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FORMATION FACTORS OF REPRODUCTIVE PRACTICES OF YOUNG FAMILIES

У статті представлено аналіз особливостей формування репродуктивних практик сучасної молоді. Акцентовано увагу на посиленні впливу агентів вторинної соціалізації, трансформації традиційної структури сучасних сімей, підвищенні рівня внутрішньогрупового тиску. Визначено та розглянуто окремі види репродуктивних практик, що ґрунтуються на реалізації певним чином трансформованих патернів репродукції. Підкреслено, що патерни виступають своєрідними еталонними шаблонами репродукції, які опосередковано формують тип репродуктивної практики, зокрема такий, як нуклеаризація молодих сімей в умовах неолокації. Зазначено, що дослідження структурних характеристик репродуктивної поведінки дозволяє виокремити соціальні детермінанти умов реалізації репродуктивної поведінки молодих сімей, зокрема визначити якісні показники народжуваності, що надзвичайно важливо в умовах звуженої репродукції, яка є основною стратегією відтворення населення не лише в Україні, а й у більшості розвинених країн світу впродовж останніх десятиліть.

Ключові слова: молода сім'я, репродукція, репродуктивні практики, патерн, патерни батьківської поведінки, репродуктивна поведінка.

В статье представлен анализ особенностей формирования репродуктивных практик современной молодёжи. Акцентируются внимание на усилении влияния агентов вторичной социализации, трансформации традиционной структуры современных семей, повышения уровня внутригруппового давления. Определены и рассмотрены отдельные виды репродуктивных практик, которые основаны на реализации определенным образом трансформированных паттернов репродукции. Подчеркнуто, что паттерны выступают эталонными шаблонами репродукции, которые опосредованно формируют тип репродуктивной практики, в частности, такой, как нуклеаризация молодых семей в условиях неолокации. Указано, что исследование структурных характеристик репродуктивного поведения позволяет выделить социальные детерминанты условий реализации репродуктивного поведения молодых семей, в частности качественные показатели рождаемости, что невероятно важно в условиях суженной модели репродукции, которая является основной стратегией воспроизводства населения не только в Украине, но и в большинстве развитых стран мира на протяжении последних десятилетий.

Ключевые слова: молодая семья, репродукция, репродуктивные практики, паттерны, паттерны родительства, репродуктивное поведение.

The analysis of the peculiarities of contemporary youth reproductive practices formation is presented in the article. The focus is made on strengthening the influence of the secondary socialization agents, the transformation of the traditional structure of contemporary families and the increasing the level of intragroup pressure. Certain types of reproductive practices based on the implementation of a certain way of reproduction transformed patterns are identified and substantiated. The author emphasizes that patterns act as original reference patterns of reproduction that indirectly form the type of reproductive practice, in particular, such as the nucleation of young families under the conditions of neolocation. It is noted that the study of the structural characteristics of reproductive behavior allows to identify the social determinants of the conditions

for the reproductive behavior of young families implementation at the level of qualitative indicators of fertility. That is very important in the context of a constricted reproduction, which is the main strategy of reproduction not only in Ukraine, but also in the most developed countries during the last decades.

Keywords: young family, reproduction, reproductive practices, patterns, patterns of parental behavior, reproductive behavior.

Social transformations and global socio-cultural changes contribute to occurrence of structural and value changes in the functioning of the family institution. Apparently, the family is the integral factor behind the retranslation of the sociocultural heritage of the nation, which ensures its preservation and reproduction. Analysis of the demographic situation in Ukraine over the last few decades suggests that the rules of regulation of family, in particular reproductive behavior, are an important indicator of social changes in the social environment. The most obvious example is the decrease in the average statistical indicators of the number of children in young families which is caused, not only by the level of economic development, but also by the existing changes in the reproductive behavior of young people.

As Gurko O. remarks, since the norms of the childhood have changed during civilization development, depending on the needs of society, that is, they are socially regulated, in particular in the aspect of regulation of quantitative indicators [5, p.95]. However, as experience shows a direct interference in the process of reproduction by state authorities through direct financial stimulation of fertility, has a rather ambiguous results. So some researchers in the field of sociology of fertility, in particular O. Antonov, tend to associate the increase in the number of illegitimate births with social grants to single mothers [1, p. 214]. Ukrainian demographers, in particular, E. Libanova, emphasize that the increase of financial maternity support for women has led to a significant increase in the birth rate in the first in socially disadapted and disadvantaged families [8, pp. 16-19]. At the same time experts in the field of social support, in particular A. Kapska, I. Pesha and S. Lukaschuk-Fedik, emphasize that social support of young families in recent decades is the lack of effective, first of all, due to underfunding and too small amounts of social assistance [7, p.94].

The available polarity and diversity of conclusions about the causes of the socio-demographic crisis in Ukraine is that factors of the formation of reproductive behavior are investigated without taking into account the nature of the transformation of family behavior, in particular aspects of the life cycle of families, especially young ones, as well as the influence on the formation of reproductive practices of agents of secondary socialization, which acquire special significance during the period of separation (actualization of individualized-separated behavior) of young people from patterns of parental behavior.

Therefore, the purpose of the article is to ascertain the dominant factors of formation of reproductive behavior of young people in the context of transformation of the traditional structure of modern families, in particular, in the aspect of actualization of individualized-separated behavior of young people from the parental patterns of reproduction.

First of all, it should be noted that reproductive behavior, as noted by A. Borisov, O. Gurko, S. Lukaschuk-Fedik, etc., is characterized by a high level of structuring [8, p. 14-19]. The main elements of reproductive behavior, according to O. Gurko, are:

- reproductive norms and values;
- need for children (as a set of reproductive systems and motives);
- patterns of parental behavior that indirectly influence to the implementation of the reproductive function of young families as a model for the implementation of reproductive practices;
- the process of selective assessment of conditions for the implementation of needs in children; the real number of children in the family, etc. [5, pp. 98-99].

Each of the components of the structure of reproductive behavior at different stages of the life cycle of families and depending on the form of family organization has its own manifestations. However, exactly parental behavior patterns outline the normative form of reproduction the "reproductive model" which ultimately determines the implementation of the reproduction of a specific family. After all, according to the definition, the patterns are "stable patterns of behavior which people use when interacting in different types of social connections, etc., are automated algorithms that are practically implemented at the level of reflexes" [2]. In particular, F. Batsewicz and R. Hoffmann define patterns - the basis of human behavior in society, which leads to significant increase of interest in this subject in the field of behavioral sciences [4, 11].

It is worth noting that the actual same patterns, as a multi-level construct, include implementation of specific acts of behavior in the form of different types of group and individual interaction, in particular in the field of reproduction. However, this process does not imply a complete imitation. The "reference sample" of the parent family, which is represented by the pattern of reproductive behavior and the form of separation (actualization of individualized-separated be-

havior) from it, plays a key role. The process of transforming of the reproductive behavior of their parents into individualized practices which determine their own model of reproduction, which, in the opinion of young people, is the most acceptable for modern conditions, by the next generation takes place thanks to the "reference sample". After all, separation, by definition S.-T. Hughes is considered as «ideological allocation targets on a background of emotional experiences, which is a prerequisite for the formation of a harmonious personality, able to fully function in society" [11, p.196]. That is, it enables the young family to form their own model of reproduction, which ensures their functioning in society in accordance to the requirements of the present [9, p.115].

The factor of actualization of personal behavior acquires a particular importance at the primary stage of creating a family group, which is critical and for the successful implementation of its reproduction, since it demonstrates the integrity of the awareness of young spouses of their own values and the suppression of infantilism's displays. It is this feature is one of the main causes of the inability of young people to create a stable (balanced) family structure, generating gravity for a chaotic type of family relationship based on excessive emotional closeness or role-differentiation of partners. Similar trends are evident in the fuzzy functionality of the family group as a whole, which causes an increased level of external and internal conflicts and leads to the interruption of the family's life cycle in the form of incomplete, usually maternal, families. Some researchers, such as N.E. Harlamenkova, E.V. Kumykova, A.E. Rubchenko determine increased levels of children's infantilization who are socialized in single parent families, which is characterized by excessive expectations of emotional intimacy of partners, forming a fuzzy role differentiation of marital relationships, which in turn deepens the crisis aspects of group interaction in the early stages of marriage and as a result - "marital relationship of personalities formed under conditions of incomplete families, are defined as the conflict and unstable" [8, p.57].

According to research by social psychologists (A.O Shiroka, N.E. Kharlamenkova, E. V. Kumikova, A. E. Rubchenko), signs of low level of separation of patterns, are the following features of family behavior of youth:

- 1) The dominance of chaotic type of structural and functional organization of family relationships;
- 2) Significant spread of single parent families which structural disturbances cause deviation of children's socialization and increasing conflict interaction in the early years of marriage;
- 3) Dissemination of serial monogamy i.e. the leveling of marriage as a factor in the regulation of

sexual and reproductive behavior (the process of concluding a monogamous union under R. Gildorp involves the removal of both partners from the process of marriage selection, when one or both partners continue to form monogamous alliances by divorce, such a form of monogamy is considered serial) [11];

4) Focus on simplified content of egalitarian relationships, which causes an increase in the level of conflict as a result of violation of the integrity of the family-role structure and leads to divorce

5) Violation in the field of implementation of reproductive practices from the narrowed type of reproduction to the complete abandonment of the birth, which causes violations of the functionality of families in general [5, 9].

At the same time, researchers of reproductive behavior, in particular O. Kharchev, focus on the external, socially deterministic manifestations of the interaction of the individual as an objective criterion, that is, which is fixed at the level of analysis of the results of individuals, and provides an opportunity to predict their behavior [1 P.182]. These manifestations, in particular, include patterns of parental behavior in the field of reproduction and socialization, which demonstrate a high level of external borrowing. Namely, external borrowings of behavior's patterns, non-typical for parenting models, are determined by the indicator of high level of separation. Destabilized family structures are especially vulnerable in such circumstances is, which include, in particular, incomplete and serially monogamous families.

Exploring the specifics of family relationships in families of serial monogamy, the scientists, such as D. Bowlby, concluded that family relationships are the most difficult in families where the father has children from a previous marriage, especially in the absence of a common child [4 p. 102-104]. These families tend to chaotic type of family role structure and to forming a negative attitude to the institution of the family as a whole. This trend is the most evident in those families that formed after the divorce, which took place in the period from 5 - 15 years of marriage. A period of formation of a new family group with a spouse who brings up a child-adolescent is determined also unfavorable. As A. Shiroka notes, in such families cognitive separation begins almost simultaneously with the period of communicative separation that considerably influences to the level of stability of family structure and causes disruption of the family as a whole [9, c.45]. Therefore, the "reference sample" of reproductive behavior, which is formed in such conditions, may negatively influence to the implementation of reproductive practices of a child that has grown in these conditions.

The presence of common children in families with repeated monogamy usually stabilizes the

structure of family relationships, except for some individual reactions [9, c.54]. And though A. Shiroka believes that child-relationship in the families of serial monogamy, largely depends on the age of the child and psycho type of parents [9, c. 52], presence of enhanced reproductive practices in the remarriage reduces the intensity of conflict interactions with foster father / mother and improves separation. Instead, the absence of a common brother or sister in the second marriage of parents worsens relationships and, as a rule, leads to the formation of different forms of deviations, both in the family behavior of individuals and in reproductive practices.

Nuclear families, which are formed by children, who brought up in a second marriage where one parent had a child / children from a previous marriage and negative experiences of socialization are less stable in conflict interactions first years of married life and are more prone to radical restrictions of reproductive practices [3, c.117-118].

Marriage as an actual consolidation of the integrity of the family structure, which provides favorable conditions for the implementation of reproductive behavior, is also an important factor in the success of the implementation of reproductive behavior. Consequently, the decline of the level of quantitative indicators of marriage, which is fixed during the last decades as a result of normative perception by the society of consensual marriages or the delay of marriage to «better times», «the achievement of a normal standard of living conditions», «harmony of marital relationships», etc., is the direct cause of the proliferation of narrowed reproduction practices.

The agents of secondary socialization, including the media and the education system affect to the level of separation along with patterns of parental behavior. Declining of gender segregation in education led to the emergence of demographic transition in the early 80s century, when generation of mid-60s significantly narrowed reproduction rules that established the prerequisites of birth crisis in mid 90s. [3]. Birth rates during the stabilization of a market economy at the end of the 90's in the early 2000s clearly demonstrated that economic factors alone are not decisive in the reproductive strategies of modern youth - significantly narrowing of children's numbers is formed primarily due to changes in social legitimate rules which determining factor is a profile and a level of education. Changes of reproductive behavior are expressed in the following trends: postponing of official registration of marriage; delaying of birth (the average age of women in childbirth, who give birth to the first child 24-27 years); decreasing the number of children in families; increasing the number of childless couples who consciously restrict reproduction. Thus, one-child families

at present are defined as normative. The second child is born only in every fourth family [3, c.131].

It is not necessary to reject the influence of agents of secondary socialization to formation of reproductive practices of young people. For example, V. Boyko [2,p.56], focusing on changes in the implementation of the reproductive function of young families, has identified the main factors of the negative influence of secondary socialization agents on the implementation of reproductive practices such as: increasing of the duration of training, especially among women who seek higher education and not one; reducing of gender segregation in certain branches of education, which professional orientation increases the risk of implementation of reproductive practices; low level of flexibility of the educational process of modern education system almost on the all levels creates institutional obstacles to the implementation of motherhood during study and formation of primary professional skills. As a result, in the early 1980s of the twentieth century the transition to a one-child model of young families was predicted, which does not provide a simple reproduction of the socio-demographic structure of the population.

Nowadays, some researchers, in particular S. Lukaschuk-Fedik, determine the educational factor as dominant in the spread of the phenomenon of "childfree", since the desire to get higher education in several fields and the implementation of career strategies leads to a conscious renunciation of the children's birth as a rational choice in the sphere of development both personality and family [8, pp. 36-39].

According to the author's sociological research of young families of Kryvy Rih region, which was conducted from October 2015 to March 2016 (the sample size is 150 young families (only 250 respondents), 50 families (100 respondents) of them have been married from 1 to 3 years; 50 single-parent families with children (50 respondents) have been married from 3 to 5 years, and one-third of respondents (32%) had childbirth settings formed under the influence of traditions that existed in the parent's family, that is, parental patterns of reproduction. As it was found out, 42% of respondents were brought up in single-parent families, with 32% of them planned to have one child. Instead, 28% of respondents who were raised in two-parent families were oriented to have two children - 68%, one child - 24%, the remaining 8% of respondents had an orientation towards large families. Among respondents from large families (32%), the majority 46% plan to have two children, the multiplicity pattern is updated in 12% of the respondents, and only 42% - are focused on one child's family. So reconstitution of the reproductive pattern occurs in a significant proportion of

young families.

It is worth noting that the transformation of the parental patterns of reproduction is most clearly manifested in the analysis of reproductive plans of respondents who have grown in large families (32% of the total number of respondents) and only 12% of them focus on extended reproduction (3 children and more).

It should be noted that almost half of respondents determine the desire for self-realization, education and career advancement as a dominant factor of the restriction of reproduction of, every third respondent point economic factors and only 14% respondents reference the position of a partner who grew up in one or two children families. 6% of the total number of respondents identified as those who do not want to have children at all.

For a more specific definition of the influence of economic factors to the implementation of reproductive behavior of young families, we suggested to our respondents to assess the significance of the following groups of factors: direct stimulation of fertility (maternity benefits, child support payments, etc.); living conditions; a level of development of educational infrastructure (presence/ availability of pre-school educational institutions, schools, development groups, etc.); a level of accessibility of health facilities; a social support of young families.

The main argument for restricting of reproductive plans was determined housing and communal services by respondents. Thus, 48% of respondents said that their desire/ reluctance to have children was determined primarily by living conditions and the level of material support for baby's maintenance, 36% indicated that the accessibility / availability of a certain type of pre-school educational institutions was the main determinant. 22% of respondents identified the availability of health care establishments as an important factor in reproductive behavior.

And now let's look at the analysis of the survey results of respondents belonging to single-parent families. First of all, it should be noted that, according to A. Antonov, increasing of the level of direct stimulation of fertility and expanding of the list of social benefits due to the need for help to single-parent families, despite the intentions, negatively affect to the dynamics of reproduction in general. As it is traditionally considered that incomplete (especially maternal) families with children, whose numbers increase in proportion to the dynamics of divorces, are much more vulnerable to the negative influences of the surrounding society, and the protective response to which is the restriction of the standards of the children of respondents who were socialized in single-parent families. Nevertheless, the analysis of the results of the author's research did not reveal any signifi-

cant differences as to the fixation of the patterns of reproduction compared with the representatives of full families.

The indicators rank of influence to the factors of fertility restriction are little different among respondents socialized in both full and incomplete families. In general, 46% of respondents determine housing and living problems as the dominant factor in the restriction of reproduction. The second place among the obstacles that contribute to limit of the number of children, by definition 39%, is the lack of parenting skills and time for childcare combined with work and education. The complexity of the infrastructural nature, the development of educational infrastructure, namely the placement of a child in pre-school educational institutions; the opportunity to realize children's leisure practices more meaningfully and varied, accessibility of educational institutions, etc. are only in the third place - 30% of respondents. In general, the main reasons for postponing of a reproductive event, most respondents determine the financial situation of the family (lack of funds, poor housing and living conditions, etc.).

On the whole, 32 couples (64 people) who do not have children took part in the survey. The young people's desire to first get higher education and increase their qualifications is 22% among the reasons why every second family from the interviewed families postpones a reproductive event. Also, it should be noted that among those with higher education (72% of the total number of respondents), the lowest level of the hierarchy of impediments to reproduction is the lack of well-thought-out state policy on family support and an increase in the cost of medical care for pregnant women.

It somehow correlates with the results of Y. Denisenko's research, who determined [6, p.196] the parameters of the modern normative volume of reproduction as a gender-polarized family, which have two children (64.7%) – which is actually the threshold of simple reproduction of the generation, and leads to a decrease in the population. Despite this, only a small percentage of respondents practically implemented this strategy in the first three to five years of marital life (11.4%). Thus, there is a clear distinction between the desirable and an actual number of children in the family, which is confirmed by statistical data that one-childhood is gradually legitimized by society as normative behavior.

In our research, a significant part of the questions to respondents was directed at studying the prospects, expectations, and desires for the self-realization of young families. One of the main factors which can negatively affect to the strategy of reproductive practices of young families is the instability of the labor market.

The influence of this factor is considered separately for respondents from representatives of single-parent families - 57% of them consider this factor important in the formation of reproductive plans. At the same, respondents who are representatives of complete families (54% of the total number of respondents from complete families) focus on negative trends in the transformation of the labor market.

Thus, the realities of today greatly affect to the conditions for the implementation of reproductive practices of young families. Changes of socially-regulated strategies of family, marriage and reproductive practices increase the trends of nucleation and neolocation, which ensure the dominance of psychological factors in the structure of the functioning of young families. A similar tendency in the conditions of the external pressure's strengthening on the family group, which is characterized by the aggravation of the social situation, destabilizes the family-role structure, creating conditions for the dissemination of incomplete and seri-

ally monogamous families. It, in particular, is confirmed by the level of divorce, a slight decreasing of which in the last two years is situational.

The current stage of society's development with domination of individualized practices of self-identity leads to the transformation of the traditional structures of family relationships that directly affects to the implementation of the individual's reproductive practices. The influence of patterns of reproduction formed in parental families creates the orientation of modern young families on a narrowed reproduction strategy (one-two-children family), which ultimately affects to the population as a whole. Reproductive events such as (childbirth, a choice of reproductive partner, pregnancy, lactation, artificial or natural abortion) are key elements of the life cycle of families. The process of individuals' family separation determines ability of realization not only self-development, but also full reproductive practices, which are important part way of the individual's life way.

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