar J. and Evans M. (eds.), *Lone Parents and Employment: International Comparisons of What Works* – Bath: Center for the Analysis of Social Policy, 2003.

<sup>37</sup> *The Lone-Parent Trap: How the Welfare System Discourages Marriage/* [www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/loneParentTrap.pdf](http://www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/loneParentTrap.pdf)

vulnerable as compared with married women resulting in an increased unemployment rate, wider occurrence of its hidden forms and temporal employment of unmarried mothers etc<sup>38</sup>. At the same time, in Finland the poverty risk for single mothers increased from 2% in 1990 to 7% in 1994 and its level was more than three times greater than that for full families, mostly due to the fact that dropping employment rates and rising unemployment rates had deeper implications for single mothers<sup>39</sup>. The policy of single-parent family support which is currently being implemented in the continental Europe is most often criticized because of limited self-sufficiency opportunities for lone parents, their openness to the poverty risk and economic dependency on the state.

Researches carried out by foreign scientists with due regard for all the elements of the state system of monetary support for single-parent families (all types of allowances and tax benefits) show that the poverty risk for lone parents is the lowest in such countries as Australia, New Zealand and Germany. In Australia and New Zealand this is for the most part assured by current benefits for lone parents, in Germany – by housing subsidies<sup>40</sup>.

In Ukraine, with its unstable marriages, high divorce rates of the population and one in every five children living in a single-parent family, the issue of appropriate living conditions for children who have only one parent or whose parents are divorced is particularly urgent.

A considerable percentage of single-parent families receive *targeted social assistance* (low-income family allowance, housing subsidies). A certain share of single-parent families benefits from *child allowance to single mothers* which is provided in the amount of the difference between 50% of the subsistence level for the child of a respective age and the average total family income per month calculated for one person for the prior six months, but in any case not less than 30% of the subsistence level for the child of a respective age<sup>41</sup>. There is also *governmental assistance* for a very vulnerable category of single-parent families with *children whose parents evade alimony payments*. The amount of this assistance makes 30% of the statutory subsistence level for the child of a respective age<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Ellingster A. L. and Leira A. (eds.), *Politicising Parenthood in Scandinavia. Gender Relations in Welfare States.* – University of Bristol: The Policy Press, 2006. – P. 248-249.

<sup>39</sup> The same, page 251.

<sup>40</sup> Whiteford P. and Adema W. *What Works Best in Reducing Child Poverty: A Benefit or Work Strategy?* // OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers – P. 33.

<sup>41</sup> To date, the amounts of allowances paid to single mothers for children under 6 are as follows: minimum amount – UAH 167.1, maximum amount – UAH 278.5 per month; for children aged from 6 to 18: minimum amount – UAH 210.3, maximum amount – UAH 350.5 per month.

<sup>42</sup> To date in Ukraine the maximum amount of this allowance is as follows: for children under 6 – UAH 167.1, for children aged from 6 to 18 – UAH 210.3 per month.

At the same time, as shown by well-being indices of single-parent families mentioned in the previous sections and the above-specified amounts of benefits and allowances to separate groups of these families, the issue of providing single-parent families with appropriate conditions for having and upbringing children is still open and the state should be involved in solving it, including through legislative regulation of support by parents of their children. Accordingly, in Ukraine since 2005 the minimum alimony amount standard is introduced - not less than 30% of the subsistence level per one child of a respective age. It would be logical to increase this standard at least to 50% of the subsistence level, thus not only ensuring more fair division of child support duties between father and mother but also reducing the poverty risk for single-parent families with children. It would also be desirable to increase a relative size of child allowance for children who do not receive any alimony.

***Families with disabled children.*** The policy of support for families with disabled children should be aimed both at reducing the poverty risk for these families and at removing the obstacles for integration of disabled children into society.

Disabled children are more open to the poverty risk than other children. Support and upbringing of disabled children requires additional costs associated with medical treatment (maintenance of stable condition of a child's health), special equipment for premises, studies. In addition, families with disabled children have low earnings since a need for increased child care limits employment opportunities for the parents.

Currently in Ukraine the amounts of governmental social assistance to disabled children are determined based on minimum subsistence levels for children of respective ages (at the level of 2008). Accordingly, since 1.09.2009 the amount of governmental social assistance to disabled children (without childcare allowance) is UAH 572.4. In addition to that, disabled childcare supplement is paid in the amount of 50% of the subsistence level for the child of a respective age. Therefore, currently the governmental social assistance to disabled children, including disabled childcare supplement, is UAH 655.5 - UAH 727.5 per month.

Unfortunately, in Ukraine the situation with well-being and housing conditions of disabled children as well as with their integration to society, every-day life arrangements, studies, free travel opportunities, contacts with other children etc. should be characterized as disappointing.

As evidenced by the experience of industrialized countries, the state policy of disabled children and their families support should be developed in the following directions: bringing day-to-day living conditions of disabled children closer to "usual life" – active inclusion of disabled children in the general out-of-family care system; in case of any special requirements, full or partial

reimbursement of related costs; special care services provided by municipal government; establishment and operation maintenance of specialized schools for disabled children which provide the opportunities both for easy learning and communication of these children and for professional advice (from psychologists and teachers) for parents in respect of disabled children development opportunities and relevant methodology; development of special pre-school training programs for children who need home care; opportunities for parents of disabled children to work part-time or according to a flexible working schedule; improvement of the system of financial support for families with disabled children; the right of such families to choose between direct benefits, social services provided by local government's authorities and special equipment and facilities for home or individual use; facilitation of development of the network of non-profit organizations providing social services to disabled children; "hot lines" for advisory support of parents with disabled children.

***Elderly persons in the family.*** To date, the issue of assuring proper conditions for the life and development of the elderly and old persons is a common problem for many countries. In our country, an important social function of the elderly as the keepers of experience accumulated during their lives and as a stabilizing moment in the life of a family in particular and society in general is virtually disregarded; this leads to insufficient use of the so-called "residual" labor potential of the elderly and creates psychological discomfort which cannot but affect the health of the elderly.

The need for taking measures aimed at introduction of "successful ageing" principles at the family household level and also for improving the relations and ties between different generations of the family requires a wider and more efficient use of their self-care capacity and involvement of the elderly in care and upbringing of grandchildren etc. In this respect, we believe that it would be expedient to gradually shift the accent in the main functions of the elderly family members from doing most of the housekeeping (house work, most of domestic responsibilities) towards providing their knowledge and experience to ensure implementation by the family of its educational function. This shift would to a greater extent correspond to the psychological and physical conditions of the elderly and would create more favorable conditions for full-fledged labor activity of other family members within the household or beyond it. One of the lines of the above-mentioned change could be encouragement of private mini-kindergartens, especially in the rural area with its insufficient availability of pre-school childcare facilities. In a kindergarten as above-mentioned, an elderly woman could look after 2-3 children of school age, receiving a respective remuneration. This would not only provide conditions for self-realization of this woman but also would allow her to share her experience and knowledge with the younger generations and earn additional

income for development of her family household. Probably, over time, if economic pre-conditions become available, remuneration of such labor of elderly persons will become the state's priority, as it is already the case with remuneration of labor of childcarers in foster families and family-type orphanages. This measure as a component of the demographic policy may have a considerable influence not only on the quality of childcare but also on the efficiency of using labor potential both of the elderly persons and of working members of the family from all age categories.

***Families facing hardships and the problem of violence in the family.***

Marginalization of a part of Ukrainian families over the transmission period took place under the conditions of decreasing living standards, rising unemployment rates, intensification of proprietary and social stratification and also against the background of aggravated social pathologies – alcoholism, drug addiction and violence. This situation is also negatively affected by the mentioned instability of marriages and a wide occurrence of single-parent families with only one parent involved in child care and upbringing (mother, as a rule). Among the consequences brought about by a rise in the percentage of crisis and marginal families in Ukraine, the following again should be mentioned, inter alia: high rates of social orphans, homeless and neglected children, increasing percentage of children whose parents are deprived of parental rights and children who are taken away from their parents (because of their asocial behavior and negligent attitude towards parental responsibilities) without depriving them of parental rights. On the one hand, activities taken to place the children from sociopathic families into children's homes and boarding schools witness a concerned attitude of governmental authorities to living conditions of children from such families. On the other hand, as far as problem families are concerned, it should be mentioned that in our country an emphasis is still often made rather on children's "withdrawal" from the family environment than on work with such families (parents) in order to improve the existing situation. At the same time, according to the data of Ukraine's Ministry for Family, Youth and Sports, in 2008 1500 children who could become orphans, stayed in the families. And, for instance, in 2007 162 families got their children back from public institutions.

Not infrequently, asocial behavior of parents, violence in the family push the children out of the family environment and these children make up a special marginal group of "children of the street" who become beggars and tramps. This asocial group gradually absorbs a certain share of problem children from "normal" families, first of all, from single-parent ones. The analysis of the composition of children from shelters for minors shows that half of them come from single-parent and low-income families and one-third from socially incapable families. Half of the children mentioned conflicts at school and in the family

as the main reason why they are on the street<sup>43</sup>. The social status of “street children” invariably makes them learn deadadaptation behavior and leads to individual development distortion and disturbed mental development. However, in general, the number of sociopathic families with children may be reduced only in the context of general improvement of social environment of the Ukrainian society, improvement of economic situation and overcoming of such social pathologies as alcoholism, drug-addiction and violence.

Family violence is not a new problem for Ukraine. However, in the transformation period the problem of family violence becomes increasingly urgent as a result of social anomie, violation of well-established moral and ethical norms and controversial influence of today's social and economic changes upon the family. A certain idea about the rates and consequences of family violence can be formed on the basis of data from different sources.

In 2001, Winrock International, an American non-profit organization, conducted the national survey of 6 thousand women aged from 12 to 30. The survey results for Ukraine showed that 33% of women suffered from moral or verbal assaults committed mostly by their husbands. 11-12% of female respondents were victims of sexual violence and 5% suffered from physical violence, mostly on the part of their husbands<sup>44</sup>. The findings of psychological survey conducted in 14 WHO countries in 2001–2003 showed that in Ukraine the most powerful factors leading to male violence in the family are childhood psychological trauma, behavioral problems, alcohol abuse and financial hardships. The persistence of family violence and patriarchal attitudes towards a woman's role in the family and society can be also explained by stereotype views on parents-children relations, with punishment regarded as a natural component of upbringing. Accordingly, psychologists believe that domestic problems are the main cause of violence against children in the family. Lack of housing, employment, prospects for the future are cause that some parents feel hostility towards their innocent child whom they accuse of all problems and vent their anger on.

The topical nature of the family violence problem is also witnessed by the current data of nongovernmental organizations. According to these data, in the middle of the current decade over 80 thousand persons were under supervision because of family violence committed. Furthermore, the data of nongovernmental organizations show that almost equal percentages of males and females (20%) regard physical force as an allowable means of persuasion with regard to their relatives.

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<sup>43</sup> Соціальний захист дітей-сиріт і дітей, позбавлених батьківського піклування. Державна доповідь про становище дітей в Україні. – К.: Український інститут соціальних досліджень, 2000. – С. 62-68.

<sup>44</sup> Торгівля жінками, як соціальна проблема в українському суспільстві (Підсумки дослідження). – Київ, Соціальний моніторинговий центр та Український Інститут соціальних досліджень, 2001.

The findings of the survey held in 2006 by the Social Expert Examination Center of the Sociology Institute of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine witness that females suffer from family violence more often than males (in our country 68% of females suffer from family violence, including 20% - "as a rule" or often)<sup>45</sup>. They suffer from beating, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, moral humiliation, intimidation and sexual harassment and this happens both in low-income families and medium- and high-income families. It is indicative that family violence against women does not depend on a woman's age and occurs with almost equal frequency in all age groups from the age of 21 to 75. Besides of psychological aspects, another dangerous implication of physical violence against women and children is that its victim often receives serious bodily injuries. Findings of Amnesty International almost coincide with the data of the Sociology Institute of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine: 70 % of women in Ukraine suffer from different violent acts committed by their husband or partner and 18% are regularly beaten.

According to the findings of 2007 Ukrainian Demographic Health Survey, one in every six women aged 15–49 suffered physical violence since the age of 15. Of those women, one in every eleven experienced violence during the last year. Among ever-married females who suffered from violence at least once in their life, 32 % experienced violence from their current husband or partner and 51 % from former husband or partner. 15% of currently or formerly married women suffered from violent acts of their father or step-father, with the corresponding percentage among never-married females being 26%. Among never-married women who suffered from violence at least once in their life since they were 15, 21 % mentioned mother or step-mother as the abuser and 15% – brother or sister. Among females with higher education, the share of those who suffered from family violence at least once during their life (since they were 15) was lower than among females with secondary and lower education; women from rural area more often suffered from violent acts, as compared with women from urban area<sup>46</sup>. At the same time, we should also mention that among divorced respondents who took part in the national sampling survey of childbearing-age population "Family and Children", 7.6% indicated family violence as one of the main reasons of their decision to divorce.

In Ukraine, males also apply to relevant authorities with complaints about family violence, however, their percentage is very insignificant since stereotypes existing in our society do not allow a man to admit that and, all the more

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<sup>45</sup> Романова Н.Ф. Семигіна Т.В., Левченко В.М. Вивчення вітчизняної практики надання послуг потерпілим від насильства в сім'ї // Соціальна робота в Україні: теорія і практика. – 2008. – № 4. – С. 70–84.

<sup>46</sup> Україна. Медико-демографічне обстеження. – К.:УЦСР, Держкомстат України, МОЗ України, USAID, Macro International Inc., 2008. – С. 199–202.



so, to ask for help as a victim of domestic violence. Unfortunately, children are also afraid or ashamed to tell about violence of their parents to the staff of pre-school institutions and schools. As a result, law enforcement or other public authorities are very seldom informed about family violence and get this information mostly in difficult cases when its consequences can hardly be hidden from other people. According to the statistics of law enforcement authorities for year 2007, in Ukraine 30 thousand persons who committed physical violence were registered with these authorities for preventive purposes in 2006, with this figure for 2007 being over 37.7 thousand persons; the corresponding figures for persons who committed psychological violence were 17 thousand and 24.4 thousand persons, respectively. 88 % of the registered persons were males and 10 % - females (remaining percentage – minors). The Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs informs about steady annual rise in the number of reported offenses related to family violence. In 2007 law enforcement officers visited over 78 thousand family conflicts and over 84 thousand in 2008, 55.7 thousand protective court orders were issued in 2007 and 61.6 thousand in 2008, the number of persons registered with law enforcement authorities for family violence committed by them was almost 48 thousand and 50 thousand, respectively<sup>47</sup>.

Ukraine was the first of the CIS countries to adopt the Law on the Prevention of Family Violence (2001), i.e. the existence of this phenomenon and the readiness to confront it was acknowledged at the state level. The work of law enforcement authorities and non-governmental organizations aimed at family violence prevention showed that the Law needed some improvement and amendments. Therefore, on 14.11.2006 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine registered a draft law "On Amendments to some Legislative Acts of Ukraine (in respect of improvement of the Ukrainian legislation on overcoming family violence)" which envisaged amendments to the Code of Administrative Offences of Ukraine and the Law of Ukraine on the Prevention of Family Violence. The first 6 shelters for victims of family violence were established, 18 crisis centers, 24 social and psychological assistance centers, and also health care and social rehabilitation services. However, as they worked only with persons who suffered from family violence, there were no institutions working with the person who committed family violence which would focus on forming a non-violent behavior.

At the beginning of 2009, the Law of Ukraine on Amendments to Some Legislative Acts of Ukraine for Improvement of the Family Violence Prevention Legislation has taken effect. In order to ensure the implementation of corrective programs aimed at shaping of humanistic values and non-violent family behavior of persons who committed family violence, it is planned to change the focus of the crisis centers from working only with victims of family violence to

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<sup>47</sup> International women right center "La Strada-Ukraine".



working with persons who commit violence in the family. Family violence prevention by increasing the population's legal culture and information awareness in this field with the help of large-scale information, educational and explanatory work should be the fundamental component of efforts aimed at reducing the scopes and overcoming family violence.

***Social support of families facing hardships*** was and still is the most efficient means of solving numerous problems of unhappy families which become particularly acute at the times of social and economic hardships. In Ukraine, this support is provided directly by centers of social services for family, children and youth and by their specialized institutions – family social support services. The need to step up and improve their activities is currently dictated by a negative influence of the financial crisis on the life of a family which, in addition to “traditional” crisis families in Ukraine, also increases the number of families facing hardships in the period of the new economic crisis.

#### **5.4. Improvement of mechanisms of the state's influence on the development of the family**

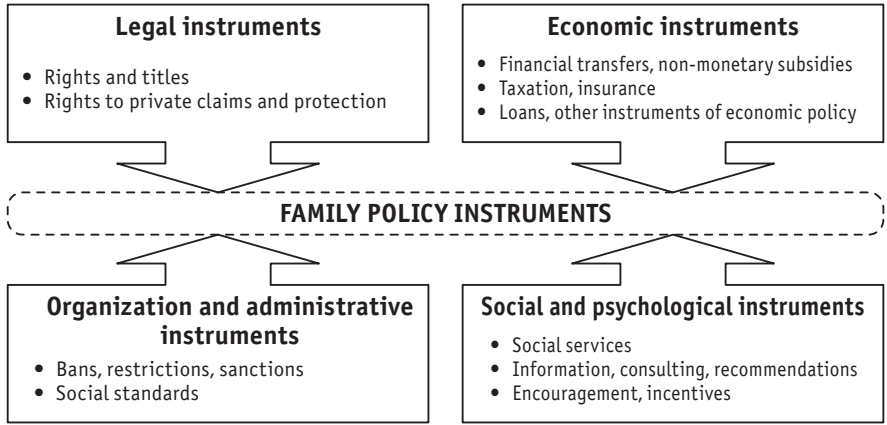
The family as one of the fundamental multi-functional institutions of society is characterized by significant institutional autonomy without which it would be unable to perform its function of a mediator between society and individual in respect of the implementation of a number of important social needs, first of all, those relating to birth and development of children as representatives of new generations who will supersede their parents and ensure the continuity of the human race. At the same time, all societal institutions are constantly interacting and influencing each other. Just like reproduction of population of a particular historical quality occurs, in general, within the entire framework of social and economic life<sup>48</sup>, functioning of the family as the primary unit of new generations' reproduction, to a considerable extent, depends on all the domains of society's life. Rational organization of society management by the state is an essential condition for full implementation by the family of its specific (basic) and non-specific functions. If the state exercises its society management function with due regard for the interests of the family as an institution, its problems and contradictions, we can speak of the goal-oriented state policy.

The state is a social institution which regulates the interaction of other societal institutions and thus exercises a direct influence upon their function-

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<sup>48</sup> Demographic Crisis in Ukraine. Research Problems, Origin, Components, Directions of Counteraction. – K.: Institute of Economics of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine, 2001.- Page 466.

ing and development. Accordingly, the state also influences the family as an institution regulating the institutional environment in which the family functions, transforming it in the pro-family direction, i.e. in the manner favorable for family development, or, on the contrary making full implementation of basic family functions impossible. While implementing the family policy, the state applies a range of legal, economic, social and psychological, organizational and administrative instruments (Fig. 5.4.1).



**Fig. 5.4.1. Instruments of the state family policy**

The state family policy is the main mechanism of the state’s influence on the family and the basis of this influence, therefore, the essence, goal, tasks and the system of principles of this policy should be clearly defined. We believe that the state policy should be understood as the direction of actions (or omissions) chosen by governmental authorities with the aim of ensuring the optimum development of the family as an institution and solving of contradictions and problems of its functioning. The strategic goal of the family policy of Ukraine should lie in the enhancement of the family as an institution and speeding up of exit from the demographic crisis by supporting the model of the family with a medium number of children, the family which is economically, socially and spiritually self-sufficient, the family which is based on free-will and parity principles and provides equal opportunities for personal self-realization of each member. The following tasks should be accomplished to achieve this aim:

- preservation of family values in society, forming of a system of personal and social value orientations with a focus on the family with a medium number of children;

- enhancement of the gender culture in the family and society, overcoming of stereotypes about division of societal and, first of all, family responsibilities;
- providing each individual, regardless of gender, with opportunities both for professional self-realization and for realization of his/her wish to have a family, marriage partner and children;
- enhancement of economic and educational potential of families, increasing their living standards and improving the quality of their life, providing families of all categories with equal opportunities and appropriate social protection of their well-being;
- ensuring conditions for the birth, appropriate maintenance and upbringing of the desired and socially necessary number of children in the family, at the same time mitigating the risks to professional self-realization of their parents;
- maintaining the reproductive health of the population, protection of motherhood, fatherhood and childhood, increased orientation towards the healthy way of life of individuals in particular and family in general;
- support to families encountering life hardships or facing the risk of such hardships;
- minimization of asocial manifestations which may arise in the family life, first of all of cruelty and violence resulting in social orphanhood, lacking care and homelessness of children.

These tasks can be accomplished only provided that the employment policy, population income, childhood protection, health care, youth, gender, educational and culture policies are coordinated with the needs of the family. In this connection the following principles should be complied with: priority of family needs; provision of equal opportunities; harmonization of family and employment domains. The priority of family needs in the structure of societal and public interests means a shift of focus of the state policy and the efforts of all public institutions in general towards maximum attention to and fulfillment of family needs and avoidance of hierarchical subordination of social interests of the family to the state interests.

The state family policy would be impossible without the mechanism arranging its implementation, i.e. without the system of state power and administration institutions, in cooperation with local self-government authorities and public society institutions which in their activity are focused on solving the problems of family functioning and development. As other elements of this organizational mechanism, the following should be mentioned: the infrastructure of services provided to the families with the aim of solving their problems; earmarked programs aimed at providing support to the family as an institution; information mechanisms.

The legal mechanism of the state's influence upon the family as an institution includes a complex of legal institutions and norms aimed at regulation of intra-family legal relations and legal regulation of the relations between the family and other institutions. Here, legal influence is exercised by means of legal definition of grounds and impediments to marriage and marriage dissolution; settlement of issues of motherhood and fatherhood; allocation of duties with regard to other family members and identification of liability for non-fulfillment of these duties, introduction and imposition of respective sanctions for violation of rights of other family members. The latter, in particular, are aimed at reducing the manifestations of personally or socially dangerous behavior by establishing family liability (deprivation of parental rights), administrative liability (fines, public works, restraint or deprivation of liberty) or other kinds of liability. Therefore, the legal mechanism provides for the application both of legal influence methods, i.e. by establishment of certain rights and responsibilities of participants of legal relationship, and of administrative methods, i.e. by exercising control over compliance with these rights and responsibilities and imposing respective sanctions in case of their violation.

Functioning of the family as the main population reproduction center, to a considerable extent, depends on economic provisions of its life and development. Social and economic well-being of society and material well-being of the population determine a family's opportunities to give birth and raise the number of children which is desirable for the family and necessary for society<sup>49</sup>. For this reason, one of the main tasks of the state is to create economic conditions which would assure optimum development of the family. The complex social and economic mechanism of the state family policy's implementation gives a special focus to regulation of population's employment with due regard for the needs of family development and the mechanism of influencing family income, including social protection of separate population categories.

The following directions of the pro-family component of the mechanism of population employment regulation should be regarded as the priority:

- establishment of the right of citizens to be protected against direct or indirect employment-related discrimination based on family status or family responsibilities;
- establishment of the right to choose working conditions and regimes (working hours, flexible working schedules, holiday and vacation periods, home labor with the use of communication means etc.) with due regard for the gender component which would allow both females and males to reconcile family and professional duties;

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<sup>49</sup> Demographic Crisis in Ukraine. Research Problems, Origin, Components, Directions of Counteraction. – K.: Institute of Economics of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine, 2001.- P. 251.

- introduction of additional legal guarantees relating to employment and self-employment for persons with family responsibilities (i.e. persons who raise children or care for disabled persons etc.);
- economic incentives for employers which ensure labor conditions and regimes convenient for persons with family responsibilities, in particular, by means of the system of tax benefits, financial transfers or loans;
- compensation of the lost wages for persons in case of birth and care for a child, care for other disabled family members by means of the social welfare system and financial transfers;
- economic and organizational arrangements for the functioning of institutions and services which would provide a broad range of diverse high-quality services related to care of minor children, disabled persons etc.

Regulation of family income is a component of all state policies relating to income, labor remuneration and social protection of the population. However, the state family support policy should eliminate both the horizontal inequality of family income depending on the family structure (the number of working and disabled persons) and the vertical inequality – depending on family well-being. This would ensure the leveling of risks of a separate family's well-being deterioration due to family changes (divorce, birth of a child, disability of family members etc.) and would also facilitate the setting of economic preconditions for fulfillment of individual needs. In this connection it is crucial to comply with the principle of equality between all types of family unions.

In order to perform these tasks, the following instruments and levers should be used:

- determination of the legal status of separate categories of families in the context of state support – this requires a clear definition of the criteria for selection of such families;
- tax abatements in respect of individual income tax levied on family members which would partially compensate the costs of child care, upbringing and development;
- financial transfers, systematic monetary allowances to certain categories of families;
- non-monetary support, benefits and social guarantees, subsidies for payment of certain services to certain categories of families, first of all families with children;
- targeted lending for solving of domestic problems of families and problems related to child upbringing and development.

An essential component of the state family policy is the health care and social mechanism which includes a complex of measures aimed at reproductive health care, first of all – at motherhood and childhood protection, provision of opportunities for decisions on having a child, harmonious and safe sexual life.

This means, in particular: legal guarantees of labor protection, social protection, health care and social services for reproductive-age and pregnant women; economic measures (taxes, loans, financial transfers) aimed at supporting families which try to solve infertility problems by using reproductive support technologies; information and awareness-raising activities on issues of reproductive health, unwanted pregnancy prevention, safe motherhood, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases; advisory services to young couples planning to marry on family planning, safe motherhood and responsible fatherhood.

Better implementation and efficiency of the state family policy requires improvement of its mechanisms. First of all, change of the contents of the state family policy becomes increasingly important. The current family policy in Ukraine is primarily aimed at overcoming negative implications of families' functioning, therefore, it can be characterized as a response to the negative phenomena currently existing in this societal domain. However, presently a need arises to shift a focus from the paternalism policy, i.e. from support of socially disadvantaged categories of families and enhancement of their social protection towards the policy of family development as a societal institution with due regard for political, organizational, material and financial capabilities of the state.

Today the state protection of family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood guaranteed by the Constitution is to a certain extent implemented within the framework of the State Family Support Program for the period till 2010<sup>50</sup> and within the framework of certain lines of social, youth and gender policy, health protection, culture, education etc. However, given that the state policy should be implemented not just with a focus on implementation of programs but primarily with an emphasis on the regulatory framework, we believe that currently there is a need to develop and adopt a special legislative act which would determine the main legal, organizational and economic foundations of the state family policy, in particular, its goal, principles, principal directions, organizational mechanism for its implementation and the system of governmental authorities at all levels responsible for implementation of the state family policy, its tasks, functions and authorities etc.

As for the result-oriented aspect of formulation and implementation of the state family policy, currently there is a need to develop and implement the Nation-wide Program of Family Development for a long-term period which would include a number of issues aimed at implementation of the state policy with the goal of solving family development problems and which should be approved by enactment of a respective law harmonized with the provisions of the Law of Ukraine on the State Earmarked Programs. In particular, the program should

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<sup>50</sup> The State Family Support Program for the period till 2010 was approved by Decree № 244 of February 19, 2007.

include provisions on the main directions and tasks in line with legislatively defined policy priorities, the mechanism of policy implementation, appropriate resources and controls over its implementation. The Nation-wide Program should become the basis for development and implementation of relevant regional and local family development programs. Furthermore, each year measures for implementation of the Nation-wide Program should be approved with specification of its contents, expected implementation outcomes, persons/entities responsible for their implementation, implementation deadlines as well as the scopes of budget financing.

There is a need for improvement of legal instruments of the state family policy by increasing parents' responsibility for child maintenance and upbringing, life and health, especially in case parents refuse from a child. It is also necessary to harmonize the system of sanctions of family, administrative and other types of liability; to develop and provide regulatory definition of the mechanism of social rehabilitation and social correction work with parents who fail to perform or improperly perform their parental responsibilities; to improve the procedure of imposition of family liability sanctions and to introduce social expert examinations in courts of law for the purpose of determining the extent of improper fulfillment by parents of their child upbringing duties. With this aim in mind, the Family Code of Ukraine should be supplemented with a separate article relating to child support, upbringing and development, child life and health. For cases when an individual fails to perform his/her parental responsibilities, the legislation should determine a clear sequence of family liability sanctions, including in cases parents are deprived of parental rights or a child is taken away from his/her parents without depriving of the latter of their parental rights.

The present-day economic levers of the current family policy of Ukraine are aimed not at ensuring conditions for development of the family as an institution but rather at achieving the goals of separate lines of the social and economic policy, first of all poverty overcoming and prevention, this being one of the main reasons of their low efficiency in terms of family policy implementation. The system of instruments used to regulate both employment of individuals with family responsibilities and family income needs improvement.

Improvement of the mechanism for regulation of employment of individuals with family responsibilities envisages, first of all, enhancement of legal protection of citizens against direct or implicit discrimination because of family status or family responsibilities; introduction of additional employment guarantees, opportunities to choose labor conditions and regimes with due regard for the gender component, with all these measures, in general, facilitating reconciliation of family and professional life. This could be achieved by adopting the Labor Code of Ukraine and supplementing it with provisions which regulate

labor conditions and regimes for males with children. First of all it should be necessary to determine the guarantees for males who would like to take a paid childbirth leave (along with females) – a measure which is widely common in the world practice and promotes reconciliation of professional and family life of both females and males. The next step in implementation of the guarantees, as soon as they are formulated, should be the development and implementation of mechanisms for encouragement of employers who/which provide labor conditions and regimes convenient for individuals with family responsibilities. However, formulation of particular proposals relating to this issue requires additional research.

There is also a need for improvement of the system of financial transfers to families; this system should contribute to better conditions for reconciliation of professional and family life by compensating for lost wages as a result of having a child. To date, this function is performed by such kinds of state support as maternity (pregnancy and birth) allowance, childbirth allowance and allowance for children under the age of three. However, despite a significant increase of some of these allowances, their level still does not allow an individual to support himself/herself and a child during child care leave.

Monetary support for families should be combined with other opportunities, first of all, by enhancing the guarantees for part-time employment and developing the network of childcare institutions and services. As for the latter, there is an increased need for broadening of the network of pre-school institutions, ensuring their flexible working hours, introduction of additional child care services (short-term child groups and playrooms), establishment of childcare centers and introduction of economic incentives to development of corresponding privately owned institutions.

The mechanism of family income regulation and its social protection needs fundamental changes. In particular, tax policy instruments should become the main means of personal income re-allocation, including of individuals who support disabled family members. Tax levers should be the main means of economic influence upon the development of the family as an institution, since they have considerable advantages over social transfers: firstly, because they create pre-conditions for self-sufficiency of a family by way of labor activity, therefore, increasing its economic potential; secondly, because they do not give grounds to support-oriented attitudes of the population and increase responsibility of family members for own self-sufficiency.

There are different options for implementation of family tax benefits. The first option stipulates that taxes are imposed on total income of the family and not on individual taxpayer's income since family-based taxation of personal income allows the tax system to take the family size (the number of dependants) into account and to reflect the family solvency most precisely. However, this op-



tion requires considerable changes in the personal income taxation system and can make tax administration more complicated, to a certain extent. It would also be possible to introduce social tax benefits for all taxpayers depending on their family size and composition, primarily, on the number of minor children. We believe that in the context of our country this option is more realistic.

Use of tax credits on a larger scale is advisable – they should not only provide monetary support to low-income families but also serve as an economic encouragement for the development of families of all types. It seems expedient to reduce the annual income tax rate in cases when goods, works and services are purchased for purposes of building a family, having a child, child care and support, care for a minor child; or additional educational services including out-of-school educational institutions etc.

Social benefits to families with children contribute to overcoming economic inequality of such families and mitigation of a negative influence which well-being factors have on choosing by an individual of a desired family behavior model. However, we believe that this kind of family support should be used only in separate cases, for example, when persons with dependent minor children have no earned income because of valid reasons. Here it should also be emphasized that the mechanism for identification of persons who need this support requires improvement.

If all the other economic measures taken to solve family problems are insufficient to ensure proper functioning of a family, this family receives social assistance for low-income families which is one of the instruments of vertical family income re-allocation. Its maximum amount should be determined not by the statutory guaranteed subsistence level, as it is the case now, but by the minimum subsistence level for a corresponding demographic group of population. The criteria used to identify the persons whom this assistance is paid should take into account family composition and size, and also the age of a child and the state of health of family members. The list of categories of families entitled to this assistance should be reviewed and a differentiated approach used to determine its amount with due regard for special needs of different categories of families.

Targeted loans as a family policy instrument should be used on a larger scale. In Ukraine, state-supported targeted lending of families is rather limited and is used in two cases: housing construction or purchase by young families and young single persons and tertiary education. The legislation also provides for implementation of the system of loans for purchase of durable goods, however, currently no practical mechanisms for this kind of lending are available.

The conditions of the current lending system are quite favorable for the youth, at the same time, under limited financial resources of the state and low income of the population this system covers just an insignificant percentage of families. That is why the mentioned means of family support cannot have

any significant impact upon the conditions of life and development of families but rather create preconditions for corruption acts in this domain. There is an urgent need for introduction of new family lending mechanisms, first of all, for purchase of housing, which would allow a considerable number of families to solve their problems.

In Ukraine, to support families facing hardships, the State Social Service for Family, Children and Youth has been established – a public administration authority which is responsible for implementation and provision of high-quality social services for families, children and youth in Ukraine in general, which coordinates and initiates numerous innovations related to these services. The activity of this authority has been analyzed in the previous section, however, it should be emphasized that further widening of the scope and improvement of the quality of its work is necessary, as well as further development of the network of corresponding institutions and services, their appropriate financial, staff and logistics provisions, improvement of the mechanism of social services provision and extensive provision of information to all population strata about support opportunities. First of all it is necessary to broaden the network of mother and child centers, since currently there are very few of such centers but the responsibilities assigned to them are crucial for the preservation of a biological family and the prevention of social orphanhood in the country.

Along with certain success, the existing health care and social mechanism of the state's influence upon family development shows some shortcomings which include, inter alia, underdevelopment and lacking access to the network of family planning services, inefficiency of means used for reproductive health maintenance and prevention of negative consequences of promiscuous sexual relations. The State Program "Reproductive Health of the Nation" for the period till 2015<sup>51</sup> foresees certain activities aimed at overcoming these shortcomings, however, these activities are not enough. Here corresponding changes to the program documents are necessary, in particular, those which provide for the widening of the network of family planning centers and rooms and for the improvement of the system of prevention work aimed at reproductive health maintenance, first of all, prevention of the spread of socially dangerous diseases.

The proposed directions for improvement of the mechanisms of the state's influence upon the development of the family as an institution are not exhaustive, however, their practical implementation will contribute to the formulation of a coherent and efficient family policy and to the achievement of its main goal – enhancement of the family as an institution in Ukraine and more rapid overcoming of the demographic crisis.

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<sup>51</sup> The State Program "Reproductive Health of the Nation" for the period till 2015 is approved by Decree № 1849 of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of December 27, 2006.

## CONCLUSIONS

The family as a union of people which is based on marriage and blood relationship and characterized by common living arrangements and mutual responsibility is an essential chain in the life and demographic reproduction of generations. At the modern stage of society development, the functions of the family are transformed and their correlation is changed, however, the family still stays the primary center of population reproduction which not only gives life to new generations but also forms their qualitative characteristics as the subjects of societal activity. During crisis periods, when a number of other population reproduction centers go into decline, the family demonstrates one important feature, in particular, it is a stable and viable nucleus able to mitigate the consequences of destructive crisis changes. Therefore, under the conditions of the modern demographic crisis in Ukraine, the study of the family form of the demoprocess becomes increasingly important and the need for demopolitical support of family functioning and development becomes more urgent.

In the transformation society of present-day Ukraine the family remains a crucial multifunctional social institution with a number of its functions expanded and intensified due to inefficient functioning of other societal institutions. The family performs a large number of non-specific functions with increasing importance which in many cases acquire protective nature. At the same time, a Ukrainian family still performs its specific functions – childbearing, child maintenance and upbringing.

The family as one of the most essential institutions reflects all the inconsistencies and shortcomings of modern Ukrainian society. In Ukraine, deformation of certain family functions under unfavorable present-day conditions leads to increasing rates of social orphans and homeless children, loneliness and lack of care for a certain part of elderly persons.

Each stage of society's evolution correlates with a certain population family structure pattern, with changes in it conditioned both by the processes of natural evolution of the family as an institution and transformation of marriage and family relations which change the family lifecycle and by shifts in the population reproduction regime. The family composition of the population is also affected by a social and economic situation in the country, to the extent to which it influences demographic processes (birth, mortality and migration) and family cycle scenarios.

The specific characteristics of natural movement of Ukraine's population - low birth rates, excessive male mortality, demographic ageing – have a direct influence upon the size, structure and correlation of different types of family unions. High marriage rates combined with unstable nature of marriages and high divorce rates in the country lead to intensive renewal of family composi-

tion of the population as a result of creation of new family unions and splitting of families in case of divorce. In the present-day Ukraine, unfavorable economic situation of families reduce the possibility for implementation of certain family development scenarios, especially at the stage when adult children separate from their parents, thereby influencing family composition of the country's population.

The results of the population family composition analysis based on population census data show that in modern Ukraine nuclear families consisting of a married couple with children or without children dominate. Over the period between the last two censuses, the percentage of family households with minor children decreased significantly. To date, the percentage of one-child families in total households with minor children is the highest and this percentage continues to grow gradually. In rural area, the percentage of households with one child is still significantly lower than in urban area, however, there is a trend towards its accelerated growth. Population census data show that in the younger cohorts of Ukrainian females the percentage of females with only one or two children is increasing, as compared with the older cohorts.

The analysis of material well-being and its factors by different types of families based on the results of sampling surveys of Ukrainian households' living conditions showed that among the factors of differentiation of families by material well-being, a household's social and demographic characteristics and a family's place of residence are the most influential ones. Generally, in Ukraine in urban area households with no children and with all adult members working are in the best position: for these households, indices characterizing various well-being aspects are significantly better than those of households with children.

Wages and salaries are the main source of income for households of all types, however, its percentage in total income of households with children is notably higher, thus establishing a greater dependence of material well-being of families with children on the condition of the Ukrainian labor market.

There is a clear correlation between the type of settlement and income and expenditure: equivalent income and expenditure of households from big cities significantly exceed those of households from small cities and especially from rural area. The type of settlement also determines the structure of expenditure: the lower the size of a settlement, the higher the percentage of expenditure for food and the lower the percentage of expenditure for services. At the same time, at the background of generally high quantitative nutrition indices, qualitative indices are still very low for all types of households.

From year to year, the worst material well-being situation is recorded for families with many children, families with children aged under 3, households with double demoeconomic load (with children and persons in pension age) in rural area. If a household has two or more children of any age, or at least one

child under the age of 3 and, at the same time, at least one child and an elderly person/persons, these are the determining factors creating the risk of poverty. Unemployed persons form a significant risk group. If a household has at least one member with a university degree, this is very often the only factor contributing to the mitigation of poverty risks. Poverty of working population due to low wages and salaries is the specific problem of Ukraine. However, in general, material well-being of different categories of families in our country is still very low and living conditions are still unsatisfactory.

A wide range of issues related to population's attitudes towards family values, to the specific nature of its modern family composition and family relations, childbearing preferences, intergenerational relations etc. have been studied based on materials of the representative social and demographic survey of childbearing-age population of Ukraine "Family and Family Relations" (2009). The survey confirmed that Ukraine maintains traditionally high marriage rates. The percentage of single unmarried persons in our country is insignificant: just 3% of respondents aged 35 and over have no experience of married life, i.e. are not married now and have not been married before; the majority of never married persons plan to get married in the future. At the same time, youth aged 15-19 are notably less oriented towards getting married as compared with respondents from older age groups. A certain percentage of young people do not look at married life as an essential part of their life and do not plan to get married in the future. However, it is difficult to say clearly whether this is a manifestation of teenage radicalism which vanishes over time and whether we should expect a drop in marriage rates of the population in the future.

The majority of married males and females in Ukraine give positive assessments to their marriage, however, every one out of five married respondents acknowledged that sometimes *he/she has/had divorce intentions*, in other words, even married couples who are generally satisfied with their marriage face the risk of divorce. Marriage attitudes to a certain extent depend on the duration of marriage: the longer the years in marriage, the more critical spouses' assessments of their marriage and the higher the percentage of persons who think about getting divorced. As the most important determinants of a successful marriage, both females and males mentioned *mutual support and respect of spouses* and *marital fidelity*; well-being factors – *material well-being* and *separate dwellings* are assessed as slightly less important but, nevertheless, significant.

One of specific characteristics of demographic development on its modern stage is pluralization of marital and family relations, a wider occurrence of new forms of marriage partnership. While new forms of marital relations – unregistered marriage, distance marriage – are becoming a usual form of marital relations, an officially registered marriage still remains the most widespread form

of organization of marriage relations between a man and a woman in Ukraine (88% of married males and females polled during the survey are in a marriage of this traditional form). Half of the persons who had a steady sexual partner but were not in registered marriage characterized their relations as marriage (unregistered marriage), with another half not recognizing such relations as marriage. In the majority of cases, unregistered marriage in Ukraine is a trial stage prior to registration of relations – after it a relationship is either officially registered or breaks up.

The population of the country demonstrates high commitment to basic family values: the majority of respondents in childbearing age assesses these values' role in their own life as **“very important”** or **“rather important”**. The survey confirmed that the majority of Ukraine's population in childbearing age lives in a family (almost 95% of respondents live in a family and only 5% - alone). The findings of the analysis allow to maintain that the persons who live in a family are more satisfied with their life circumstances than those who live alone, with males somewhat more likely to suffer from loneliness than females.

For the first time during the period between two population censuses, the information about marital status of respondents allowed to analyze the occurrence of different family types in modern Ukraine (including in different types of settlements and among representatives of different social and professional groups). The majority of respondents lives in a nuclear family – simple or extended (i.e. a family consisting of a married couple with or without children, sometimes – with one of spouses' parents or another relative). Complex families with several married couples living together are not very widespread, at the same time the percentage of single-parent families (i.e. families without marriage kernel) with children is significant. Every one out of four families with minor children in our survey is a single-parent or restructured family, i.e. a family in which traditional children-parents-relations are deformed to a certain extent.

Furthermore, the survey findings also allowed to compare financial position of families of different types in present-day Ukraine based on respondents' self-assessment; this comparison showed that single-parent families with children are most problematic in terms of material well-being.

The analysis of issues related to formation of leadership structure and segregation of responsibilities in a modern Ukrainian family on the basis of survey materials showed that slightly more than half of respondents (who are married) believed that in their families **husband is the head of the family**, every two out of five respondents described their families as egalitarian in which **husband and wife make all decisions jointly**, while others (8%) admitted that in their family **wife is the head**. In the majority of respondents' families **husband is the main breadwinner**, this being the economic basis of his role as the head of the

family. According to the survey data, husband is the breadwinner in more than 3/5 of respondents' families, both spouses – in 1/3 of families and wife – in less than 5% of families. However, it should be mentioned that the status of the head of a family is determined not only by the amount of income earned by members of the family: egalitarian families in which all decisions are made jointly exceeds number of families with two breadwinners. Accordingly, in some percentage of respondents' families the relations between spouses are characterized by equality between husband and wife despite the fact that one of the spouses may earn much more than the other one. The percentage of families with a woman as family head exceeds the percentage of families with a woman as the main breadwinner.

The survey demonstrated that in the Ukrainian families the main house-keeping and child care responsibilities are woman's duty. Almost in 70% of respondents' families it is the wife who does all the housekeeping: prepares meals, cleans the house, launders, irons and cares for the children; this makes the problem of a woman's "double working day" urgent and acute. As for household responsibilities which are almost fully assumed by men, these are the ones related to repairs (both minor domestic repairs and repairs of dwellings); besides, men have almost equal responsibility with women for planning and keeping the family budget, planning of vacations and issues related to money saving.

The results of social and demographic survey "Family and Family Relations" show that half of persons of childbearing age *plan* to have two children in their families; along with respondents' answers about *the desired number of children* and respective data of the last year's social and demographic survey "Family and Children" (2008)<sup>1</sup>, this confirms the prevalence of the orientation towards a two-child family in Ukraine. As compared with the 2008 survey, the survey of 2009 demonstrates an increase in the percentages of respondents who give a preference to a family with one child or without children. Accordingly, there was a drop in the percentages of respondents who planned to have two or three children which is most probably attributable to the population's response to the destabilization of the social and economic situation observed in the country from the end of 2008. According to the findings of the survey held in 2009, *the average planned number of children* is 1.76 children against 1.82 children in 2008. Among respondents with clear reproductive plans for the future, currently every one out of five respondents does not see any opportunity to have as many children as he/she wants.

The correlation between respondents' childbearing preferences and their educational level was rather weak, unlike the clear dependence of *the desired*

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<sup>1</sup> The findings of this social and demographic survey held in April 2008 are detailed in the publication "Marriage, Family and Fertility Orientations in Ukraine"-K.: ADEF-Ukraine, 2008.-page 256.



**number of children** on the number of children in the families in which respondents were raised. Respondents from families with many children more preferred to have three and four or more children as compared with other respondents. The highest percentage of respondents who would like to have only one child even if all the necessary conditions were available was recorded among respondents raised in a one-child family.

Childbearing plans of respondents for the nearest future to a considerable extent depend on changes in material well-being of their families anticipated by respondents. Respondents who expect their economic situation to improve, are more inclined to have a child in the nearest three years. Despite different expectations the change of material well-being in the next 3 years expressed by respondents from settlements of different types, the percentages of persons who plan to have a child in the next three years are virtually equal in urban and rural areas.

The findings of the survey "Family and Family Relations" show that currently in Ukraine the most powerful obstacles to having the desired number of children are **insufficient well-being of the family** and **no appropriate housing conditions**. It is indicative that in the recent survey the frequency of choosing these factors by respondents grew as compared with the previous survey "Family and Children". Wider pessimistic assessment of own ability to support and raise children is evidenced by an increase of the percentage of respondents who mentioned **inability to provide necessary conditions for children's future** as an obstacle to having the desired number of children. The frequency of choosing the above-mentioned factors grows with an increase in the number of desired children.

The majority of respondents with children are generally **satisfied with relations with their children**. Respondents with one child are mostly **absolutely satisfied** with these relations, while respondents with two and three children are mainly **rather satisfied** with such relations. The percentage of respondents who mentioned that there is **no understanding** between them and their children is comparatively small, however, the more children a respondent has, the higher the frequency of choosing a negative answer.

A considerable percentage of respondents solves the issues of financial support of their children by own efforts (without any help from others). Such "financial independence" from relatives is mostly demonstrated by males. Females more gladly mention regular assistance from their parents, while males more often assess financial assistance from their parents as occasional. The highest percentage of respondents who mentioned **no help with child support** from their nearest relatives was recorded among respondents with many children.

In Ukrainian families **child care and upbringing activities** are mostly the responsibility of females. While analyzing the distribution of child care respon-



sibilities in the family, we came to the conclusion that due to males' passive attitude many females have to be more active and this increased activity by its form and substance is identical with sole responsibility of mothers for health and safety of their children.

As for the ways of solving the issues related to organization of ***care for school-age children and their upbringing***, the majority of respondents give preference to preschool institution with flexible working hours as this would allow to combine child upbringing at home with part-time stay in a pre-school child care institution (part of the day or week). Child upbringing at home with involvement of a third person (nanny) received the least support from respondents.

Separation of adult children from the family of their parents and their living in a separate household is a typical feature of our time. This process of family splitting at the final stages of its life cycle is reflected by respondents' answers: only 6% of them believe that adult children should live with their parents. However, if children live separately, this does not mean that family ties are lost: less than 28% of respondents mentioned that the distance between the dwellings of parents and children is of no significant importance. Prevailing is the group of respondents (almost 40%) who believe that adult children should live separately but not far from their parents, in other words, there should be an opportunity for close communication. Another significant percentage of respondents support an idea that children should live with their parents only until they create their own family (28%). Urban residents expressed more support for the idea of separate living of parents and children, while rural residents' views are more conservative which can be explained both by traditions and specific nature of the rural way of life: a rural farm needs labor hands and large families are more efficient from this point of view.

The majority of persons of childbearing age are ***satisfied with their relations with the parents***, while the percentage of those who do not get along with the parents was insignificant. However, assessments of relations with father and mother demonstrate a considerable variation: while 3.6% of respondents expressed ***dissatisfaction*** with relations with their mothers (with the highest proportion of these respondents – 5.9% recorded in age group 30–34), the percentage of respondents dissatisfied with relations with their fathers was 8% (being 2.2 times greater), with the highest proportion of these respondents (13.4%) recorded in teen age group 15–19. The reasons resulting in such a situation need further research but even as such they witness that males are not always successful in performing their duties of a father, especially in difficult situations when children are raised in single-parent or restructured family.

Help of adult children is crucial for their elderly parents. The survey findings show that the majority of respondents care for and support their parents.

At the same time, the percentage of those who care for their elderly parents just occasionally is rather significant. The proportion of persons who care for their parents and help them with keeping the house increases with age of respondents (and their parents, respectively). In the majority of cases adult children who live together with their parents provide them with regular care, while respondents who live separately, especially in another locality, do not always have such an opportunity. Therefore, a trend towards adult children living separately from their parents, especially under conditions of high mobility of the population, increases the risk of loneliness and lack of care in the elderly age. As for financial support, every one out of two respondents aged 35 and older helps his/her parents financially, however, the majority of these respondents ***provide this financial support*** occasionally (from time to time) and not on a regular basis. A significant percentage of respondents (approximately every one in five) have no opportunity to provide financial support and, at the same time, parents of every one out of five respondents do not need such support (the percentage of this group is reduced with increasing age).

The family as one of the fundamental institutions of society is characterized by certain inherent functional regularities, internal development logic and significant institutional autonomy. However, the state and society also have an influence on development of the family regulating the institutional environment in which the family functions, transforming it in the pro-family direction, i.e. in the direction favorable for family development. If the state exercises its society management function with due regard for the interests of the family, its development problems and contradictions, we can speak of the goal-oriented state policy.

The family policy is one of the directions of the social and demographic policy which is aimed at encouraging the family way of life, strengthening families, first of all, families with children, and creating optimal conditions for building and developing a family and for its functioning. The family policy of the European industrialized countries has a long history of development; currently, it is characterized by distinct peculiarities in separate countries and groups of countries, as well as by quite a wide range of policy instruments used, some of which may be also used in Ukraine in the future and in some cases – even today.

In Ukraine, the strategic goal of the family policy should lie in the enhancement of the family and speeding up of recovery from the demographic crisis by supporting the model of the family with a medium number of children, the family which is economically, socially and spiritually self-sufficient, the family which is based on free-will and parity principles and provides equal opportunities for personal self-realization of each member. However, currently the family policy in our country can be characterized as the policy with a prevalent

pro-natalist focus and a tactical aim of increasing the population's childbearing activity. A considerable increase of the lump-sum childbirth allowance several years ago had a certain positive influence on the childrearing situation and fertility intentions of Ukraine's population. However, it is doubtful that the effect of the mentioned considerable financial investment which can be seen today is of a long-term and sustainable nature. It should also be mentioned that, in general, the family policy instruments applied in Ukraine at the current stage are rather narrow and only significant amounts of the childbirth allowance can be regarded as the weightiest form of the state's assistance to families with children.

According to the findings of the childbearing age population survey, the most significant problems impeding the Ukrainians to have as many children as they would like to have are those focused in two fields – material well-being (of the population in general and of families with children, in particular) and housing. As a consequence, the majority of respondents first of all mention an increase in wages and salaries and solving of the housing problem as the most powerful potential factors which can increase childbearing activity of the Ukrainians. Furthermore, at the times of the financial and economic crisis, families with children have an increasing need for the state's financial support.

The following steps will facilitate the achievement of the strategic goal of the family policy in Ukraine: strengthening of the need for family, marriage, parenthood and motherhood in social and individual consciousness and provision of respective social and economic conditions; enhancement of gender culture in the family and society; development of economic, educational and socializing potential of families, increasing their living standards and improving the quality of their life; provision of conditions for having and raising the number of children which is desirable for the family and necessary for society; maintaining the reproductive health of the population; provision of comprehensive support to families encountering life hardships; minimization of asocial manifestations which may arise in family life. The social and demographic policy in its entirety should be formed and implemented subject to the principles of priority of family needs and harmonization of family and employment domains and also provided that the employment policy, population income, youth, gender, educational and culture policies are coordinated with the needs of family development and the focus of all state policies and activity of state institutions is shifted towards the fullest consideration and satisfaction of family needs. Only if these conditions are fulfilled, the coherent and efficient family policy will be formed in Ukraine and the preconditions will be established for achievement of its main goal – enhancement of the family as an institution and rapid recovery from the demographic crisis.

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**Institute for Demography and Social Studies  
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