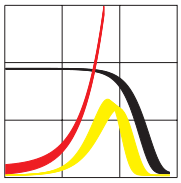

Max-Planck-Institut für demografische Forschung
Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
Konrad-Zuse-Strasse 1 · D-18057 Rostock · GERMANY
Tel +49 (0) 3 81 20 81 - 0; Fax +49 (0) 3 81 20 81 - 202;
http://www.demogr.mpg.de

MPIDR WORKING PAPER WP 2006-032
OCTOBER 2006

Migration and union dissolution in a changing socio-economic context: the case of Russia

Magdalena Muszynska (muszynska@demogr.mpg.de)
Hill Kulu (kulu@demogr.mpg.de)

This working paper has been approved for release by: Gerda Ruth Neyer (neyer@demogr.mpg.de)
Deputy Head of the Laboratory of Contemporary European Fertility and Family Dynamics.

Abstract

A growing body of literature looks at the consequences of family migration from a gender perspective. The studies show that women's economic well-being and employment suffer from family migration, which is usually stimulated by the career of the male earner in the family. This study extends current research on the subject by examining the effect of family migration on union dissolution. We use the event-history data of two retrospective surveys from Russia and apply hazard regression. The analysis shows that couples who move frequently over long distances have a significantly higher risk of union dissolution than couples who do not move or move only once. Our further analysis reveals that the risk of disruption for frequent movers is high when the migrant woman has a job. Frequent migrants had a high risk of union dissolution in the Soviet period but not so during the post-Soviet socio-economic transition. We argue that frequent moving increases union instability through a variety of mechanisms, the effect of which may vary across socio-economic contexts, however.

Keywords: union dissolution, migration, rural, urban, event-history analysis, Russia

1. Introduction

The studies on developed countries show that family migration is usually to the benefit of the career of the male earner in the household and that the migration has a negative impact on the economic well-being of the women (Sandell 1977; Mincer 1978). Migrant women are less likely to be employed and they tend to have smaller incomes and work shorter hours than other women (Cooke and Bailey 1999; Boyle et al. 2001; Cooke 2001; Clark and Withers 2002). This is true even when motherhood status is controlled for and when the women enjoy a higher-ranking occupational position or a higher income than their partners (Boyle et al. 1999; 2003). Thus, family migration appears to be strongly influenced by traditional gender roles, with women's economic well-being and employment generally suffering (Boyle et al. 2006).

If women's economic well-being suffers from family migration, there is reason to assume that this migration influences union instability and the propensity of disruption. In a recent study, Boyle et al. (2006) test this hypothesis, using retrospective event-history data from Austria. Their study shows that family migration indeed raises union instability: couples who move frequently have a significantly higher risk of union dissolution compared to non-moving couples or couples who move only once. The present study follows this research direction and examines the effect of migration on union dissolution among married and cohabiting couples in Russia. While most research focuses on the consequences of family migration in Western Europe or the U.S., we study whether similar patterns also exist in Eastern European societies. Russia is an case for several reasons. The level of divorce in Russia is among the highest in Europe (Council of Europe 2004). The rates began to increase following the liberalisation of divorce in the mid-1960s, and the increase continues to date (Avdeev and Monnier 2000; Scherbov and van Vianen 2001). Second, besides large-scale (often short-distance) migration from rural to urban areas in the post-war period, job-related (long-distance) inter-regional moves played an important role during the socialist as well as the post-socialist period (Rybakovskiy and Tarasova 1991; Heleniak 1997). Third, Russia's recent history allows us to

distinguish two periods of different socio-economic context: of the planned economy and of transition to the market economy.

The rest of our article is structured as follows. First, we present the theoretical background of our study, based on previous literature. We then describe the data and methods used in our study. Third, we present the results of our analysis, followed by a discussion on the effect of migration on union dissolution.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Migration and union dissolution

Family migration is assumed to increase the propensity of union dissolution due to the reasons as follows (Boyle et al. 2006). First, previous studies show that women's economic well-being and employment suffer from family migration, the latter which is usually stimulated by the man's career (Boyle et al. 2003). Women's employment careers are disrupted after the move and the women involved occupy lower positions or jobs that are paid less well than the jobs they had prior to the move (Mincer 1978; Shihadeh 1991; Cooke and Bailey 1999; Boyle et al. 2001; Cooke 2001; 2003; Clark and Withers, 2002). A tied migrant thus experiences high personal loss when moving with a partner and she may consider separating from the partner when an opportunity opens up (Mincer 1978; Boyle et al. 2006). In economic terms, personal loss from moving exceeds the gains from staying in the union and the union may break-up.

Second, changing the place of residence is stressful, and this may precipitate divorce. This applies in particular to frequent movers (Boyle et al. 2006). A change of residence requires significant changes to a person's routines, roles and identities, all of which are a major source of stress, and particularly so if it happens again and again. Similarly, the moving process in itself is stressful, particularly for families with children, who additionally have to organise child care and other child-centred activities.

Moving to a new place also leads to changing social networks. Social networks at the old place of residence might have constrained divorce, and in

particular the social networks shared by both partners (Boyle et al. 2006). In addition, this disruption entails the loss of a source of psychological and social support. As a result, migration may overload a couple, with one of the partners expecting from the other to fill in in terms of the psychological and social functions fulfilled previously by the members of the former networks (Sluzki 1998). This additional burden may increase union instability.

Finally, the marriage market changes as the place of residence changes. New potential partners becomes available; these are likely partners with whom the mover is in contact with in everyday life, perhaps placing additional strains on the current relationship (South and Spitze 1986; Boyle et al. 2006).

The settlement of origin and destination of migration is also important to consider. Migration from rural to urban areas entails, first, a move to an environment where more liberal views dominate and divorce is less stigmatised. Second, cities offer greater opportunities for a woman to find a job and maintain a separate household. Third, as the marriage market in urban areas is larger, there is also a higher chance to find a suitable partner there (South and Spitze 1986; Boyle et al. 2006). Couples who move from a rural to an urban area should thus have a higher risk of union dissolution than those staying in a rural area. Based on the arguments above, we can expect migration from urban to rural areas to significantly decrease the risk of union dissolution. Such moves also lead to significant improvements in the housing conditions of the movers and the environment they are embedded in. In addition, these moves usually take place at a family stage at which union stability is high or they are made mostly by couples who accord priority to family over the working career (Boyle et al. 2006; Kulu 2007).

Thus, there are various reasons why we can expect long-distance moves to increase union instability and to lead to union dissolution. Although most of our previous reasoning draws from research on Western Europe or North America, we believe that similar mechanisms operate in the Eastern European countries that have a specific post-war socio-economic development. It is interesting to see whether the effect of migration on union dissolution was similar under the centrally planned

economy, when everyone enjoyed secure employment, and during the transition to the market economy, when unemployment became a major concern.

2.2. Other determinants of union dissolution

Next, we describe the expected effects of other characteristics of women who are at risk of union dissolution. The selection of the variables is based on our expectation that a migrant population may significantly differ from non-migrants by these characteristics. The variables are thus included in the model to control for the compositional differences between migrants and non-migrants.

According to the economic theory of family, the risk of union dissolution is higher when, first, the gains from staying in a union (marriage or cohabitation) are relatively low, and second, the cost of dissolution is relatively low (Becker 1993; Lehrer 2003). As a result, women who can afford to maintain a separate household are less likely to stay in an unsatisfactory union than otherwise (Becker 1993; Lehrer 2003). In addition, women who anticipate union dissolution might make larger investments into their human capital to become economically independent from their spouse (Lehrer 2003). We can expect that women who work on average have a higher risk of union dissolution than women who do not work.

In terms of family migration, the women concerned are usually tied migrants. Following the move, they are more likely to be unemployed or economically inactive than non-migrant women (Mincer 1978; Morrison and Lichter 1988; Shihadeh 1991; Boyle et al. 2001; Cooke 2003).

We can also expect that the risk of divorce increases with the educational level of the woman. First, higher-educated women have higher earnings than those with a lower level of education (Becker 1993). Second, the former may have a greater awareness of their relationship being unsatisfactory and their confidence is high enough to manage on their own if they need to do so. On the other hand, the educational level has a stabilising effect on the union, as higher-educated women are

more successful at selecting their spouses and making a partnership work (Hoem 1997; Lehrer 2003).

We need to control for the educational level in our study as migrants generally have a higher educational level than non-migrants. The positive relationship between migration intensity and education can largely be attributed to better opportunities the highly educated have to achieve their goals and to their participation in the nationwide labour market (Sandell 1977; Kulu and Billari 2006).

The presence of children in the union influences the risk of dissolution. As children constitute a union-specific capital, they rise the value of a union and by the same token elevate the cost of leaving it. This is because the value of investments that have already been made into children decreases after the disruption (Waite and Lillard 1991; Lehrer 2003). In addition, there is an obvious selection effect of transition to motherhood: individuals who anticipate a high risk of union dissolution would not be willing to make these types of investments (Hoem and Hoem 1992; Becker 1993; Lehrer 2003). Further, as children are costly, maintaining two separate households would require greater financial resources and the costs of divorce thus would be higher. Children from previous partnerships, in turn, may have a negative effect on union stability as they may be a source of conflict in the marriage (Waite and Lillard 1991; Lehrer 2003).

Couples with children are significantly less likely to move over long distances compared to couples without children or singles. First, the economic costs of a move rise with the number of persons in the family unit. Second, and more importantly, having additional members in the family means that more ties must be broken at the place of origin and established at destination (Sandefur and Scott 1981; Kulu 2007).

Individuals whose parents separated are expected to have a higher risk of union dissolution because, first, they may be economically disadvantaged at union formation, second, they tend to enter union at earlier ages, and third, they may have fewer skills to cope with family problems (Lehrer 2003).

Those experiencing second and subsequent union are expected to have a higher risk of dissolution than those who are in their first union. Individuals who have

already faced a union dissolution might have some personality traits that make them more prone to divorce (Hoem and Hoem 1992; Lehrer 2003). They may also be over-represented among the migrant population.

As investments in cohabitation and the costs of its dissolution are lower than those of marriage, we may expect a higher dissolution risk of cohabitation compared to marital unions. In addition, those who marry after cohabiting possibly have a lower risk of union dissolution than those who marry directly. The reason is that pre-marital cohabitation provides a wider platform to get acquainted with some characteristics of the partner, and only successful cohabitations eventually turn into marriage (Hoem and Hoem 1992; Becker 1993; Lehrer 2003). However, empirical studies show that couples who marry directly have a lower risk of union dissolution than couples who marry after cohabitation. This is known to be the result of a selection effect: couples who cohabit before marriage have unobserved characteristics (e.g. more liberal values), which make them more prone to divorce (Hoem and Hoem 1992; Lillard et al. 1995; Boyle and Kulu 2006).

The risk of union dissolution is assumed to increase over time. This has been a general trend in Russia and in many other European countries (Avdeev and Monnier 2000; Scherbov and van Vianen 2001). Finally, the risk is expected to decrease with union duration and with age. Union-specific capital increases with union duration and disruption-prone people dissolve their union first (Becker et al. 1977; Becker 1993; Vaupel and Yashin 1985; Sayer and Bianchi 2000).

3. Data and methods

3.1. Data

Our study is based on data coming from two surveys. The first, the Generations and Gender Survey, was conducted in Russia between June and August 2004 (for the description of the GGS Programme, see Vikat et al. 2005). The questionnaire included detailed partnership and fertility histories. The survey was based on a multistage probability sample of dwelling units (for a description of the sample, see Kosolapov

2004). As a result, 4,223 Russian men and 7,038 women between the ages of 18 and 79 were interviewed. Out of 7,038 interviewed women, 5,579 had ever been in a union.

The second survey, the Education and Employment Survey, was conducted in November 2005. Detailed information was collected on the employment, educational, and the migration histories of the Russian population. The sample for the survey consisted of GGS Survey respondents. After matching the GGS with the EES data files, there were 3,074 women who had ever been in a union.

As the union formation and dissolution patterns might differ across ethnic groups, we studied only the unions of women with a Russian, Belarusian, or Ukrainian ethnicity. We thus excluded 255 women who belonged to other ethnic groups. We also excluded women who provided incomplete data (e.g. different years of birth in the two surveys, who misreported the date of union formation), thus leaving 2,803 women in our final sample.

The study subject was union, with the woman as the marker. We studied 2,803 first unions (907 dissolutions), 597 second (203 dissolutions), and 78 third unions (30 dissolutions). The study period was 1967–2004. The year 1967 was the earliest year a union had formed by our respondents. Before 1965 (from 1944), the divorce process was very complicated and costly, and divorce was not widespread in Russia (Avdeev and Monnier 2000).

3.2. Models

The event under study was union dissolution. We considered the date at which the respondent reports the union broke up as the moment of separation. The observation was censored if the partner had died. We modelled time since union formation to separation, using hazard regression models (Hoem 1987; 1993; 2001; Blossfeld and Rohwer 2002). As the aim of this study is to test whether migration influences the risk of union dissolution, information on the migration status of an individual was included in the model as a time-varying covariate. Several additional time-constant

and time-varying variables were included in the model following the theoretical background of the study. These variables were necessary to control for compositional differences between migrants and non-migrants (e.g. employment status), and to broaden the insights we receive on the determinants of union dissolution in Russia. The models we used could be specified in a general form as follows:

$$(1) \qquad \ln \mu_{ij}(t) = y(t) + \sum_k z_k(u_{ijk} + t) + \sum_l \alpha_l x_{ijl} + \sum_m \beta_m w_{ijm}(t) \ ,$$

where $\mu_{ij}(t)$ denotes the hazard of the jth union dissolution for individual i and $y(t)$ denotes a piecewise linear spline that captures the impact of the baseline (i.e. union) duration on the hazard[1]. The parameter $z_k(u_{ijk} + t)$ denotes the spline representation of the effect of a time-varying variable that is a continuous function of t with origin u_{ijk} (e.g. a woman's age). Parameter x_{ijl} represents the values of a time-constant variable (e.g. parental divorce) and $w_{ijm}(t)$ represents a time-varying variable whose values can change only at discrete times (e.g. migration status or place of residence).

3.3. Variables

3.3.1. Migration status and place of residence

Information on an individual's migration history exists since age 17. For the unions formed before age 17, we also included information on the place of residence and migrations since age 17. There were 150 unions formed before age 17, only 55 of them reported different residence settlement at birth and at age 17. This suggests that they changed their place of residence between these ages. In addition, only 8 of these unions were disrupted before age 17. When migration was recorded in the same month as union disruption, we assumed that the migration was the result of disruption, i.e. that it occurred after disruption.

[1] We used a piecewise linear spline specification (instead of the widely used piecewise constant approach) to pick up the baseline log-hazard and the effect of (other) time-varying variables which change continuously. Parameter estimates are thus slopes for linear splines over user-defined time periods. With sufficient nodes (bend points), the piecewise linear-specification can efficiently capture any log-hazard pattern in the data.

On the basis of our migration histories, the following time-varying covariates were constructed and included in the models: 1) the number of union-specific inter-settlement moves; and 2) the type of settlement. There were 814 first union-specific migrations and 292 second and subsequent order union-specific migrations. (674 first migrations and 259 higher order migrations were at a distance of over 50 km.)

3.3.2. Other variables

Additional explanatory variables were included in the model to control for the compositional differences between migrants and non-migrants. These variables were: union duration, age, union order, parental divorce, educational level, motherhood status at union formation, motherhood status in union, partnership status, employment status, and calendar period (before and after 1990). The distribution of risk-months and dissolutions across categorical variables is presented in Table 1.

4. Results

4.1. The effect of migration and the place of residence

Model 1 (Table 2) shows that first migration does not change the risk of union dissolution, whereas changing the settlement of residence twice or more within a union increases the hazard of union disruption by 31% compared to non-moving couples. We also see that couples living in urban areas are more likely to experience union dissolution than those who live in rural settlements. Model 2 controls for the socio-demographic characteristics of a woman. The effect of migration and the settlement of residence do not change much: frequent movers and couples living in urban areas have a significantly higher risk of union dissolution. (Similar results were obtained when only inter-settlement moves over 50 km were included in the model.)

Model 3 includes the origin and destination of migration. Couples who move between urban areas or rural settlements for the first time have a similar risk of separation as non-moving couples in urban or rural areas, correspondingly. Those

who move from rural to urban areas exhibit disruption levels similar to non-migrants living in cities, while those who move from urban to rural areas display dissolution levels close to non-movers in rural areas. Thus, the disruption levels of first-time migrants are similar to those of non-migrants at destination. Moving twice and more increases the risk of union dissolution, whatever the origin and destination of migration (the effects are proportional).

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the causes of union dissolution of migrant couples, we examined if the effect of family migration depends on a woman's employment status after the move. When the employment status of a woman was included in the models, there was no difference between women who worked and those who did not work (Table 2, Models 2 and 3). However, the effect of employment on union dissolution turns out to be significant for frequent migrants. For non-migrants and first-time migrants alike, the risk of union dissolution is similar when a woman works or does not do so, whereas the situation changes after the second migration (Table 3). The risk of union dissolution is very high when a woman works after the second migration, but relatively low when she is unemployed or inactive.

We also studied if the effect of migration on the risk of union dissolution varies over time. We see that during the Soviet period the first migration of a couple did not change the risk of union dissolution, as expected, whereas second and subsequent migrations increased the hazard of disruption by 53% (Table 4). The risk of union dissolution has been higher in the post-Soviet period, but surprisingly neither first nor second migration changes the risk level significantly. The value of the estimate is larger after second migration, but the difference to the estimate before or after first migration is not significant. The effect of migration on the risk of union dissolution thus depends on the socio-economic context of the movers.

4.2. The effects of other variables

The effects of other variables are largely as expected, and we only report them briefly. The risk of disruption is the highest in the first months after union formation and slightly decreases with union duration (Table 2). The dissolution levels are higher for couples in the second and subsequent union and for those who experienced parental divorce during childhood. Children decrease the risk of union dissolution, as expected. Couples who cohabit have a higher risk of union dissolution than those who are married, and couples who cohabited prior to marriage have a higher risk compared to those who married directly without prior cohabitation. The risk of union dissolution has also increased over time, as expected. The dissolution levels, however, do not differ much across educational levels and employment statuses (even though the effect of the latter variable is significant among the frequent movers, as shown above). Overall, the results thus confirm that the patterns and determinants of union dissolution in Russia are similar to those in other European countries. We may, however, expect that there is some variation over time, particularly between the Soviet and the post-Soviet period (Muszynska 2006). A further analysis, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

5. Summary and discussion

In this study, we examined the effect of family migration on union dissolution in Russia. We used event-history data from two retrospective surveys and applied hazard regression. The analysis showed that couples who move frequently over long distances have a significantly higher risk of union dissolution than couples who do not move or move only once. Our further analysis revealed that the risk of disruption for frequent movers is high when a woman has returned to the labour market, and that frequent migrants had a high risk of union dissolution during the Soviet period, but not in the post-Soviet period. We also found that dissolution levels in urban areas are

much higher than in rural areas, and that migrants exhibit disruption levels similar to non-migrants at destination.

We believe that several factors account for the elevated risk of disruption among frequent migrants. First, family migration is usually to the benefit of the migrant man's career and has a negative impact on the woman's economic well-being (Cooke and Bailey 1999; Boyle et al. 2001). Therefore, when moving over long distances, many partnered women consciously or unconsciously subject themselves to traditional gender roles and sacrifice their (economic) well-being for the sake of the family's 'overall' well-being. The costs that result from doing this several times are, too large, however, and eventually women leave a union that has become unsatisfactory after a sequence of moves. The fact that frequent migrants have a particularly high risk of union dissolution when the woman has returned to the labour market is consistent with our previous argumentation suggesting that women leave an unsatisfactory relationship when they find work in a new place and are thus able to maintain a separate household. Anticipation of union dissolution, of course, may accelerate the return to the labour market.

Second, migration also leads to a disruption in the social networks of the movers and a change in their routines and roles, which is a major source of stress in itself, particularly if it happens again and again. In addition, missing local ties and (strong) social networks as a result of frequent moving weaken social control over individual behaviour. Third, the marriage market also changes with the place of residence, and this opens up opportunities to meet a 'better' partner, which, in turn, may put strains on the current relationship (Boyle et al. 2006)

The question, however, arises why frequent migrants had a high risk of union dissolution during the Soviet period, but not so in the post-Soviet period? We believe that changing socio-economic conditions are the major cause. During Soviet times, employment rights were guaranteed and it was relatively easy for a woman to find a job, even when she had been a tied migrant. When she worked, it was easier for her to exit a union that had become unsatisfactory after frequent migrations for the sake of her male partner's career (which required her to scarify her own career once again and

promoted an increase in the power imbalance within the family at her expense). In the post-Soviet era, employment is no longer secured and the opportunities of new employment are scarce. Moreover, salaries have been very low during the transition period owing to economic downturn. Hence, being tied migrant, women face difficulties to find a well-paid job at the new place of residence and may not be able to exit an unsatisfactory union and maintain a separate household afterwards. If this is true, the patterns may change again when the transition in Russia ends and living standards improve.

The higher risk of union dissolution in urban areas is as expected. An environment that is more liberal in the cities, greater employment opportunities there, and higher chances to find a better match are the factors that account for urban-rural differences in the disruption levels. The fact that migrants exhibit dissolution levels similar to those of non-migrants at destination is not surprising, either. This suggests that migrants adapt to the socio-economic and cultural environment at destination, although selectivity may also play a role, particularly for urban-to-rural migrants. Moves to rural areas are usually made at a family stage at which union stability is high or mostly by couples who accord higher priority to the family than to work (Boyle et al. 2006; Kulu 2007).

The results of our study on Russia are thus consistent with the findings of a similar study by Boyle et al. (2006) on Austria, suggesting that there are more general factors that increase the risk of union dissolution for frequent migrants. However, we observed some variation over time (across contexts) and this suggests that further research may benefit from cross-national comparisons of the effect of migration on union dissolution. Another important issue to consider is the role of unobserved migrant selectivity: disruption-prone people may be over-represented among frequent movers. However, Boyle et al. (2006) modelled union dissolution and migration jointly, showing that the disruption patterns remained similar even when unmeasured characteristics of migrants were controlled for. Another extension would be the inclusion of the partner's characteristics, which would allow us to gain further insights into the nature and consequences of family migration.

Acknowledgements: We are grateful to the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research for providing us with the Russian GGS and EES data. We also thank Susann Backer for editing the English of the manuscript.

6. References

Avdeev, A., and A. Monnier. 2000. Marriage in Russia: a complex phenomenon poorly understood, *Population: An English Selection* 12: 7–50.

Becker, G. S. 1993. *A Treatise on the Family*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Becker, G. S., E. M. Landes, and R. T. Michael. 1977. An economic analysis of marital instability, *Journal of Political Economy* 85: 1141–1187.

Blossfeld, H.-P., and G. Rohwer. 2002. *Techniques of Event History Modeling: New Approaches to Causal Analysis*. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Boyle P. J., T. J. Cooke, K. Halfacree, and D. Smith. 1999. Gender inequality in employment status following family migration in GB and the US: the effect of relative occupational status, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 19: 115–150.

Boyle, P. J., T. J. Cooke, K. Halfacree, and D. Smith. 2001. A cross-national comparison of the impact of family migration on women's employment status, *Demography* 38: 201–213.

Boyle, P. J., T. J. Cooke, K. Halfacree, and D. Smith. 2003. The effect of long-distance family migration and motherhood on partnered women's labour market activity rates in GB and the US, *Environment and Planning A* 35: 2097–2114.

Boyle, P. J., H. Kulu, T. Cooke, V. Gayle, and C. H. Mulder. 2006. The effect of moving on union dissolution, MPIDR Working Paper, WP-2006-002. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.

Boyle, P. J., and H. Kulu. 2006. Does cohabitation prior to marriage raise the risk of marital dissolution and does this effect vary geographically?, MPIDR Working Paper. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (forthcoming).

Clark, W. A. V., and S. D. Withers. 2002. Disentangling the interaction of migration, mobility, and labor-force participation, *Environment and Planning A* 34: 923–945.

Cooke, T. J. 2001. "Trailing wife" or "trailing mother"? Family migration, life course events, and the labor market participation of married women, *Environment and Planning A* 33: 419–430.

Cooke, T. J. 2003. Family migration and the relative earnings of husbands and wives, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93: 338–349.

Cooke, T. J., and A. J. Bailey. 1999. The effects of family migration, migration history, and self-selection on married women's labor market achievement, in P. J. Boyle and K. Halfacree (eds.), *Migration and Gender in the Developed World*. London: Routledge, pp. 102–113.

Council of Europe. 2004. *Recent Demographic Developments in Europe 2004*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Heleniak, T. 1997. Internal migration in Russia during the economic transition, *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 38: 81–104.

Hoem, B., and J. M. Hoem. 1992. The disruption of marital and non-marital unions in contemporary Sweden, in J. Trussell, R. Hankinson, and J. Tilton (eds.), *Demographic Applications of Event History Analysis*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, pp. 61–93.

Hoem, J. M. 1987. Statistical analysis of a multiplicative model and its application to the

standardization of vital rates: a review, *International Statistical Review* 55: 119–152.
Hoem, J. M. 1993. Classical demographic models of analysis and modern event-history techniques, Stockholm Research Reports in Demography 75. Stockholm: Stockholm University, Demography Unit.
Hoem, J. M. 1997. Educational gradient in divorce risks in Sweden in recent decades, *Population Studies* 51: 19–27.
Hoem, J. M. 2001. Demographic analysis, a probabilistic approach to, in N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Vol. 14*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 3428–3432.
Kosolapov, M. 2004. *Preliminary Report: Sample of the Russian Federation*. Moscow: Demoscope.
Kulu, H. 2007. Fertility and spatial mobility in the life-course: evidence from Austria, *Environment and Planning A* (forthcoming).
Kulu, H., and F. C. Billari. 2006. Migration to urban and rural destinations in post-Soviet Estonia: a multilevel event-history analysis, *Environment and Planning A* 38(4): 749–764.
Lehrer, E. L. 2003. The economics of divorce, in S. A. Grossbard-Shechtman (ed.), *Marriage and the Economy: Theory and Evidence from Advanced Industrial Societies*, pp. 55–74.
Lillard, L. A., M. J. Brien, and L. J. Waite. 1995. Premarital cohabitation and subsequent marital dissolution: a matter of self-selection?, *Demography* 32: 437–457.
Mincer, J. 1978. Family migration decisions, *The Journal of Political Economy* 86: 749–773.
Morrison, D. R., and D. T. Lichter. 1988. Family migration and female employment: the problem of underemployment among migrant married women, *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50: 161–172.
Muszynska, M. 2006. Woman's employment and union disruption in a changing socio-economic context: the case of Russia, MPIDR Working Paper, WP-2006-027. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.
Rybakovskiy, L. L., and N. V. Tarasova. 1991. Contemporary problems of migration of the population of the USSR, *Soviet Geography* 32: 458–474.
Sandefur, G. D., and W. J. Scott. 1981. A dynamic analysis of migration: an assessment of the effects of age, family and career variables, *Demography* 18: 355–367.
Sandell, S. E. 1977. Women and economics of family migration, *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 59: 406–414.
Sayer, L. C., and S. M. Bianchi. 2000. Women's economic independence and the probability of divorce, *Journal of Family Issues* 21: 906–943.
Scherbov, S., and H. van Vianen. 2001. Marriage and fertility in Russia of women born between 1900 and 1960: a cohort analysis, *European Journal of Population* 17: 281–294.
Shihadeh, E. S. 1991. The prevalence of husban-centred migration: employment consequences for married mothers, *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 53: 432–444.
Sluzki, C. E. 1998. Migration and the disruption of the social network, in M. McGoldrick (ed.), *Re-Visioning Family Therapy: Race, Culture and Gender in Clinical Practice*. New York: Guilford Press.
South, S. J., and G. Spitze. 1986. Determinants of divorce over the marital life course, *American Sociological Review* 51: 583–590.

Vaupel, J. W., and A. I. Yashin. 1985. Heterogeneity's ruses: some surprising effects of selection of population dynamics, *The American Statistician* 39: 176–185.
Vikat, A., Z. Speder, G. Beets, F. Billari, C. Buhler, A. Desesquelles, T. Fokkema, J. M. Hoem, A. MacDonald, G. Neyer, A. Pailhe, A. Pinnelli, and A. Solaz. 2005. Generations and Gender Survey (GGS): towards a better understanding of relationships and processes in the life course. Unpublished manuscript.
Waite, L. J., and L. A. Lillard. 1991. Children and marital disruption, *American Sociological Review* 96: 930–953.

Table 1. Person-months (exposures) and union dissolutions (occurrences) by categorical variables.

Variable	Person-months	Union dissolutions
Union order		
First	398442	907
Second	57891	203
Third	5548	30
Parental divorce		
No	383831	874
Yes	78050	266
Educational level		
In education	159766	427
Primary	40910	98
Secondary	237779	557
Higher	23426	58
Motherhood status at union formation		
Childless	61689	198
Mother	400192	942
Motherhood status in union		
No child	57662	393
One child	174344	590
Two or more children	229875	157
Partnership status		
Cohabiting	57807	320
Married, after cohabitation	104872	286
Married, directly	299202	534
Employment status		
Not employed	93144	260
Employed	368737	880
Period		
1967-1989	185742	396
1990-2004	276130	744
Migrations		
No migrations	355387	926
One migration	73402	139
Two or more migrations	33092	75
Place of residence		
Regional centre	166354	549
Another city or town	133533	344
Urban-type village	37947	63
Village	124047	184
Migrant status		
Non-migrants in urban areas	151023	487
Non-migrants in rural areas	33399	65
Urban to urban migrants	92609	260
Urban to rural migrants	81961	110
Rural to urban migrants	56255	146
Rural to rural migrants	46634	72
Total	461881	1140

Source: Authors' calculations.

Table 2. Relative risks of union dissolution by categorical variables and slope estimates of log-hazard for age and union duration.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Union order			
First		1	1
Second or third		1.23 *	1.23 *
Parental divorce			
No		1	1
Yes		1.28 ***	1.29 ***
Educational level			
In education		1.05	1.07
Primary		1	1
Secondary		1.03	1.04
Higher		1.14	1.18
Motherhood status at union formation			
Childless		1	1
Mother		0.77 **	0.77 **
Motherhood status in union			
No child		1	1
One child		0.86 *	0.86
Two or more children		0.42 ***	0.42 ***
Partnership status			
Cohabiting		2.21 ***	2.22 ***
Married, after cohabitation		1.27 ***	1.28 ***
Married, directly		1	1
Employment status			
Not employed		1	1
Employed		1.06	1.05
Period			
1967-1989	1	1	1
1990-2004	1.55 ***	1.32 ***	1.33 ***
Migrations			
No migrations	1	1	
One migration	1.01	1.06	
Two or more migrations	1.31 **	1.37 ***	
Place of residence			
Regional centre	1.24 ***	1.15 **	
Another city or town	1	1	
Urban-type village	0.67 ***	0.68 ***	
Village	0.60 ***	0.63 ***	
Migrant status			
Non-migrant in rural areas			1
Non-migrant in urban areas			1.71 ***
Urban to urban migrants			1.72 ***
Urban to rural migrants			0.96
Rural to urban migrants			1.88 ***
Rural to rural migrants			1.29
Migrations			
One migration			1
Two or more migrations			1.26 *

Table 2. Continued.

Age			
15-19 (slope)		0.000	0.000
20-24 (slope)		-0.004	-0.005
25-29 (slope)		-0.001	-0.001
30-34 (slope)		-0.002	-0.002
35+ (slope)		-0.001	-0.001
Union duration (baseline)			
0-6 months (slope)	0.453 ***	0.478 ***	0.477 ***
6-12 months (slope)	-0.111 ***	-0.095 ***	-0.095 ***
12-36 months (slope)	0.014 *	0.023 ***	0.023 **
36-48 months (slope)	-0.029 *	-0.021	-0.021
48-60 months (slope)	0.006	0.013	0.013
60-72 months (slope)	-0.038 **	-0.025 *	-0.025
72+ months (slope)	-0.002 ***	0.002	0.002
Constant	-8.059 ***	-8.376 ***	-8.807 ***
Log-likelihood	-7193.0	-7080.2	-7081.4

Significance: '*'=10%; '**'=5%; '***'=1%.
Source: Authors' estimations.

Table 3. Relative risks of union dissolution by number of migrations and employment status.

Employment status	No migrations	One migration	Two or more migrations
Not employed	1	1.11	0.96
Employed	1.04	1.09	1.52 ***

Significance: '*'=10%; '**'=5%; '***'=1%.
Note: Controlled for variables presented in Table 1, Model 2.
Source: Authors' estimations.

Table 4. Relative risks of union disruption by number of migrations and period.

Period	No migrations	One migration	Two or more migrations
1967-1989	1	0.87	1.53 **
1990-2004	1.33 **	1.33 **	1.46 **

Significance: '*'=10%; '**'=5%; '***'=1%.
Note: Controlled for variables presented in Table 1, Model 2.
Source: Authors' estimations.