

**Modernisation of Matrimonial Behaviour of Europeans:
the Search for Multi-level Determinants and their Empirical Verification**

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to reveal how macro-, meso- and micro-level factors influence the choice of matrimonial behaviour. The ability of determinants of various levels to explain cross-country differences in matrimonial behaviour was examined (second wave of the Generations and Gender Survey); differences in matrimonial behaviour of the Russians were also investigated (a panel part of three waves of the Russian part of the same survey).

It was revealed that the form of marriage historically formed in the country, the values profile of the citizens, and the family policy of the government can explain the cross-country differences in matrimonial behaviour at the macro-level. The type of settlement determines the choice between cohabitation and marriage as a first union at the meso-level, while at the micro-level it is determined by the age at entry into the union, conception prior to the union, matrimonial experience of parents, circumstances of leaving the parental home and entering the labour market and educational level. The explanatory ability of these variables is different for men and women, as well as for various generations of the Russians.

Keywords: first matrimonial union, marriage, cohabitation, life course, second demographic transition.

Changes in matrimonial behaviour: research overview and search for determinants

Since the middle of the 20th century, matrimonial behaviour changed significantly in many countries. The age at entry into the first matrimonial union increased, the rate of unregistered unions rose, the divorce rate grew, the share of people who were never married increased [Avdeev, Monnier 2000; Klijzing, Corijn 2001; Mills 2004; Puur et al 2012; Zakharov, Isupova 2014; Perelli-Harris, Lyons-Amos 2015].

Choice of union type to enter (marriage or cohabitation) has now become real for people in most developed countries. The pressure on individuals by the church and the state stimulating official marriage now stops the formation of the only possible path of behaviour in the matrimonial sphere. As cohabitation was legitimate, it became an acceptable form of people's co-residence, and it is not stigmatised or condemned anymore. Citizens of developed countries faced a choice which was impossible for them even a hundred years ago. The matter of criteria that individuals consider while making such a decision was extremely interesting and was studied from various perspectives.

We also investigated this issue and focused on European countries, namely on Russia. After analysing a large number of empirical and theoretical works, both qualitative and quantitative, we have chosen an approach that divides the whole variety of factors into three large groups of macro-, meso-, and micro-level as a main theoretical framework [Balbo, Billari, Mills 2013]. This section is structured in accordance with defined levels.

Level of cultural and social institutions (the macro-level)

We considered comparative studies of matrimonial behaviour that attempted to group countries depending on how their citizens form their matrimonial careers.

According to the research of Western demographers analysed by a team of authors under the supervision of A.G. Vishnevski [Demographic modernization of Russia 2006], developed countries could be divided into several clusters or groups. The first one included Eastern and Central European countries: the changes in life arrangement were not so significant here, and the predetermination of relatively early entry into marriage and the first childbirth prevailed. The second group was Southern European countries and Japan, where a remarkable increase of first marriage age was observed, whereas childbirths were delayed against the prevalence of unregistered unions and extramarital births. The last cluster comprised Scandinavian and Western European countries: the sexual activity and matrimonial and reproductive careers started at different times there. Canada was similar to these countries since unregistered unions, extramarital childbirths and extramarital child-rearing prevailed there.

The study named "Family formation trajectories in Romania, the Russian Federation and France: towards the second demographic transition?" [Mills, Lesnard, Potarca 2013] revealed that the changes in family formation trajectories, particularly widespread cohabitations and extramarital

childbirth and child-rearing practices, were more prominent in Western European countries represented by France. In Russia, these changes were more modest but still more visible than in Eastern Europe, with Romania as an example in the study. Based on the results of the Generations and Gender Survey, authors reviewed the sequence of matrimonial and reproductive events in the countries mentioned above. Compared to Romania and Russia, the matrimonial behaviour in France seemed to be more diverse.

The British demographers reached an advanced stage investigating this issue. Their research was focused on the changes in practices of union formation in 14 European countries and the US [Perelli-Harris, Lyons-Amos 2015]. The researchers considered periods in matrimonial life of three cohorts of women aged 15 to 45 (born in 1945–54, 1955–64 and 1965–74). The clustering procedure allowed demographers to mark several basic methods of union formation. The first one was an early direct marriage (without prior cohabitation), the second was a late direct marriage, the third was an early marriage with prior cohabitation, the fourth was a late marriage with prior cohabitation and the fifth was a long-term cohabitation that did not transform into marriage. In the majority of countries, the practice of entry into the direct marriage (both late and early) predominated for the first two cohorts, and life courses were rather similar. The situation observed in the generation born in 1965–74 is the most interesting. Only in Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Spain and Italy did direct marriage remain one of the most prevalent practices of union formation. Norway, France, Netherlands, Austria, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the United States, Estonia and Russia were characterised by widespread cohabitations prior to both early and late marriages. However, in addition to that, Norway, France, Netherlands and Estonia were distinguished by a high percentage of cohabitations that did not become marriages (over 25%).

Cross-country differences in the extent of modernisation of matrimonial behaviour could be explained by a non-simultaneous engagement of countries in the process of demographic modernisation [Demographic modernization of Russia 2006]. R. Lesthaeghe and D. van de Kaa were the first who mentioned this modernisation as part of the modernisation of the whole society [Van de Kaa, Lesthaeghe 1985]. In 1985, they proposed the concept of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT). This transition was related to some fundamental changes in the human life course: the freedom of choice of both matrimonial partner and a form of co-residence was expanded; women started competing in the labour market against men; the approach to consequences of sexual activities became more conscious; contraception permitted better family planning; the focus on self-development and hedonic values have appeared. The variety of life courses has replaced the fixed sequence of events along an individual trajectory.

Another reason for the uneven prevalence of matrimonial behavioural changes is the differences in historical and cultural particularities of countries [Demographic modernization of Russia 2006], including traditional marriage patterns, people's value profiles and family policy regimes.

Hajnal was one of the first who started to investigate matrimonial behaviour in the cross-regional context [Hajnal 1965]. He noted that, during the last few centuries, the historical marriage pattern in Europe was different from those in other regions of the world. Outside Europe, it was observed only in those Western countries populated by former Europeans, such as the US, Canada and Australia. Marriage was late, and the final celibacy rate was unprecedentedly high for that period (10–15% for men and 15-20% for women). Hajnal plotted a line from St. Petersburg, Russia, to Trieste, Italy. This line separated areas with two different types of family formation. A European marriage pattern (referred to as Western European herein) prevailed to the west of the line, whereas to the east of it the marriage was more early and universal, and the signs of the SDT appeared there later than in Scandinavian and Western European countries (this marriage pattern is referred to as Eastern European herein) [Puur et al 2012].

According to the concept of the demographic system [Vishnevskiy 1982], the demographic balance is maintained by interaction of three types of demographic behaviour: matrimonial, reproductive and sexual behaviour. The closer these three types of behaviour related to one another, the fewer opportunities an individual would have to adjust his or her life course. Before the SDT, a human life was considered as a cycle where each age corresponded to a particular role set. As demographic modernisation started, life was argued as a pathway with multiple choices available to the individual despite gender or age. In other words, a logical transition from survival values to self-expression values occurred. The cohabitation as a trial marriage played an important role, allowing one to assess the stability of a partnership.

A theory of ideal types of social action by M. Weber allowed the assumption that peoples' actions (including those in the matrimonial sphere) became more rational, more flexible and less controllable by the system during the transition to the contemporary method of reproduction (transition from the value-rational type of social action to the goal-instrumental one) [Weber 1990].

Sociologists R. Inglehart and C. Welzel performed an analysis based on the World Values Survey data [Inglehart, Welzel 2005]. The analysis was dedicated to interrelation between modernisation and changes in values. The researchers reviewed two continuums, survival – self-expression and tradition – rationality. The values of survival are economic and physical safety, tangible property, intolerance to dissent, low value of liberty and human rights, readiness to authoritarianism and belief in the superiority of science and technologies. Those of self-expression are high values of personality, liberty, human rights, material wealth and success, as well as concern about economy and gender equality. Traditional values are religiosity, a focus on a close-knit family,

deference to the government, social conformism and non-readiness to participate in open political conflicts; rational ones are rational behaviour, a focus on personal success and a minor role of religion.

As a result, authors made a map of value orientations consisting of several clusters. Sweden, Germany, Norway, Switzerland, Finland, Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US formed the cluster of countries whose populations set the maximum value on the importance of rationality and self-expression. The cluster of countries whose populations set a high value on the importance of rationality and survival contained China, Russia, South Korea, Bulgaria, Japan, Ukraine, and others. The Southern Asian, Latin American and African countries were in the cluster whose populations set a high value on the importance of traditions and survival. As modernisation went on, the countries gradually moved from the “survival – traditions” quadrant to a “self-expression – rationality” one.

Many authors, including L. Hantaris, G. Esping-Andersen and others, noted the interrelation between the family policy regimes of the state and processes of transformation of family formation behaviour [Hantaris 2004; Esping-Andersen 2009; Yelizarov 2013]. Researchers traditionally follow the classification suggested by G. Esping-Andersen. He distinguished three main regimes on the basis of the following factors: de-commodification extent (i.e., the degree of dependence on the labour market), availability of universalistic status of a citizen, and availability of agreements between the family, state and market institutions [Esping-Andersen 1990].

The first type of regime is social-democratic. It exists in Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden and is characterised by a high tax rate, effective revenue redistribution, high rate of female labour market participation (with part-time employment capability), gender equality both at workplaces and in domestic duties, high standards of living and confidence in the future. This type of regime is favourable for involvement of young men and women in both matrimonial and labour spheres of life.

The signs of the second, conservative regime can be found in Austria, Belgium, Germany and some other countries. It is characterised by lower rate of women on the labour market, dependence on social charges (not taxes), moderate revenue redistribution, relatively high unemployment rate, and, correspondingly, less confidence in the future. This regime is focused on the rather traditional type of family where the male partner earns the most of family income. The influence of this regime on the family formation is in delayed entry into marriage and childbirth due to the impossibility of combining family life and career for women.

The third regime is liberal. It exists in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the US, Canada. Its attributes are low state spending for social support, high level of social inequality. Due to the passive family and labour policy of the state, young people prefer investments in education and career rather than starting the family.

The classification described above is not universal since it does not cover the social policy regimes in many countries, including Russia. In this regard, M. Mills and H. Blossfeld updated the list with the fourth, now forming a regime that could be found in post-communist countries [Mills, Blossfeld 2013]. It is similar to the conservative regime but differs with lower standards of living and a rather low confidence to the state system. In recent years, the countries of the fourth group demonstrate the state's will to stimulate the birth rate and encourage their citizens to enter into close-knit families.

The studies described above demonstrate that the way the individuals form their life courses can depend to some extent on traditions, culture and religion.

Social network level (meso-level)

Marriage patterns transformed in response to the value changes that are manifested in the spread of a new way of thinking. This new thinking was focused on self-realisation, continuous self-development and free and independent decision-making concerning entry into a preferred marriage pattern without any pressure from his or her social circle. Vishnevsky quoted Ron Lesthaeghe, one of the authors of the Second Demographic Transition theory, and noted the following: "The era of increasing religious and political control over an individual life that was established so hard on the West since the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and lasted till the second half of the 20th century is now finished" [Demographic modernization of Russia 2006: 138]. However, the studies revealed that some social pressure occurred anyway, but shifted to both the reference group and context of person's living.

Gault-Sherman and Draper conducted a study aimed at uncovering a relationship between religiosity and cohabitations [Gault-Sherman, Draper 2012]. Their spatial regression models (e.g., their separate consideration of the Southern states of the US, "the South", and the rest of the country, "the non-South") helped to reveal a statistically significant inverse relationship of adherence to evangelical communities and cohabitation rate among members of these communities. The revealed effect was strongest for Christian confessions of Southern US states. Authors concluded that as human beings are social, individuals are likely to consider the values and beliefs of reference group representatives whose reaction to their actions they imagine while choosing the strategy of their behaviour. It relates in many aspects to matrimonial behaviour, which is unavoidably public. In other words, this study demonstrated that the American couples still find it important what their neighbours say and how they evaluate their behaviour from moral and religious points of view.

The study conducted in Spain and Italy, also showed that the risk of cohabitation was higher for non-religious people, whereas religious individuals preferred marriage with no prior cohabitation [Pereiro, Pace, Didonna, 2014]. In Russia, religion was a reason for choosing marriage rather than

cohabitation for people who thought they were religious; at that, the secular marriage was very often just as an intermediate stage on the way to the religious one [Isupova 2015].

Gerber and Berman revealed that the type of settlement was another factor that persuaded individuals to choose cohabitations rather than marriages. Those who lived in megalopolises had a higher risk of cohabitation than villagers [Gerber, Berman 2010]. The reason was uneven prevalence of modernised forms of matrimonial behaviour. City-dwellers were the first who accepted these changes because the choice of reference group was more anonymous and free in the cities.

Individual and/or couple level (micro-level)

The international comparative research under the supervision of Perelli-Harris is of interest for those who analyse factors of changes in matrimonial behaviour related to making decisions by individuals or couples. Representatives of nine countries participated in the project, and several focus group discussions were performed in each of them, separately for men and women with different levels of education [Perelli-Harris et al 2014].

The age at entry into the union was the first factor. As it was revealed, during the initial stage of adult life (starting at age 18), people in Europe and Australia preferred unregistered unions much more frequently than registered [Perelli-Harris et al 2014]. It was explained by the unwillingness of young people (especially women) to be distracted from self-development and fall into financial dependence; another reason was their non-readiness to accept responsibilities. From the perspective of the SDT, young individuals were more selective in their search for a matrimonial partner than representatives of older generations while they were at the same age. The requirements for the partner increased and the search for appropriate soul-mates could take more time. It postponed the age at entry into the marriage [Mills, Blossfeld 2013]. In Russia, some women did not want to enter unregistered unions while they were young; they thought that such a union “would stop and enslave” them [Isupova 2015: 159]. Nevertheless, by the age of 30–35 years old, even these women entered the union or dreamed about a family. They felt “somehow ashamed” of being unmarried at such an age [Isupova 2015: 160]. Russian men did not demonstrate a critical age when they started thinking about marriage.

According to a study by O.G. Isupova, young people in Russia face serious pressure from their relatives [Isupova 2015]. The matrimonial experience of their friends and family mates could have the same effect as their own: individuals could temporarily abstain from entry into marriage if they witnessed an unfavourable experience in their social circle [Isupova 2015]. This effect was confirmed during the study of matrimonial behaviour in Spain and Italy [Pereiro, Pace, Didonna 2014]: the model demonstrated that the risk of cohabitation was higher for women who grew up in single parent families, whereas those who saw a happy marriage of their parents preferred to register the first unions. Moreover, it is important how and at what age girls separate from their parental families.

Leaving parental homes in order to study or start working increases the risk of cohabitation. The probability of marriage as a first union was higher for women who did not separate from their parents.

A pregnancy with a first child is another determinant at this level. Isupova called it an additional stimulus of entry into the marriage determining just the term but not the fact of event: people whose normal directives did not presume registered relationships would not enter such unions even after the birth of a child [Isupova 2015]. A qualitative research using the competitive risk model designed for Spanish and Italian women only was performed for the purpose of exposing the differences between marriages with and without prior cohabitations [Pereiro, Pace, Didonna 2014]. Its results did not contradict the statement that the conception increased the probability of entry into any marriage pattern, but women in both countries still preferred the registered marriage.

Russian women have a superstition that a marriage could spoil a happy cohabitation. Therefore, they preferred to register their children with partners who in this case acquired the duties and rights of husbands. The lack of confidence in the partner or the previous negative experience could persuade a woman to register her child as her own (in Russia it helps avoid many problems, for example, when travelling abroad with a child). Birth of a child could become the main reason for entry into the marriage for some men because children are the only thing that man can hardly get without a woman [Isupova 2015].

Gerber and Berman found that the risk of entry into an unregistered union is higher for men with high or professional education rather than for those who have higher education or are studying for it. In contrast, women with high or professional education are less likely to enter cohabitations than those who are better educated [Gerber, Berman 2010].

The study by Pereiro et al mentioned above [Pereiro, Pace, Didonna 2014] investigated the influence of women's financial independence on their matrimonial behaviour; their occupational status was used as an indicator of it. In the case of Spain, the probability of entry into any marriage pattern was higher for employed women rather than for unemployed. However, the risk of entry into a cohabitation was higher for them than the probability of marriage as a first union. In the case of Italy, the occupational status of women did not correlate to the choice of marriage pattern. Men's occupational status was as important as women's when choosing the marriage pattern. It was confirmed with the study by Bukodi examining the relationship between the availability of a steady job and matrimonial pathways of British men [Bukodi 2012]. The lack of steadiness at the beginning of a working biography increased the risk of entry into a cohabitation, not marriage, as a first union. Low salary level increased the risk that the cohabitation will not become a marriage.

Focus group discussions in Russia revealed that for relationships where the salary level of a male partner was low, a woman could try to motivate a man to make more money by promising to marry him. Meanwhile, it was noted that many women and men possessing property, especially real

estate, or occupying high-paid positions, may prefer cohabitation over marriage, as it guarantees that their partners will not make claim to their property in case of a split-up [Isupova 2015].

Therefore, qualitative and quantitative studies revealed the following determinants of matrimonial behaviour:

- for the *macro-level*: marriage pattern historically formed in the country, citizens' value profile and family policy regime of the state;
- for the *meso-level*: religiosity, type of a settlement and reference group;
- for the *micro-level*: age at entry into the union, previous biographic experience (including that of the social circle), conception prior to the entry into the union, circumstances of leaving the parental home, educational level, possession of property for co-residence and occupational status of partners and their financial independence.

This paper also focuses on the individual's gender and his or her position in a particular generation. Gender roles gradually change. Before the SDT, family and children were the higher values for women. However, due to industrialisation, economic growth, increased value of education, implementation of state social support for families and, particularly, motherhood, women became more independent and began to endeavour towards self-actualisation equally with men. Family formation has moved to older ages for individuals of both genders, however, women still undergo pressure from the neighbourhood concerning their social role as mothers and wives. In turn, belonging of the individual to a particular generation reflects the relationships between determinants of different levels. Birth period and, hence, socialisation are related to directives of matrimonial behaviour that individuals gain.

The next chapter of this paper is dedicated to the data used in the research models that explained the abilities of discovered determinants; the specificity of models used for this testing will also be described there.

The data and models of the study

Data

The dynamics of marriage and divorce in Russia, compared with other countries, can be monitored by using the results of international sample surveys. During the last few decades, these surveys covered more and more countries. The survey titled "Parents and Children, Men and Women in the Family and Society" (PaCMaW/RusGGS), a part of Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) international programme by the UNECE, is one of the best-known internationally comparable studies in Russia. In order to compare Russia and other countries, here we used the data of this survey since

it was representative for each participant country, and, taking into account its commonality, allowed for cross-country comparisons.

We considered the transformation of matrimonial behaviour of the Russians in the context of marriage and divorce changes in 10 European countries for which the results of second wave of the survey are available (3,912 respondents in Austria, 9,344 in Bulgaria, 3,149 in the Czech Republic, 6,533 in France, 8,292 in Georgia, 3,212 in Germany, 10,641 in Hungary, 6,476 in Italy, 2,292 in Lithuania, 6,090 in the Netherlands and 7,780 in Russia).

All respondents were categorised into 13 five-year cohorts born from 1929 to 1989. The four youngest cohorts did not reach sufficient maturity (age 30), and we could not consider their biographies as formed; therefore, conclusions related to these respondents were rather careful.

The analysis of meso- and micro-level determinants was based on the panel data of Russian Part of Generation and Gender Survey. The survey included three waves (see Table 1).

Table 1. Survey GGS-Russia

		GGS-Russia
Year of data collection		Panel: 2004, 2007, 2011
Sample		4948 respondents
Generations		1935-1984 years of birth
Age of respondents		24-85 years
Sex	Men	32%
	Women	68%
Generations	1935-1944	16.8%
	1945-1954	21.4%
	1955-1964	26.8%
	1965-1974	21.4%
	1975-1984	13.5%

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the RusGGS data (2004, 2007, 2011)

The generational structure of the RusGGS survey corresponded to the age structure of the Russian population, where respondents born from 1945 to 1975 prevail. Based on socialisation periods, Levada considers people who were born in 1935–1974 as the “Soviet” generations, whereas respondents who were born in 1975–1984 are the “contemporary” generations [Levada 2015].

The survey investigated individuals who entered their first matrimonial union at ages 15–35. The bottom boundary is the age at initiation of reproductive behaviour. The top boundary was selected to equalise the chances of representatives of all generation for entry into first order unions, in order to eliminate the influence of atypically high ages of entry into first unions for older generations. At that, respondents who had their first events after age 35 were not excluded from the analysis; only events occurring after the established boundary were not considered.

Modelling entry into first matrimonial unions

Before we started the analysis of factors of entry into unions, using the example of Russia, we are going to define the possible scenarios of the starts of matrimonial biographies (see Figure 1).

Scenario 1 – No union. After the observation started (age 15) and before it finished, the matrimonial status of the individual did not change. It means that, for some reason, the individual preferred the solitude (this scenario may include the absence of relationships, or relationships shorter than three months, or the LAT partnership). The last two categories were not reviewed in this paper. The share of conventionally single people among the RusGGS respondents was 7.4%.

Scenario 2 – Cohabitation as a first union. After the observation started, a respondent entered the cohabitation. The fact of choice for unregistered relationship as a start of co-residence was important within the framework of this paper. The percentage of people who made this choice was equal to 29.2.

It is worth mentioning that such cohabitation may turn into a marriage. In this case, we could affirm that the cohabitation was just an intermediate stage on the way to the marriage. The share of respondents who followed Scenario 2 and had this status was 77% among the respondents. The first cohabitation could also be a self-sufficient union if a couple decided not to get married. For 23% of the cases of the panel part of the three waves of the RusGGS survey, cohabitations were either not over at the time of wave 3 or they did not turn into official marriages.

Scenario 3 – Marriage as a first union. The share of people who entered the first marriage with no prior cohabitation was 63.4% among the RusGGS respondents.

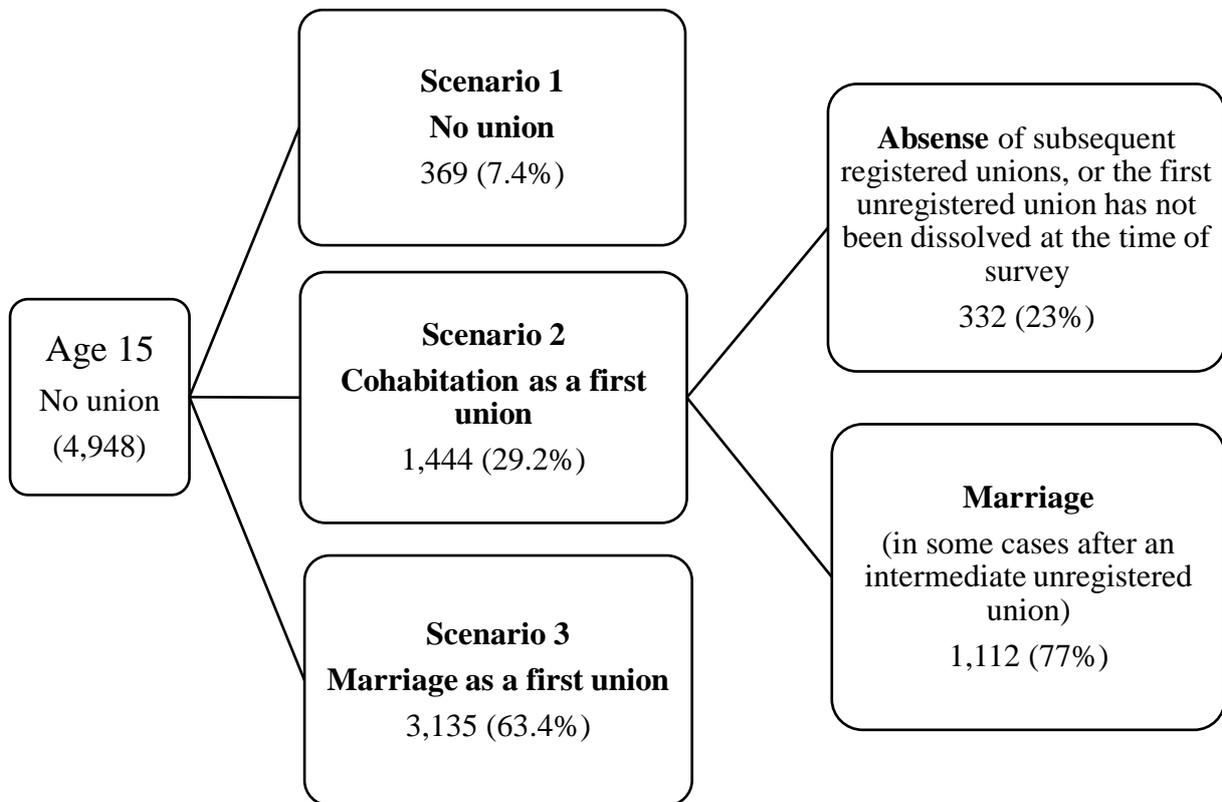


Figure 1. First matrimonial events of the Russians

The start of matrimonial behaviour (Scenarios 1–3) of RusGGS in the context of gender and generations is demonstrated in Figure 2.

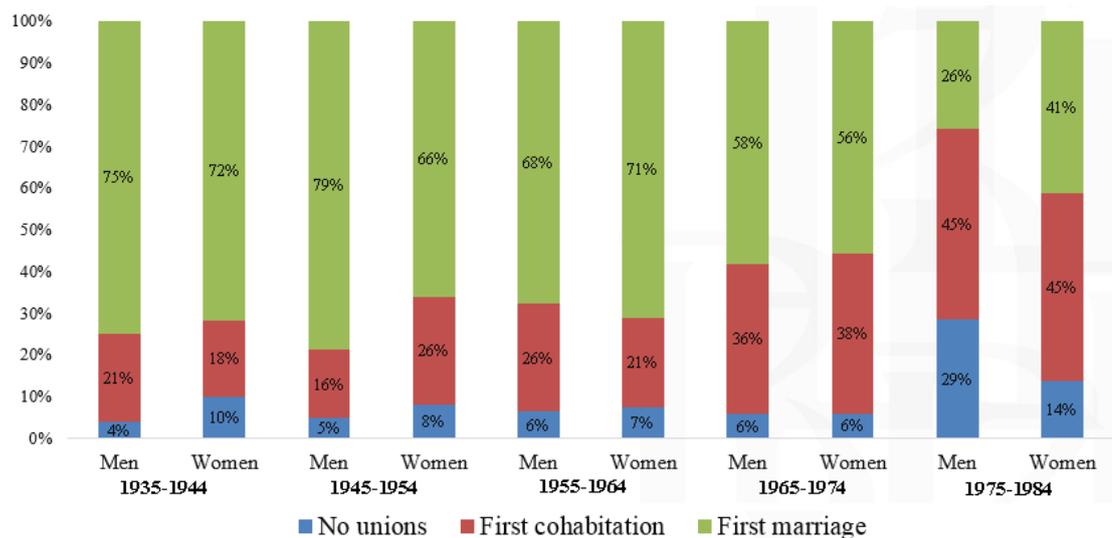


Figure 2. First matrimonial states in terms of sex and generations

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the RusGGS data (2004, 2007, 2011)

As follows from Figure 2, marriage as a first union became less popular among young generations of Russians and gave way to cohabitation (which resulted in the first marriage in more than a half of the cases). At that, the share of respondents out of union increased only due to calendar effect: yet people of young generations did not get their partners.

For better understanding of characteristics of respondents who choose cohabitation or marriage as a first union, two groups of models were created.

1. **Classification tree.** It was required for the intelligence analysis and selection of significant predictors for the second group of models.

The matrimonial status of a respondent according to two scenarios described above (1 is cohabitation as a first union and 2 is marriage as a first union) was used as a dependent variable.

Determinants of meso-level (settlement type) and micro-level (age at entry into the union, conception prior to the entry into the union, matrimonial experience of parents, circumstances of leaving the parental home and entering the labour market and educational level) were the independent variables.

2. **Logistic regression.** This helped reveal the risks of entry into cohabitation or marriage, considering variables which were determined as significant after the analysis of the first model. Separate models for men and women of different generations were developed.

The RusGGS survey contained the information about the religiosity of respondents, their occupational status, living conditions, and their satisfaction with their accommodation. However, these variables could not be used within the framework of this study, as they provided information about respondents at the time of survey, whereas the situation at the moment of entry into the union could be totally different. One could object that the educational level of the respondent could differ between the time of survey and the moment of entry into the union. However, the preliminary analysis demonstrated that over 90% of respondents entered the union after they received their highest degree or not later than a year before they graduated; that is why we did not exclude this variable from the analysis.

Analysis: determinant testing

Cross-country differences and macro-level determinants

Using cluster analysis, we conditionally separated the countries into those where the changes in matrimonial behaviour were strongly pronounced and those where these changes were less visible. We used such variables as historical marriage pattern, social family policy regime, value profile of population, average number of partners in matrimonial biography at the moment of observation, the shares of people who had the first marriage, have ever experienced a divorce and entered the second marriage (see Table 2). The parameters of matrimonial behaviour in terms of countries were represented below in this order, the accent was made on Russia presented on the figures separately.

Table 2. Macrosystem factors and some aspects of matrimonial behaviour in European countries

Country	Type of marriage*	Family policy regime**	Values profile***	Av. number of partners in biography	% of first marriages	% of first divorces	% of second marriages
Austria	W.E.	C.	R – S.	2.2	48.7	8.8	8.0
Germany	W.E.	C.	R – S.	1.6	61.2	11.2	5.3
Netherlands	W.E.	C.	R – S.	1.1	63.2	12.0	5.2
France	W.E.	C.	R – S.	1.7	60.5	12.0	4.7
Czech Republic	W.E.	C.	R – S.	1.6	59.6	13.9	8.1
Hungary	E.E.	P.	R – Sur.	1.2	73.6	16.2	9.0
Lithuania	M.	P.	R – Sur.	1.6	74.5	13.3	4.6
Russia	E.E.	F.	R – Sur.	1.7	68.5	16.7	8.7
Italy	M.	C.	R – S.	1.4	63.5	5.7	1.5
Bulgaria	E.E.	F.	R – Sur.	0.8	69.9	6.0	2.4
Georgia	E.E.	F.	T – Sur.	0.9	71.1	3.2	0.8

* W.E. – Western European, E.E. – Eastern European, M. – mixed.

** C. - conservative, P. – post-communist, F. – forming.

*** R – S: rationality – self-expression, R – Sur: rationality – survival, T – Sur: traditions – survival.

The results of second wave of the GGS confirmed that marriage was not as universal and steady as before. Individuals preferred not to be limited to one partner throughout their lives. Such changes were typical for both Western European countries (Austria, Germany, Italy and France), Central and Eastern European ones (the Czech Republic and Lithuania) and Russia (Figures 3–5). The countries mentioned above demonstrated an increase in the average number of partners who could be both spouses and cohabitants within the matrimonial biography. Citizens of Hungary, the Netherlands, Bulgaria and Georgia preferred more traditional models of behaviour in terms of number of partners.

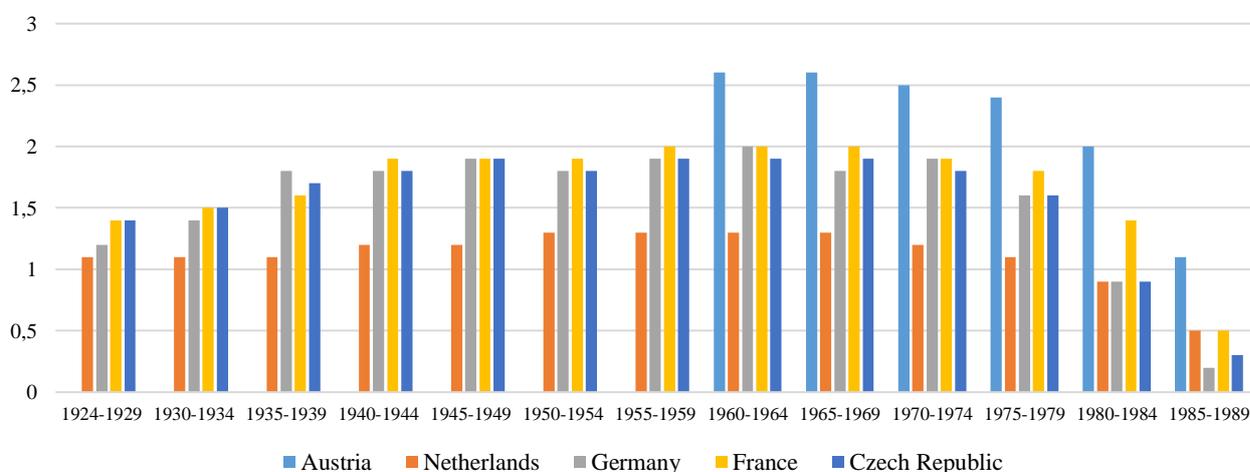


Figure 3. Average number of matrimonial unions in biographies of cohort representatives at the time of survey. Austria, Netherlands, Germany, France, Czech Republic

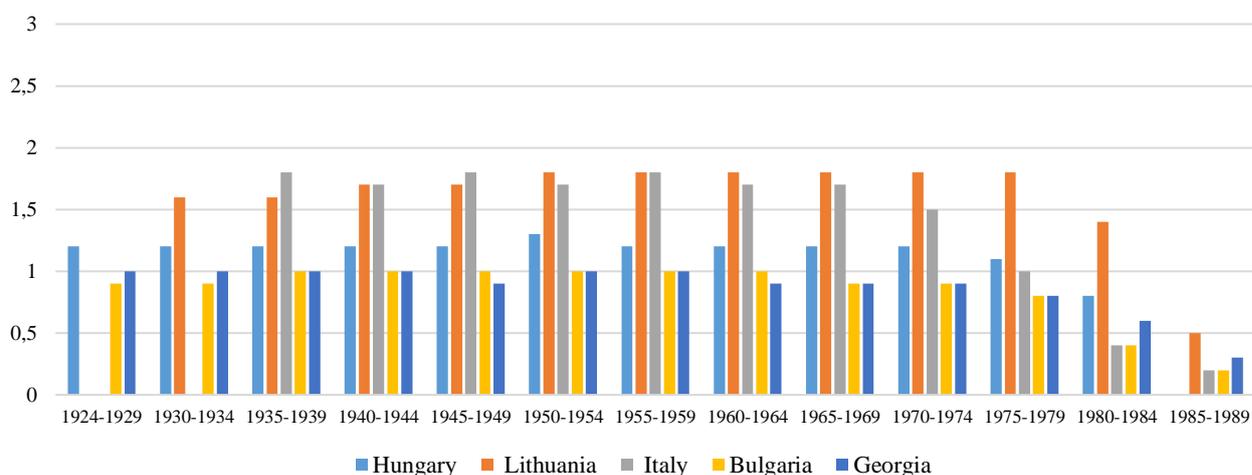


Figure 4. Average number of matrimonial unions in biographies of cohort representatives at the time of survey. Hungary, Lithuania, Italy, Bulgaria, Georgia

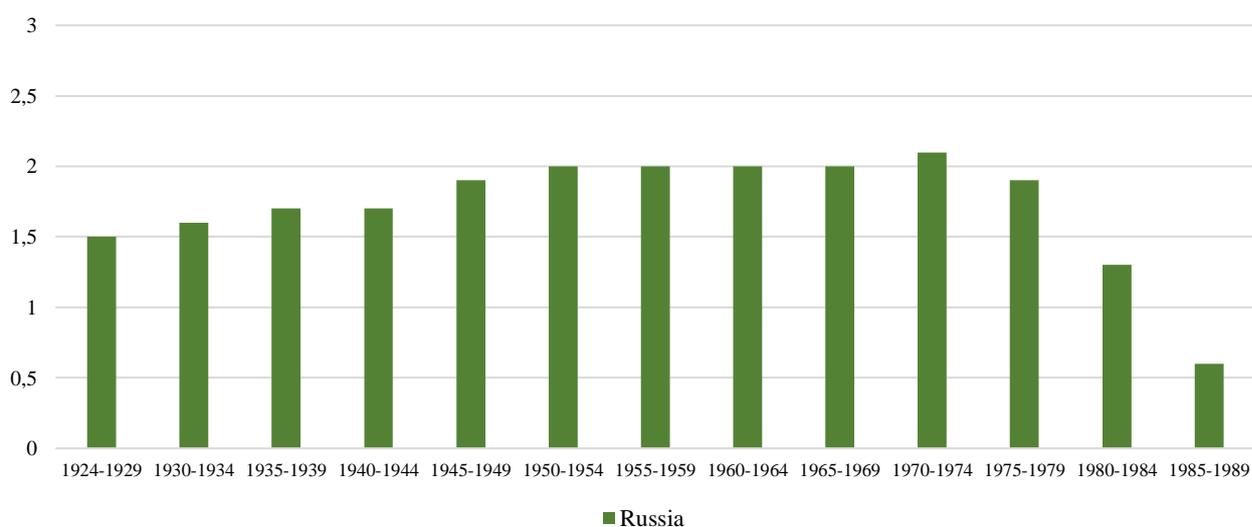


Figure 4. Average number of matrimonial unions in biographies of cohort representatives at the time of survey. Russia

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

The data shown in Table 3 give a better view on the change in the number of partners for various cohorts. The countries presented there could be conditionally separated into several groups. A modest decrease in the prevailing share of respondents who were limited to one union throughout their lives was observed in Hungary, the Netherlands, Bulgaria and Georgia. The opposite group of countries was Austria, Germany, Italy: the share of individuals who experienced the relationships with only one partner throughout their lives was minimal there (at least two thirds of respondents were in two or more unions). Respondents from the Czech Republic, France and Lithuania entered one or two unions. Russia differed from these countries in the shift from the prevalence of those who had relationships with only one partner to the increasing share of individuals who were in two or more unions throughout their matrimonial biographies.

Table 3. Distributions of cohort representatives by the number of partners in biographies at the time of survey, %

Countries with the most visible changes																		
Years of birth	Austria			Netherlands			Germany			France			Czech Republic					
	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+			
1924-1929				83.5	6.9	2.7	17.6	45.1	4.9	29.8	49.3	5.1	37.1	34.3	11.4			
1930-1934				81.6	10.4	1.9	13.7	58.3	3	29.2	52.7	4.9	30.5	47.5	6.5			
1935-1939				79.1	11.7	3.8	10	65.8	11.4	25.7	56.5	7.5	26.1	52.1	10.9			
1940-1944				77.4	14.5	3.9	10.9	68.8	9.6	16	64.1	13.5	20.6	57.3	13.6			
1945-1949				76.8	14.2	3.9	12	68	13.1	16.8	60.7	15.5	19.2	57.7	15.7			
1950-1954				67	19.9	7.9	9.2	70.6	10.1	16.1	61	16.6	18.3	57.9	14.1			
1955-1959				68.4	19.5	6.7	10.5	62.1	16.9	12	60.2	20.8	15.6	60.6	13.8			
1960-1964	6.1	63.7	27.3	67.6	19.3	7.3	7.8	67	15.6	14	60.9	19.1	16.8	59.8	14.3			
1965-1969	5.6	60	30.8	68.9	17	7.9	9.9	62.1	15.6	11.1	62.7	20.8	11.4	63.9	15.7			
1970-1974	4.7	62.2	28.4	64.1	19.9	6.1	9.4	64.2	15.1	10.8	66	15.6	14	56.7	16.4			
1975-1979	7.1	63.4	23.8	62.7	15.9	5.2	15.6	55.3	10.6	15.6	58.8	14	18.1	52.3	10			
1980-1984	15	53	19.4	37.4	21.3	1.9	18.4	33.1	2.9	27.9	42.8	7.3	28.2	26.8	2.8			
1985-1989	31.5	28.6	7	21.4	14.3	0	10	4	2	32.9	8.1	0.9	21.1	2.6	0.7			
Countries with less visible changes																		
Years of birth	Hungary			Lithuania			Italy			Bulgaria			Georgia			Russia		
	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+	1	2	3+
1924-1929	81.2	13.8	2.2							81.3	5.4	0	89.8	2.7	0	47.9	31	11.6
1930-1934	78	18.5	1.6	44.6	47.5	5				85.4	3	0.2	91.2	2	0	39.5	35.3	14.3
1935-1939	80.2	15.7	2.2	32.3	60.8	2.2	7.5	83	1.9	86	4.9	0	90.3	1.8	0.5	35.7	42.2	15.8
1940-1944	79.7	15.3	3.8	29.8	54.1	8.8	14.6	76.5	2.1	88.4	3.5	0.2	90	3.6	0.2	31.6	48.9	13.2
1945-1949	76.9	16	4.5	30.1	56.8	7.7	10.2	76.2	4	86	6.7	0.3	89.4	2.8	0	20.9	53.3	20.2
1950-1954	75.9	16.3	5.3	16.8	66.8	8.9	9.4	75.9	3.9	85.2	8.2	0	90.8	2.5	0.1	17	59.1	20
1955-1959	74.2	17	4.5	20.3	65.6	9	9.1	77.4	4.5	84.3	6.1	0.5	90.1	2.5	0.2	14.7	60.2	21.2
1960-1964	74.7	14.6	5.4	16.9	69.5	8	9.5	75.8	3.4	86.7	5.3	0.3	86.9	3	0	12.7	64.7	18.7
1965-1969	71.6	16.2	6	12	75.1	6.5	7.1	75.7	2.7	80.9	5.8	0.5	86.3	2.5	0	11.8	65.9	18.4
1970-1974	66.2	16.7	6.3	8.9	68.4	10	12.4	62.8	3.7	79.4	4.4	0.6	80.5	3.1	0.3	10.2	60.8	23.4
1975-1979	56.6	18.2	6.7	10.4	75.1	5.2	24.6	37.7	0.7	67.1	4.2	0.4	72.1	1.9	0	12.6	61.8	16.7
1980-1984	42.7	15.2	3.4	17.7	55.1	4.8	32.7	5.5	0.3	37.3	2.6	0.2	54.4	0.7	0	24.7	37.8	8.3
1985-1989				17.9	10.6	3.3	22.6	0.7	0	14.7	2.1	0	33	0.6	0	23.3	14.5	3.1

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

In contrast to France, Italy, the Netherlands, the share of Russians who were ever married decreased very slowly (Figures 6–8). However, it was not as high as in the other countries (only the Czech Republic yields to Russia).

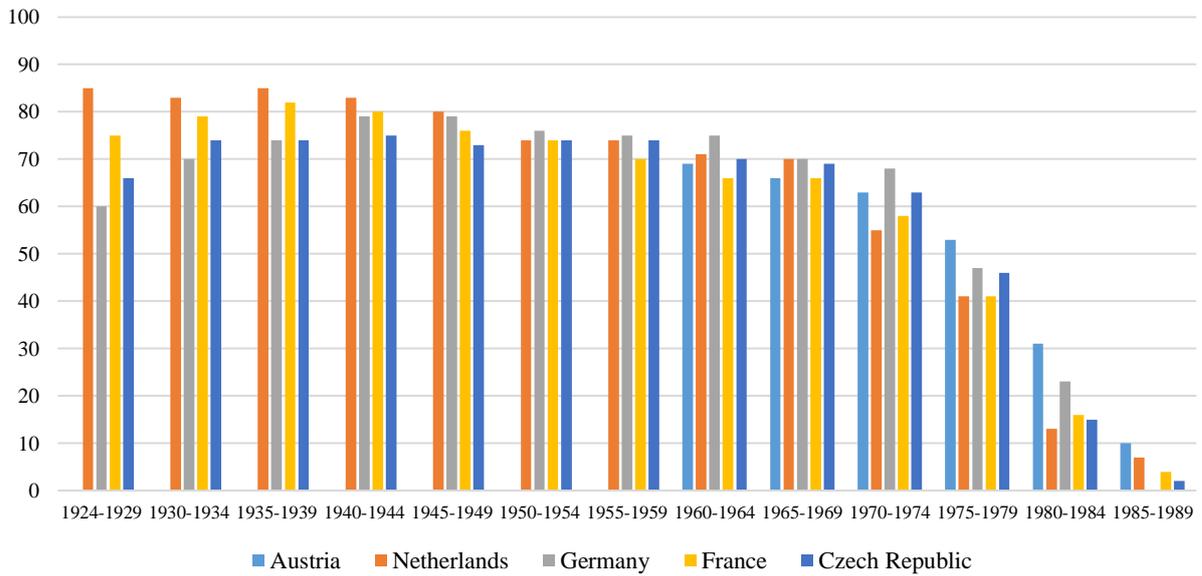


Figure 6. The share of individuals entering the first marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents. Austria, Netherlands, Germany, France, Czech Republic

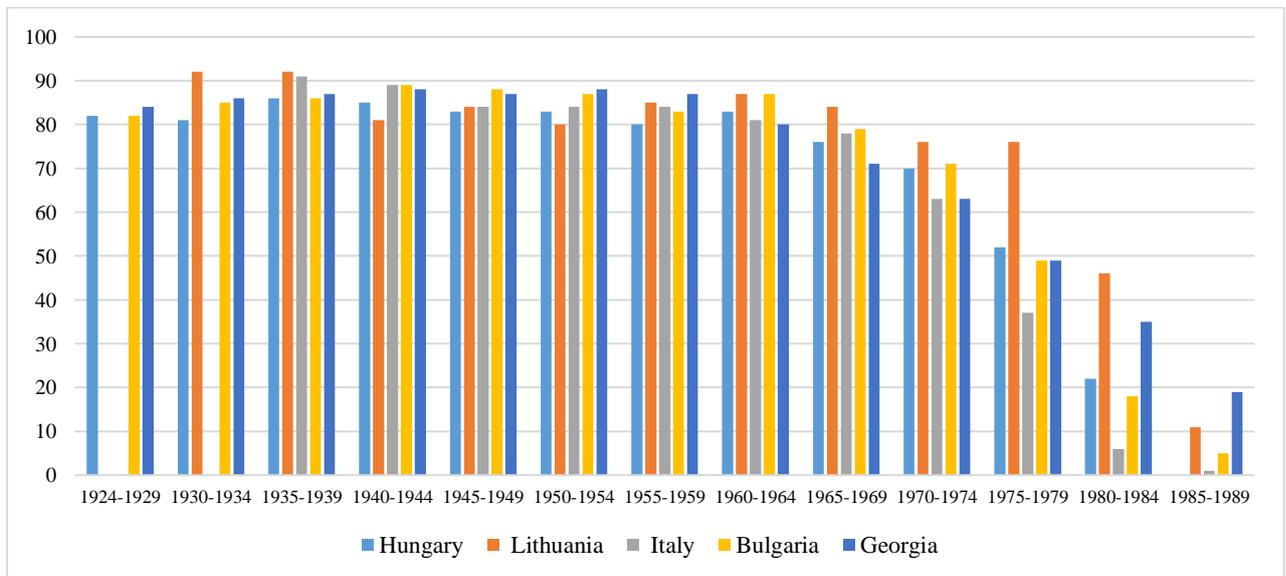


Figure 7. The share of individuals entering the first marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents. Hungary, Lithuania, Italy, Bulgaria, Georgia

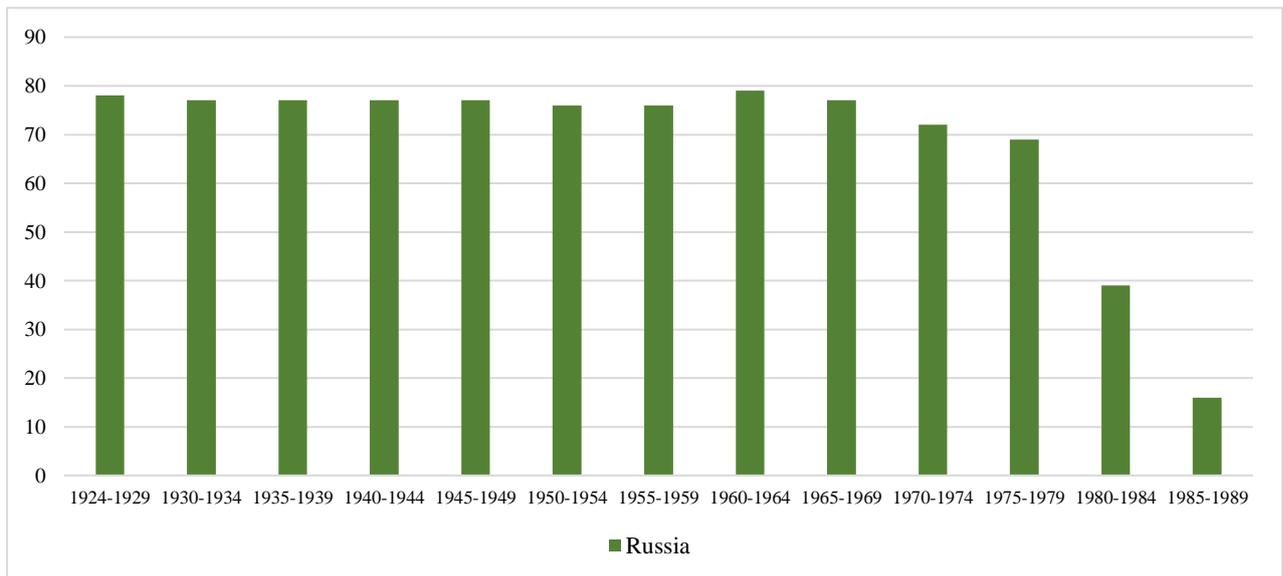


Figure 8. The share of individuals entering the first marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents. Russia

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

When analysing the changes in matrimonial behaviour, it is worth mentioning the share of single people. In the last few decades, this category usually included people who were never married and were never in cohabitation. The share of single people in analysed countries was minimal, i.e., it was less than 10% for all considered cohorts that were close to completing their matrimonial biographies in Hungary, the Netherlands, Russia, France, Austria and Lithuania (see Table 4). The tendency of decrease in the share of single people was notable in the Czech Republic, France and Russia (compared to the share of respondents who were never married at the time of survey).

Table 4. The share of people with no experience of matrimonial union at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents, %

Countries with the most visible changes												
Years of birth	Austria		Netherlands		Germany		France		Czech Republic			
	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse		
1924-1929			7	10	32	34	16	20	17	17		
1930-1934			6	9	25	26	13	15	16	18		
1935-1939			5	6	13	16	10	12	11	13		
1940-1944			4	7	11	14	6	11	8	11		
1945-1949			5	11	7	10	7	15	7	12		
1950-1954			5	15	10	15	6	15	10	14		
1955-1959			5	18	11	17	7	21	10	16		
1960-1964	3	14	6	22	10	16	6	30	9	19		
1965-1969	4	20	6	27	12	25	5	31	9	20		
1970-1974	5	26	10	42	11	28	8	41	13	30		
1975-1979	6	38	16	58	18	51	12	59	20	52		
1980-1984	13	65	39	87	46	76	22	84	42	85		
1985-1989	33	90	64	93	84	100	58	96	76	98		
Countries with less visible changes												
Years of birth	Hungary		Lithuania		Italy		Bulgaria		Georgia		Russia	
	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse	Has never had a partner	Has never had a spouse
1924-1929	3	4			13			13	13	14	9	13
1930-1934	2	2			11			11	11	13	11	13
1935-1939	2	3	8	8	9	8	8	9	9	10	6	9
1940-1944	1	3	7	9	8	7	9	8	8	9	6	11
1945-1949	3	3	10	13	7	10	13	7	7	8	6	10
1950-1954	3	5	11	14	7	11	14	7	7	9	4	9
1955-1959	4	8	9	13	9	9	13	9	9	13	4	10
1960-1964	5	10	11	17	8	11	17	8	8	10	4	11
1965-1969	6	15	15	21	13	15	21	13	13	19	4	15
1970-1974	11	26	21	36	16	21	36	16	16	28	6	17
1975-1979	18	45	37	63	28	37	63	28	28	50	9	27
1980-1984	39	77	62	94	60	62	94	60	60	82	29	60
1985-1989			77	99	83	77	99	83	83	95	59	84

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

The share of people who ever experienced a divorce in Russia was similar to that in Hungary, the Czech Republic, France (Figures 9–11). It was a bit less in Germany and the Netherlands, and it

tended to decrease. This share was minimal in Georgia, Bulgaria and Italy, but it increased for young cohorts in these countries.

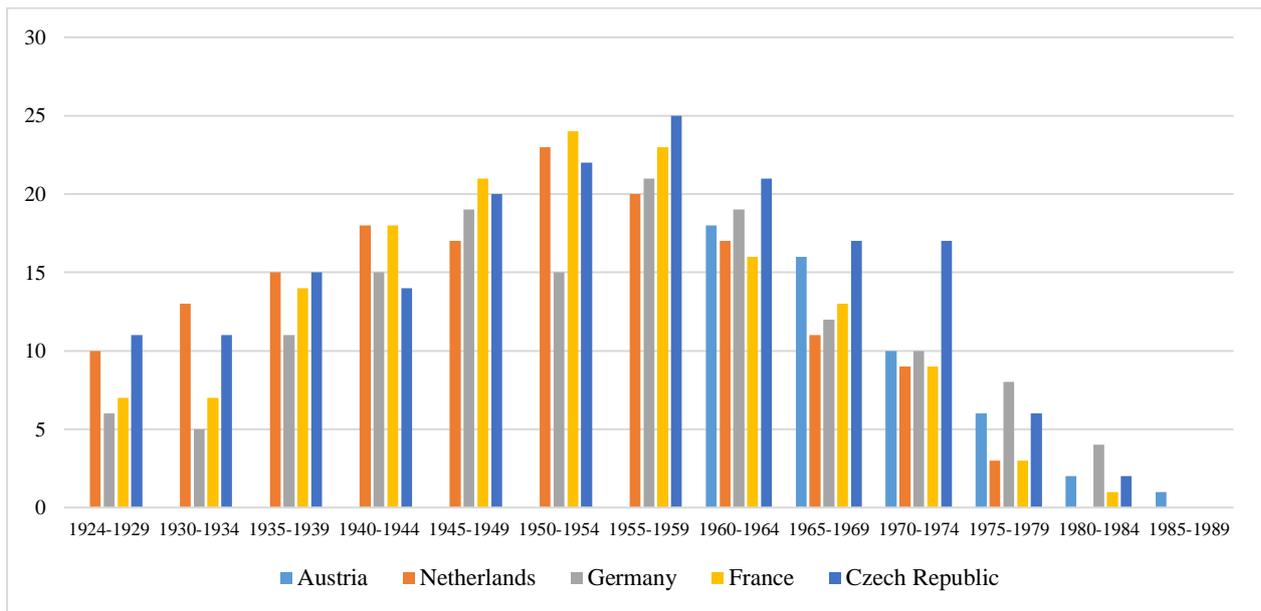


Figure 9. The share of people who have ever experienced a divorce at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents who have ever been in the first marriage, %.
Austria, Netherlands, Germany, France, Czech Republic

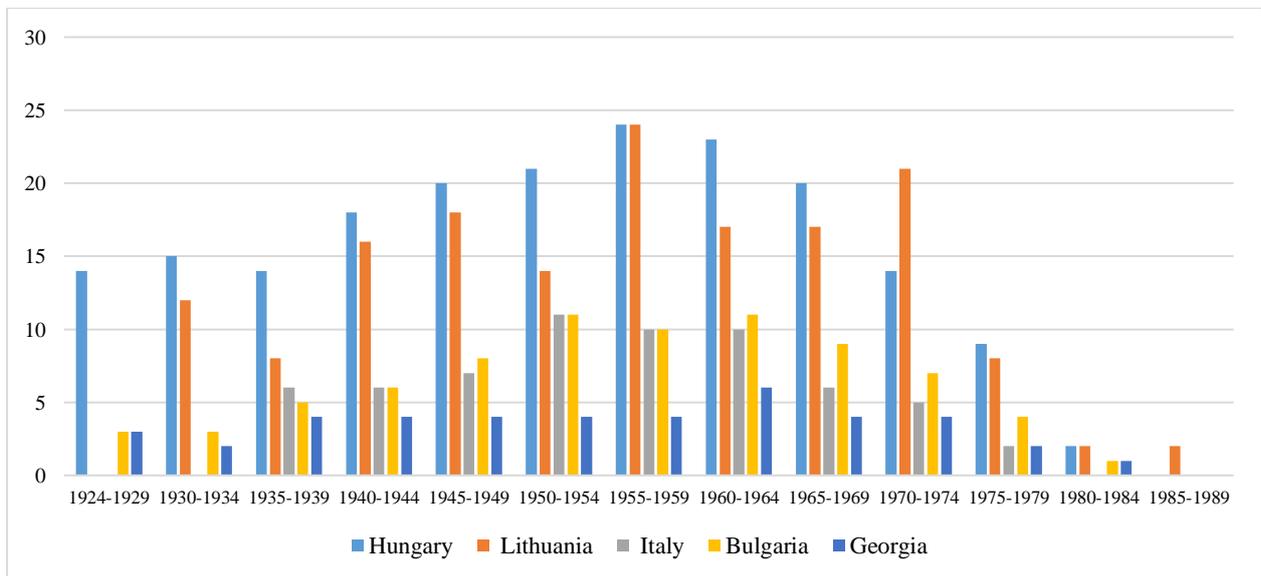


Figure 10. The share of people who have ever experienced a divorce at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents who have ever been in the first marriage, %.
Hungary, Lithuania, Italy, Bulgaria, Georgia

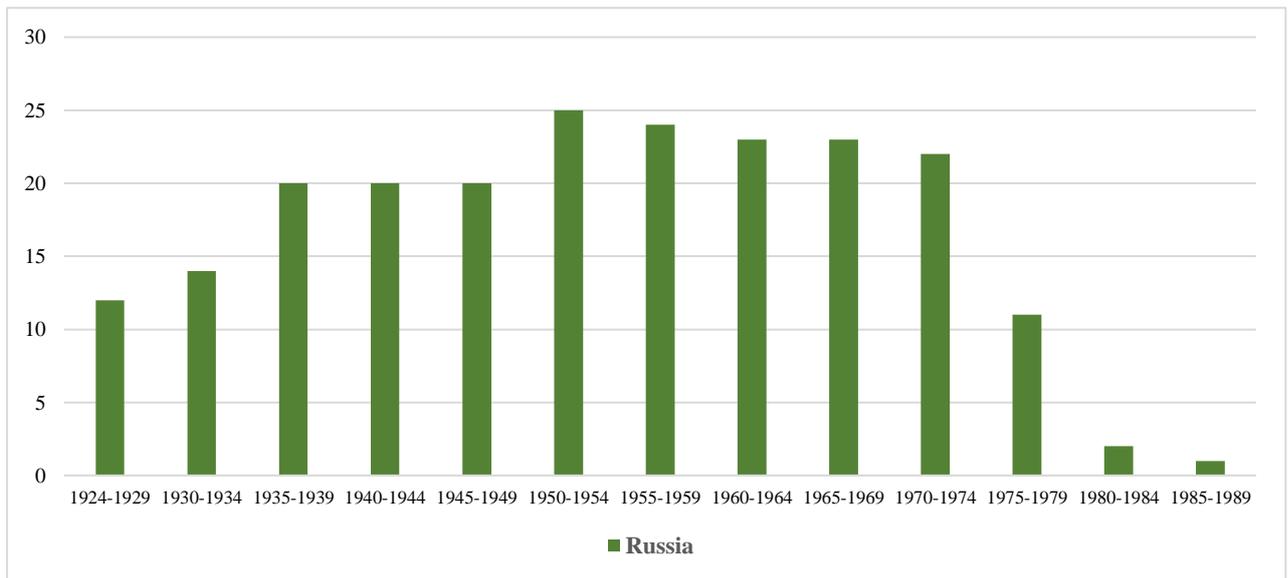


Figure 11. The share of people who have ever experienced a divorce at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents who have ever been in the first marriage, %. Russia
Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

The second marriage appeared rather infrequently in considered countries (Figures 12–14). The share of people who ever experienced the second marriage varied on average for all cohorts from 0.8% in Georgia up to 9.8% in Russia. The share of second marriages was also low in Italy and Bulgaria and high in Hungary and the Czech Republic. In general, a tendency to decrease the share of individuals entering the second marriage was observed across all countries. This could be the result of both the age effect (yet young cohorts did not experience these matrimonial events) and the unsuccessful experience of the first marriage, after which individuals preferred cohabitation.

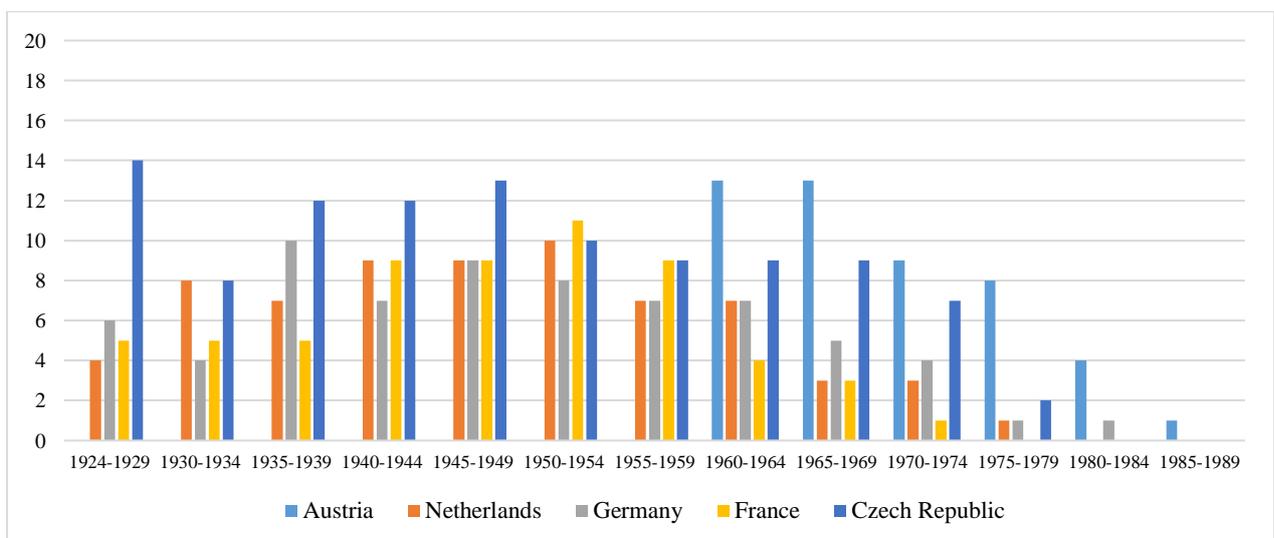


Figure 12. The share of people who have ever experienced a second marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents, %. Austria, Netherlands, Germany, France, Czech Republic

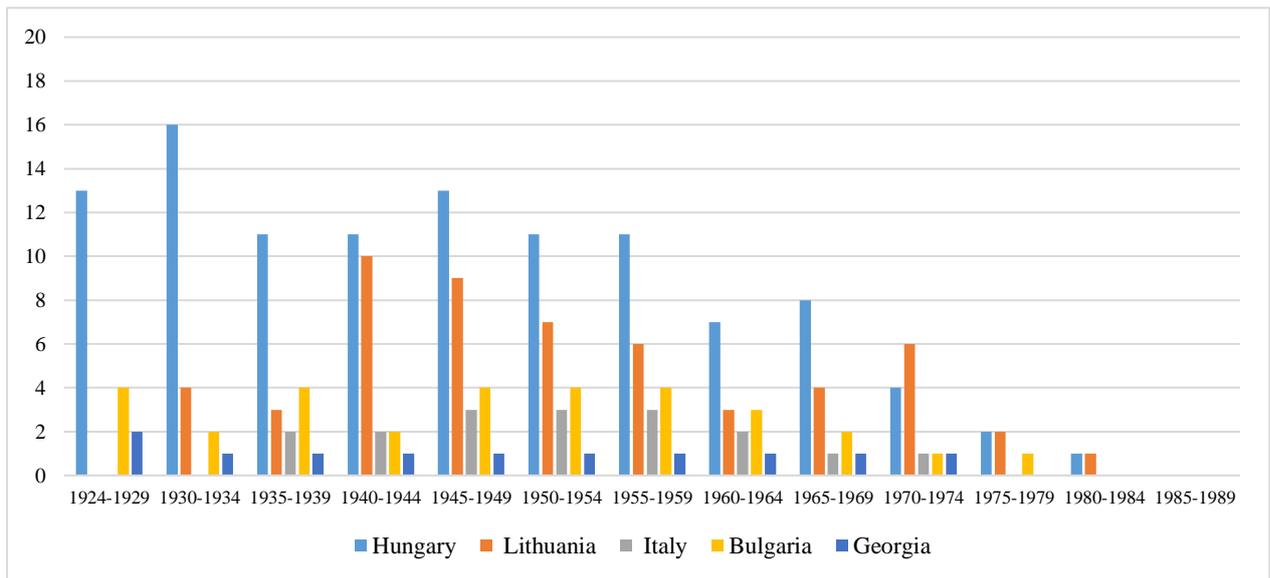


Figure 13. The share of people who have ever experienced a second marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents, %. Hungary, Lithuania, Italy, Bulgaria, Georgia

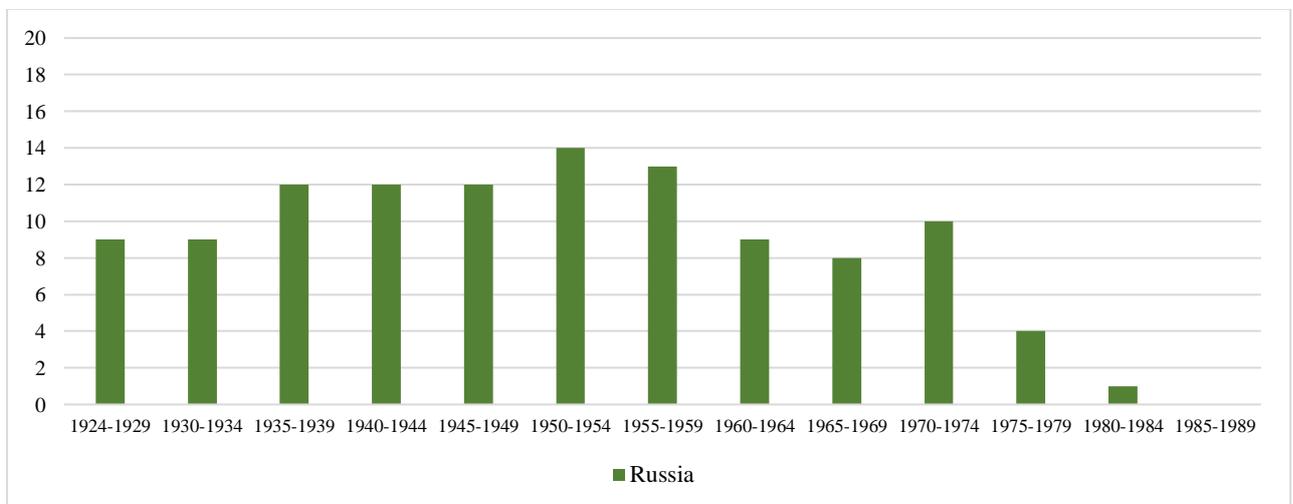


Figure 14. The share of people who have ever experienced a second marriage at the time of survey in the total number of cohort respondents, %. Russia

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the GGS data (second wave)

The considered countries demonstrated trends which were typical for unifying social spaces of industrial and post-industrial societies, but whose shares of changes were different. These trends are: increasing number of partners throughout life, gradually decreasing share of people entering marriages, increasing share of conventionally single people and decreasing number of second marriages. These changes are more visible in Western European (Austria, Germany, France and the Netherlands) and Central European countries (the Czech Republic and Lithuania). These countries are characterised by mainly a Western European marriage pattern, the prevalence of rationality – self-expression values and a conservative regime of social policy. The changes were less visible in Hungary, Bulgaria and Georgia, the countries with mainly an Eastern European marriage pattern, a

prevalence of rationality – survival values and a post-communist or forming regime of social policy. Russia holds the intermediate position and leads only by the average share of people who experienced a divorce at the time of survey.

The choice of the first matrimonial union in Russia: determinants at meso- and macro-levels

While making the RusGGS respondents' classification tree for the starts of their matrimonial biographies, we found that belonging to a generation was a key variable that determined this choice. Results obtained for the control sample are presented below. At the first stage, we classified respondents into three groups based on their belonging to a particular generation:

1. born in 1935-1964;
2. born in 1965-1974;
3. born in 1975-1984.

Such separation was not occasional; it indicated the de-institutionalisation of the life courses of Russians after the fall of the Soviet Union. Representatives of generations born in 1935–64 preferred marriages (76.9%), and their maximum share was among those whose age at entry into the union was 17–26. City-dwellers were more prone to cohabitations if they entered the union before they were 17; the same was true for adults (26 and older) who left the parental house before they started their matrimonial biographies (see Appendix 1).

Individuals who preferred marriages as their first unions also prevailed in the generation born in 1965–74; however, the prevalence was not as high as in the case of previous generations (60% of individuals chose marriages and 40% preferred cohabitations). The choice of marriage pattern in this generation was also determined by the age at entry into the union: either young people (younger than 17) or adults (26 and older) started their matrimonial biographies in unregistered unions. Respondents who entered the unions at ages 17-26 preferred marriages (see Appendix 1).

Respondents who started their matrimonial pathways from cohabitations prevailed in the generation born in 1975–84 (44% of individuals chose marriages and 56% preferred cohabitations). Respondents who grew up with both parents and entered the union after conception chose registered unions. Those who observed parental divorce, entered the union not because of conception and started to work before they were 20, preferred cohabitations (see Appendix 1).

A binary logistical regression could provide a deeper look into the transformation of matrimonial behaviour in Russia. During our research, we developed seven regression models where the first union was a dependent variable (1 is cohabitation first, 0 is marriage first). The first model was common: it was developed for the sample of respondents who entered their first union. The six other models were developed separately for men and women from the above-mentioned generations born in 1934–65, 1965–74 and 1975–84 (see Table 5).

Table 5. Binary logistic regression: factors determining the choice of the first union

Determinants	Total	1935-1964		1965-1974		1975-1984	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ref type of settlement: village	1.375***	1.803***	1.189*	1.861**	1.267	1.251	1.609**
Ref educational level: higher	1***	1	1	1**	1	1**	1**
High	1.677***	1.467	1.205	2.160**	1.861**	4.053**	2.523**
Professional	1.343***	1.614**	0.956	2.403**	1.234	2.722**	1.645*
Age at entry into the union	1.026**	0.99	1.023	1.131***	1.009	1.022	1.01
Ref conception prior to union: yes	1.719***	1.455**	1.569**	1.685*	1.586**	3.895**	2.370**
Ref leaving the parental home prior to union: yes	0.708***	0.745*	0.782**	0.778	0.693**	0.578	0.402***
Ref parents divorced: yes	0.640***	1.063	0.616***	0.434**	0.657**	0.248**	0.735
Age at the start of working career	0.960***	1.003	0.965**	0.895**	0.945*	0.94	0.907**
Ref gender: female	0.904						
Ref born in: 1975-1984	1***						
1935-1944	0.159***						
1945-1954	0.213***						
1955-1964	0.223***						
1965-1974	0.490***						
Constant	1.305						
*** p < 0,1, ** p < 0,05, * p < 0,001							

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the RusGGS data (2004, 2007 and 2011)

Under other equivalent conditions, the ratio between the risk of entry into a cohabitation and the probability of entry into a marriage is greater if respondents live in a city instead of a village (by 1.4 times), if they had high or professional education (by 1.7 and 1.3 times, respectively, compared to those who had the higher education). Each extra year of age at entry into a union increased this ratio by 1.03 times, while the absence of conception prior to the union increases it by 1.7 times. The ratio decreases if respondents lived in their parental home before their entry into a union (by 0.7 times), and if the parental family was happy (by 0.6 times). Each extra year of delay in starting a career decreases this ratio by 0.96 times, and belonging to generations which socialised before the end of the socialist era decreases it by 0.3 times on average.

Particular models with separation by gender and age made differences in the beginning of matrimonial careers of various generations of the Russians more detailed. The effect of conception on the probability of entry into a marriage rather than into a cohabitation was the strongest for the youngest generation.

Separation from parents before entry into a union was an important determinant for women only while choosing cohabitation instead of marriage. It seconds the results of our Italian and Spanish colleagues, who demonstrated that girls who did not leave their parental homes before co-residence with their partners were more likely to choose marriage as their first union. It may indicate that more independent women preferred not to burden themselves with registered unions. It was confirmed indirectly by the risk of entry into the cohabitation decreasing by 0.94 times on average with each

extra year of age at the beginning of a working career; however, this factor was significant for men born only in 1964–75 and for women of all generations.

The high or professional education increased the risk of cohabitation, not marriage, as a first union for men and women of all generations, and this tendency was steady in Russia. It also interacted with the results of the study by M. Mills, who showed that cohabitations were preferable for disadvantaged segments of the Russian population. This conclusion made Russia similar to the US, where the prevalence of cohabitations could be explained by Pattern's theory of unfavourable conditions. On the other hand, Russians with a higher education preferred marriages.

The settlement type was less determinant for the choice of union for younger generations than for the Soviet ones (it became less statistically significant), although the risk of entry into a cohabitation for women born in 1975–84 increased by 1.6 times if they lived in urban settlements.

Conclusion

Cross-country differences in matrimonial behaviour could be explained by various factors; this was confirmed by both previous studies in various countries and this paper.

The matrimonial behaviour at the macro-level was influenced by historically formed marriage patterns, value profiles of the people and the family policy regime of the state. In order to investigate the role of macro-level factors, we performed the research based on harmonised data of second wave of Generations and Gender Survey available for 10 European countries, including Russia. The results of the performed analysis reveal that the changes in matrimonial behaviour are more visible in Western and Central European countries. These countries are generally characterised by the Western European marriage pattern, the prevalence of rationality – self-expression values and the conservative regime of social policy. The changes were less visible in the countries with mostly Eastern European marriage patterns where the rationality – survival values prevail and the social policy regime is either post-communist or just forming.

The influence of meso- and micro-level factors on matrimonial behaviour was studied on the basis of three waves of the same Generations and Gender Survey, but only for its Russian part. The choice between cohabitation and marriage as a first union among the Russians at the meso-level was determined by the type of settlement where the respondents live. The age at entry into the union, conception prior to the entry into the union, the matrimonial experience of parents, the circumstances of leaving the parental home and entering the labour market and educational level were the factors of choice of the first matrimonial unit at the micro-level. We also revealed differences depending on the gender of respondents and their belonging to particular generations.

The performed research allowed for more complex investigation of the phenomenon of the choice of the first marriage pattern. We revealed that a lot of determinants influence the choice to

enter a registered marriage or cohabitation, and that the individual decision-making process is actually formed under the influence of various factors at different levels.

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Appendix 1

Classification of those who choose marriage and cohabitation as the first matrimonial union (control sample)

First union			Generation. P-value=0,000, Chi ² =155,4, Degrees of freedom=2																				
	%	n	1935 - 1964						1965 - 1974			1965 - 1974											
Cohabitation	31,1%	587							Cohabitation	40,4%	164	Cohabitation	55,7%	128									
Marriage	68,9%	1257							Marriage	59,6%	242	Marriage	44,3%	102									
Total	100%	1824							Total	22,3%	406	Total	12,6%	230									
Age at first union, P =0,000, Chi ² =59,0, DF=2						Age at first union, P =0,000, Chi ² =32,0, DF=2						Parental experience, P =0,002, Chi ² =11,7, DF=1											
<=17			(17; 26]			>26			<=17			(17; 26]			>26			Не расходились		Расходились			
Cohabitation	39,4%	26	Сожительство	20,9%	204	Cohabitation	31,0%	45	Cohabitation	63,2%	36	Cohabitation	33,5%	107	Cohabitation	70,0%	21	Cohabitation	52,4%	87	Cohabitation	64,1%	41
Marriage	60,6%	40	Брак	79,1%	773	Marriage	69,0%	100	Marriage	36,8%	21	Marriage	66,5%	212	Marriage	30,0%	9	Marriage	47,6%	79	Marriage	35,9%	23
Total	3,6%	66	Всего	53,6%	977	Total	7,9%	145	Total	3,1%	57	Total	17,5%	319	Total	1,6%	30	Total	9,1%	166	Total	3,5%	64
Type of settlement, P =0,025, Chi ² =5,0, DF=1				Leaving parents, P =0,000, Chi ² =14,1, DF=1								Conception prior to union, P =0,023, Chi ² =5,2, DF=1											
Urban area		Rural area		Before union				After or simultaneously				No		Yes									
Cohabitation	46,4%	13	Cohabitation	34,2%	13	Cohabitation	35,2%	32	Cohabitation	24,1%	13	Cohabitation	56,5%	74	Cohabitation	37,1%	13						
Marriage	53,6%	15	Marriage	65,8%	25	Marriage	64,8%	59	Marriage	75,9%	41	Marriage	43,5%	57	Marriage	62,9%	22						
Total	1,5%	28	Total	2,1%	38	Total	5,0%	91	Total	3,0%	54	Total	7,2%	131	Total	1,9%	35						
Age at first job, P=0,028, Chi ² =9,9, DF=1																							
<=20						>20																	
Cohabitation	63,8%	44	Cohabitation	48,4%	30	Cohabitation	63,8%	44	Cohabitation	48,4%	30	Cohabitation	63,8%	44	Cohabitation	48,4%	30						
Marriage	36,2%	25	Marriage	51,6%	32	Marriage	36,2%	25	Marriage	51,6%	32	Marriage	36,2%	25	Marriage	51,6%	32						
Total	3,8%	69	Total	3,4%	62	Total	3,8%	69	Total	3,4%	62	Total	3,8%	69	Total	3,4%	62						