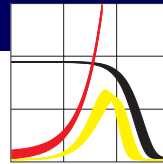
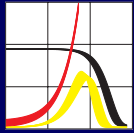

Cohabitation vs. marriage in Russia – a joint analysis of first marital and non-marital union formation



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**The Fourth International Conference of the EAPS Working Group
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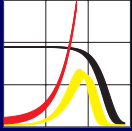
union formation development in Russia because:

union formation model in the post-communist countries *has been changing* simultaneously with the changing political and economic environment;

- mean age at first marriage - increased from ~22.4 in 1980s to 23.3 in 2004
- mean age at first birth – increased from ~23 in 1980s to 24.0 in 2004
- % of non-marital births – increased from ~ 12% in 1980s to 29% in 2004

little is known about the recent Russian union formation and particularly about the *emergence of non-marital partnerships*;

- 2002 Census data – 9% of population in reproductive age live in cohabitation
- Spielauer et al. (2007), Philipov and Jasilioniene (2007), Konietzka and Buehler (2007), Hoem et al. (2007)



aim

to explore the union formation changes and **emergence** of cohabitation as a newly recognized phenomenon in Russia

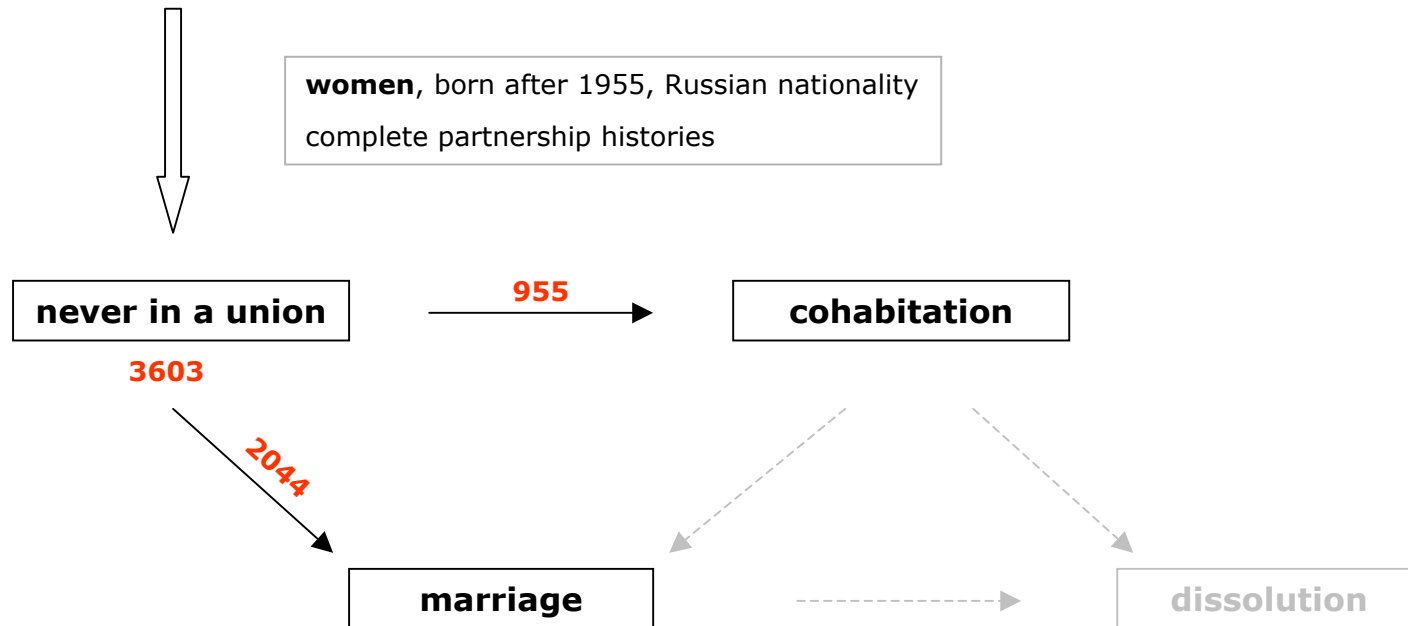
research questions

- how did Russian union formation patterns change during the years of transition from patterns observed during the state socialist time?
- who are the forerunner of the new family model?
- is the cohabitation a deviant behavior, a stage in the partnership career leading to marriage or it is rather an alternative to marriage in today's Russia?



Gender and Generation Survey (GGS), wave 1, 2004

original sample





**Proportion of first unions beginning in
cohabitation over calendar time**

| <u>Year of union formation</u> | <u>Russia</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1975-79 | 17.5 |
| 1980-84 | 18.8 |
| 1985-89 | 25.1 |
| 1990-94 | 36.0 |
| 1995-99 | 47.1 |
| 2000-04 | 59.2 |

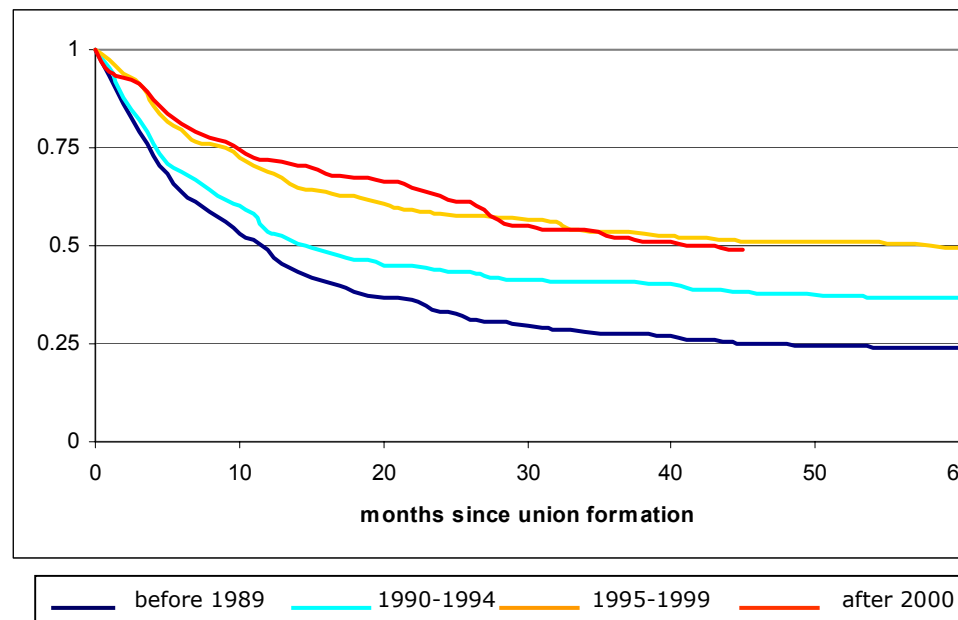


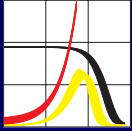


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Kaplan-Meier estimates for transformation of cohabitation into marriage, by year of union formation





An extension of piece-wise constant intensity regression model for:

transition to first union: **cohabitation** \longleftrightarrow **direct marriage**

$$\mu_{h\ell}(t) = a_{i(t),\ell} b_{j_h,\ell} c_{k_h(t),\ell}$$

where ℓ is introduced to represent the cause of decrement (type of union)

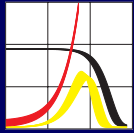
corresponding to the two types of decrement there will be two occurrence matrices $D_1 = \{D_{ijk1}\}$

and $D_2 = \{D_{ijk2}\}$ but there will be only one matrix of exposures \mathbf{R}

If we introduce the combined occurrence and exposures matrices $\mathbf{D}_* = \begin{pmatrix} D_1 \\ D_2 \end{pmatrix}$ and $\mathbf{R}_* = \begin{pmatrix} \mathbf{R} \\ \mathbf{R} \end{pmatrix}$

it will correspond to introducing an extra factor in the analysis and the formula above would correspond

to operating with the factor "type of union" in two-way interaction with each of the factors in the model.



**An extension of piece-wise constant intensity regression model for:
transition to first cohabitation ↔ first direct marriage**

covariates

type of union (cohabitation, direct marriage)

(t. v.) *level of education* (in education, completed university, secondary, lower)

(t. v.) *parity and pregnancy status* (childless non-pregnant, childless pregnant, mother)

(t. v.) *calendar year* (1980-85, 1985-89, 1990-94, 1995-99, 2000-2004)

region at birth of the respondent (city, village)

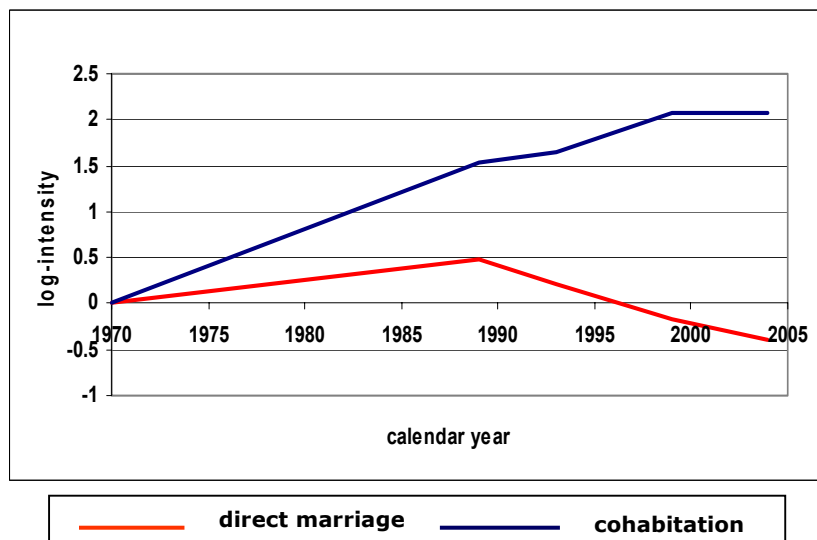
parents' highest levels of education (university, middle, low, don't know)

parents lived together at the age 15 (yes, no)

N of siblings (non, one, two or more)



First union formation intensities by calendar year*



- increase in 1st marriage intensities observed in 1980s, followed by slump in 1990s

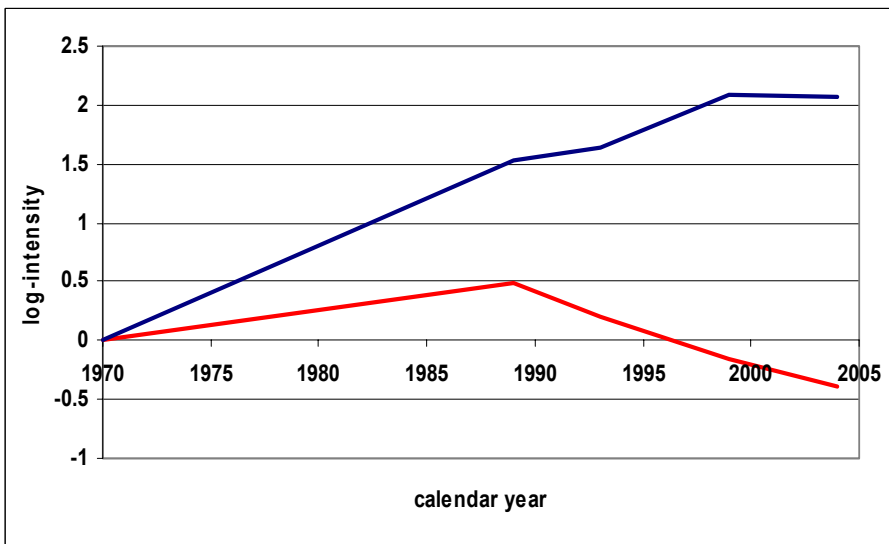
- emergence of cohabitation is visible in 1970s; a significant rise in the following decade

➤ *can not directly compare cohabitation and direct marriage, since these intensities are produced in two separate models*

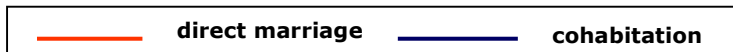
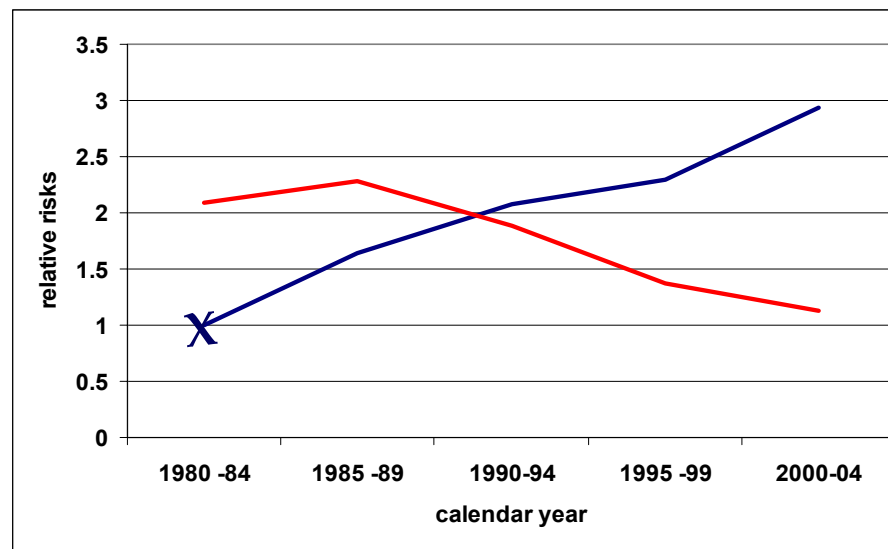
* Standardized for region, parents' education, parents lived together, # of siblings, personal education and parity/pregnancy status



First union formation intensities by calendar year*



Relative risks of entry into first union; trends over time*

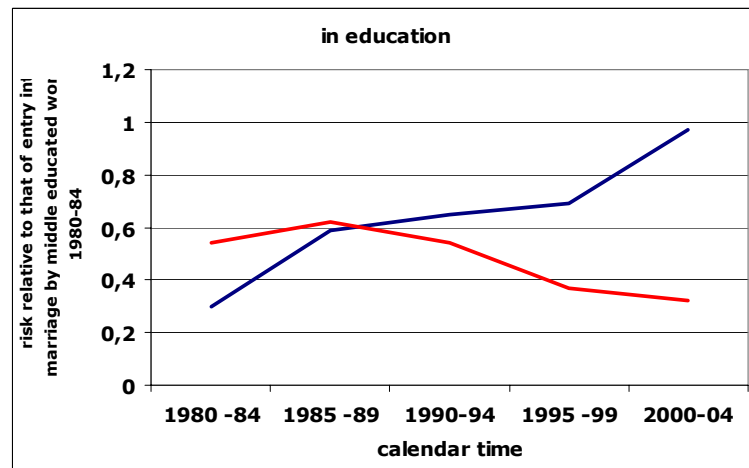
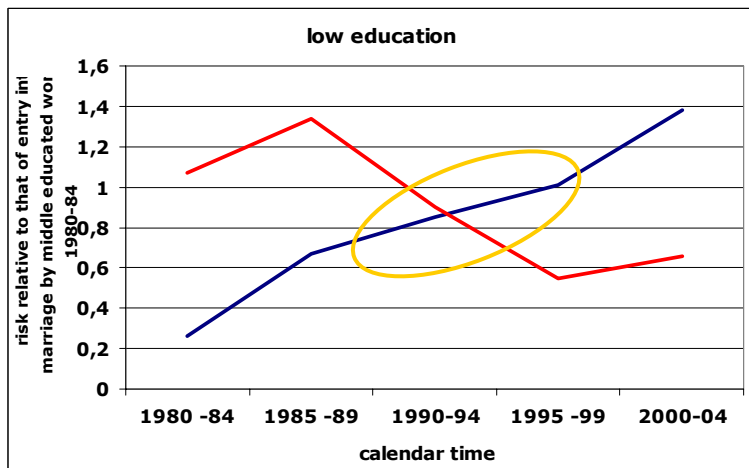
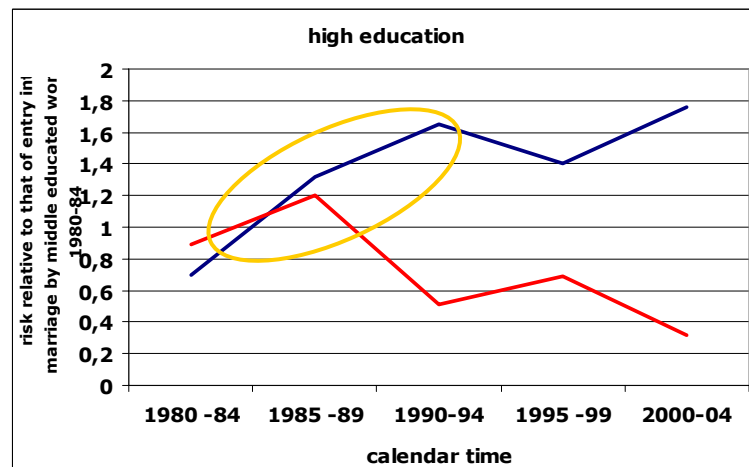
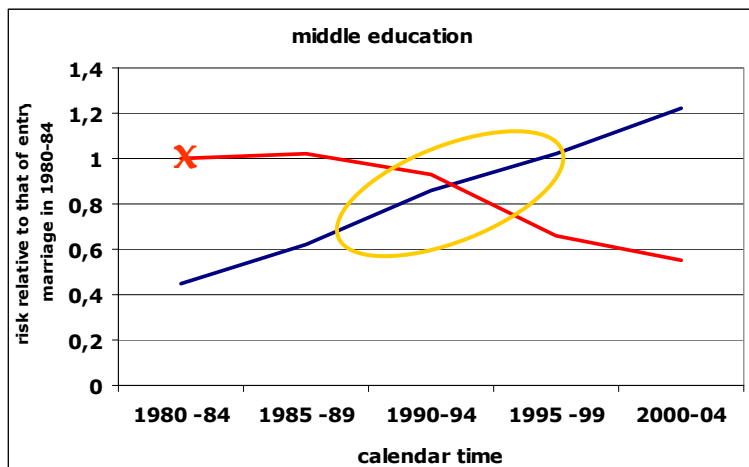


- cohabitation emerged before the Perestroika
- drop in the marriage risks is *compensated* by the increase in the risks of forming cohabitation

* Standardized for region, parents' education, parents lived together, # of siblings, personal education and parity/pregnancy status

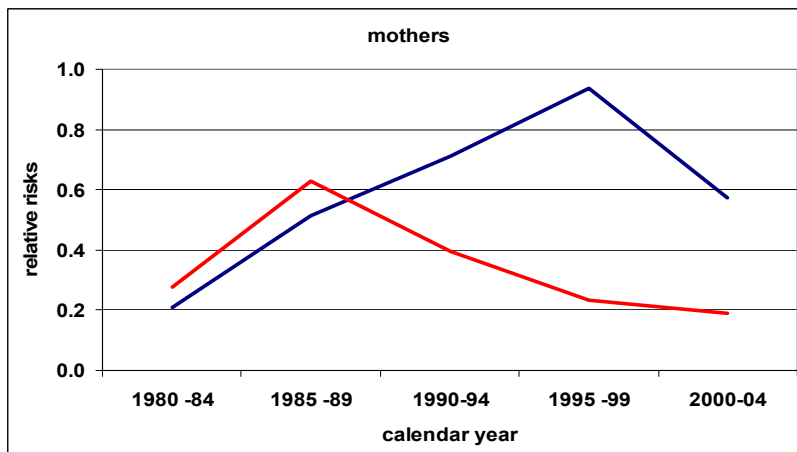
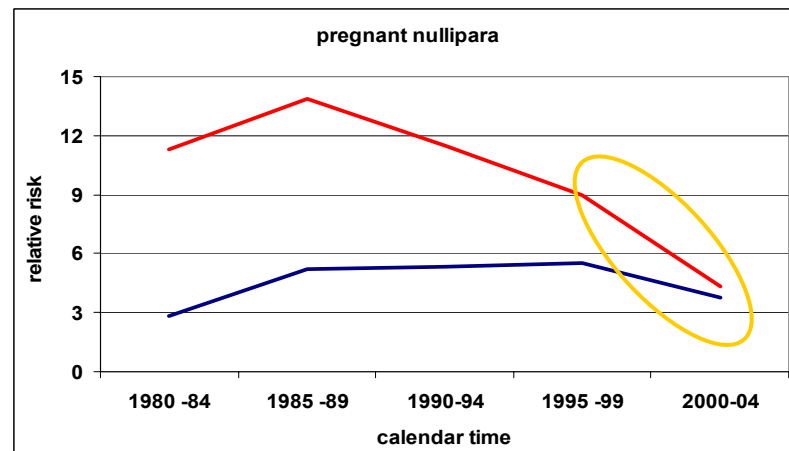
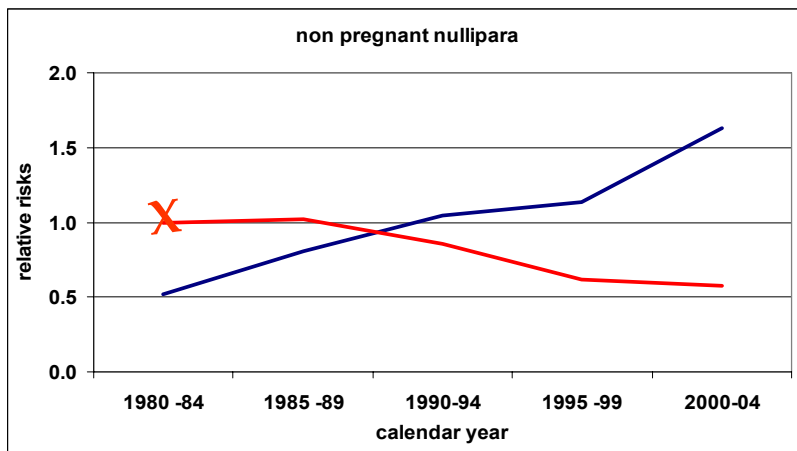


introduction . research questions . data . model . **results** . conclusions



— direct marriage — cohabitation

* Standardized for region, parents' education, parents lived together, # of siblings and parity/pregnancy status



— direct marriage — cohabitation

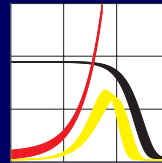
- elevated union formation risks in late 1980s for pregnant women and mothers
- marital family loses its universality in Russia when childbirth is involved

* Standardized for region, parents' education, parents lived together, # of siblings and education



- Consensual unions existed in Soviet Russia already in 1970s and 1980s. The intensity to form *cohabitation has increased over the calendar year* and a *compensation effect* has been observed since early 1990s.
- *Highly educated women* outpaced the other educational groups; university graduates shifted their behavior towards consensual union formation *5-10 years earlier* than middle and low educated.
- Pregnancy has always been an incentive to form an union. *Expecting a child elevates the risk of marital union formation* ~ 12 times (compared to non-pregnant ones); Nevertheless there is evidence that marital family loses its dominance also when a child is expected.

Thank you!
Questions and comments?



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