National Research University

Higher School of Economics

As a manuscript

Ekaterina Mitrofanova

Sociodemographic aspects of the transition to adulthood of Russians born between 1930 and 1986

Thesis Summary for the purpose of obtaining academic degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology HSE

Academic supervisor:

PhD in Economics

Sergey Zakharov

Moscow, 2019

Problem statement

The main goal of archaic and traditional societies was survival; that is why adult members were preoccupied with their livelihoods and reproduction. Since the average life expectancy was only 30-40 years, it was necessary to use the lifespan as effectively as possible. That meant that the earlier one started working and bearing children, the better. There was no time for a long and complicated preparation for adulthood; that is why many societies had strictly regulated rites of passage. Initiation ceremonies were short, formal, regulated, obligatory and well known to every member of society. They indicated the moment of children's transition to adulthood publicly and clearly, which helped to decrease the level of stress and unpredictability for both teenagers and society. In the societies where "the past of the parents was becoming the future for their children"[1], it was a method of transfer of norms, skills, experience and heritage to every new generation.

Societies' and individuals' lives changed dramatically over the last couple centuries in both quantitative and qualitative ways. The life expectancy of developed countries' populations doubled and reached the age of 80. Populations started to live not only longer but also more healthily, more comfortably, and better equipped technologically. Most individuals' vital needs are now satisfied in the post-industrial societies, so the focus on survival and reproduction shifted to personal development and human capital[2].

Doubling the life expectancy of the population in developed and developing countries caused "age inflation"[3] and led to the extension of all the life course stages. The accelerated transition to adulthood became unnecessary in new historical circumstances. The complication of the social structure and the appearance of new jobs which require a long and lasting training led to the prolongation of education and the postponement of other life course events, such as employment and family formation. The transition to adulthood became a complex and multifaceted process, so individuals and societies are still searching for the best set of norms and practices most relevant to the requirements of the new historical time.

The transition to adulthood as a process and a life stage is a very new phenomenon for society. It has been studied using *scientific methods* for only one century. Interest in this phenomenon has been reflected in many disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, demography, anthropology, and many others. To continue studying the transition to adulthood is

---

[1] M. Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap.* N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1970.

[2] R. Inglehart, *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations Are Changing, and Reshaping the World.* Cambridge University Press, 2018.

[3] John B. Shoven and Gopi Shah Goda, 'Adjusting Government Policies for Age Inflation', in *Demography and the Economy.* Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2011, 143–68.

important for science because this phenomenon is closely tied to other research topics, such as: the periodisation of life course stages; the criteria of identification of young people as a social group; the estimation of the length of generations and the tempo of their change; and the social and political challenges and resources of the youth bulge and youth movements.

For an *individual and society,* studying the transition to adulthood is crucial because it is a period of life which has a far greater concentration of important life course choices and events than any other period has[4].

For a *government,* the systematic and complex study of the transition to adulthood is important because it provides an understanding of who the adults are and when a person becomes an adult who can contribute to the economic, social and demographic development of the country. For the welfare states, the age stratification is an important part of the organisation of social institutions which determine how the public goods are going to be distributed among people. Age stratification affects the size and the direction of intergenerational transfers[5], intergenerational contracts within families and society[6] and governmental budgets supporting children and pensioners.

For *Russia*, the study of the transition to adulthood is relevant because of the massive changes in different spheres of life after the dissolution of the USSR. Modern Russian youth demonstrate the change of the demographic and socioeconomic behaviours[7], but these behaviours are rarely being studied not as separate events, but as the components of one process. There are few Russian surveys that can provide suitable data for the analysis of the transition to

---

[4] Francesco C. Billari and Aart C. Liefbroer, 'Should I Stay or Should I Go? The Impact of Age Norms on Leaving Home', *Demography*, no. 1. 2007; Ronald R. Rindfuss, 'The Young Adult Years: Diversity, Structural Change, and Fertility', *Demography* 28, no. 4. 1991.

[5] Mikhail Denisenko and Elena Varshavskaya, 'The Length of Working Life in Russia: Trends and Differentials', *Economics & Sociology* 11, no. 2. 2018: 275–88; Sonja E. Siennick, 'Parental Incarceration and Intergenerational Transfers to Young Adults', *Journal of Family Issues* 37, no. 10. 2016: 1433–57; F. A. Sloan, H. H. Zhang, and J. Wang, 'Upstream Intergenerational Transfers', *Southern Economic Journal*, 2002.

[6] Vern L. Bengtson and W. Andrew Achenbaum, *The Changing Contract across Generations*. New York : A. de Gruyter, 1993; D.J. Cheal, 'Intergenerational Family Transfers', *Journal of Marriage and Family* 45, no. 4 (1983); A. Mironova and L. Prokofieva, 'The Involvement of Russian Households in Intergenerational Transfers 2008-14', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2018.

[7] A. Blum et al., 'Introduction: International Comparisons - France, Georgia, Lithuania and Russia', *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* 40, no. 3–4. 2009: 5–34; T. Frejka and S.V. Zakharov, 'Comprehensive Analyses of Fertility Trends in the Russian Federation during the Past Half Century', *Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research. Series 'MPIDR Technical Report'. No. WP2012-027.* 2012; Vladimir Gimpelson and Rostislav Kapeliushnikov, 'Age and Education in the Russian Labour Market Equation', 2017; M. Mills, 'Stability and Change: The Structuration of Partnership Histories in Canada, the Netherlands, and the Russian Federation', *European Journal of Population/Revue Européenne de Démographie* 20, no. 2. 2004: 141–175; G. Potârcă, M. Mills, and L. Lesnard, 'Family Formation Trajectories in Romania, the Russian Federation and France: Towards the Second Demographic Transition?', *European Journal of Population / Revue Européenne de Démographie* 29, no. 1. 2013: 69–101.

adulthood. There is also little to no usage of advanced methodologies in the study of Russians' biographies.

This research aims to fill this gap in the investigation of the quantitative aspects of the transition to adulthood of modern Russian generations. We believe that understanding the mechanisms of becoming an adult will benefit governments, societies, and individuals. While societies are ruled by adults, it is impossible to create public policy without understanding who adults are and at which stage of the life course they are.

Literature review

People began to develop their interest in the mechanisms of becoming an adult since antiquity. Though life expectancy was no longer than 30-40 years and societies could not allow individuals to waste the precious years of their lives, the transition to adulthood fit in a short and strictly regulated rite of passage. When the life expectancy began to lengthen and the jobs became more complicated, the transition to adulthood started to evolve from an event to a process. Since that time, different scientific disciplines started to study the transition to adulthood as a complex phenomenon.

The first reflections on the transition to adulthood as a life stage appeared in *philosophy* and *literature* in novels such as "Emile, or On Education" by J.J. Rousseau and "The Sorrows of Young Werther" by J. Goethe in the 18th century. The concept of the transition to adulthood and research on the subject began in the 20th century in psychology, sociology, demography, anthropology, cultural studies, and others disciplines.

During the last century, *psychologists* have created many periodisations of the stages of the life course and of the transition to adulthood. The majority of these periodisations are not relevant anymore because of the increase of the lifespan and of the length of different stages of life[8]. In psychological studies, the transition to adulthood is being studied under such labels as "youth" and "emerging adulthood"[9]. Modern interdisciplinary psychological theories admit that the process of becoming an adult is being shaped and influenced by many factors. These factors can be biological, psychological, social, historical and cultural, among others. In spite of the existence of many theories explaining the mechanisms of the transition to adulthood, there is still no unified approach to this phenomenon in psychology.

The interest of *sociology* in the transition to adulthood started with the study of youth as a social group and only later developed into an interest in the whole life stage at which the youth

---

[8] Leo Hendry and Marion Kloep, *Adolescence and Adulthood: Transitions and Transformations*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

[9] J.J. Arnett, 'New Horizons in Research on Emerging and Young Adulthood', in *Early Adulthood in a Family Context*. NY: Springer, 2012, 231–44.

is. Marxism was the first theoretical approach which recognised the political power of the youth and youth movements. Later, a wider range of sociologists also started to study youngsters and their subcultures (E. Durkheim, T. Parsons, R. Merton, N. Smelser and others). Youth studies became particularly relevant after students' riots in Europe and the USA in 1968. In the 1970s, the sociology of age appeared as a separate field of knowledge (M.W. Riley, P. Sorokin, T. Parsons, S. Eisenstadt and B. Neugarten). At the same time, the theory of generations was developed by sociologists and demographers (K. Mannheim, N. Ryder, N. Howe, W. Strauss, Ju.A. Levada, Ya.S. Ulitsky, V.V. Nikitenko, B.V. Dubin and V.V. Semenova). Like psychology, sociology also provides numerous explanations of the transition to adulthood, but it also did not create a research field around this phenomenon. There is a term "sociology of adolescence" in modern western sociology, but this term generally refers to the study of young people as a social group – not to the study of the transition to adulthood as a life stage.

The interest of *demography* in the transition to adulthood is determined by the importance of understanding the changes occurring in the starting demographic events (first partnership, first marriage, and first childbirth). Unlike psychologists and sociologists, demographers study only biographical events and do not take sociopsychological aspects into account. Just as in sociology and in psychology, there is no separate field in demography that studies the transition to adulthood, but there are age demography and youth demography. The number of the demographic studies of the transition to adulthood has been increasing, and the interest in this subject is quite strong. The pioneers in this field studying the starting events in Russia are: L.A. Darsky, I.P. Ilyina, R.I. Sifman, A.G. Vishnevsky, M.S. Tolts, A.G. Volkov, V.A. Borisov, A.A. Popov and others.

Today, the majority of the scientists from different humanitarian disciplines agree that the transition to adulthood is a multidimensional process, and it should be studied in an interdisciplinary field. One of the most successful and respected interdisciplinary concepts in modern social studies is the *Life Course Approach* (LCA)[10]. It was founded by psychologists (e.g. C. Buhler, N.A. Rybnikov, L. Frank, J. Trommsdorff, J. Nuttin, H. Thomä, S.L. Rubinshtein, B.G. Ananyev, A.A. Kronik, E.I. Golovakha, K.A. Albukhanova-Slavskaya and N.A. Loginova) and later developed methodologically by sociologists, demographers and statisticians (e.g. L.D. Cain Jr., G.H. Elder Jr., I.S. Kon, M. Titma, H.-P. Blossfeld, I. Huinink, F.C. Billari, A.C. Liefbroer, M. Mills and E. Ju. Rozhdestvenskaya).

---

[10] D.F. Alwin, 'Integrating Varieties of Life Course Concepts', *Journals of Gerontology*, Series B: Psychological Sciences & Social Sciences, 67, no. 2. 2012: 206–20; René Levy, 'Why Look at Life Courses in an Interdisciplinary Perspective?', *Advances in Life Course Research,* no. 10. 2005: 3–32; René Levy et al., 'Incitations for Interdisciplinarity in Life Course Research', *Advances in Life Course Research,* no. 10. 2005: 361–91.

LCA pays considerable attention to *the transition to adulthood*. Sociologists and demographers operationalise the transition to adulthood as a set of starting sociodemographic events, such as completion of education, first employment, first leaving parents, first partnership, first marriage and first childbirth[11]. Scientists apply special quantitative methods and techniques to analyse the occurrence of these events, for example, Age-Period-Cohort Analysis, Event History Analysis and Sequence Analysis. They study the quantum, timing, tempo, and sequencing of the starting events' occurrence. The quantitative approach to the analysis of the patterns of the transition to adulthood has become very popular over the last three decades. There are many scholars contributing to it, for example, K.U. Mayer, F.C. Billari, A.C. Liefbroer, M. Mills, M.C. Buchmann, T. Sobotka, A. Blum, S.V. Zakharov and others.

Among existing scientific literature, we could not find any complex quantitative study of the *transition to adulthood of Russians*. If scientists study the starting events using the biographies of Russians, they usually analyse starting events separately or in small groups of two or three events which do not fully represent the transition to adulthood[12]. There are only a few quantitative sociodemographic studies that analyse several starting events at once. For example, the authors of the 2010 study[13] examine only the effects of country and generation on the transition to adulthood, while other important factors are missing (e.g. gender, educational level, place of residence, etc.). Another paper examines the gender disparity, but focuses only on women's biographies[14]. One more paper studies both genders' transitions to adulthood, but the case of Russia was not described in detail[15]. Our study continues these papers and elaborates on the transition to adulthood based on the theories and concepts mentioned above.

---

[11] F. C. Billari and A. C. Liefbroer, 'Towards a New Pattern of Transition to Adulthood?', *Advances in Life Course Research* 15, no. 2. 2010: 59–75; F. C. Billari et al., 'The Timing of Life: The Organization of the Life Course in Europe', in *The Timing of Life: The Organisation of the Life Course in Europe*. London: European Social Survey, 2005; M. Buchmann, *The Script of Life in Modern Society: Entry into Adulthood in a Changing World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989; A.C. Liefbroer, 'From Youth to Adulthood: Understanding Changing Patterns of Family Formation from a Life Course Perspective', in *Population Issues.* The Netherlands: Springer, 1999, 53–85.

[12] Blum et al., 'Introduction'; Frejka and Zakharov, 'Comprehensive Analyses of Fertility Trends in the Russian Federation during the Past Half Century'; Gimpelson and Kapeliushnikov, 'Age and Education in the Russian Labour Market Equation'; Melinda Mills, 'The Transformation of Partnerships: Canada, the Netherlands, and the Russian Federation in the Age of Modernity'. Thela Thesis, 2000; Mills, 'Stability and Change'; Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard, 'Family Formation Trajectories in Romania, the Russian Federation and France'.

[13] A. Blum, P. Sebille, and S.V. Zakharov, 'A Divergent Transition to Adulthood in France and Russia: A Cohort Approach', *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* 40, no. 3–4. 2009: 123–52.

[14] S.V. Zakharov, 'Value-Normative "Schedules" of Human Life: The Views of People from Different Countries about When a Girl Becomes an Adult', in *Russia in Europe. Based on the International Project 'European Social Survey'*. M.: Academia, 2009, 347–79.

[15] S. Zsolt, L. Murinkó, and R.A. Settersten Jr., 'Are Conceptions of Adulthood Universal and Unisex? Ages and Social Markers in 25 European Countries', *Social Forces*, no. 3. 2014.

Focus of the research

The object of the research is the starting sociodemographic events in the biographies of Russians who were born between 1930 and 1986.

The subject of the research is the patterns of the transition to adulthood by Russian generations born between 1930 and 1986.

Starting sociodemographic events include: completion of education (vocational and higher), first employment, first leaving parents, first partnership, first marriage, and first childbirth.

The aim of the research is to create a complex understanding of how Russians with various sociodemographic characteristics are becoming adults.

The goals of the research are*:*

1. To operationalise the phenomenon of the transition to adulthood, and to emendate its definition.
2. To create a complex approach to the study of the sociodemographic aspects of the transition to adulthood, and to visualise this process using the demographic Lexis grid.
3. To study the intergenerational dynamics of the transformation of the models of the transition to adulthood, and to investigate how the historical context and individual characteristics of people affect this process.
4. To classify the models of the transition to adulthood of different Russian generations in the context of existing theories and concepts.
5. To reveal the specific patterns of the transition to adulthood of the youngest generation of Russians.

Personal contribution of the author and academic novelty

The study uses the most relevant and representative Russian data for the complex analysis of the six starting sociodemographic events marking the transition to adulthood. Previous research papers devoted to the quantitative investigation of the transition to adulthood in Russia either did not provide an intergenerational comparison[16], did not take into account the gender disparity[17] or analysed only women[18].

In this thesis, the transition to adulthood of modern Russians was analysed through the lens of four individual characteristics of people: their gender, generation, level of education at

---

[16] Zsolt, Murinkó, and Settersten Jr.
[17] Blum, Sebille, and Zakharov, 'A Divergent Transition to Adulthood in France and Russia'.
[18] Zakharov, 'Value-Normative "Schedules" of Human Life: The Views of People from Different Countries about When a Girl Becomes an Adult'.

the moment of survey and location at the moment of survey. The results were discussed in the context of the historical time and the particular political measures which accompanied the transition to adulthood of each generation.

Conducted research contributes both to the theoretical concepts explaining the process of the transition to adulthood by clarifying the available definitions of this stage of life, and to the methodological approaches by offering a complex analysis of the onset of starting sociodemographic events.

The results of the research could be used by policy-makers updating existing sociodemographic policy, and they could be applied in different sectors of the economy and different spheres of public life – everywhere where the knowledge of normative ages and other components of the transition into adulthood can be useful.

Theoretical background

The starting points of the study of the transition to adulthood stem from the papers describing the interinfluence of a society and an individual through the mechanisms of the habitualisation of social practices[19]. The theoretical framework of the research is shaped by the Life Course Approach (LCA), the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) and some explanatory concepts on the process of the transition to adulthood.

The LCA is an interdisciplinary approach that considers that there is an increase in the variety of biographical scenarios and a deinstitutionalisation of life courses[20].

The *Demographic Transition Theory* (DTT) assumes that if a country can repeat the successful models of economic and social development of other countries – the same should work for demographic development. DTT posits that the modernisation of demographic behaviour consists of stages, and different countries are going through them at different paces and in different historical times. The first stage of demographic transition consists of the quantitative changes of the main demographic processes (an equilibrium of high mortality and fertility rates changes to an equilibrium of low mortality and fertility rates). The second stage of

---

[19] P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: First Anchor, 1966; K. Kiernan, 'Cohabitation in Western Europe: Trends, Issues and Implications', in *Booth, A. and Crouter, A. (Eds.): Just Living Together: Implications of Cohabitation on Families, Children and Social Policy*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002, 3–31; Tomáš Sobotka and Laurent Toulemon, 'Changing Family and Partnership Behaviour: Common Trends and Persistent Diversity across Europe', *Demographic Research* no, 19. 2008: 85–138.

[20] A. Giddens, 'Living in a Post-Traditional Society', in *Reflexive Modernization; Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; Blackwell, 1994, 56–109; Walter R Heinz and Victor W Marshall, *Social Dynamics of the Life Course: Transitions, Institutions, and Interrelations*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2003; Johannes Huinink, 'De-Standardisation or Changing Life Course Patterns? Transition to Adulthood from a Demographic Perspective', in *The Demography of Europe*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013, 99–118.

the demographic transition (or the *Second Demographic Transition*, SDT) implies the changes in family formation models and the separation of the sexual, matrimonial and reproductive behaviours. In the 1960s, Western European countries demonstrated the first patterns of SDT; one or two decades ago, the same patterns appeared in Eastern European countries. These patterns consist of the postponement of childbirth and marriage; an increase in the number of non-registered unions (partnerships) and the children who were born in them; and a decrease in the number of registered unions (marriages) and the children who were born in them[21].

There are two opposing *approaches interpreting the changes in the transition to adulthood*. Some demographers and sociologists argue that there is a convergence of the patterns of the starting events' occurrence among countries, while other scientists believe that there is a divergence among them.

The explanatory concept of Hajnal, who described the marriage differences between Western and Eastern European countries, supports the idea of the *divergence* of the transition to adulthood models among the countries[22]. More recent studies also provide some arguments supporting this point of view, for instance: classification of the transition to adulthood patterns in Europe[23]; clusterisation of European countries according to their family policy types[24]; classification of the social policy regimes in Europe[25]; and the analysis of the influence of European welfare regimes on the models of the transition to adulthood[26]. The main idea of these studies is that the Western and Northern European countries transform their models of transition to adulthood earlier than Eastern and Southern European ones. The scholars attribute it to the more liberal norms, values and policy regimes in the former countries.

Explanatory concepts that assume *convergence* of the patterns of the transition to adulthood do not reject the regional differences. They only maintain that the regional differences are getting weaker over time, and that there is a general movement to the modernisation of demographic and socioeconomic behaviours. The research of Billari and Liefbroer supports this

[21] R. Lesthaeghe and K. Neels, 'From the First to the Second Demographic Transition: An Interpretation of the Spatial Continuity of Demographic Innovation in France, Belgium and Switzerland European', *Journal of Population*, 2002; Sergei Zakharov, 'Russian Federation: From the First to Second Demographic Transition', *Demographic Research* no. 19. 2008: 907–72.

[22] J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', in *Glass DV, Eversley DE, Eds. Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography.* Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965, 101–43.

[23] L'allongement de la jeunesse */ (Eds.) A. Cavalli, O. Galland.* Paris: Actes Sud, 1993.

[24] A. Ejrnas and T.P. Boje, 'Family Policy and Welfare Regimes', in *Report 3: Labour Market and Social Policies.* Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2008.

[25] G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism.* NJ: Polity Press, 1990; G. Esping-Andersen, *Family Formation and Family Dilemmas in Contemporary Europe.* Bilbao, Spain: Fundacio´n BBVA, 2007.

[26] J. Vogel, 'European Welfare Regimes and the Transition to Adulthood: A Comparative and Longitudinal Perspective', *Social Indicators Research*, 2002.

idea[27]. The authors explored the change of the following characteristics of the transition to adulthood in Europe: timing, tempo, and sequencing of events' occurrence. They described the "traditional" model of the transition to adulthood as "*early, contracted and simple*" (because the starting events happened at early ages, with small intervals between them and in the same order for almost everyone). The "modern" model was described as "*late, protracted and complex*". The results of their study correspond with the ideas of both LCA and SDT theory. The conducted analysis revealed that socioeconomic events are being postponed less than demographic ones, which leads to the lengthening of the period of the transition to adulthood (because socioeconomic events occur at almost the same ages, while demographic ones occur later than in previous generations). The sequencing of the starting events' occurrence is becoming more variable and individualised.

There are other studies which support the idea of convergence: the exploration of family formation in France, Romania and Russia[28], as well as in Canada, the Netherlands and Russia[29]; and the review of studies on the transition to adulthood in Europe[30]. The study of the transition to adulthood by women in different European countries revealed differences not only in the timing and sequencing of the starting events' occurrence, but also in the set of events marking the person as an adult[31]. In Eastern European countries, as well as in Portugal, France and Cyprus, people think that the most important events which indicate that a woman became an adult are family formation and childbirth. In Western European and Northern European countries, people believe that it is more important to get a job and leave the parental home to become an adult. S.V. Zakharov admits that there is a convergence of the models of the transition to adulthood in Europe and a search for a new "schedule" of human life, but he also believes that some regional patterns are still quite strong in modern European societies.

In their study, A. Puur and his co-authors[32] found confirmation of both the stadiality of the SDT (convergence) and the regional differences of the matrimonial behaviour transformation (divergence). The authors revealed that the transition to a new matrimonial model started in Western Europe in the 1960s, while other European countries started this transition several

---

[27] Billari and Liefbroer, 'Towards a New Pattern of Transition to Adulthood?'

[28] Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard, 'Family Formation Trajectories in Romania, the Russian Federation and France'.

[29] Mills, 'Stability and Change'.

[30] M.C. Buchmann and I. Kriesi, 'Transition to Adulthood in Europe', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2011.

[31] Zakharov, 'Value-Normative "Schedules" of Human Life: The Views of People from Different Countries about When a Girl Becomes an Adult'.

[32] A. Puur et al., 'Transformation of Partnership Formation in Eastern Europe: The Legacy of the Past Demographic Divide', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 2012; A. Puur et al., 'Past and Present Patterns of Family Formation in Eastern Europe: Does Hajnal's Delineation Still Matter?', *Filosofija Sociologija*, 2012.

decades later: Eastern Germany and Estonia pursued the forefront in 15-20 years, while Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Russia and Romania took 20-25 years. The investigation of the interconnection between matrimonial behaviour of modern Europeans and the historical matrimonial regimes showed that the development of the matrimonial models in some countries does not work the way Hajnal predicted (e.g. in Lithuania and Bulgaria). Thus, the research of Puur and his co-authors develops both approaches explaining the changes in the transition to adulthood and posits that there are some stages in the modernisation process, but the regional differences and the historical context could influence the pace and other aspects of modernisation.

This thesis is devoted to the analysis of the patterns of the transition to adulthood inside of one country, but among different generations: that is why the ideas of convergence and divergence are applicable to this study. We investigate whether the patterns of the transition to adulthood of modern Russian generations are similar to their peers in Europe (convergence) or the older Russian generations (divergence). Based on the introduced explanatory approaches, we assume that modern Russians will demonstrate a modernised sociodemographic behaviour, but we expect to reveal some differences based on the individual characteristics of people (e.g. gender, level of education, location, etc.).

There are three main hypotheses we are going to test in the research:

1. The modern Russian generations that started their transition to adulthood after the dissolution of the USSR demonstrate a divergence of the patterns of the starting events' occurrence from the older Russian generations and a convergence with the models which are demonstrated by the countries which are at the more advanced stages of the demographic transition.

2. All the Russian generations show the gender disparity in the models of the transition to adulthood, especially in the starting demographic events: women start getting married and having children at earlier ages and more intensively than men. Women who gave birth to a child have fewer chances of getting a vocational or higher education and a job.

3. The models of the transition to adulthood differ depending on the level of education and the location of a respondent. Big cities and higher education even out gender differences in starting events' occurrence. People who live in big cities spend more time obtaining all the starting events than people from rural areas, but they have greater chances of getting socioeconomic events than people in rural places.

Data and methods

The main dataset of the research is the Russian part of the comparative international UNECE programme "Generations and Gender". The Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) is a representative survey which was conducted in Russia in 2004, 2007 and 2011 according to the standardised questionnaire. The dataset of this survey is the most relevant source of microdata on sociodemographic events of the life courses of Russians. The GGS design was originally developed for the use of the most advanced statistical methods and for the analysis of changes in labour, educational, reproductive, matrimonial and family biographies.

To analyse the occurrence of the starting events using modern statistical and mathematical methods, we prepared a harmonised dataset of the respondents who participated in all three waves of GGS (i.e. panel sample). The harmonised dataset contains 5,451 respondents born between 1930 and 1986. In addition to this dataset, we also prepared and analysed the results of two other representative surveys conducted in Russia: the third wave of the "European Social Survey" (ESS, 2006)[33] and the survey "Person, Family and Society" (PFS, 2013)[34]. A comparison of the results of these surveys showed the stability and consistency of the conclusions based on the GGS data. The results of this analysis were not included in the thesis, but they were published in articles and presented at conferences.

The chronological boundaries of the research were determined by the empirical data. The panel GGS data provided the full biographies only for people who were born between 1930 and 1986, and the last wave of the survey was conducted in Russia in 2011, so the historical period we investigated fell between 1930 and 2011. There are several methods provided by Statistics, Sociology, Demography and the Life Course Approach which were used in the research:

1. We analysed the structure, quantum, timing and sequence of the starting event occurrence using descriptive statistical methods such as: frequency analysis, crosstabs, and mean and median ages. For estimation of the statistical significance of the results, we used the chi-square method for the facts of the events' occurrence, ANOVA for the ages of events' occurrence, and the Kruskal–Wallis one-way analysis of variance for testing the difference in median ages.

2. To analyse tempo (intensity of events' occurrence), we used Event History Analysis (Cox Regressions).

3. We created the author's method of visualisation of the process of the transition to adulthood by using the demographic Lexis grid.

---

[33] ESS is an international programme of regular population surveys with 38 participating countries.

[34] PFS was conducted by the Institute for Social Analysis and Prediction of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration.

Main results

The key results of the research are summarised on the demographic Lexis grid (Fig. 1). This instrument is applied by demographers and operates with three time coordinates on the grid: the x-axis represents historical time, the y-axis represents ages of people, and the diagonal axis represents generations. The pictograms, which we placed on the Lexis grid, show at what median age each generation had every starting sociodemographic event. The axis with the calendar time provides us historical context in whose boundaries each generation was undergoing the process of the transition to adulthood.

For both men (blue colour) and women (red colour) of each generation, we created two "corridors" indicating the age period during which each generation was the transition to adulthood. To build the "corridors", we counted all the starting events except partnerships, because they were not part of the normative set of starting events in the Soviet era.

The boundaries of the "corridors" filled with colour were counted as the difference between the earliest and the latest occurring event. For almost all generations, the first event was employment and the last event was childbearing. However, it is very basic information, because the individual biographies exhibit great variety in the composition of events. Some people may not even experience an event which is the "earliest" one for an average person.

In order to get a more objective picture, we first sorted all the events of every biography chronologically. Then we identified the first and last events in a particular biography. Knowing the age of the first and the last starting event for every respondent, we calculated median ages of these events for each generation, and these medians became the boundaries of the dashed "corridors" on the picture.

The difference between the boundaries of the "corridors" of two types is the difference between two approaches to study the transition to adulthood: analysis of starting events separately or as a part of one complex process.
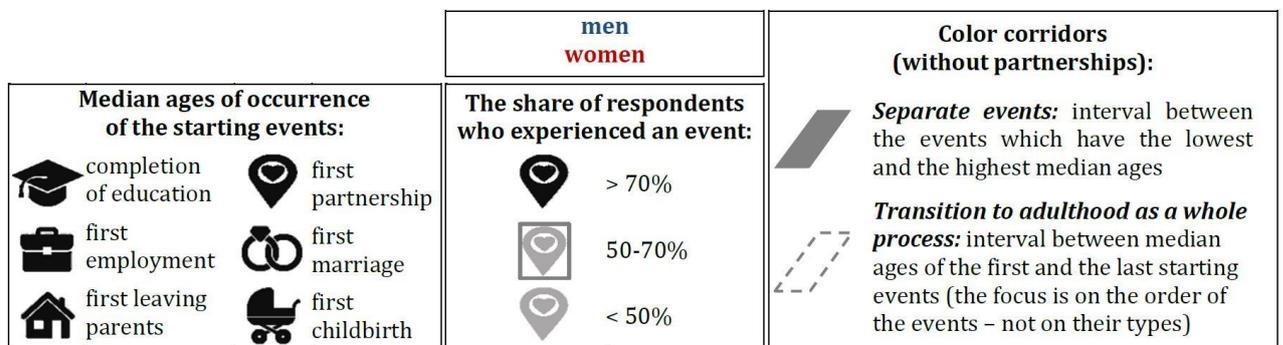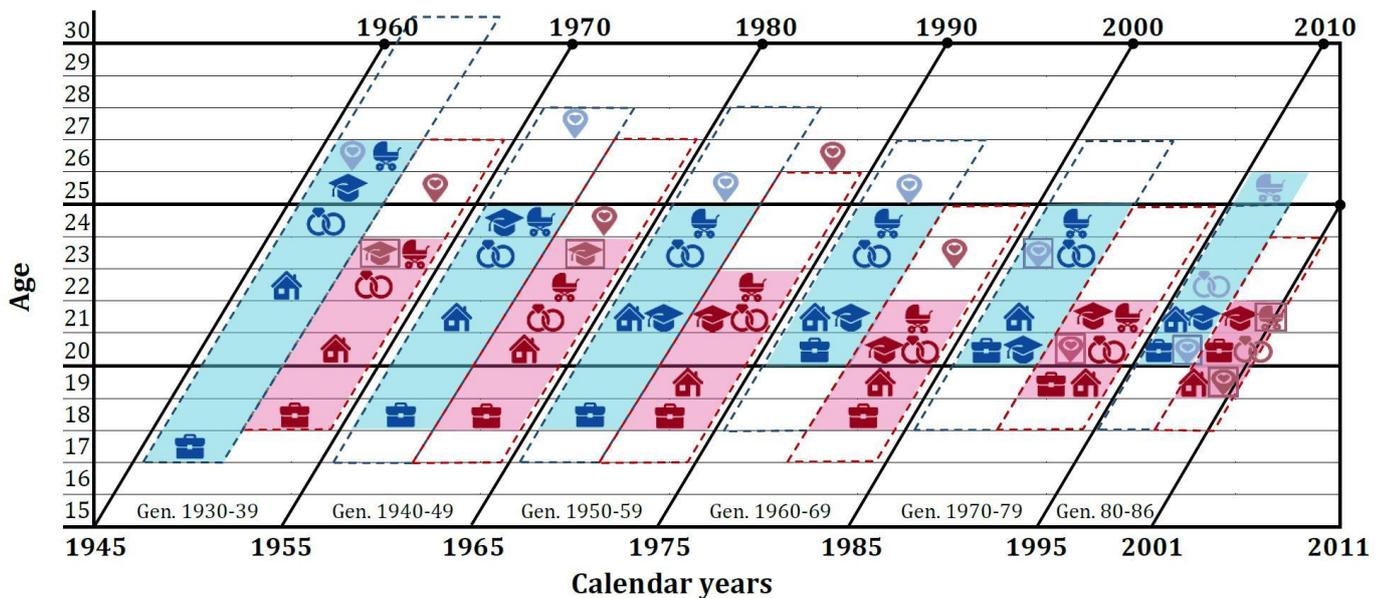
Figure 1. Lexis grid depiction of the transition to adulthood of different Russian generations in the context of accompanying historical time

Source: made by the author based on the panel data of the Russian part of GGS, 2011

The Lexis grid depiction introduced above (Fig. 1) lets us visualise:

1. The influence of the effects of period, age and cohort in the process of the transition to adulthood.

2. The composition and timing of the starting sociodemographic events' occurrence (the shades of the pictograms and their order).

3. The onset of the starting sociodemographic events separately (coloured "corridors" and pictograms) and altogether as a part of one process of the transition to adulthood (dashed "corridors").

4. The length of the transition to adulthood for each generation.

5. The interrelation of the behaviour of people with the historical and institutional context.

6. The influence of the individual characteristics of people: in this case, the blue and red colours show the life course events of men and women.

14

7. The interrelation of the starting events: the analysis of the most common combinations of events.

Based on the scheme above and additional calculations, we created Table 1, which represents the key patterns of the transition to adulthood and lets us classify the models of the transition to adulthood. The information in the table represents the second approach to the analysis of the transition to adulthood, which means that we analysed the starting events altogether, as a part of one process. We did not include partnerships in the set of the starting events because they were not normative before the dissolution of the USSR.

Table 1. Classification of the models of the transition to adulthood (TA) in Russia

Genera-tion	Age boundaries of TA	Length of TA, years	Number of events	Number of events per year of TA	Order of events' occurrence**	Calendar period of TA	Model of TA
1930-39	17-27	10	4.46	0.69	1. 1st employment 2. 1st leaving parents 3. 1st marriage and 1st childbirth 4. completion of education 5. 1st partnership	1947-1966	Transi-tional
1940-49	17-26	9	4.57	0.80		1957-1975	Soviet
1950-59	17-26	9	4.66	0.81		1967-1985	
1960-69	17-25	8	4.63	0.95		1977-1994	
1970-79*	18-25	7	4.51	1.06	1. 1st employment 2. 1st leaving parents 3. completion of education 4. 1st partnership 5. 1st childbirth 6. 1st marriage	1988-2004	Transi-tional
1980-86*	18-23	5	3.60	1.23		1998-2009	Post-Soviet

Source: made by the author based on the panel data of the Russian part of GGS, 2011

* For generations which have not completed their transition to adulthood yet, we have only preliminary data.

** The level of prevalence of the event:

- Universal event (more than 70% of respondents have it)
- Semi-universal event (50-70% of respondents have it)
- Non-universal event (less than 50% of respondents have it)

Let us describe the main aspects of the patterns of the transition to adulthood. The *median ages of the first and last starting events* change very slowly. In general, Russians become adults between the ages of 17-18 and 25-27. Men start their transition to adulthood earlier than women, but they focus primarily on the socioeconomic events, while women start

later, but with demographic events. Women obtain all the events quite intensively, so they complete their transition to adulthood earlier than men. By the age of 25, both men and women already have two out of three socioeconomic events. Out of three demographic events, men obtain only 1.3 events, while women have 1.5-2 events. By the age of 35, both genders have 2.5 socioeconomic events. Out of three demographic events, men have fewer than two events, while women have more than two events.

Among the generations who socialised in Soviet times, the average age of completing the transition to adulthood varied between 26 and 28 for men and 25 and 27 for women, so, on average, the ***length of the transition to adulthood*** was 9-10 years. The youngest generation was 25-31 years old at the moment of the survey, so they have not yet completed their transition to adulthood and have only 3.6 events out of 5.

The respondents whose biographies we analysed were at different ages at the moment of survey, which means that they had different chances of obtaining the starting events. To neutralise this effect, we calculated a more objective measure – the ***"speed" of the transition to adulthood***: we divided the length of the transition to adulthood of every respondent by the number of his or her starting events, and then we calculated the average number of events for each generation.

The "speed" of the transition to adulthood reveals that the oldest generation went through their transition to adulthood slower than other generations (0.69 events per year), while the youngest generation started the transition to adulthood just several years ago, but demonstrated an almost two-fold faster tempo (1.23 events per year). The "speed" is a more objective indicator than just a number of events or the length of the transition to adulthood, but the "speed" has its own drawback: it is "blind" to the difference in the intervals between events.

Figure 2 demonstrates the ***age-related event occurrence***, which means that we compare the shares of people having different events by the same ages. We can see that every generation organises their transition to adulthood in their own unique way. The generation of 1930-39 had a long interval between an early occurring employment and other, more postponed, events. Women born in 1970-79 demonstrate the most compact onset of events: all the events occurred almost simultaneously. The youngest men had the "cluster" of early and intensively occurring events (socioeconomic events and partnership) and the "cluster" of postponed events (marriage and childbirth). As a result, young men reveal a "pause" in their transition to adulthood, which breaks this process into two stages.
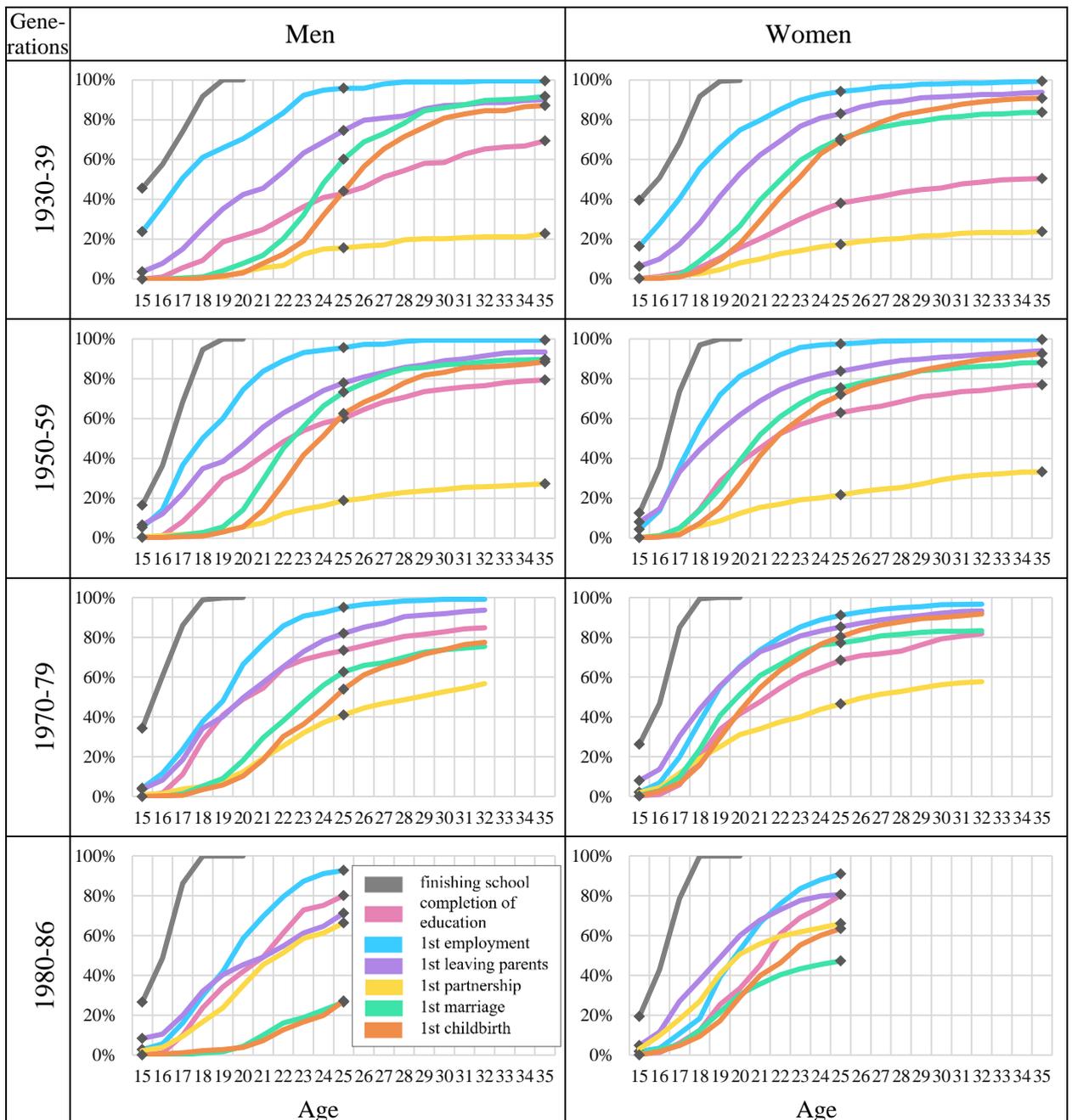
Figure 2. Age-related event occurrence by generations and genders

Source: made by the author based on the panel data of the Russian part of GGS, 2011

As we said before, we chronologically sorted the starting events inside of each biography, which let us calculate the average sequence of the events' occurrence. Our results corroborate the results of previous studies which revealed that the ***quantum and sequencing of starting events' occurrence*** in Russia is changing[35].

For generations socialised in ***Soviet times***, such events as employment, leaving the parental home, getting married and giving birth to a child were universal and normative. Almost everybody

---

[35] Mills, 'Stability and Change'; Zakharov, 'Value-Normative "Schedules" of Human Life: The Views of People from Different Countries about When a Girl Becomes an Adult'; Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard, 'Family Formation Trajectories in Romania, the Russian Federation and France'.

had these events, and usually in the aforementioned order. Vocational and higher education were mostly a prerogative of men, and women's biographies started to incorporate this event only beginning from the generation of 1950-59. Partnerships were undesirable in the USSR, so they occurred rarely and usually after the first marriage. Thus, a partnership was not a marker of the transition to adulthood; more likely, it was a possible event for a later stage of life (adulthood).

For generations socialised in *post-Soviet times*, getting professional education and living in partnerships became a part of a normative scenario of the transition to adulthood. Addition of these two events into a set of desirable or allowed events increased the variety of life course paths and the number of starting events. The youngest generation begins the transition to adulthood with the onset of the socioeconomic events, then it obtains partnership, and only after several years they may (or may not) get married and give birth to a child.

Calendar years: localisation of the transition to adulthood of each generation at a specific period of time

The *generation of 1930-39* spent the most active period of their transition to adulthood in the postwar period between 1947 and 1966. The beginning of this period was connected with a new wave of Stalin's repressions and the strengthening of restrictive policy measures, such as paid education, the prohibition of job change, the ban on abortions, the tax on childlessness, illegal state of children born out of wedlock, etc. In the context of labour mobilisation, both men and women needed to start work early and postpone other events for the sake of rebuilding the country – this is exactly what the biographies show. A lack of such events as the completion of education and partnerships, which we saw on the graphs, was also the result of existing norms and laws.

The *generations of 1940-49* and *1950-59* spent the most active period of their transition to adulthood in the most stable period of the Soviet era – between 1957 and 1985. Stalin died in 1953, and soon thereafter the period of "thawing" began. Most restrictive policy measures were still functioning, but the support of the governmental institutions also increased. Eight-year education in school became obligatory; the law on parasitism made everyone work; and the compulsory assignment to work after study made the transition from the educational system to employment very smooth, hardly including the individual in the decision-making process. As a result, everyone in the USSR had some education and a job. This is exactly what we saw on Figure 2: almost 100% of people had finished school and got employed by the age of 23. The benefits for people building families and the lack of accessible, effective contraception led to a model of early and universal marriage, as well as childbirth occurring, on average, six months after marriage.

The ***generation of 1960-69*** started their transition to adulthood in 1977, a stable period of the Soviet era, but completed their transition in a very turbulent time of *perestroika* and the dissolution of the USSR. As a result, the first glance at the patterns of their transition to adulthood illuminates their similarity with the two previous generations. However, their biographies were influenced by the situational factors of the historical time. For example, men started to obtain their starting events later than previous generations because of a massive military appeal fueled by the Afghan war. After two years in the army, men would return home and compensate for the delay in the starting events' occurrence so intensively that they completed their transition to adulthood even earlier than previous generations. Women also completed the transition early, but it was caused by the decreasing of the age of first childbirth. It happened because of the very active pronatalist policy of that time: paid leave after childbirth was increased from three months to one year in 1982 and 1.5 years in 1989.

The ***generation of 1970-79*** entered adult life in a drastically different time (1988-2004) in comparison with what the previous generations experienced. Social norms were changing, many restrictive laws were cancelled, and the freedom of individual choice started to increase. However, there was not enough infrastructure to effectively employ the new practices. The graphs in Figure 2 showed that this generation had the lowest ages of first childbirth and marriage. It was the result of the new sexual freedom combined with the lack of contraception and the power of the belief that a child should be raised in a full family: when young people got their sexual experiences, it often led to an unplanned pregnancy, and if the couple decided to give birth to the child, very often they got married right before the delivery.

The ***generation of 1980-86*** started the transition to adulthood in 1998, seven years after the dissolution of the USSR and two years before new millennium – the era of the Internet and high-tech gadgets, when the whole civilised world could watch the same TV shows, use the same social media and learn from the same role models. The opportunity to see examples of other life course scenarios, to travel and to work in any part of the world, changed the mindset and the behaviour of this generation. The graphs above showed that youngsters are obtaining socioeconomic events as actively as previous generations, but their demographic behaviour differs. First of all, the belief that marriage and childbirth should follow one another is fading. Secondly, the belief that a couple can live together only if the partners are married is changing due to the acceptance of a partnership as one of the types of marital unions. Thirdly, there is much less pressure on women to have the first child at the "healthiest reproductive ages". Fourthly, there is effective contraception available which helps with planning the occurrence of reproductive events much more effectively than in the past. All these changes let modern

youngsters change the structure and the calendar of the transition to adulthood, which, as we saw on the graphs, already happens.

Classification of the models of the transition to adulthood

The Lexis grid depiction of the transition to adulthood reveals that the localisation of the period during which a generation obtains its starting events influences all the patterns of the transition to adulthood. The transition to adulthood adapts to certain historical and institutional circumstances to let the youth most effectively enter into the social system.

Based on the conducted analysis, we revealed three models of the transition to adulthood of Russian generations:

The most typical and stable mode of the starting events' occurrence could be called the "*Soviet*" model. It unites the generations of *1940-49*, *1950-59*, and *1960-69*. The unification of norms, as well as the stability of policy measures and ideological discourse created a normative life course scenario which was available, and almost obligatory, for everyone.

During turbulent historical periods, the modes of life organisation changed according to the most urgent needs of the time. The models appearing in such circumstances could be called "*Transitional*". This model unites the generations of *1930-39* and *1970-79*.

The oldest generation was the one that rebuilt the country after World War II. They postponed the majority of the starting events for the sake of early and intensive work.

The generation of 1970-79, on the other hand, demonstrated the most compressed event occurrence, especially among its women. They either did not know what to expect from the future and tried to obtain the most important events while possible, or they enjoyed the freedom in all spheres of life and wanted to try everything.

The last model could be called "*Post-Soviet*" because it describes the only generation which started the transition to adulthood in post-Soviet Russia. People born in *1980-86* have been organising their lives in a new way which undoubtedly stems from the Soviet modes but starts to drift toward the models demonstrated in European countries: *"late, protracted and complex"*[36].

Discussion of the results in light of the sociological and demographic theories

The conducted analysis and the presented classification confirms the idea of the *convergence of the patterns of the transition to adulthood*[37]. The "Soviet" model of the transition to adulthood is very similar to what Billari and Liefbroer call the "*traditional*" model

---

[36] Billari and Liefbroer, 'Towards a New Pattern of Transition to Adulthood?'
[37] Billari and Liefbroer.

(early, contracted and simple), while the "Post-Soviet" model shows the trend of moving toward a "*modern*" one (late, protracted and complex).

The transition from the "Soviet" ("traditional") model to the "Post-Soviet" ("modern") one confirms the idea of the ***stadiality of the modernisation process***. The changes in the demographic sphere are going in the same direction as in Europe[38]: youth prefer partnerships to marriages as the first matrimonial union and postpone marriages and childbirths. We can even confirm the estimations of the interval between the beginnings of the SDT in Europe and in Russia. As we mentioned before, in Europe the SDT started with the generation of the 1960s. In Russia, as we see now, it started with the generation of the 1980s – exactly the way it was estimated.

We can also confirm the assumptions of the ***LCA***[39]**,** which predicted the increase in the number of life course scenarios, the variability of the order of the events' occurrence and the differentiation of the intervals between them.

The conducted analysis illustrated the mechanism of the ***habitualisation of social practices***[40]. We observed how the historical context could influence the transition to adulthood by either setting strict rules in different spheres of life ("Soviet" model) or necessitating behavioural change ("Transitional" models). We saw a contrasting mechanism as well: how people can establish new norms by practicing new behaviours ("Post-Soviet" model).

Conclusion

The research revealed that the transition to adulthood is an adaptive life course stage which is able to adjust to historical circumstances, governmental goals and people's needs. In previous eras of human history, "The past of the parents was becoming the future for their children"[41], so it was important to have a stable and easily reproducible model of the transition to adulthood. In today's world, which is changing very fast, it is important to be flexible and adapt to changes, which is why today's children say to their parents: you have never grown up in the world where I have been growing up[42].

---

[38] Frejka and Zakharov, 'Comprehensive Analyses of Fertility Trends in the Russian Federation during the Past Half Century'; Puur et al., 'Transformation of Partnership Formation in Eastern Europe'; Puur et al., 'Past and Present Patterns of Family Formation in Eastern Europe: Does Hajnal's Delineation Still Matter?'

[39] Giddens, 'Living in a Post-Traditional Society'; Heinz and Marshall, *Social Dynamics of the Life Course*; Huinink, 'De-Standardisation or Changing Life Course Patterns? Transition to Adulthood from a Demographic Perspective'.

[40] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*; Kiernan, 'Cohabitation in Western Europe: Trends, Issues and Implications'; Sobotka and Toulemon, 'Overview Chapter 4'.

[41] Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap*.

[42] Mead.

We confirmed the hypotheses of the research and formulated the key insights of the thesis:

1. ***The transition to adulthood*** is a complex process of becoming an adult. This process allows young people to become a part of the social structure and makes the generational change and updating of social norms and behavioural models possible. Quantitative analysis of the sociodemographic aspects of the transition to adulthood revealed the mechanisms which allow this stage of life to adapt to the historical context and the needs of people.

2. The demonstrated complex analysis of the transition to adulthood let us compare ***two analytical approaches***: the analysis of the starting socioeconomic events separately and the analysis of all of them as a part of one process. The weakness of the first approach is that we cannot study the interconnections between all the available events individually – only in groups of two or three. The weakness of the second approach is that the chosen set of events determines the results. Both approaches are sensitive to the censoring of events, so we used age-related indicators of events' occurrence.

   We depicted the results of the analysis on the demographic Lexis grid, which allowed us to observe the influence of historical and institutional context on the behaviour of people.

3. The analysis of the transition to adulthood of different generations in the context of accompanying social norms and policy measures revealed the following:

   • The historical and institutional ***context*** could set the age boundaries and determine the order of events' occurrence, which corroborates the results of previous studies [Berger, Luckmann, 1966; Kiernan, 2002; and Sobotka, Toulemon, 2008].

   • Sociodemographic characteristics also influence the patterns of their transition to adulthood. The research revealed a strong ***gender difference*** in the demographic events' occurrence: women tend to get married and have their first child at least two years earlier that the men from the same generation. The gender difference in the socioeconomic events' occurrence is disappearing in the modern generations.

   • In general, the lower the ***level of education*** of people and the less ***urbanised*** their place of residence, the earlier they start the transition to adulthood and the fewer socioeconomic events they accrue. Such an accelerated transition to adulthood amid such a limited number of scenarios could be the result of a

specific life organisation and belief system in rural areas, of the more limited labour and marriage markets, or of the more limited opportunities for family planning and career development.

4. We described three models typical of different Russian generations:

- "*Soviet*" model (generations of 1940-49, 1950-59, and 1960-69): "early, contracted, and simple" event occurrence;

- "*Transitional*" model (generations of 1930-39 and 1970-79): flexible models adapting to the changes of historical time;

- "*Post-Soviet*" model (generation of 1980-86): "late, protracted and complex" event occurrence.

This classification of the models of the transition to adulthood of Russians is similar to the idea of the convergence of the patterns of the starting events' occurrence and shifting it from the "traditional" model to the "modern" model[43]. The similarity of the Russian and European models' change confirms the stadiality of the modernisation process[44].

5. We revealed the specific patterns of the youngest generation's transition to adulthood. The changes in the social and political spheres in post-Soviet Russia led to the increase in the personal choice and responsibility in life course decision making. The increase in life expectancy led to the protraction of different stages of life and let youth postpone their transition to adulthood. Four to five years of college became a part of a normative scenario of growing up and let youngsters pause their starting events' occurrence. E.H. Erikson named this period a psychosocial moratorium[45]. It is the opportunity for young people to live in a "semi-adult" state when they already have all the rights of an adult but do not have so many adult responsibilities. We believe that the decrease in the number of marriages and childbirths in the generation of 1980-86 is just a temporary postponement of the events with the highest level of responsibilities.

The new normative model of the transition to adulthood in Russia has not yet formed. We can expect an increase in the number of life course scenarios because such is happening in countries which are further along in the modernisation process. We should continue studying the transition to adulthood because the correct application of knowledge on this process can help us

---

[43] Billari and Liefbroer, 'Towards a New Pattern of Transition to Adulthood?'

[44] Frejka and Zakharov, 'Comprehensive Analyses of Fertility Trends in the Russian Federation during the Past Half Century'; Puur et al., 'Transformation of Partnership Formation in Eastern Europe'; Puur et al., 'Past and Present Patterns of Family Formation in Eastern Europe: Does Hajnal's Delineation Still Matter?'

[45] Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995.

leverage the emerging changes for the advancement the society and economy, as well as make informed decisions in public and corporate policy.

Validation of the results

The thesis results' *validation* was conducted at Russian and international conferences, as well as through the publication of articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals.

The framework and methodological and theoretical questions related to the research were discussed at 36 Russian and foreign *scientific conferences:*

1. 06-10.06.2018 – International Conference «European Population Conference» (Brussels, Belgium): poster "The difference between Soviet and post-Soviet generations' transitions to adulthood in Russia"

2. 30.11-01.12.2017 – International Conference in Russian: "Demographic development of Russia in the global context: convergence or divergence?" (HSE, Moscow): report "Sequences of the starting sociodemographic events in France, Estonia and Russia"

3. 12-16.06.2017 – 14th International Conference on Formal Concept Analysis (Rennes, France): report in association with D.K. Gizdatullin, D.I. Ignatov and A.A. Muratova "Classification of demographic sequences based on pattern structures and emerging patterns".

4. 27-29.04.2017 – International conference PAA Annual Meeting 2017 (Chicago, USA): poster "Sequencing the Transition to Adulthood of Russian Men and Women".

5. 11-14.04.2017 – In Russian: XVIII April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development (Moscow, Russia): report in association with A.V. Artamonova in Russian: "The factors of choosing of matrimonial union"

6. 24-25.03.2017 – International conference ESAK 10 "Estonia 100 – towards openness?" (Tallinn, Estonia): report "Matrimonial and Reproductive Behaviours of Young Russians"

7. 10-12.11.2016 – International conference in Russian: "Russian Sociological Community: History, Present and the Place in International Social Science" (St. Petersburg, Russia): report in Russian: "Transformation of the transition to adulthood in the context of globalisation"

8. 26-28.10.2016 – International conference 16th Aleksanteri Conference: Life and Death in Russia (Helsinki, Finland): report "Sexual, Matrimonial and Reproductive Behaviour in Young Russians"

9. 19-22.10.2016 – 5th All-Russia Sociological Congress in Russian: "Sociology and Society: Social Inequality and Social Equality" (Yekaterinburg, Russia): report in Russian: "The

Perspectives of Applying the Methods of Life Course Events Analysis. The Example of the Transition to Adulthood"

10.   19-22.10.2016 – 5th All-Russia Sociological Congress in Russian: "Sociology and Society: Social Inequality and Social Equality" (Yekaterinburg, Russia): report in association with A.V. Artamonova in Russian: "Marriage or Cohabitation: With What Are the Biographies of the Russians Starting"

11.   10-14.10.2016 – 11th International Conference on Intelligent Data Processing: Theory and Applications (Barcelona, Spain): report in association with D.I. Ignatov, A.A. Muratova and D.K. Gizdatullin "Pattern-based classification of demographic sequences"

12.   31.08-03.09.2016 – International conference "European Population Conference 2016" (Mainz, Germany): poster in association with A.V. Artamonova "Evolution of Cohabitation in Russia"

13.   31.08-03.09.2016 – International conference "European Population Conference 2016" (Mainz, Germany): poster "The Sequence of Occurrences of the Starting Socio-Demographic Events in the Life Course of Russians"

14.   18.07.2016 – Third International Workshop on Experimental Economics and Machine Learning (the 13th International Conference on Concept Lattices and Their Applications) (HSE, Moscow): report in association with A.V. Artamonova "Studying Family Formation Trajectories' Deinstitutionalisation in Russia Using Sequence Analysis"

15.   08.06-10.06.2016 – International conference "LaCOSA II (The International Conference on Sequence Analysis and Related Methods)" (Lausanne, Switzerland): report "Russian Generations: Sequencing the Transition to Adulthood"

16.   17.05-20.05.2016 – In Russian: 7th International scientific and practical conference of students and graduate students "Statistical methods of the analysis of economy and society" (HSE, Moscow): report in association with A.V. Artamonova in Russian "Applying sequence analysis for studying the life courses of men who served and did not serve in the army"

17.   26.04.2016 – In Russian: 10th All-Russia Scientific Conference in memory of Yuri Levada "Modern Russian Society and Sociology" (HSE, Moscow): report in Russian: "Sequences of Starting Demographic Events in the Lives of Russians"

18.   19.04-22.04.2016 – In Russian: XVII April International Academic Conference on Economic and Social Development (HSE, Moscow): report in association with A.A. Dolgova, A.V. Artamonova in Russian: "Creating one's own family in the context of leaving the parental home".

19.   16.03-17.03.2016 – In Russian: VI Sociology Grushin Conference "The Life of the Research after the Research: How to Make the Results Comprehensible and Useful"

(RANEPA, Moscow): report in association with A.V. Artamonova in Russian: "The recipe of preparation of the ideal database for the analysis of life course events: GGS and HFS experience"

20. 28.01-29.01.2016 – In Russian: International Scientific-Practical Conference "Statistical methods in the humanitarian and economic sciences" (Saint-Petersburg, Russia): report in association with A.V. Artamonova in Russian: "Analysis of the sociological data about life course events using advanced statistical methods"

21. 30.11-01.12.2015 – The 3rd Generations and Gender User Conference (Vienna, Austria): poster in association with A. Artamonova "The nature of cohabitation in contemporary Russia"

22. 30.09-02.10.2015 - International Conference on Knowledge Engineering and Semantic Web (MISA, Moscow): report in association with D.I. Ignatov, A. Muratova, D. Gizdatullin "Pattern Mining and Machine Learning for Demographic Sequences"

23. 12-15.05.2015 – In Russian: The 6th International scientific and practical conference of students and graduate students "Statistical methods of the analysis of economy and society" (HSE, Moscow): report in association with A. Artamonova in Russian: "Preparation of the data about life course events for advanced statistical analysis"

24. 13-17.04.2015 – In Russian: The XXII International conference of students, graduate students and young scientists "Lomonosov" (MSU, Moscow): report in association with A. Artamonova in Russian: "Unregistered union as an 'adjunct' of a marriage in Russia"

25. 12-13.03.2015 – In Russian: The 5th sociological Grushinsky conference: "A big Sociology: the expansion of a data space": report in association with A. Artamonova in Russian: "The features of data preparation of life course events to the analysis of advanced statistical methods"

26. 05-07.11.2014 – International conference Quetelet Seminar "Fertility, childlessness and the family: A pluri-disciplinary approach" (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium): report in association with A. Artamonova "Is a cohabitation an alternative to a marriage in Russia?"

27. 08-10.09.2014 – International conference The British Society for Population Studies (BSPS) Annual Conference 2014 (Winchester, UK): poster in association with A. Dolgova "The main features of leaving the parental home in Russia"

28. 25-28.06.2014 – International conference European Population Conference (Hungary, Budapest): poster "Exploring the difference in sequences of the first life course events among Russian generations"

29.	27.11.2013 – International conference "The Dutch Demography Day 2013" (Utrecht, the Netherlands): report "The Russian Generation Y in reproductive and matrimonial spheres"

30.	24-26.10.2013 – The Second Generations & Gender Programme User Conference (Milan, Italy): poster "Cohabitations in Russia: generational and gender aspects"

31.	27-28.12.2012 – International conference "Business and Social Science Research Conference: Paris 2012" (Paris, France): report "Demographic behaviour of Russians: family and fertility patterns across generations"

32.	05.10.2012 – The Conference in Russian of the Association of Russian Economic Think-Tanks (ARETT, Moscow) "The Russian economy in 2010: problems and reforms": report in Russian: "Demographic behaviour of Russian generations in family and fertility spheres"

33.	15-16.05.2012 – In Russian: The 3rd International scientific and practical conference of students and graduate students "Statistical methods of the analysis of economy and society" (HSE, Moscow): report in Russian: "Analysis of demographic events of the life course"

34.	9-13.04.2012 – In Russian: The XIX International conference of students, graduate students and young scientists "Lomonosov" (MSU, Moscow): report in Russian: "Starting reproductive and matrimonial events in the life courses of generations of modern Russia"

35.	16-18.12.2010 – In Russian: The 1st International conference "Agenda for Comparative Social Research" of the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research (HSE, St. Petersburg): project "Changes in Fertility and Matrimony across Generations in the Post-Communist World"

36.	25.06.2010 – In Russian: All-Russia School-Seminar of Young Scientists "Demographic Development of Russia and Its Regions", devoted to the 15-year anniversary of Cairo Demographic Programme (Ufa, Russia): report in Russian: "Differences in reproductive behaviour of modern Russian generations"

The thesis results and methodological questions were discussed at eight *scientific seminars:*

1.	30.04.2015 – Scientific seminar of the Research and Study Group "Fertility, Family Formation and Dissolution": report "Analysis of sequence of matrimonial events"

2.	28.05.2014 – Scientific seminar of the Research and Study Group "Fertility, Family Formation and Dissolution": report in association with Alena Artamonova "Is cohabitation an alternative to marriage in Russia?"

3.	21.05.2014 – Scientific seminar of the Research and Study Group "Fertility, Family Formation and Dissolution": report "Technical aspects of data management of GGS"

4.	21.02.2014 – Joint meeting of the scientific student society "Demographer" and the Research and Study Group for Fertility, Family Formation and Dissolution of HSE: report "The concept of life course and analysis of life course events"

5.	25.12.2014 – Scientific seminar of Institute for Social Analysis and Prediction of RANEPA: report "Life course concept and spheres of its application"

6.	13.06.2013 – Scientific seminar of the Scientific-educational laboratory for socio-demographic policy (Institute of Demography, HSE): report in Russian: "Matrimonial, reproductive and labour behaviour of Russians in the context of maturation"

7.	15.12.2011 – Scientific seminar of the "Open demographic seminar of young researchers" (Moscow State University): report "Reproductive and matrimonial behaviour of generations of modern Russia"

8.	24.11.2011 – Joint meeting of the scientific student society "Demographer" of HSE: report: "Matrimonial biographies and reproductive behaviour of generations in modern Russia"

The author published 43 ***scientific papers*** on the thesis, with a total volume of 30 printed pages (personal author contribution is 20 printed pages). There are seven articles indexed in Scopus, and three articles have been published in journals from the list of publications recommended by HSE.

There are the papers published in the peer-reviewed scientific journals from the ***Scopus*** international database:

1.	Mitrofanova E. S. Entering adult life: North Caucasus in comparison to other regions of Russia. *The Journal of Social Policy Studies*. 17(1). 2019, pp. 133-141.

2.	Zakharov S. V., Mitrofanova E. S. Demographics of Youth in Russia, in: *Handbook of the Sociology of Youth in BRICS Countries*. Ed. by T. Dwyer, Gorshkov Mikhail K., I. Modi, C. Li, M. S. Mapadimeng. World Scientific, 2018. Ch. 7, pp. 123-143.

3.	Mitrofanova E.S. The Age Parameters of the Starting Demographic Events Across Russian Generations (Translation from Russian). *Russian Education & Society*. 2016. Vol. 58. No. 9-10, pp. 601-622.

4.	Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. The perspectives of family policy in Russia amid increasing cohabitation. *European Journal of Government*. Vol. 5, № 6. 2016, pp. 47-63.

5.   Artamonova, A.V., Mitrofanova, E.S. Cohabitation in Russia: "trial" union or an independent social institution. *The Monitoring of Public Opinion: Economic and Social Changes Journal*. No. 1 (131). 2016, pp. 126-146.

6.   Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. Studying Family Formation Trajectories' Deinstitutionalisation in Russia Using Sequence Analysis. *Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Experimental Economics and Machine Learning.* 2016, pp. 34-47.

7.   Ignatov D.I., Mitrofanova E.S., Muratova A., Gizdatullin D. Pattern Mining and Machine Learning for Demographic Sequences. In: *Knowledge Engineering and Semantic Web.* Vol. 518: 6th International Conference, KESW 2015, Moscow, Russia, September 30 – October 2, 2015, Proceedings. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2015, pp. 225-239.

There are the papers published in the journals from the list *recommended by HSE*:

8.   Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Matrimonial behaviour of Russians against the background of other Europeans. *Demographic Review*. Vol. 5. № 1. 2018, pp. 106-137.

9.   Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. The sequence of life events of Russian men serving and not serving in the military. *Demographic Review*. No. 4. 2015, pp. 77-110.

10.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Age specifics of the occurrence of starting demographic events among Russian generations. *Population (Russian Scientific Journal)*. No. 2. 2015, pp. 87-100.

There the papers published *in other sources*:

11.   Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Modernisation of Matrimonial Behaviour of Europeans: The Search for Multi-Level Determinants and Their Empirical Verification. Working paper. SSRN. Series "Working Papers". ID 3235154. 2018.

12.   Mitrofanova E.S. Becoming an adult in France, Estonia and Russia. Working paper. National Research University Higher School of Economics. Series WP BRP "Basic research program". No. 78/SOC/2017. 2017.

13.   Mitrofanova E.S. The difference between soviet and post-soviet generations' transitions to adulthood in Russia. Working paper. Tallinn: Estonian Institute for Population Studies, Tallinn University, 2017.

14.   Mitrofanova E.S. Family formation in Russian generations in the light of sample surveys, in: *Russia's population: 23 demographic annual report.* Ed. By Zakharov S. V. 2017, pp. 85–99.

15.   Gizdatullin D., Ignatov D.I., Mitrofanova E.S., Muratova A.A. Classification of Demographic Sequences Based on Pattern Structures and Emerging Patterns, in: *14th*

International Conference on Formal Concept Analysis – Supplementary Proceedings. University Rennes. 2017, pp. 49-66.

16.   Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Unregistered cohabitation in Russia. *Demoscope Weekly.* № 671-672. 2016.

17.   Mitrofanova E.S. Transformation of the transition to adulthood in the context of globalisation, in: *Russian Sociological Community: History, Present and the Place in International Social Science. Materials of scientific conference devoted to 100th anniversary of Kovalevsky's Russian sociological society.* St. Petersburg: Skifiya-print. 2016, pp. 1499-1503.

18.   Mitrofanova, E.S. The Perspectives of Applying the Methods of Life Course Events Analysis. The Example of the Transition to Adulthood, in: *Sociology and Society: Social Inequality and Social Equality.* Yekaterinburg, Russia, October 19-21, 2016. Web. Materials of 5th All-Russia Sociological Congress. Ed. by Mansurov V. Moscow: Russian Sociological Society, 2016, pp. 9591-9600.

19.   Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Marriage or Cohabitation: With What Are the Biographies of the Russians Starting, in: *Sociology and Society: Social Inequality and Social Equality.* Yekaterinburg, Russia, October 19-21, 2016 Web. Materials of 5th All-Russia Sociological Congress. Ed. by Mansurov V. Moscow: Russian Sociological Society. 2016, pp. 9574-9590.

20.   Muratova A.A, Gizdatullin D., Ignatov D.I., Mitrofanova E.S. Identification of knowledge in Demographic Sequences, in: *Sociology and Society: Social Inequality and Social Equality.* Yekaterinburg, Russia, October 19-21, 2016 Web. Materials of 5th All-Russia Sociological Congress. Ed. by Mansurov V. Moscow: Russian Sociological Society. 2016, pp. 9601-9615.

21.   Gizdatullin D., Ignatov D.I., Muratova A., Mitrofanova E.S., Baixeries J. Classification of Demographic Sequences based on pattern structures, in: *Thesis of the 11th International Conference on Intelligent Data Processing.* Moscow, Torus Press. 2016, pp. 28-29.

22.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Russian Generations: Sequencing the Transition to Adulthood, in: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sequence Analysis and Related Methods (LaCOSA II) Lausanne, Switzerland, June 8-10, 2016.* Editors: Gilbert Ritschard and Matthias Studer. 2016, pp. 263-274.

23.   Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. Recipe of ideal data base for analysis of life course events: QOS and RANEPA experience, in: *VI Sociology Grushin Conference "The Life of the Research after the Research: How to Make the Results Comprehensible and Useful".* VCIOM. 2016, pp. 888-892.

24. Dolgova, A.A., Mitrofanova, E.S. Leaving the parental home in Russia: intergenerational aspects. *Journal of Economic Sociology*. Vol.16. No. 4. 2015, pp. 46-77.

25. Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. Features of preparing life course data for analysis with advanced statistical methods. *The Monitoring of Public Opinion: Economic and Social Changes Journal*. No. 3 (127). 2015, pp. 147-150.

26. Dolgova A., Mitrofanova, E.S., Leaving the parental home in Russia: intergenerational aspects. *Demoscope Weekly*. No 624-625. 2015.

27. Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Unregistered union in Russia as a trial version of marriage . *Demoscope Weekly*. No 624-625. 2015.

28. Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. Features of preparing life course data for analysis with advanced statistical methods, in*: 7th International scientific and practical conference of students and graduate students "Statistical methods of the analysis of Economy and Society*. HSE. 2015, pp. 187-190.

29. Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Unregistered union as un 'adjunct' of a marriage in Russia, in: *Materials of the XXII International conference of students "Lomonosov"*. Ed. by Andreev A., Andriyanov A., Antipov E. Moscow, Maks Press, 2015.

30. Mitrofanova, E.S., Artamonova, A.V. Features of preparing life course data for analysis with advanced statistical method, in: *Proceedings of The 5th sociological Grushinsky conference: "A big Sociology: the expansion of a data space*. 2015. VCIOM, pp. 34-38.

31. Zakharov, S.V., Mitrofanova, E.S. The matrimonial sphere of Russian youth. *Demoscope Weekly*. No. 619-620. 2014.

32. Artamonova A.V., Mitrofanova E.S. Is cohabitation an alternative to marriage in Russia? Working paper. SSRN. ID 3071779. October 24, 2014.

33. S. V. 扎哈罗夫 (S. V. Zakharov), E. S. 米特罗法诺夫 (E. S. Mitrofanova). 俄罗斯青年人口特征 (Demographics of Youth in Russia), in: 青年与社会变迁：中国与俄罗斯的比较研究 (*Youth and social change: a comparative study between China and Russia*) China: 社会科学文献出版社 (Social Sciences Academic Press), 2014, pp. 50–67.

34. Zakharov, S.V., Mitrofanova, E.S. Demographic patterns of the youth in Russia*, in: Russia and China: the youth of the 21st century*. Moscow, 2014, pp. 55-79.

35. Tyndik, A.O., Mitrofanova, E.S. Social and economic behaviour of people in the perspective of the life course concept. *The Monitoring of Public Opinion: Economic and Social Changes Journal*. No. 3 (121). 2014, pp. 146-159

36.   Mitrofanova E.S. Demographic behaviour of Russians: family and fertility patterns across generations. *The Macrotheme Review* 2(3), Spring 2013, pp. 71-80.

37.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Analysis of demographic events of the life course , in: *Thesis of the 3rd International scientific and practical conference of students and graduate students "Statistical methods of the analysis of Economy and Society"*, HSE, Moscow, 2012. pp. 130-131.

38.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Starting reproductive and matrimonial events in the life courses of generations of modern Russia, in: *Materials of XIX International conference of students, graduate students and young scientists "Lomonosov-2012"*. Ed. by. Andreev A., Andriyanov A., Antipov E., Andreev K., Chistyakova M. Moscow, Maks Press, 2012.

39.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Marriages, partnerships and fertility of Russian generations. *Demoscope Weekly*. No. 477-478. 2011.

40.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Demographic behaviour of Russians: family and fertility patterns across generations. *HSE Economic Journa*l. Vol. 15, No. 4. 2011, pp. 519-542.

41.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Family and marriage: matrimonial, reproductive and sexual behaviour in peasant, soviet and modern Russia. *Demoscope Weekly*. No. 423-424. 2010.

42.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Differences in reproductive behaviour of modern Russian generations, in: *The collection of articles of All-Russia School-Seminar of Young Scientists "Demographic Development of Russia and Its Regions", devoted to the 15-year anniversary of Cairo Demographic Programme*, 2010, pp. 232-238.

43.   Mitrofanova, E.S. Use of applied aspects of the Theory of Generations in social, corporate and a state policy-making. *Demoscope Weekly*. No. 381-382. 2009.

Acknowledgments