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TÍTULO: Percepciones de los estudiantes sobre el matrimonio y la familia en el contexto de las transformaciones socioculturales en la sociedad rusa.

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RESUMEN: La ambivalencia de las transformaciones socioculturales en la sociedad en los niveles macro y micro cambia los valores de la vida de los jóvenes, incluidos los estudiantes. Este artículo se basa en una encuesta en línea de estudiantes de la Universidad Federal de Kazan y considera puntos de vista de los jóvenes sobre el matrimonio y la familia, los patrones de comportamiento sexual, la paternidad, las diferencias de género en el matrimonio y las actitudes familiares. Los resultados obtenidos muestran contradicciones en las mentes de los estudiantes, que aún reproducen la adherencia a los valores tradicionales y las tendencias ya emergentes hacia el pragmatismo, hacia las actitudes cambiantes hacia las formas del matrimonio, la familia y las perspectivas de futura autorrealización.

PALABRAS CLAVES: jóvenes estudiantes, actitudes matrimoniales y familiares, patrones de comportamiento sexual, paternidad, transformaciones socioculturales.

TITLE: Students' perceptions of marriage and family in the context of sociocultural transformations in Russian society

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ABSTRACT: The ambivalence of sociocultural transformations in society at the macro and micro levels changes the life values of young people, including students. This article is based on an online survey of students from the Federal University of Kazan and considers young people's views on marriage and family, patterns of sexual behavior, fatherhood, gender differences in marriage, and family attitudes. The results obtained show contradictions in the minds of the students, who still reproduce the adherence to traditional values and the already emerging tendencies towards pragmatism, towards the changing attitudes towards the forms of marriage, the family and the perspectives of future self-realization.

KEY WORDS: young students, marriage and family attitudes, patterns of sexual behaviour, parenthood, sociocultural transformations.

INTRODUCTION.

Socio-economic and political transformations in Russia at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century caused significant changes in traditional social institutions, in their reproduction and perception by various groups of society.

According to the analysis of dynamics and direction of the current changes in the sphere of marriage and family, the opinion of young people, whose attitudes and intentions reflect the specifics of these changes, is especially relevant. Therefore, the definition of the nature of ideas and attitudes of young people towards the family and marriage, plans for the creation of own family, reproductive intentions, involvement in marriage and family relations, and differences in the views of young men and women on marriage and family values, are significant for projecting of their future behaviour.

The information on the possible demographic behaviour of young people makes it possible to get an idea of the impact of sociocultural changes on the character of youth socialization, and to assess the individual and personal determinants of students' behaviour with regard to the family, marriage and parenthood.

DEVELOPMENT.

Methods.

The main method for obtaining empirical information was a representative survey of students of Kazan Federal University, using the electronic questionnaire, in May 2018.

Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (KFU) is one of the largest higher educational institutions in Russia, where about 40 thousand students receive education with different modes of attendance. The respondents are the students of mainly senior courses with intramural form of study - 85% (bachelor's degree, specialist's degree, master's course of the institutes and branches of KFU, sample size is 2722 people). 57% of respondents study on a budgetary basis, and 43% on a contract basis.

The "diversity" of social composition – with regard to ethnicity (there are immigrants from the near and far abroad countries, besides the Russian students), economic status (wealthy students and those, who has to work), a settlement perspective (city/village, centre/periphery), territory of living

(local/visitors), confession (believers/non-believers), and specifics of mentality - indicates the presence among students of various segments of society.

The mosaic of the student community is reflected in their views, perceptions, and their social well-being. The peculiarity of the recent years of student contingent formation is the change in geographic profile of students: the number of Kazan students is decreasing, the number of newcomers is increasing, both from other cities and rural settlements of the republic, from other parts of the country and from abroad.

The choice of the student community in its gender differentiation as the object of study is explained by the productivity of this approach, from the perspective of determining those differences, which may be present in the views of young men and women on marriage and family values.

The general orientation of questionnaire content is related to the determination of students' views about their plans for the creation of own family, parenthood, and their attitude to various sexual forms of behaviour, existing in society. The identification of marriage and family attitudes of students allowed to obtain the information about the attitude of students towards the institution of family and marriage, to such phenomena of everyday life as matrimony and parenthood.

Results and discussion.

The rapidly changing sociocultural image of the modern world has led to significant changes in the sphere of marriage and family relations. The institute of marriage and family relations has undergone a number of changes, which are estimated as a crisis of marriage and family by a number of researchers (T.V. Andreeva, A.N. Volkova, A. Guggenbühl-Craig, E.V. Zmanovskaya, E.P. Ilyin, M.A. Kurtysheva, E.A. Morozova, O.G. Prokhorova, N.V. Starostina, V.M. Tseluyko, L.B. Schneider, etc.).

Changes occur against the backdrop of such social and demographic processes as the worsening of financial situation of the population of Russia; low birth rates with a high mortality; gender imbalance due to the high mortality of men; the increase in the level of divorces; the specificity of modern marriage is its instability (Zmanovskaya E.V. 2011); an increase in the number of incomplete families and children, growing up without fathers; the number of illegitimate children (Andreeva T.V., 2006).

Along with traditional views on the values of family life, the ideas about the transient nature of marriage and family relations, their irrationality arise in the minds of young people, under the influence of changed social conditions and norms.

Practices and attitudes for alternative forms of marriage and family relations are becoming widespread: without formal registration of marriage (so-called civil marriage or cohabitation), homosexual marriage, preferences of one-child family and even childless marriage (Kartashova T.E. 2011; Hardie, J. H., & Lucas, A. (2010); Sakamoto and Yukinobu Kitamura Kazuyasu, 2007).

Often young people find themselves in a state of confusion and polyvariance in terms of directions of self-realization. At the same time, the studentship is the period of formation of young specialists, who in the future will determine the nature of social changes and reproduction processes in the country. A.P. Bagirova and O.M. Shubat note, that this social group within the youth cohort is the carrier of potentially high valuable human capital (Bagirova A.P., Shubat O.M., 2017).

The results show that majority of students share the opinion of population, obtained as a result of mass survey, that the most popular concepts of ideal family are the following: official marriage - 85%, family with few children (one or two children) - 79%, one marriage for a lifetime - 73% (Mishchenko V.A., 2017).

The views on the family are described by students through the concepts of intimacy, mutual understanding, support, love, harmony, and security. Indeed, the value aspects of family communication are empathy, compassion, assistance, that, in turn, provides a person with a sense of security, care from close people. Therefore, it is no wonder, that among the motives for creation a family, the most popular is the desire to make more intimate relationship with a loved one (83% of respondents share this opinion). Among the reasons, which affect the desire to have children, the respondents give leading positions to having a happy relationship with a partner (76%). The ideal family in the opinions of the majority of students (77%) is a married couple with children, based on equal relations between spouses and their personal maturity.

85% of students expressed intentions to create their own families in the future, while two-thirds of respondents chose the answer "definitely yes", the fifth part - "rather yes". 6.3% of respondents don't want to create a family (4% - "rather no", 1.5% - "definitely no"). Moreover, girls are sure that they will create a family more often, than young men.

Many young men have not even thought about this question at all. The number of students, who do not intend to create a family even in the future, is approximately the same among girls and boys. It was found out, that single (unmarried) people are under pressure from their environment, aimed at stimulating the creation of a family. More than half of respondents (59%) admit that such pressure exists. Girls note the existence of such pressure more often (62%) than boys (50%).

Differences are observed in the estimation of the most suitable age for the creation of a family: two-thirds of young men think that the most relevant age is 25-30; girls prefer an earlier marriage: at the age of 20-24 - 41.6%, at the age of 25-30 - 52.5% (see Table 1).

Table 1. Gender aspect of students' views on the optimal age for the creation of a family (as a percentage of the total number of respondents of each gender, and in total for the sample).

Age	Choice, %		
	Boys	Girls	In total for the sample
1. 18-20	2.6	0.8	1.3
2. 20-24	16.6	41.6	34.8
3. 25-30	68.0	52.5	56.8
4. 31-40	10.6	4.1	5.8
5. After 40	2.2	1.0	1.3
Total	100	100	100

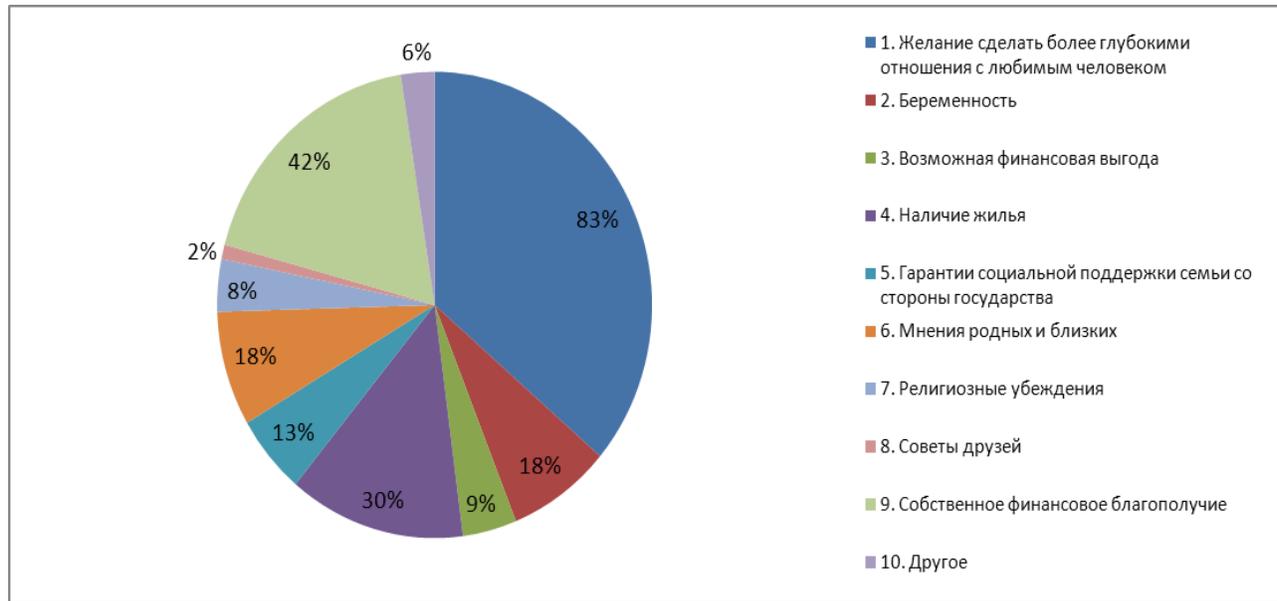
According to V.N. Arkhangelsky, the age of marriage determines the degree of orientation toward the family and children, their significance for the person, the attitude toward registration of marriage, the intentions related to the birth of a particular number of children (Arkhangelsky V.N. 2013, p. 136).

Often, the students' ideas about family life come into conflict with everyday reality: along with recognition of family value, giving it a "high" moral and ethical content, the belief that the marriage is a lifelong partnership, students are pessimistic about what happens with real marriages in society: more than half of students (59%) believe that successful marriages are few, and this opinion does not depend on sex and age.

Contradictory opinions are reflected in the evaluation of the thesis, that married persons are happier than single and unmarried people: only 28% of students disagree with this opinion, 40% - agree, and it is difficult to answer for 32.5% of respondents. The desire not to hurry with own marriage testifies to a responsible, sensible, rational attitude to this issue.

A number of factors are significant for students when creating a family: financial well-being (42%); for a third of students it is important to have their own housing; for the part of respondents the determining factors may be the opinions of relatives and close ones (18%), and pregnancy (18%) (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Conditions for the creation of a family (as a percentage of the total number of respondents; it was possible to choose several variants).



1. Желание сделать более глубокими отношения с любимым человеком	1. The desire to make more intimate relationship with a loved one.
2. Беременность	2. Pregnancy.
3. Возможная финансовая выгода	3. Possible financial benefits.
4. Наличие жилья	4. Home ownership.
5. Гарантии социальной поддержки семьи со стороны государства	5. Guarantees of state social support for the family.
6. Мнения родных и близких	6. Opinions of family and friends.
7. Религиозные убеждения	7. Religious views.
8. Советы друзей	8. Advice of friends.
9. Собственное финансовое благополучие	9. Own financial well-being.
10. Другое	10. Other.

At the same time, the conditions, which facilitate the desire to create a family, are not affected either by sex or students' course of study. Among the conditions, which may lead to the reluctance to start a family, the most common are the following: financial instability (53%), the absence of a suitable partner (51%), the desire for self-fulfilment and career building (42.5%), emotional unreadiness (41%).

Another aspect of marriage and family relations is students' readiness for parenthood. It reflects the modern norms of reproductive behaviour. The majority of respondents (80.4%) would like to become parents sooner or later; only 6.6% do not want to have children; 13% have not thought about this yet. At the same time, there are significant differences in the responses of boys and girls (see Table 2).

Table 2. Readiness of students for parenthood (as a percentage of the total number of respondents of each gender, and in total for the sample).

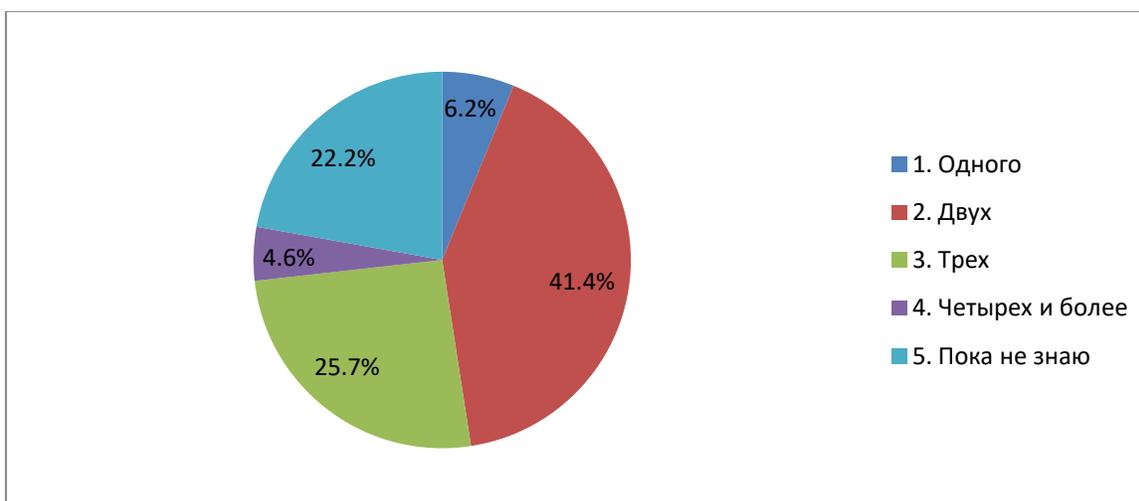
Estimation	Choice, %		
	Boys	Girls	In total for the sample
Yes	69.0	84.6	80.5
No	9.2	5.7	6.6
I didn't think about it	21.8	9.7	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Among those who want to have children, girls are 15% more than boys. In addition, a fifth of the young men have not yet thought about this issue. The interconnected image "family = children" is stable in the minds of girls. This gives grounds to suppose the possibility of transferring this image to their future families.

The results of survey on the desired number of children show that the majority of students want to have two or three children. 41% of students said that they wanted to have two children. A fourth of the students expressed their intention to have three children. 6% of students plan to have one child (see Diagram 2). At the same time, many aspects of the research, related to family and marriage,

have not yet been the subject of cogitation by students. This is manifested in the fact, that some students find it difficult to answer the questions about family and marriage relations, and reproductive intentions.

Diagram 2. The number of children desired by the students (as a percentage of the total number of respondents).



1. Одного	1. One.
2. Двух	2. Two.
3. Трех	3. Three.
4. Четырех и более	4. Four or more.
5. Пока не знаю	5. I do not know yet.

This distribution is true as for the boys, as for the girls. The reasons, which affect the desire to have children, are the following: financial stability (73%), home ownership (48%), moral readiness for parenthood (40.4%), lack of health problems (32%).

Orientation of young people to a family with few children, the decline in the value of an average child family, the spread of a childless (child-free) marriage model, actual marriages without their registration, and instability of conjugal unions are the manifestations of changes, taking place in the family as a small social group.

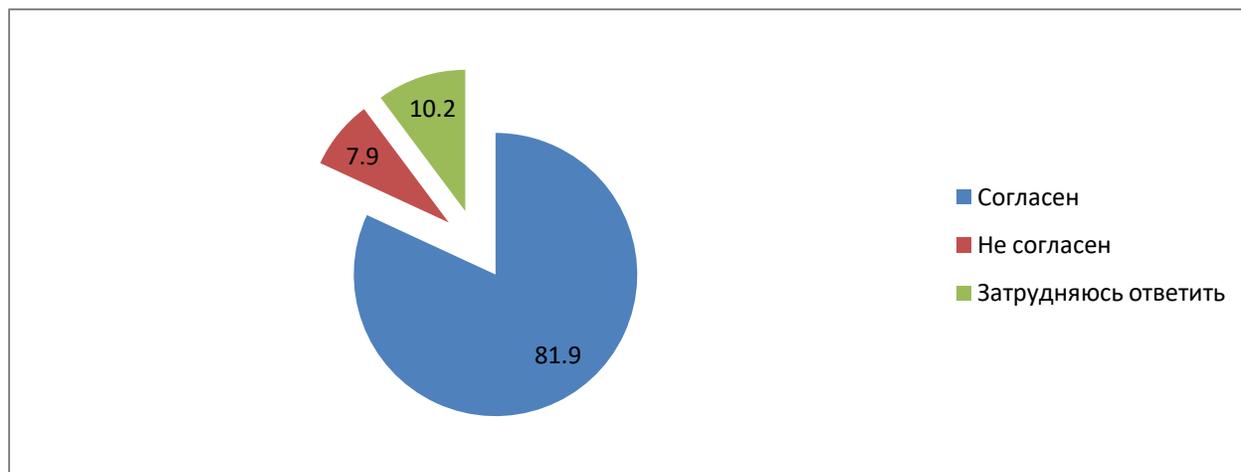
Married couple without children is an ideal union in the opinions of 10.3% of respondents. At the same time, a conjugal union without children is more acceptable variant for boys than for girls (for 15% of young men and 8.5% of girls, respectively). Two-thirds of students do not agree that a family can exist without children. Every fifth student is not ready to answer the question of whether he approves a model of a family without children.

The survey reveals the emerging attitudes of students, most of whom, as an example, have a parent family and project for future the behaviour, established there, because they do not have their own families yet. At the same time, students believe that three components must be available for marriage:

- 1) Personal readiness for marriage, expressed in the maturity of the individual, in his professional self-realization.
- 2) The presence of a reliable partner and harmonious relationships.
- 3) Own financial well-being and home ownership.

Attitudes in the field of sexual behaviour are a significant component of students' ideas about the relationship between sexes, about marriage and family. To "estimate" such attitudes, students were asked to evaluate a number of judgments. Among them is the assessment of existence of sexual relations between partners as normal or abnormal, depending on the intentions to get married. The results are shown in the diagrams: 82% of students consider as normal sexual relations between partners in case of wedding planning, 8% of respondents disagree with this issue, and another 10% find it difficult to answer. Moreover, similar answers are characteristic for both boys and girls (see Diagram 3).

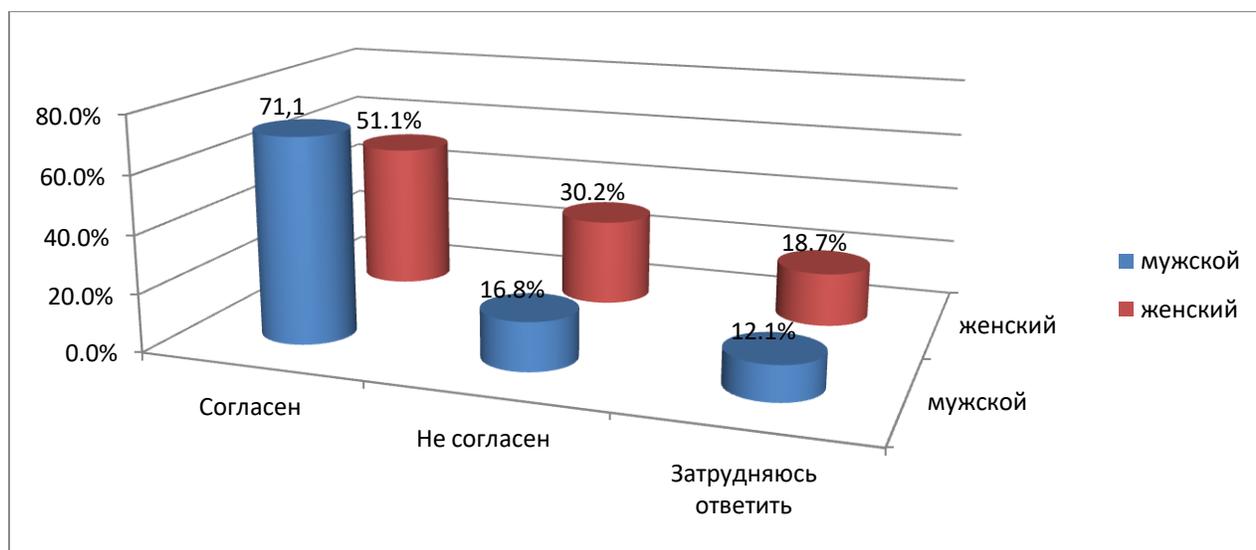
Diagram 3. Students' assessment of sexual relations as normal, between partners planning a wedding (as a percentage of the total number of respondents).



Согласен	I agree.
Не согласен	I disagree.
Затрудняюсь ответить	It is difficult to answer.

In case when the partners have no intention to get married, the estimations of sexual relations between partners vary considerably, depending on the gender of respondents (see Diagram 4).

Diagram 4. Students' assessment of sexual relations as normal, between partners, who have no intention to get married (as a percentage of the total number of respondents of each gender).



Согласен	I agree
Не согласен	I disagree
Затрудняюсь ответить	It is difficult to answer
Мужской	Men
Женский	Women

In total for the sample, 57% of respondents are loyal to sexual relations between partners, who have no intention to get married. However, girls, who approve such relationships, are 20% less than boys. And among people who disagree with this statement, the girls are 13.4% more, than the boys. Gender difference is also characteristic for assessment the presence of permanent sexual partner, or their constant change, as “normal” or “abnormal” (see Table 3).

Table 3. Gender aspect of students' ideas about the possibility of changing sexual partners (as a percentage of the total number of respondents of each gender, and in total for the sample).

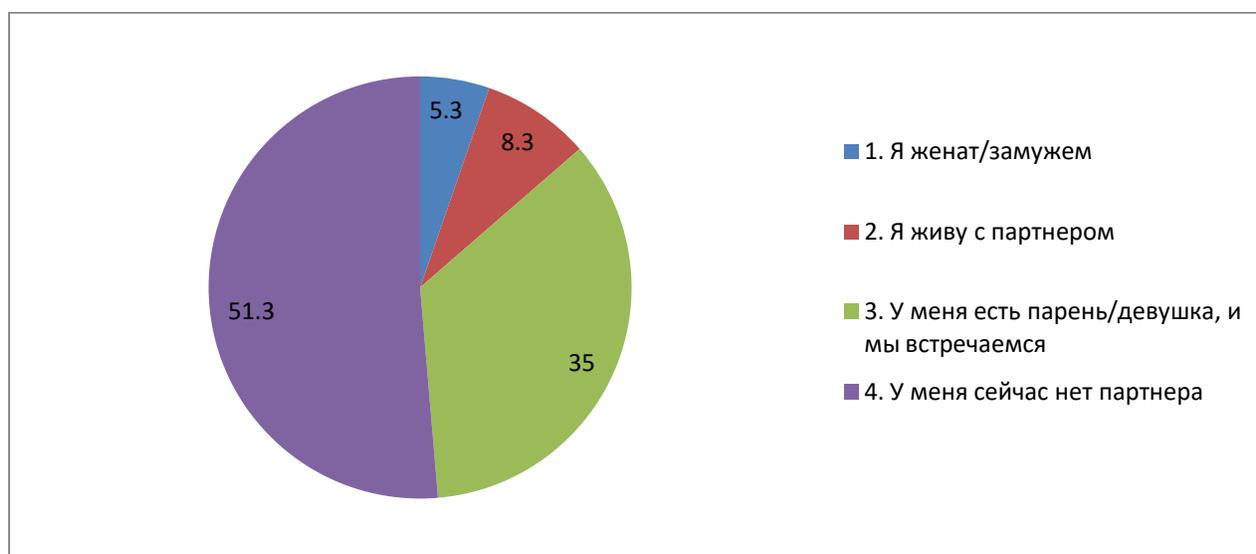
Estimation	Choice, %		
	Boys	Girls	In total for the sample
It's normal for me	42.3	19.4	25.6
It's abnormal for me	37.9	63.2	56.4
It is difficult to answer	19.8	17.4	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

42.3% of boys and 19.4% of girls agree that such behaviour is normal. 38% of boys and 63% of girls disagree with this statement.

The spread of homosexual relations, the recognition of legitimacy of marriage unions between the same-sex partners in a number of countries of the world, also influence the attitude of Russian students toward similar non-traditional unions. Sexual relations between partners of the same sex are estimated as normal by some young men and women (28% each), but more than half (55.2%) do not consider such relations as a norm.

Students are loyal to various forms of sexual relations, such as sexual contacts before marriage, sexual contacts between partners who do not plan a marriage. The frequent change of sexual partners and sexual contacts between partners of the same sex are disapproved by the respondents. At the time of survey, half of the students did not have matrimonial relations; about a third of respondents had a boyfriend/girlfriend and went on dates: 8.3% had a permanent partner; only 5.3% were married (see Diagram 5).

Diagram 5. Distribution of students in accordance with matrimonial relations (as a percentage of the total number of respondents).



1. Я женат/замужем	1. I am married
2. Я живу с партнером	2. I live with a partner
3. У меня есть парень/девушка, и мы встречаемся	3. I have a boyfriend/ girlfriend and we go on dates
4. У меня сейчас нет партнера	4. I do not have a partner now

A half of respondents (girls are 8% more than boys) agree that marriage is a necessary event in life; 35% of students disagree with this statement (boys are 7% more than girls); 14.3% of respondents found it difficult to answer the question. Significant gender differences are also observed when assessing the official registration of marriage (see Table 4).

Table 4. Gender aspect of assessment the possibility of marriage without official registration (as a percentage of the total number of students of each gender and in total for the sample).

Agree/Disagree	Choice, %		
	Boys	Girls	In total for the sample
Yes	62.6	40.8	46.7
No	24.6	45.6	39.9
It is difficult to answer	12.8	13.6	13.4
Total	100	100	100

In total, for the sample, about a half of respondents agree on the possibility of unregistered marriage. This figure is higher among young men. At the same time, male and female respondents recognize marriage as a crucial point, which means the acceptance of their partner for life. The majority of respondents (79%) share this opinion. A special feature of the formation of marriage and family attitudes of young people is the absence of stable model of a family, by which they could be guided while starting their own families. Currently, there are no public institutions, which could fully implement the functions of family socialization of young people.

The leading idea of students' answers is connected with uncertainty in the future and pecuniary burdens. It makes an impact on the whole range of issues, related to future self-actualization. The results show some contradictions in the minds of students, where both traditional values and innovations, related to changing attitudes towards marriage and family and the prospects for future self-realization, are reflected.

CONCLUSIONS.

Thus, the marriage and family behaviour of student youth is determined by a number of contradictions: between the need to prepare young people for family life and reduction of real participation in this process of the basic institutions of socialization, such as family, school;

between the need for sexual education and the lack of sexual education programs, as one of the directions of youth policy; between the preservation of the prevailing attitude toward traditional forms of marriage and setting in the minds of young people the idea of naturalness of alternative forms of marriage and family relations; between the need for the birth of three or more children in the family, in connection with the depopulation, and orientation of young people to a family with few children or childless family, and also unmarried way of life; between the need to have children and the lack of necessary conditions for their full development and upbringing.

In the process of transition to market economy, the education system, used for younger generation and which had proved its effectiveness, was destroyed in the country. Social institutions abstract themselves from any control over the processes of involving the individual in those values, which ensure the safe existence of man, his well-being, the stability of state, the willingness of people to active participation in the development of country (Merenkov A.V. 2013, p.102).

In this period, it is necessary to influence the formation of youth attitudes (including students) on the value of the family and marriage, on parenthood and reproductive behaviour, purposefully. It is advisable to introduce the reproductive-oriented component in the educational processes of the university, as the instrument of such influence.

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