The Models of the Transition to Adulthood in Russia

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This paper is devoted to the analysis of the starting events marking the transition to adulthood, such as completion of education (vocational and higher), first employment, first leaving parents, first partnership, first marriage, and first childbirth.

The dataset of the research is the Russian part of the Generations and Gender Programme (GGS). We prepared the harmonised dataset of the three waves (2004, 2007, and 2011), which included 5,451 respondents born between 1930 and 1986. We used two complementary approaches to study the transition to adulthood: the analysis of the starting sociodemographic events separately and the analysis of all of them as a part of one process. We depicted the results of the analysis on the demographic Lexis grid, which allowed us to observe the influence of the historical and institutional context on people's behaviour.

The research revealed three models of the transition to adulthood in Russia: "Soviet" (generations of 1940-49, 1950-59, and 1960-69), "Transitional" (generations of 1930-39 and 1970-79), and "Post-Soviet" (generation of 1980-86). Our classification is similar to the idea of the convergence of the patterns of the starting events' occurrence (Billari and Liefbroer 2007) which assumes the change from the "traditional" model ("early, contracted and simple") to the "modern" model ("late, protracted and complex"). The similarity of the changes in Russian and European models confirms the stadiality of the modernisation process (Frejka and Zakharov 2012; Puur et al. 2012). The study also confirms the assumption of the Life Course Approach about the individualisation of the life course.

Introduction

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" (Mead 1970), 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 (Inglehart 2018).

Doubling the life expectancy of the population in developed and developing countries caused "age inflation" (Shoven and Goda 2011) 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 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 (Billari and Liefbroer 2007; Rindfuss 1991).

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 (Denisenko and Varshavskaya 2018; Siennick 2016; Sloan, Zhang, and Wang 2002), intergenerational contracts within families and society (Bengtson and Achenbaum 1993; Cheal 1983; Mironova and Prokofieva 2018) 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 (Blum et al. 2009; Frejka and Zakharov 2012; Gimpelson and Kapeliushnikov 2017; Mills 2004; Potârcă, Mills, and Lesnard 2013), 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 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

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 (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Kiernan 2002; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). 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 (Giddens 1994; Heinz and Marshall 2003; Huinink 2013).

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 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 (Lesthaeghe and Neels 2002; Zakharov 2008).

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 (Hajnal 1965). More recent studies also provide some arguments supporting this point of view, for instance: classification of the transition to adulthood patterns in Europe (L'allongement de la jeunesse 1993); clusterisation of European countries according to their family policy types (Ejrnas and Boje 2008); classification of the social policy regimes in Europe (Esping-Andersen 1990, 2007); and the analysis of the influence of European welfare regimes on the models of the transition to adulthood (Vogel 2002). 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 idea (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). 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 (Potârcă et al. 2013), as well as in Canada, the Netherlands and Russia (Mills 2004); and the review of studies on the transition to adulthood in Europe (Buchmann and Kriesi 2011). 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 (Zakharov 2009). 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 (Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, and Stankuniene 2012; Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, Stankuniene, et al. 2012) 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 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 paper 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.

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)[1] and the survey "Person, Family and Society" (PFS, 2013)[2]. 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 paper, 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. We created the author's method of visualisation of the process of the transition to adulthood by using the demographic Lexis grid.

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

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

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

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.

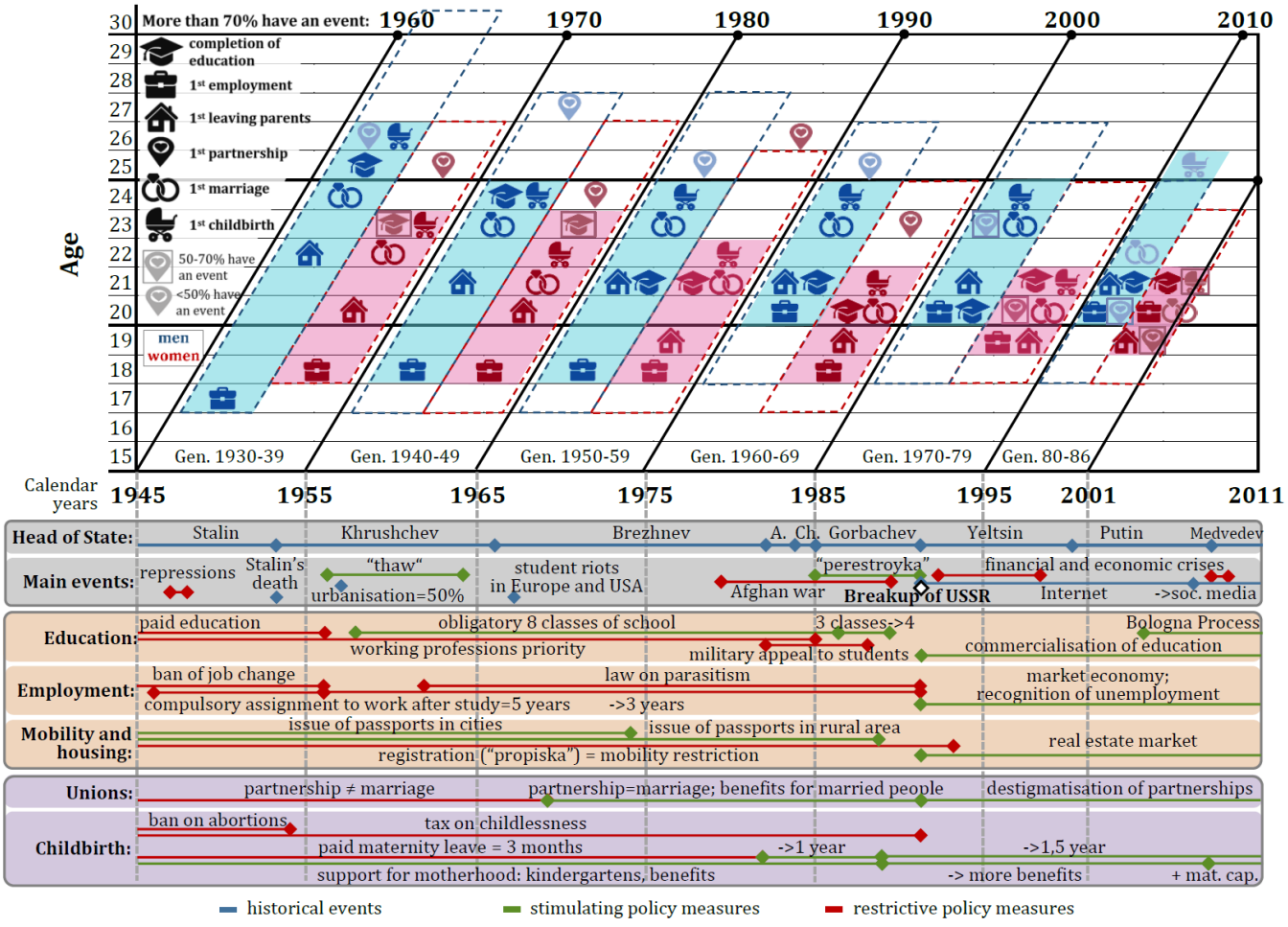

Figure 1. Lexis grid depiction of the transition to adulthood of different Russian generations in the context of accompanying historical time

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

Abbreviations:

- A. – Andropov;
- Ch. – Chernenko;
- 3 classes->4 – opportunity to skip the 4th class of school;
- mat. cap. – maternity capital.

Notes:

1. Pictograms indicate the median ages of events' occurrence.
2. Colour corridors indicate the boundaries of the separate events occurrence: intervals between the events which have the lowest and the highest median ages.
3. Dashed corridors indicate the transition to adulthood as a whole: interval between the median ages of the first and the last starting events (the focus is on the order of the events – not on their types).
4. Partnerships were not included in the corridors because they were not desirable in the Soviet era.

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.
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.

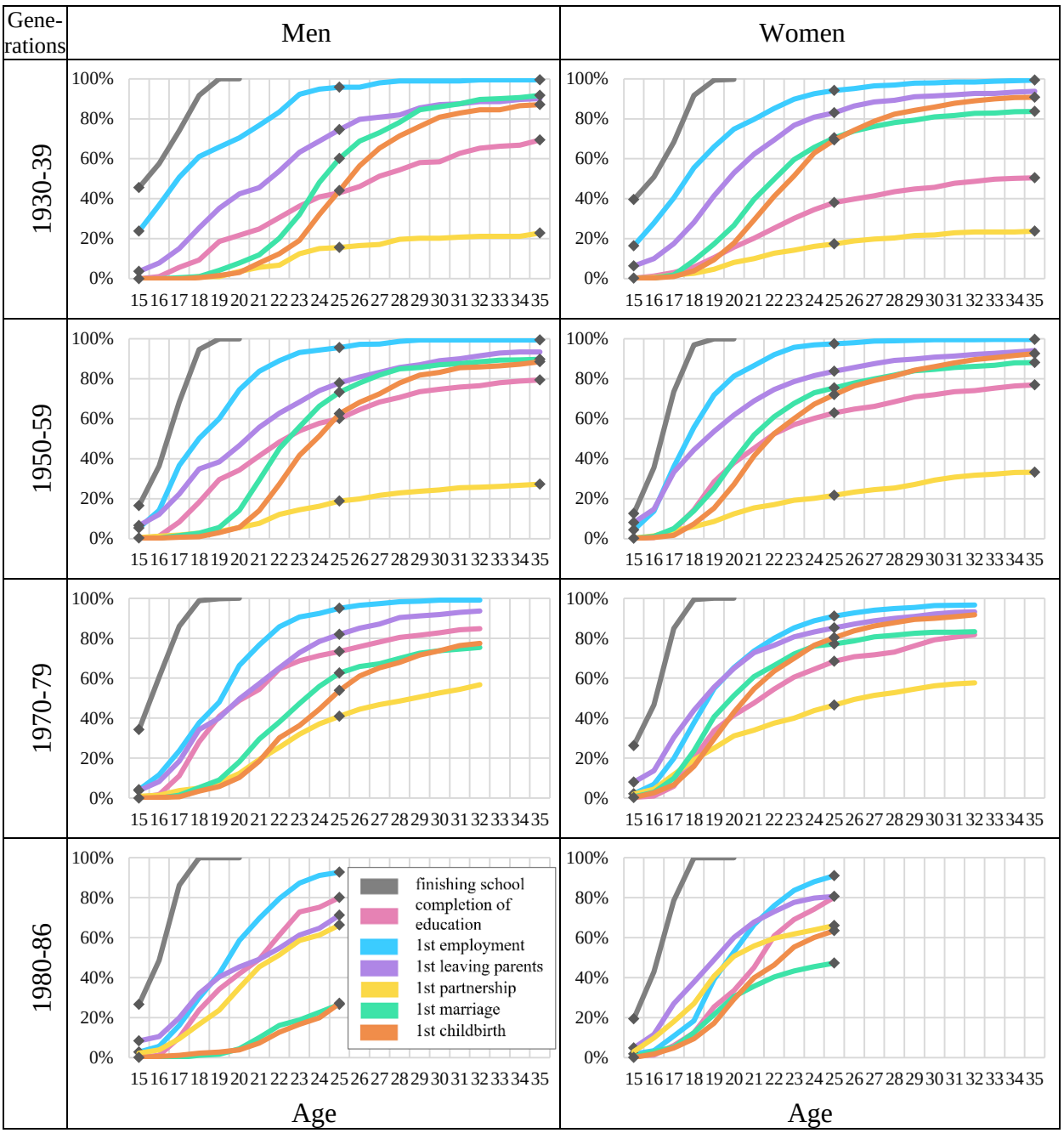

Figure 2. Age-related event occurrence by generations and genders

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 (Mills 2004; Zakharov 2009; Potârcă et al. 2013).

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 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"* (Billari and Liefbroer 2010).

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*** (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). The "Soviet" model of the transition to adulthood is very similar to what Billari and Liefbroer call the "*traditional*" model (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 (Frejka and Zakharov 2012; Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, and Stankuniene 2012; Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, Stankuniene, et

al. 2012): 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*** (Giddens 1994; Heinz and Marshall 2003; Huinink 2013)**,** 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*** (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Kiernan 2002; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). 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" (Mead 1970), 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 (Mead 1970).

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

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 sociodemographic 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.
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 (Billari and Liefbroer 2010). The similarity of the Russian and European models' change confirms the stadiality of the modernisation process (Frejka and Zakharov 2012; Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, and Stankuniene 2012; Puur, Rahnu, Maslauskaite, Stankuniene, et al. 2012).

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 (Erikson 1995). 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 leverage the emerging changes for the advancement the society and economy, as well as make informed decisions in public and corporate policy.

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