

## **Union Formation in Russia, 1985-2001**

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Since the beginning of the 1990s Russia has experienced a number of well-publicized demographic crises. Mortality has increased precipitously, especially among males, whose life expectancy fell from about 65 years in mid-1980s to 57 in 1994. Fertility rates, which had declined slowly since the 1950s but recovered in the 1980s, dropped sharply: by 2000, the total fertility rate was 1.2. The combination of these trends helped produce a net population loss of 3 million people from 1992 to 2000, despite substantial net in-migration. These patterns are probably related to the collapse of the Soviet Union in late 1991 and the ensuing economic, political, and social turmoil.

We examine an aspect of demographic change in contemporary Russia that has received less attention from scholars: union formation. Decisions to marry and cohabit are affected by a variety of economic, political, and socio-cultural factors. Because the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought about dramatic changes in each of these dimensions, we would expect corresponding changes in rates of marriage and cohabitation. In fact, the rapid and sweeping nature of Russia's economic and social transformations make Russia an especially suitable case for the study of how patterns of union formation change in response to economic and social crises. In turn, nuptiality clearly affects fertility and probably also affects morbidity and mortality, as well as host of other economic and social outcomes. Thus, by analyzing union formation in Russia, we can gain insight into other demographic and social processes that have attracted more attention.

Based on official data, we do know that Russia's crude marriage rate has declined steadily since 1990. But the crude marriage rate is an unreliable measure of actual trends, because it takes no account of the size of the risk set, which can vary independently of population size. Anecdotal evidence points to an increase in the rate of cohabitation, but reliable data are hard to come by, and we cannot tell whether the increase in cohabitation has offset the putative decrease in marriage. Moreover, previously available data offer no insight into what factors are driving the putative trends in marriage and cohabitation. If marriage rates are declining and cohabitation rates increasing, it could be largely due to changing population composition with respect to age, education, employment status, and marital status.

In order to determine the actual trends in union formation in Russia and consider possible explanations for them, we analyze marital histories spanning 1985-2001 from the Survey on Stratification and Migration Dynamics in Russia. This new survey was conducted on a multistage, stratified probability sample of 7,176 Russian adults in three waves from September 2001 through January 2002. The lead author designed a special battery of questions for the survey that elicit the respondent's marital status in December 1984 and the timing (month and year) and nature of each change in marital status from that time through the month of the survey. Based on this information, we construct complete marital histories for all respondents. The special battery also includes questions

the permit us to construct employment and residential mobility histories covering the same period, as well as a range of demographic measures. We have extensively cleaned the histories and transformed the observation file into a spell file. We also merged annual data on regional economic characteristics from official sources with the spell file, using the migration histories to identify the region where the respondent lived at any point in time. We capitalize on the unusual richness of these data by estimating event history models of individual-level union formation events that incorporate time-varying measures of individual and contextual factors that potentially influence these events.

Our analyses address four broad questions:

1. What are the trends in the raw (gross) and adjusted (net of covariates) rates of first marriage, remarriage, any marriage, and cohabitation in Russia from 1985-2001, *among those at risk* for these outcomes?
2. How do marital status, age, gender, education, employment status, city size, and regional economic conditions affect union formation in contemporary Russia?
3. Do the effects of other covariates, particularly age, vary by gender?
4. Have the effects of some covariates, particularly age, education, and employment status, changed following the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991?

Our analytic approach involves the estimation of continuous-time event history models for the four outcomes of interest, where the time metric is calendar time (in months). Because marriage is rare for Russians over 50, we restrict our analyses to spells where respondents are aged 16-50. We initially parameterize change over time in the baseline hazard using dummy variables for each year subsequent to 1985. We plot the coefficients on these dummy variables and test alternative smoothing functions. We then add the individual and contextual variables of interest to the model in order to determine their effects and to assess the “adjusted” temporal trends. We estimate separate models for male and female respondents to examine variations in effects by gender. Finally, we estimate separate models for pre-transition and post-transition periods (using December 1991 as the cutoff point) in order to see if the effects of covariates changed as a result of the collapse of the USSR.

Thus far, we have estimated some preliminary models for any marriage (not distinguishing between first marriage and re-marriage) and for cohabitation. The attached tables show some of these results. Our main preliminary findings are as follows:

- 1) In Russia, marriage rates have declined across the board since 1985.
- 2) The decline does not stem from changing population composition: the raw and adjusted trends are nearly identical.

- 3) The age profile for marriage rates in Russia is typical and typically differs for men and women.
- 4) The gender-specific age profiles are fairly stable over time. This, as well as year-to-year stability in the age at first marriage within our sample, suggests that Russian has experienced a genuine decline in marriage, not delayed marriage.
- 5) Marital status, education, and employment status all significantly affect marriage rates in Russia:
  - a. Cohabiters and divorcees have lower rates
  - b. Graduates of universities and technical secondary schools have higher rates
  - c. Students and the unemployed have lower rates
- 6) Cohabitation rates have increased for men and women.
- 7) The increase in cohabitation also cannot be attributed to population composition, but reflects a secular trend.
- 8) Prior marriage and self-employment increase hazard of cohabitation

Our full paper will refine the analyses on which these preliminary findings are based (in particular, by incorporating variables measuring regional economic conditions), conduct the equivalent analyses of first marriage and re-marriage, and discuss the broader theoretical implications of the key results.

**TABLE 1****Annual Cross-sectional Marital Status, SMDR Respondents 16-50 Years Old at the Start of Each Year**

	never married	married	cohabiting	separated/ divorced	widowed	N	Mean age
<b>1985</b>	29.1%	62.3%	2.2%	4.8%	1.6%	4,280	31.5
<b>1986</b>	28.2%	62.0%	2.4%	5.8%	1.6%	4,211	31.6
<b>1987</b>	29.1%	61.1%	2.2%	5.8%	1.8%	4,209	31.4
<b>1988</b>	29.3%	60.9%	2.3%	5.9%	1.5%	4,181	31.2
<b>1989</b>	29.8%	60.1%	2.4%	6.4%	1.4%	4,164	31.0
<b>1990</b>	29.1%	59.9%	3.1%	6.5%	1.5%	4,181	31.1
<b>1991</b>	29.1%	59.8%	2.9%	6.8%	1.4%	4,164	30.9
<b>1992</b>	30.4%	58.3%	3.0%	6.9%	1.5%	4,161	30.7
<b>1993</b>	30.0%	57.6%	3.3%	7.8%	1.4%	4,212	30.8
<b>1994</b>	28.6%	57.7%	3.4%	8.7%	1.6%	4,347	31.0
<b>1995</b>	28.4%	56.9%	3.8%	9.1%	1.9%	4,418	31.4
<b>1996</b>	27.9%	56.1%	4.1%	9.8%	2.1%	4,460	31.9
<b>1997</b>	28.1%	54.9%	4.9%	9.9%	2.3%	4,521	31.9
<b>1998</b>	27.9%	53.7%	5.4%	10.6%	2.3%	4,539	32.1
<b>1999</b>	29.9%	51.5%	5.5%	11.0%	2.2%	4,605	31.8
<b>2000</b>	29.4%	50.8%	6.6%	11.3%	2.0%	4,530	31.9
<b>2001</b>	28.9%	49.9%	7.5%	11.6%	2.2%	4,424	32.2

**TABLE 2: Full Additive Models for Marriage, SMDR Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50**

	Men and Women		Men		Women	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Current Marital Status (Never Married)</b>						
Cohabiting	-.523 **	.112	-.650 **	.186	-.491 **	.141
Divorced/Separated	-.567 **	.096	-.492 **	.163	-.563 **	.118
Widowed	-1.540 **	.311	-.382	.589	-1.645 **	.386
Woman	.159 **	.051				
<b>Age group (39 to 50)</b>						
16 to 17	.167	.251	-1.580 **	.554	.774 **	.316
18 to 20	1.740 **	.143	.603 **	.243	2.279 **	.186
21 to 23	2.197 **	.133	1.613 **	.207	2.505 **	.177
24 to 26	2.023 **	.135	1.508 **	.207	2.272 **	.182
27 to 29	1.657 **	.144	1.169 **	.220	1.907 **	.194
30 to 32	1.376 **	.155	1.271 **	.223	1.321 **	.219
33 to 35	.720 **	.185	.695 **	.269	.668 **	.258
36 to 38	.459 **	.199	.439	.284	.398	.282
<b>Highest Degree Attained (General Secondary)</b>						
University	.359 **	.083	.293 **	.128	.473 **	.110
Some College	-.020	.098	.040	.179	-.015	.120
Specialized Secondary	.262 **	.072	.281 **	.111	.293 **	.095
Lower Vocational	.178 **	.078	.051	.111	.336 **	.110
Less than Secondary	-.178	.156	-.323	.230	-.086	.213
<b>Main Activity (Employed)</b>						
Studying at university	-.433 **	.086	-.546 **	.153	-.375 **	.106
Studying, other school	-.447 **	.089	-.566 **	.182	-.380 **	.103
Self-employed	.047	.204	.202	.235	-.327	.387
Unemployed	-.322 **	.158	-.394 *	.224	-.304	.224
NLF	.047	.147	-.246	.275	.158	.181
Maternity Leave	.568 **	.157	.868	1.383	.646 **	.161
Military Service	-1.183 **	.194	-.940 **	.204	-8.632 **	1.027
Retired/Disabled	-1.195 **	.448	-1.148 *	.615	-1.312 **	.633
Other	-.119	.322	-.120	.348	-.364	.723
Unobserved	-7.883 **	.616	-10.200 **	.754	-7.368 **	.696
Family in locality	-.002	.077	-.184	.117	.127	.103
<b>Locality type (small or medium city)</b>						
Rural village	-.024	.070	-.212 *	.113	.110	.089
Large city (>1 mil)	-.105	.065	-.146	.105	-.072	.083
Moscow	-.159 **	.072	-.215 *	.113	-.103	.093
City missing	-.216 **	.089	-.343 **	.144	-.124	.112
Family missing	-.076	.136	-.340	.224	.132	.169

**Table 2 (cont.)**

**Full Additive Models for Marriage, SMDR Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50**

	Men and Women		Men		Women	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Year (1985)</b>						
<b>1986</b>	-.190	.119	-.431 **	.190	-.032	.154
<b>1987</b>	-.178	.119	-.082	.173	-.256	.166
<b>1988</b>	-.369 **	.128	-.706 **	.214	-.151	.163
<b>1989</b>	-.172	.119	-.536 **	.203	.063	.150
<b>1990</b>	-.161	.119	-.280	.186	-.061	.157
<b>1991</b>	-.303 **	.124	-.386 **	.190	-.221	.166
<b>1992</b>	-.548 **	.133	-.691 **	.203	-.428 **	.176
<b>1993</b>	-.370 **	.125	-.615 **	.202	-.184	.161
<b>1994</b>	-.487 **	.129	-.539 **	.196	-.430 **	.172
<b>1995</b>	-.368 **	.122	-.668 **	.200	-.151	.157
<b>1996</b>	-.540 **	.130	-.695 **	.201	-.396 **	.172
<b>1997</b>	-.638 **	.131	-.862 **	.210	-.456 **	.169
<b>1998</b>	-.618 **	.128	-.658 **	.194	-.563 **	.171
<b>1999</b>	-.678 **	.129	-.817 **	.200	-.548 **	.170
<b>2000</b>	-.697 **	.129	-1.148 **	.220	-.406 **	.162
<b>2001</b>	-1.031 **	.149	-1.106 **	.224	-.962 **	.201
<b>Constant</b>	-6.101 **	.178	-5.067 **	.259	-6.650 **	.235
<b>Subjects</b>	3920		1509		2411	
<b>Log-likelihood</b>	-2849.6		-1125.4		-1634.4	
<b>Events</b>	1790		702		1088	
<b>Time at risk</b>	334878		132101		202777	

**TABLE 3**

**Preferred Gender Interaction Models for Marriage, by Period, SMDR Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50**

	All years		1985-1991		1992-2001	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Current Marital Status (Never Married)</b>						
Cohabiting	-.552 **	.111	-.375 **	.167	-.668 **	.150
Divorced/Separated	-.518 **	.094	-.588 **	.141	-.456 **	.123
Woman*Widowed	-1.633 **	.385	-1.416 **	.500	-1.863 **	.586
Woman	-.810 **	.135	-.693 **	.191	-.929 **	.185
<b>Age group (39 to 50)</b>						
16 to 17	-1.897 **	.478	-1.173 **	.560	-2.952 **	1.020
18 to 20	.605 **	.188	.623 **	.285	.614 **	.248
21 to 23	1.659 **	.158	1.635 **	.239	1.694 **	.207
24 to 26	1.550 **	.161	1.694 **	.237	1.403 **	.224
27 to 29	1.203 **	.183	1.360 **	.273	1.076 **	.248
30 to 32	1.333 **	.156	1.323 **	.232	1.337 **	.211
33 to 35	.715 **	.186	.784 **	.271	.624 **	.265
36 to 38	.454 **	.200	.586 *	.300	.319	.284
<b>Woman interacted with</b>						
16 to 17	2.645 **	.487	1.952 **	.571	3.762 **	1.034
18 to 20	1.737 **	.181	1.598 **	.264	1.870 **	.244
21 to 23	.897 **	.158	.707 **	.227	1.065 **	.216
24 to 26	.771 **	.170	.475 **	.236	1.055 **	.245
27 to 29	.746 **	.207	.379	.299	1.078 **	.287
<b>Highest Degree Attained (General Secondary, Some College, Less than Secondary)</b>						
University	.424 **	.074	.378 **	.110	.485 **	.099
Specialized Secondary	.296 **	.065	.387 **	.097	.248 **	.089
Lower Vocational	.213 **	.072	.203 *	.104	.260 **	.100
<b>Main Activity (Employed, NLF, Self-employed, Other)</b>						
Studying at university	-.435 **	.084	-.282 **	.122	-.553 **	.117
Studying, other school	-.438 **	.087	-.647 **	.143	-.327 **	.113
Unemployed	-.343 **	.157	-1.030 **	.396	-.189	.168
Maternity Leave	.640 **	.156	.683 **	.225	.574 **	.226
Military Service	-.879 **	.197	-.876 **	.249	-.902 **	.298
Retired/Disabled	-1.244 **	.441	-1.508 **	.645	-.985 *	.574
Unobserved	-9.549 **	.696			-9.857 **	.724

Table 3 (cont.)

Preferred Gender Interaction Models for Marriage, by Period, SMDR Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50

	All years		1985-1991		1992-2001	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Locality type (small or medium city)</b>						
<b>Rural village</b>	-.178 *	.105	-.192	.152	-.166	.147
<b>Woman*rural</b>	.248 *	.128	.224	.186	.289 *	.175
<b>Big City</b>	-.101	.065	-.085	.096	-.100	.089
<b>Moscow</b>	-.154 **	.071	-.123	.099	-.174 *	.100
<b>City missing</b>	-.211 **	.088	-.155	.134	-.231 **	.116
<b>Year</b>						
<b>1985</b>						
<b>1986</b>	-.196	.119	-.194	.119		
<b>1987</b>	-.178	.120	-.175	.120		
<b>1988</b>	-.366 **	.128	-.365 **	.128		
<b>1989</b>	-.164	.119	-.167	.119		
<b>1990</b>	-.156	.119	-.160	.119		
<b>1991</b>	-.296 **	.124	-.296 **	.124		
<b>1992</b>	-.547 **	.132			-.171	.145
<b>1993</b>	-.370 **	.125				
<b>1994</b>	-.486 **	.129			-.113	.140
<b>1995</b>	-.364 **	.122			.013	.136
<b>1996</b>	-.529 **	.130			-.149	.142
<b>1997</b>	-.628 **	.131			-.248 *	.143
<b>1998</b>	-.608 **	.128			-.229	.141
<b>1999</b>	-.670 **	.128			-.294 **	.143
<b>2000</b>	-.696 **	.128			-.322 **	.141
<b>2001</b>	-1.032 **	.149			-.664 **	.161
<b>Constant</b>	-5.576 **	.171	-5.605 **	.241	-5.968 **	.220
<b>Subjects</b>	3920		2389		3109	
<b>Log-likelihood</b>	-2782		-1816		-951	
<b>Events</b>	1790		855		935	
<b>Time at risk</b>	334878		118382		216496	



**TABLE 4**  
**Mean Age at First Marriage, By Sex (SMDR Data and Official Data)**

<b>Year</b>	<i>Women, Official Data*</i>	<i>Women, SMDR Data</i>		<i>Men, SMDR Data</i>	
	<b>Mean Age at First Marriage</b>	<b>Mean Age at First Marriage</b>	<b>N of marriages</b>	<b>Mean Age at First Marriage</b>	<b>N of marriages</b>
<b>1985</b>		22.4	79	24.3	67
<b>1986</b>		23.0	61	26.1	40
<b>1987</b>		22.2	56	23.9	51
<b>1988</b>		22.5	56	25.7	29
<b>1989</b>		23.3	67	24.5	32
<b>1990</b>		22.2	57	25.2	44
<b>1991</b>		21.8	53	24.1	40
<b>1992</b>	21.7	22.1	45	23.3	31
<b>1993</b>	21.7	21.7	58	23.9	29
<b>1994</b>	21.8	21.8	44	23.3	33
<b>1995</b>	22.0	21.4	58	24.1	33
<b>1996</b>	22.2	22.9	46	26.1	31
<b>1997</b>		22.8	51	24.9	29
<b>1998</b>		21.5	41	24.8	35
<b>1999</b>		22.9	49	24.1	33
<b>2000</b>		22.3	49	24.5	22
<b>2001</b>		21.6	26	22.9	23

\*Cited in Zakharov (1999)

**TABLE 5: Full Additive Models for Entering Cohabitation, At Risk Respondents 16-50**

	Men and Women		Men		Women	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Current Marital Status (Never Married)</b>						
<b>Divorced/Separated</b>	.765 **	.136	1.222 **	.197	.451 **	.173
<b>Widowed</b>	.441 *	.251	-.437	1.070	.545 **	.265
<b>Woman</b>	-.018	.106				
<b>Age group (42 to 50)</b>						
<b>16 to 17</b>						
<b>18 to 20</b>	1.470 **	.207	.762 **	.249	2.055 **	.255
<b>21 to 23</b>	1.558 **	.194	1.171 **	.227	2.028 **	.246
<b>24 to 26</b>	1.739 **	.192	.770 **	.249	2.041 **	.254
<b>27 to 29</b>	1.532 **	.199	.730 **	.258	1.983 **	.259
<b>30 to 32</b>	1.183 **	.213			1.428 **	.291
<b>33 to 35</b>	.563 **	.247			1.038 **	.307
<b>36 to 38</b>	.651 **	.234			.876 **	.319
<b>39 to 41</b>	.559 **	.247			.620 *	.348
<b>Highest Degree Attained (General Secondary)</b>						
<b>University</b>	.197	.171	.200	.281	.135	.215
<b>Some College</b>	.328	.202	.616 **	.310	.128	.255
<b>Specialized Secondary</b>	.364 **	.147	.503 **	.234	.259	.192
<b>Lower Vocational</b>	.370 **	.158	.585 **	.233	.177	.222
<b>Less than Secondary</b>	.810 **	.190	.449	.319	.948 **	.244
<b>Main Activity (Employed)</b>						
<b>Studying at university</b>	-.664 **	.224	-.549	.352	-.706 **	.273
<b>Studying, other school</b>	-.601 **	.183	-1.085 **	.390	-.419 **	.213
<b>Self-employed</b>	.782 **	.274	.692 *	.374	.823 **	.394
<b>Unemployed</b>	.379 **	.182	.324	.274	.420 *	.245
<b>NLF</b>	.075	.210	-.518	.443	.290	.245
<b>Maternity Leave</b>	.269	.333	-11.004 **	1.035	.365	.337
<b>Military Service</b>	-2.148 **	.714	-1.553 **	.713	-11.173 **	1.072
<b>Retired/Disabled</b>	-.721	.503	-.341	.564	-1.469	1.028
<b>Other</b>	-.406	.664	.007	.596	-12.618 **	.346
<b>Unobserved</b>	2.040 **	.817	.670	1.107	3.304 **	.785
<b>Family in locality</b>	-.298 **	.143	-.158	.228	-.341 *	.184
<b>Locality type (small or medium city)</b>						
<b>Rural village</b>	-.040	.146	.037	.220	-.089	.199
<b>Large city (&gt;1 mil)</b>	.203	.135	.086	.225	.252	.172
<b>Moscow</b>	.076	.138	-.259	.242	.226	.172
<b>City missing</b>	-.046	.165	-.357	.305	.127	.201
<b>Family missing</b>	-.067	.230	.171	.346	-.095	.307

**Table 5 (cont.)****Full Additive Models for Entering Cohabitation, SMDR Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50**

	Men and Women		Men		Women	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Year (1985)</b>						
<b>1986</b>	-.942 **	.415	-.696	.707	-1.072 **	.516
<b>1987</b>	-.306	.338	.001	.575	-.462	.422
<b>1988</b>	-1.059 **	.438	-.685	.709	-1.251 **	.566
<b>1989</b>	.029	.309	.124	.556	.002	.373
<b>1990</b>	.192	.297	.607	.499	-.045	.383
<b>1991</b>	-.037	.310	.418	.507	-.318	.408
<b>1992</b>	.011	.306	.022	.557	.017	.367
<b>1993</b>	-.103	.309	-.039	.559	-.117	.373
<b>1994</b>	.106	.291	.008	.541	.172	.347
<b>1995</b>	.438	.272	.544	.491	.418	.330
<b>1996</b>	.372	.268	.263	.505	.463	.317
<b>1997</b>	.275	.270	.598	.480	.122	.333
<b>1998</b>	.187	.276	.421	.487	.111	.338
<b>1999</b>	.475 *	.262	.637	.475	.440	.316
<b>2000</b>	.679 **	.253	1.112 **	.448	.454	.314
<b>2001</b>	.483 *	.266	.951 **	.465	.235	.335
<b>Constant</b>	-7.881 **	.324	-7.645 **	.534	-8.041 **	.372
<b>Subjects</b>	3867		1483		2384	
<b>Log-likelihood</b>	-1194		-422		-725	
<b>Events</b>	489		192		297	
<b>Time at risk</b>	305750		120487		185263	

TABLE 6

**Preferred Gender Interaction Models for Entering Cohabitation, by Period, SMDR  
Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50**

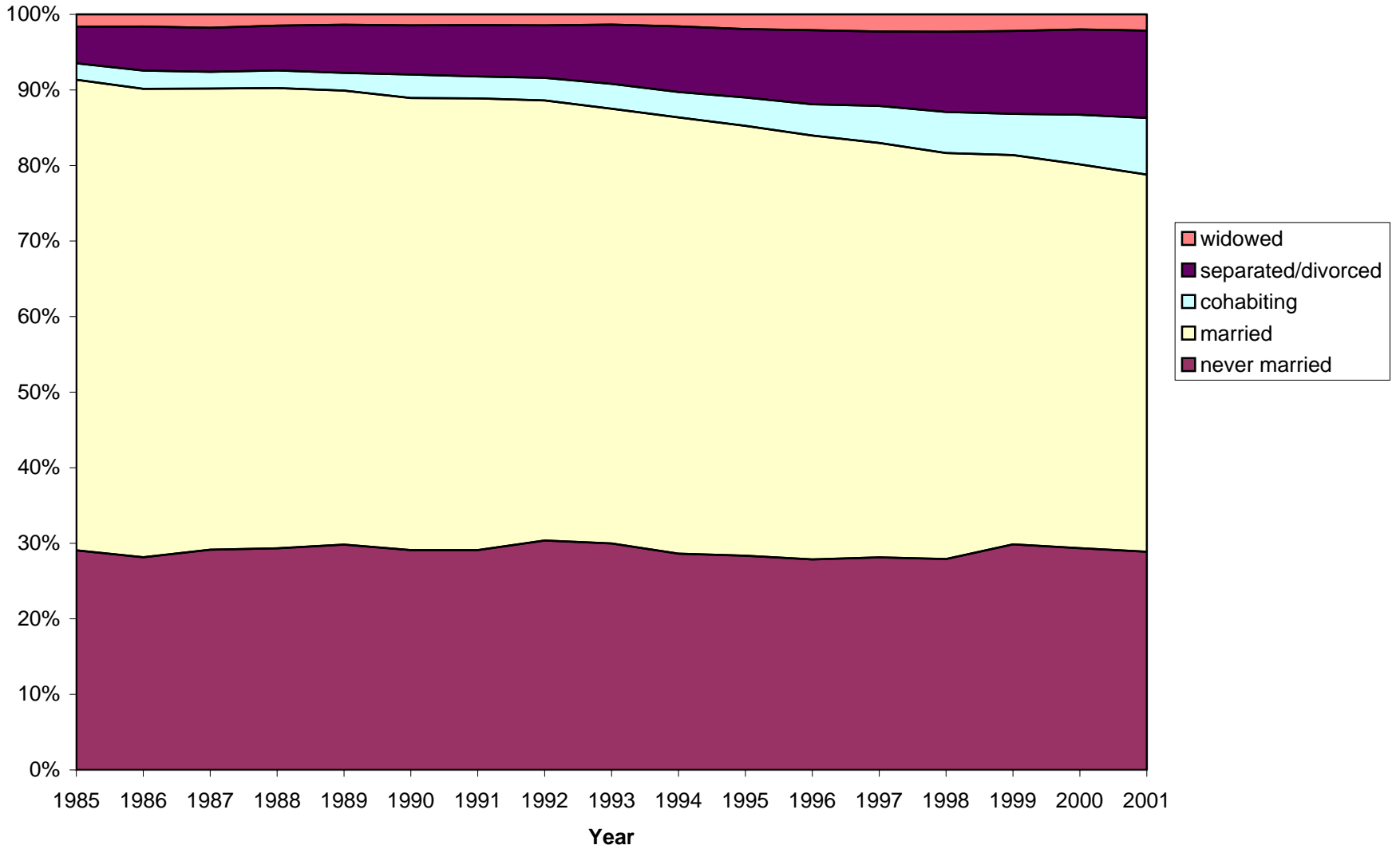
	All years		1985-1991		1992-2001	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>Current Marital Status (Never Married)</b>						
<b>Divorced/Separated</b>	.784 **	.127	.566 **	.255	.843 **	.145
<b>Woman*Widowed</b>	.701 **	.260	.363	.620	.793 **	.284
<b>Woman</b>	-1.246 **	.223	-1.959 **	.484	-1.064 **	.248
<b>Age group (33 to 50)</b>						
<b>16 to 17</b>						
<b>18 to 20</b>						
<b>21 to 23</b>	.577 **	.220	.036	.451	.737 **	.254
<b>24 to 26</b>	1.028 **	.205	.776 *	.404	1.117 **	.238
<b>27 to 29</b>	.709 **	.241	-1.140	1.032	1.017 **	.256
<b>30 to 32</b>	.724 **	.257	.957 **	.465	.630 **	.318
<b>Woman interacted with</b>						
<b>18 to 20</b>	2.250 **	.240	2.631 **	.484	2.220 **	.275
<b>21 to 23</b>	1.553 **	.313	2.659 **	.648	1.284 **	.359
<b>24 to 26</b>	1.061 **	.311	1.694 **	.653	.920 **	.352
<b>27 to 29</b>	1.258 **	.339	3.847 **	1.143	.762 **	.380
<b>30 to 32</b>	.635 *	.379	.368	.825	.718	.439
<b>33 to 35</b>	.968 **	.296	1.318 *	.709	.884 **	.325
<b>36 to 38</b>	.767 **	.309	1.262 *	.675	.647 *	.345
<b>39 to 41</b>	.498	.338	.870	.900	.409	.363
<b>Highest Degree Attained (General Secondary, Some College, Less than Secondary)</b>						
<b>Some college</b>	.455 *	.263	1.285 **	.598	.330	.288
<b>Some*woman</b>	-.352	.321	-.864	.691	-.348	.369
<b>Specialized Secondary</b>	.350 **	.127	.134	.255	.412 **	.144
<b>Lower Vocational</b>	.276 **	.134	.023	.274	.357 **	.150
<b>Less*woman</b>	1.029 **	.193	1.225 **	.392	1.043 **	.218
<b>Main Activity (Employed, NLF, Self-employed, Other)</b>						
<b>Studying at university</b>	-.648 **	.220	-1.151 **	.498	-.517 **	.251
<b>Studying, other school</b>	-.570 **	.168	-.330	.320	-.683 **	.197
<b>Self-employed</b>	.794 **	.275	2.137 *	.463	.612 **	.311
<b>Unemployed</b>	.364 **	.181	.423	.619	.359 **	.187
<b>Military Service</b>	-1.651 **	.709	-13.186 **	.241	-1.177 *	.709
<b>Unobserved</b>	1.707 **	.812			1.772 **	.834
<b>Family in locality</b>	-.259 **	.119	.107	.266	-.380 **	.132

Table 6 (cont.)

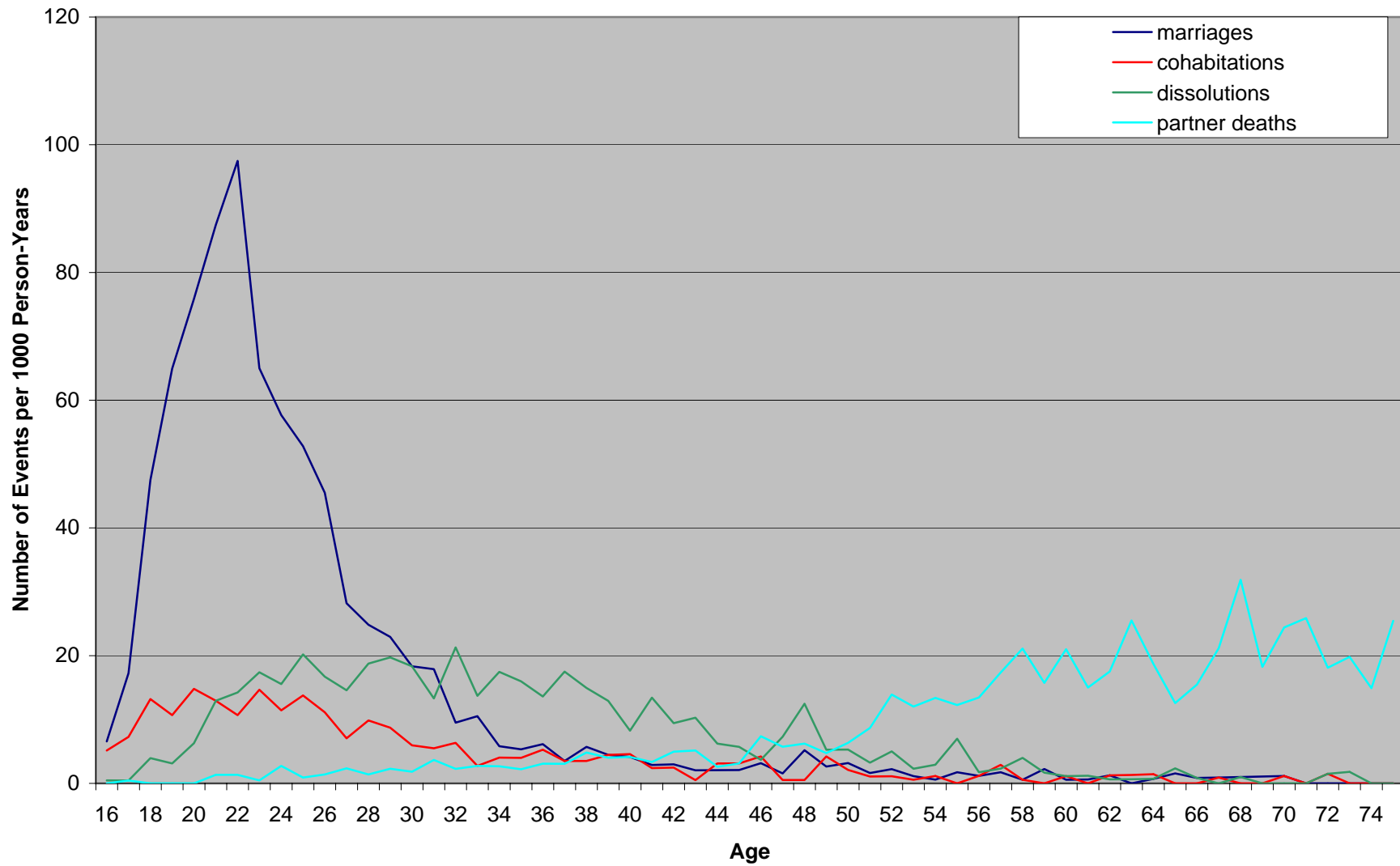
Preferred Gender Interaction Models for Entering Cohabitation, by Period, SMDR  
 Respondents at Risk Aged 16-50

Year	All years		1985-1991		1992-2001	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
<b>1985</b>						
<b>1986</b>	-.947 **	.415	-.955 **	.414		
<b>1987</b>	-.297	.337	-.303	.339		
<b>1988</b>	-1.051 **	.438	-1.065 **	.440		
<b>1989</b>	.028	.310	.022	.311		
<b>1990</b>	.194	.297	.149	.301		
<b>1991</b>	-.039	.311	-.089	.308		
<b>1992</b>	.005	.307				
<b>1993</b>	-.107	.310			-.103	.305
<b>1994</b>	.104	.292			.114	.287
<b>1995</b>	.436	.273			.447 *	.268
<b>1996</b>	.369	.268			.375	.270
<b>1997</b>	.267	.271			.278	.267
<b>1998</b>	.185	.276			.195	.275
<b>1999</b>	.471 *	.262			.479 *	.259
<b>2000</b>	.668 **	.253			.677 **	.245
<b>2001</b>	.472 *	.266			.486 *	.262
<b>Constant</b>	-6.998 **	.267	-6.890 **	.388	-7.045 **	.283
<b>Subjects</b>	3867				3045	
<b>Log-likelihood</b>	-1172				-705	
<b>Events</b>	489				372	
<b>Time at risk</b>	305750				195289	

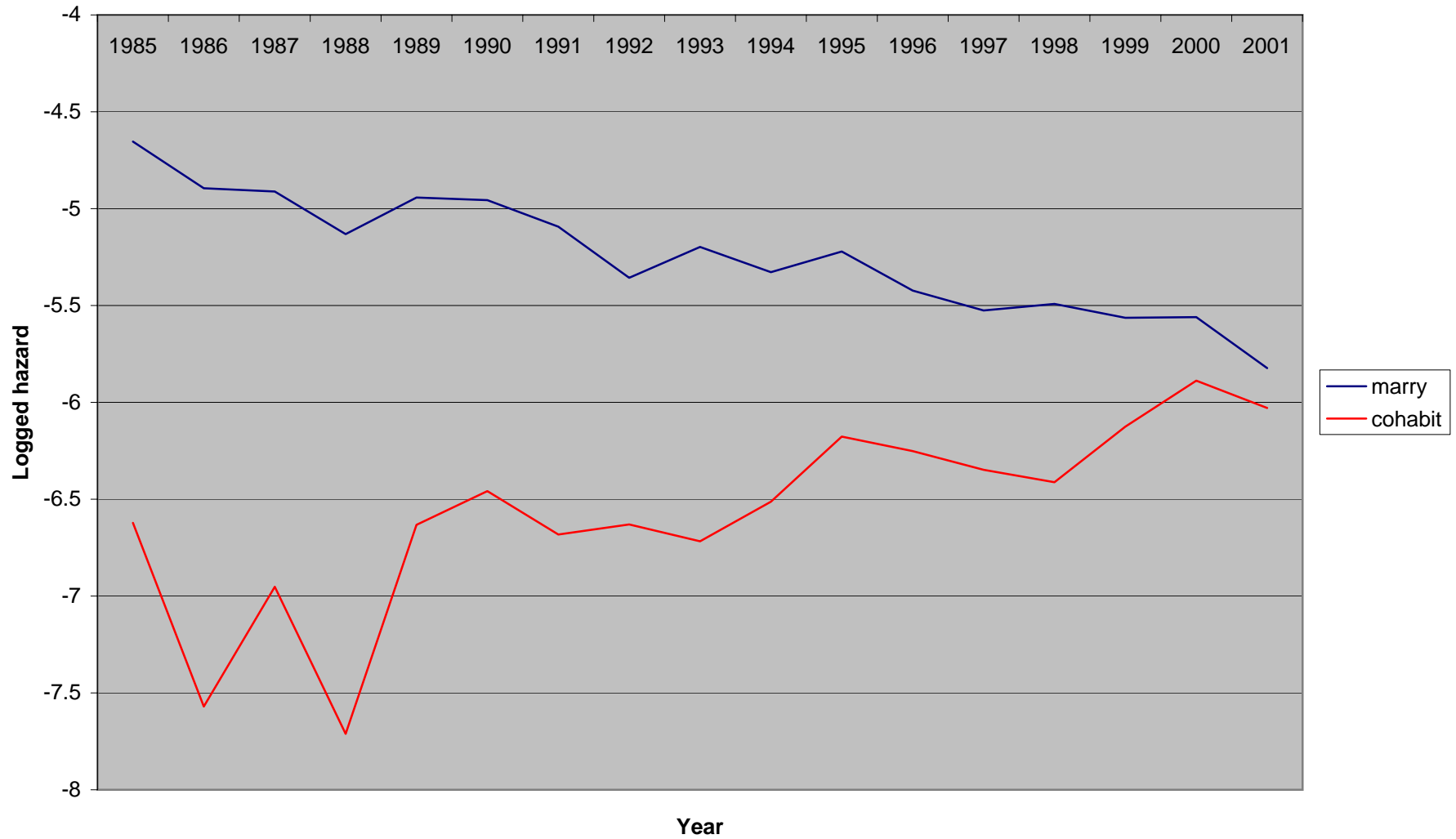
**FIGURE 1. Cross-Sectional Marital Status, January 1, 1985-2001, SMDR Respondents Aged 16-50**



**FIGURE 2. Union Events By Age in Russia, 1985-2001, SMDR Data**

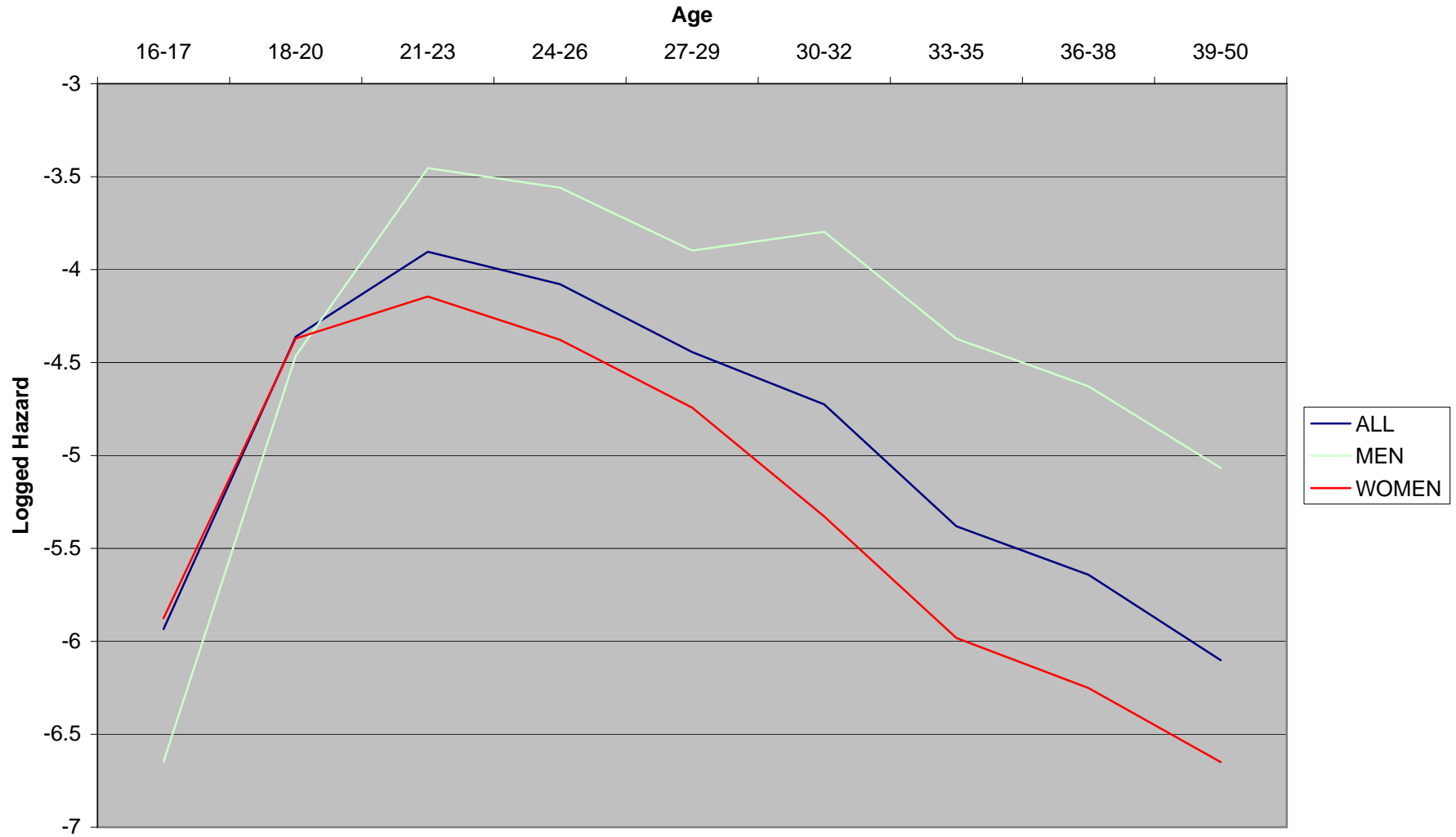


**FIGURE 3. Logged Baseline Hazards, At Risk 16- to 50-Year-Olds, Simple Piecewise Constant By Year**

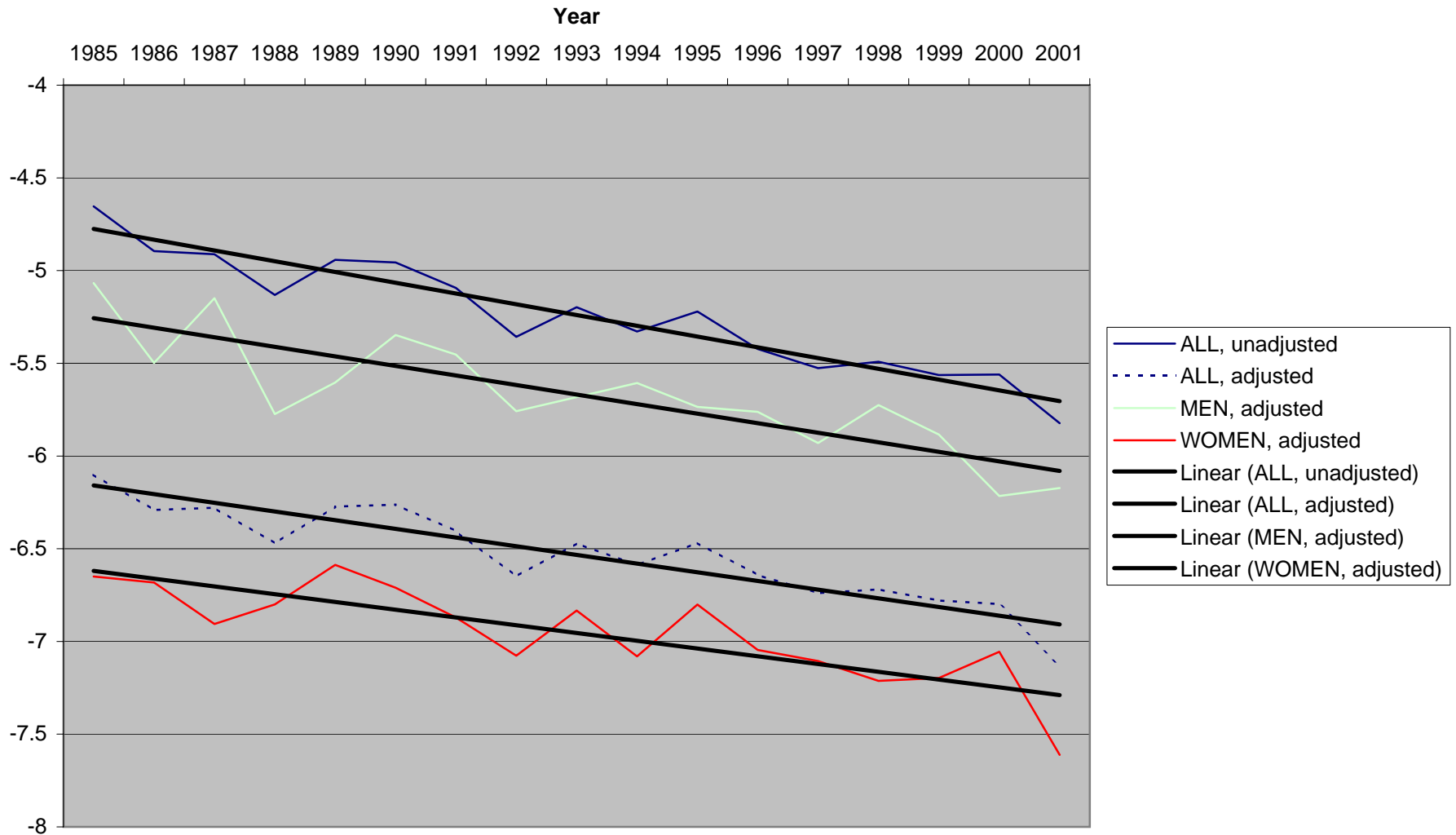




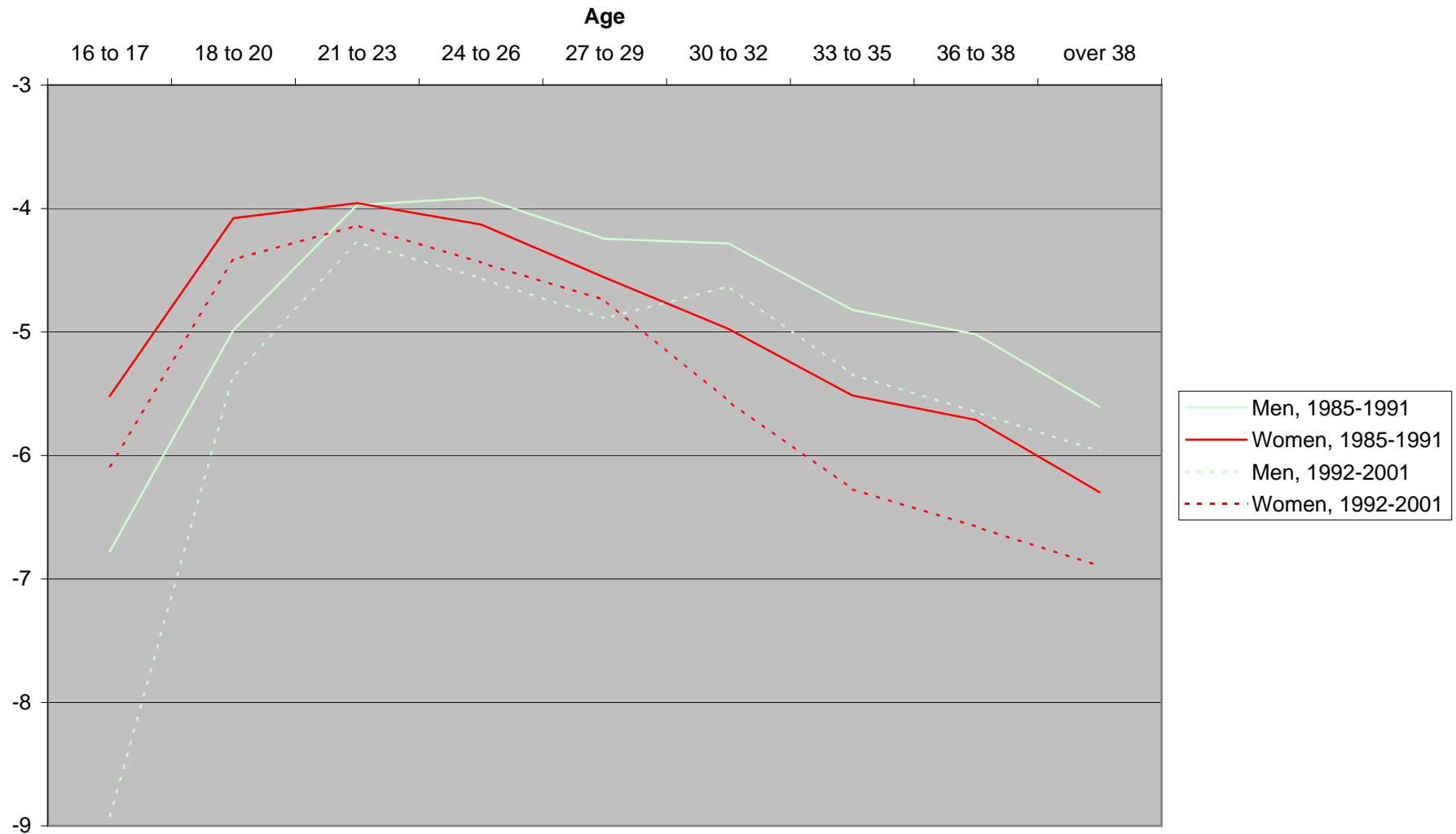
**FIGURE 4. Gender, Age, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Marriage (Full Additive Models, Overall and by Gender)**



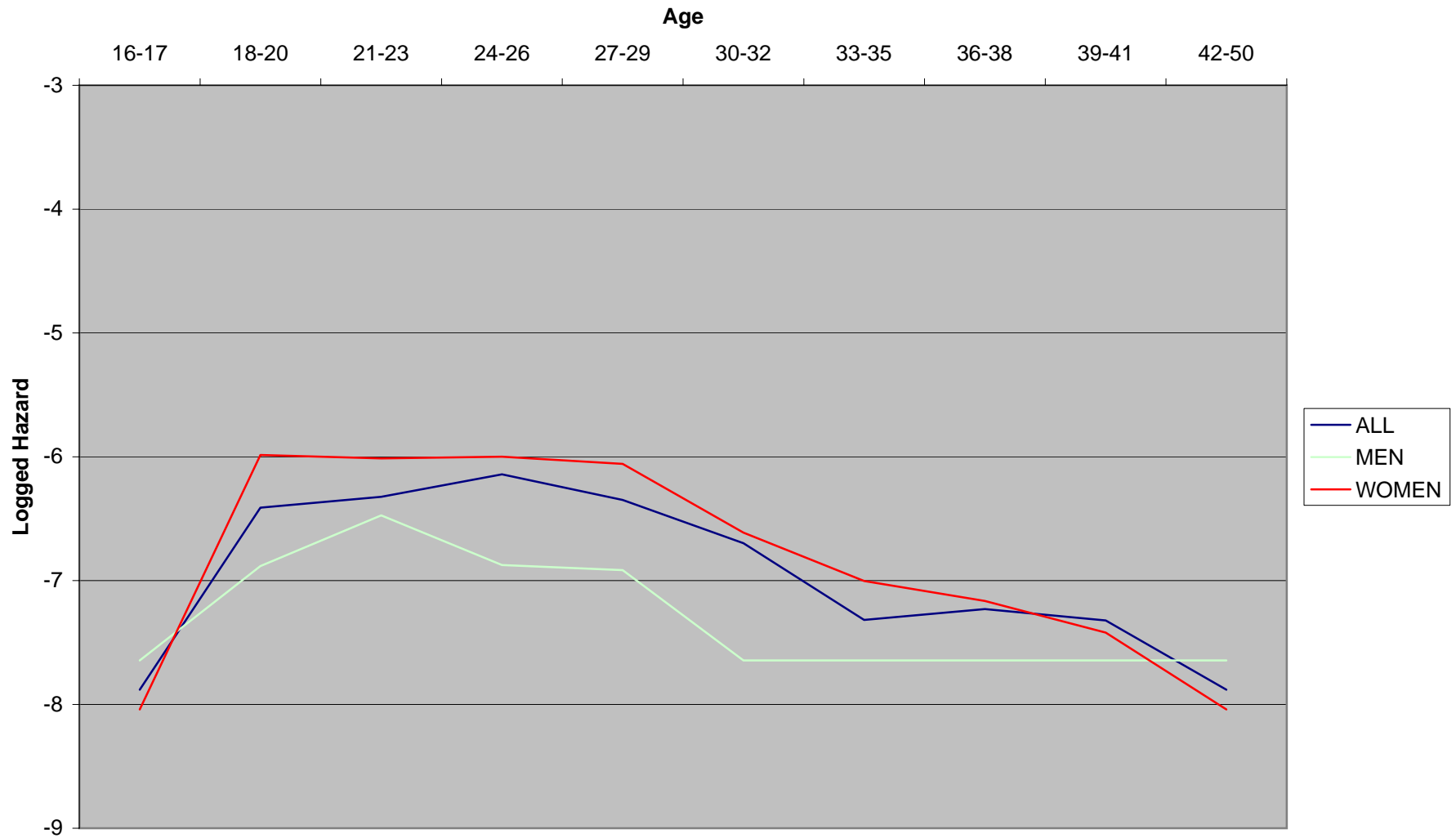
**FIGURE 5. Gender, Year, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Marriage (Adjusted Estimates from Full Additive Models, Overall and by Gender)**



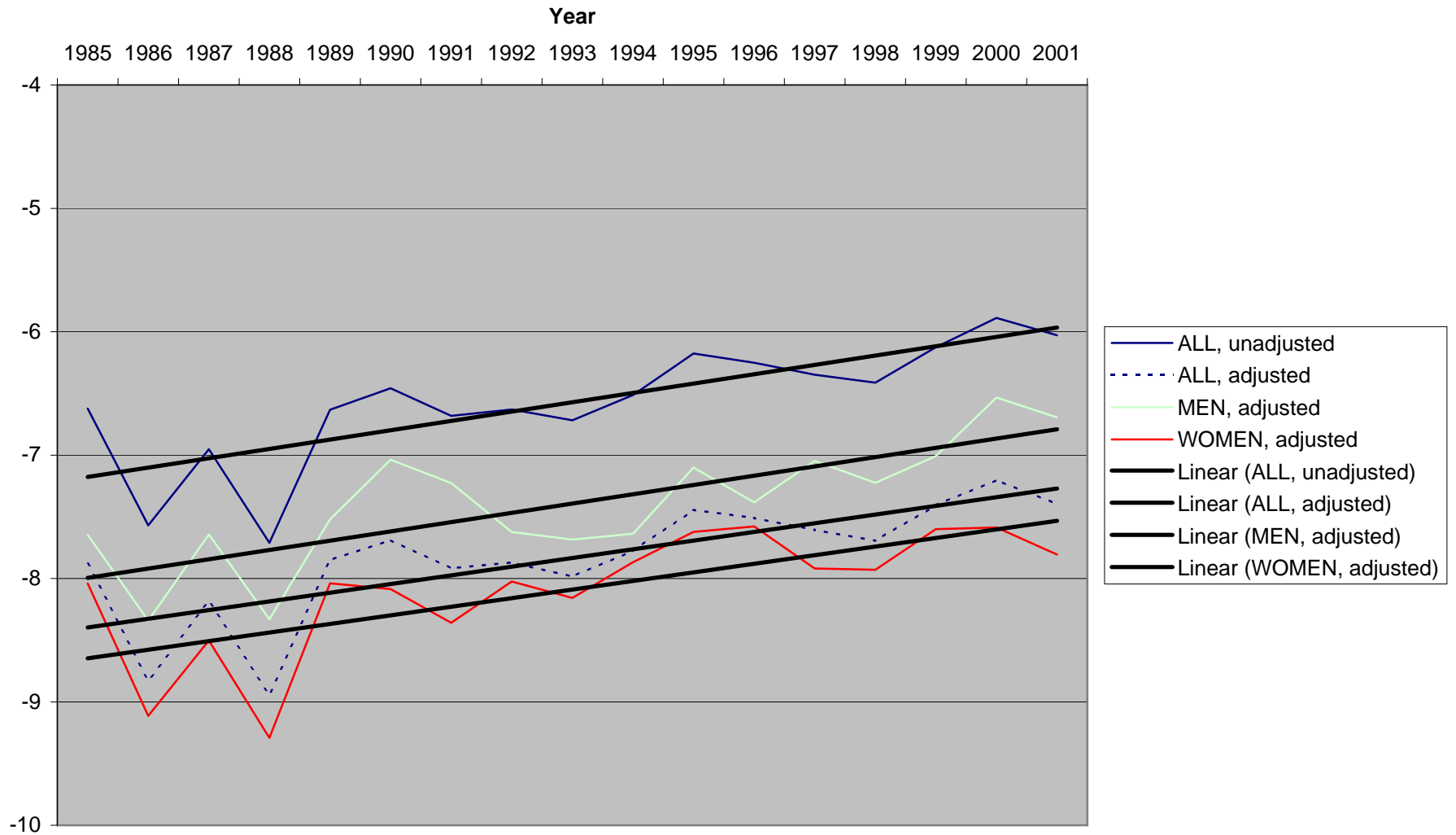
**FIGURE 6. Age, Gender, Period, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Marriage, (Separate Models for Soviet and Post-Soviet Periods)**



**FIGURE 7. Gender, Age, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Entering Cohabitation (Full Additive Models, Overall and by Gender)**



**FIGURE 8. Gender, Year, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Marriage (Adjusted Estimates from Full Additive Models, Overall and by Gender)**



**FIGURE 9. Age, Gender, Period, and Logged Baseline Hazards of Entering Cohabitation,  
(Separate Models for Soviet and Post-Soviet Periods)**

