

## **Get married and have a child: a variety of ways to realize births.**

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The widespread of extramarital conceptions in the late Soviet period was the main cause for mass shotgun and early marriages. In the mid-1970s, M. Tolts estimated the proportion of births due to extramarital conceptions at 32% among all births and at 45% among first births [1]. In the same years and up to the mid-1990s the mean age of bride at first marriage and the mean age of women at the childbirth have been declining. In the 2000s the proportion of births due to illegitimate conceptions began to decline. In the 2010s, changes in the marriage and reproductive behavior of Russians continued. But despite significant changes in demographic behavior, such as an increase in the mean age at first marriage and at first childbirth in the second half of the 1990s and in the 2000s, in 2012 the proportion of out-of-wedlock conceptions among all births was estimated at 44%, although it was lower by 10 p.p. observed in 2002 [2]. In the 2010s, changes in the matrimonial and reproductive behavior of Russians continued. The mean age at first marriage, although slowly, still continues to rise, and the age -specific marriage rate is gradually shifting to the right towards ages 25–34 [3]. According to official statistics, the absolute and relative number of abortions have decreased, which indicates a decrease in the proportion of unplanned, often unwanted pregnancies [4]. Therefore, we set ourselves the goal to analyze whether there has been a further decline in the prevalence of premarital and out-of-wedlock conceptions and to determine whether the intervals between marriage and childbirth have changed.

We use the databases of anonymous individual data on births for 2012–2021 as a data source. We use the following information: the date of birth of the child, the order of birth, information about mother and father of child (dates of birth, education level), the basis for indicating information about father, the date of marriage if the child was born in wedlock.

Out-of-wedlock births consist of births registered at the joint application of parents and births registered at the request of a single mother. Extramarital conceptions we define as the sum of out-of-wedlock births and premarital conceptions. We define premarital conceptions as births that occur within the first nine months of marriage. Births that occurred after 9 months after the registration of marriage, we attributed to marital conceptions. In order to classify conception as marital or out of wedlock, we calculated the interval between marriage and the birth of a child as the difference between the month and year of the child's birth and the month and year of marriage.

In Russia, during the 2010s, a fairly stable level of nonmarital births was observed. The share of births out of wedlock fluctuated slightly between 21 and 23% among all births, and among first-borns it was 22–24% in different years.

By 2020, the proportion of extramarital conceptions among all births has decreased to 37.6%, and among first-born children to 53.4%. The share of children conceived before marriage and born in marriage decreased significantly: from 23.7% to 15.9% among all births and from 38.6% to 29.7% among first births. A steady decline in the share of legitimate births is observed among women aged 19–34. Our calculations showed that in 2021 the share of extramarital conceptions among all births slightly increased to 37.9%, while the share of premarital conceptions remained the same. However, among first-born children, the increase was slightly more than 1 p.p. both the proportion of extramarital conceptions and the proportion of premarital conceptions, that is, as if there was a rollback of the indicator a year ago

Steady decline in the share of births legitimated by marriage in 2012–2020 observed among women aged 19–34 years. In 2021, compared to 2020, the proportion of first births due to premarital conception increased in all age groups except for mothers under 18 years old. At the age of up to 18 inclusive, still more than 90% of births are due to illegitimate conception. Mothers from this age group began to register their children less often in marriage, and more often out of marriage as single mothers.

In this paper, we analyze also the protogenetic interval between the first birth in more detail, and present regional variation.

## References

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