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Sergey Afontsev
Gijs Kessler
Andrei Markevich
Victoria Tyazhel'nikova
Timur Valetov

Cruquiusweg 31 1019 AT Amsterdam The Netherlands Tel. + 31 20 6685866 Fax + 31 20 6654181

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Contents

Introduction

This paper brings together five articles prepared in the framework of a wider research project on income-earning strategies and survival repertoires of urban households in twentieth-century Russia and the Soviet Union.[**] Taking the household rather than the individual as the central unit of analysis this project investigates the labour and non-labour activities people engaged in to raise income, the division of labour within the household, and the way households adjusted their behaviour in this respect to changes in the social, economic and political environment. Research covers the last decades of tsarist rule, the long Soviet period and the post-communist years.

Because of the centrality of the concept of household a first stage of the project looked into demography to chart the development of the unit of analysis in terms of size, structure and composition. What we had expected to be a quick inventory of the literature on the issue turned out to be a more protracted affair. No overview over the whole period under study existed, and even where sub-periods were concerned, existing scholarship was found to be wanting in many respects. We therefore turned to the available demographic data, primarily census data, and the results of this exercise are presented in the current volume.

Apart from household size, gender-composition and trends in nuptiality and fertility the papers focus on household structure, or the relationship between the individuals constituting households. In a classical definition, framed by Peter Laslett, Richard Wall and the Cambridge Group on the History of Population and Social Structure in the early 1970s, the household is described as the "co-resident domestic group".[1] This group can be family-based, i.e. related by blood or marriage, but this not necessarily so. In the first place a household is a group of persons that live together and share a number of activities. "The domestic group (…) consists (…) of those who share the same physical space for the purposes of eating, sleeping and taking rest and leisure, growing up, child rearing and procreating.[2]"

Peter Laslett and Eugene Hammel also suggested a method of classifying households according to the relationship between members that has since become standard. The core of their classification scheme is what they called the "conjugal family unit", consisting of a married couple with or without children. An unmarried parent with children also forms a conjugal family unit, but a widow or a widower, or a divorced person without children, does not. Laslett and Hammel distinguished three main types of family household:

- the "simple family household" – a household based on a family consisting of a single conjugal unit and no other relatives. Such households may either be complete or, where there is only one parent, incomplete;

- the "extended family household" – a household based on a family consisting of a single conjugal unit but including other relatives;

[**] This project is kindly financed by the Friends of the International Institute of Social History. Cf. http://www.iisg.nl/research/ussr.html

[1] Peter Laslett *et al.*, *Household and Family in Past Time*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 24-5

[2] E.A. Hammel and Peter Laslett. "Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16 (1974), p.76.

- the “multiple family household” – a household based on a family consisting of two or more conjugal units with or without other relatives.

Since all these types of household could include not only relatives but also servants, lodgers, boarders, etc., Laslett and Hammel further elaborated their classification by dividing each of the three household groups into two subtypes: with or without such persons.

Among households without conjugal family units, two groups were distinguished: “solitaries” and so called “no family households”.

In order to make results comparable all five papers will adhere to this classification scheme. The changes in household structure over time are rendered in graphic form in Appendix A.

Households in the Russian Empire:

Extended or Nuclear Families?

Timur Valetov

1. The Period

The present paper deals with urban households in the last decades of the Russian Empire up to the First World War and the Revolution of 1917. It aims to give a brief overview of the population structure of Russian towns and cities and to analyse the size, composition and structure of urban households at the start of the 20th century.

At this time the Russian Empire was a predominantly rural country. Only the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, had over a million citizens. Warsaw was the next largest city, with over 600,000 people, while Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Saratov and Kazan' had fewer than 400,000 each, and all other cities were significantly smaller. According to the 1897 census, only 13.4% of the total Russian population lived in towns and cities.[1] Although the rural sector was predominant, the period was characterised by high rates of industrial growth and urbanisation and the sustained migration of peasants into the towns and cities.

Urbanisation in Russia only really started after the 1860s-1870s, with the Great Reforms of Alexander II, which dramatically changed the economic life of the entire population and made possible further industrial growth. These reforms simultaneously created both the conditions for industrial and financial development and also a vast labour market consisting of thousands of destitute peasants. By the beginning of the 20th century a large proportion of the urban population consisted of peasants who had come to the cities in search of supplementary earnings, some with and some without their families.

1.1 Households and Families

As we saw in the introduction to this volume Laslett and Hammel's definition of the household as the co-resident domestic group gave precedence to the criterion of residence over that of kinship. For the period this paper is dealing with this distinction is of the utmost importance. Even if the majority of the population lived in families, there were many economic groups in the turn-of-the-century Russian cities whose members lived together, shared their costs and profits but were not related to each other. From the economic point of view they undoubtedly constituted households and were counted as such in the various official statistics. Firstly, urban labourers sometimes formed such

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[1] *Obschii svod po imperii resul'tatov razrabotki dannykh pervoi vseobschei perepisi naseleniya 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1905), vol. I, p. V.

households: some had arrived as *artels*, seasonal labour collectives, renting a flat and living together for the entire season; others were given a shared flat by their employers. Secondly, many people – including servants or apprentices, boarders, lodgers or people living on charity – resided together with their landlords.

Even in the pre-industrialisation period, the differences between the respective social and economic activities of urban and rural households gave rise to a striking disparity in their demographic profiles. Cities offered more job opportunities than the countryside and had a more diversified population, including officials, merchants, pensioners of various kinds, people living on private means, and others. In terms of both economic and demographic values these people usually differed markedly from the peasantry. During the period of industrialisation, with its accompanying high rates of peasant labour migration, peasants formed a large proportion of the urban population, and this phenomenon affected urban household structures.

There is a widespread notion (initiated by Alexander Engelhard and other "*narodniki*" in their emotional descriptions of the rural population after the emancipation of the serfs[2]) that in pre-industrial Russia ordinary rural families were mostly multiple or at least extended families, and that high peasant labour migration led to the increase in the number of extended families in cities. Later, during the decades of industrialisation, urban families started to decrease in size.

Another view, advanced, for example, by Robert Johnson, is that due to the extremely bad conditions of city and factory life most Russian industrial workers lived apart from their families, choosing to leave them in the countryside. Johnson, however, has noted that peasant labour-migrants "continued the rural pattern of early marriage and large households."[3]

A third view stems from later studies of Russian peasant post-emancipation society. According to this view, the abolition of serfdom led peasant households in most cases to split off from multiple families and form nuclear families; it therefore makes no sense to speak of an "agrarian" type of Russian peasant household (whether in the countryside or the cities) after the 1880-1890s.[4]

1.2 Limitations of the available sources

The available historical sources are limited. Before 1917, the only general census of the entire population of the Russian Empire was held in January of 1897. In fact, this census is the single source of information on household structure. Besides the general population census of 1897, there are also published data from population censuses for various cities and towns,[5] including several carried out in St. Petersburg and Moscow. In addition to

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2 See, for example, A.N.Engelgardt. *Pis'ma iz derevni*, (Moscow, 1956), pp.266-270.

3 Robert Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian. The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (Leicester, 1979), pp. 65-66.

4 B.N. Mironov, *Sotsialnaya Istoriia Rossii*, (St. Petersburg, 1999) vol. 1, pp. 226-229; Jeffrey Burds. *Peasant Dreams & Market Politics. Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (Pittsburgh, 1998) pp. 34-37.

5 It was estimated that about 150 town censuses were undertaken in Russia from 1861onwards (see A.I. Gozulov. "Mestnye perepisi naseleniya do revolutsii", *Uchenye zapiski Rostovskogo-na-Donu finansovo-ekonomicheskogo instituta*, 1941, part I); however most of them were not completed or only

these, I shall also use data from the 1895 population census conducted in Barnaul,[6] the 1913 census from Baku,[7] and the 1911 census held in Lyubim, a district centre in Yaroslavl province with less than 4000 inhabitants.

When using the population census data, we must keep in mind their inherent imperfection. A large proportion of the population is always inclined to suspect that a population census is a means of external control. In 1897, the fact that a significant percentage of the population was illiterate and had never heard of censuses was a common source of error. We have some proofs of this. For example, in the official reports on the 1897 census we find many references to people concealing their supplementary earnings; we are informed that the 1915 refugee census missed up to 10% of such earnings, "especially among the wealthy and rich categories of refugees."[8] The introduction to the Baku population census states that in order to examine illiterate day-labourers (mostly Persians) the officials had to make sudden night-time raids on doss-houses, and that the workers tried to run away.[9] It is worth mentioning that the 1902 Moscow population census listed only 8 children in the age group 8-14 who admitted to being "beggars, tramps or prostitutes" (and this in a city with one million inhabitants!)[10]

Another problem with the general population census of 1897 is its unusual interpretation of the term "town", which makes its conclusions difficult to compare with those of later censuses. The 1897 census listed only 932 towns with a total of 16.8 million citizens (13.4% of the total population), following the official criteria as to which settlements to include as towns. These criteria did not take into account the industrial nature of settlements, so that the only settlements to be registered as towns were the administrative centres, while industrial centres failed to qualify. The organisers of the census noted this problem themselves: "The small percentage of urban citizens in Russia depends on the narrow definition of a town: in the Russian empire there are 6,376 settlements with a population of between 2,000 and 41,000, comprising a total population of 23.2 million people (18.5% of the whole population), which were not registered as towns, their population being defined instead as rural, although in Western Europe all of them would be classified as urban".[11]

2. Dynamics of the urban population.

As mentioned above, it is almost impossible to trace the dynamics of the urban population as a whole, because there was only one general population census (1897) in the period we are considering. We can use estimates of the urban/rural populations of different provinces taken from the yearbooks of general statistics after 1897. However,

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partially completed (published or even counted) and their data are lost; in addition, many of the published censuses had very limited remits and contain little of value.

6 The programme of the census was very comprehensive, but only 2 out of 5 issues of its data were analysed and published.

7 There was also a 1903 census in Baku, but its results were not published.

8 *Perepis' bezhentsev v Petrograde* (Petrograd, 1916), p. 5.

9 *Perepis' Baku 1913 goda,* part III, issue 1 (Baku, 1916), p. XXII.

10 *Perepis' Moskvy 1902 goda,* part I, issue 1 (Moscow, 1904), p. 37.

11 *Obschii svod…*, vol. I, p. V.

these data are not very useful, because they consist only of estimates, calculated on the basis of general birth/death rates without taking into account migration processes.[12]

Table 1. Dynamics of the population from 1897 (the census) to 1915 (estimate)

	The Russian empire (without Finland)			European Russia		
	Whole population, thousands	Urban population, thousands	Percentage of urban population	Whole population, thousands	Urban population, thousands	Percentage of urban population
28.01.1897	125680.7	16864.4	13.42	93442.9	12049.3	12.89
1906	*146419.1*	*18672.6*	*12.8*	*109331.6*	*13404.7*	*12.3*
1914	*175137.8*	*26297.6*	*15.0*	*128864.3*	*18596.8*	*14.4*
1915	*178905.5*	*27404.6*	*15.3*	*131796.8*	*19496.8*	*14.8*

Source: *Obschii svod po Imperii resul'tatov razrabotki dannykh Pervoi vseobschei perepisi naseleniya, proizvedennoi 28 yanvarya 1897 goda.* (St. Petersburg, 1905) Vol.I, p.1; *Ezhegodnik Rossii, 1906*. (St. Petersburg, 1907) p.62; *Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii, 1912*. (St. Petersburg, 1913) Part I, pp. 47, 57; *Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii, 1914*. (Petrograd, 1915) Part I, p.57; *Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii, 1915*. (Petrograd, 1916) Part I, pp. 47, 52.

The percentage of urban dwellers in European Russia was smaller than in the Russian empire as a whole. This can by explained, firstly, by the relatively small number of peasants in Asian Russia and, secondly, by the relatively high urban development of Poland, which was not considered part of European Russia.[13]

Although the overall rate of urbanisation was low, urban population increased both in absolute and relative terms over the last decades of the Tsarist period. For certain cities such as Moscow and various industrial centres, we can trace slightly different dynamics based on local census data: both Moscow and St. Petersburg give us much better material than the general demographic estimations. The population of Moscow, for example, increased dramatically, almost doubling between 1897 and 1915, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Dynamics of Moscow population from 1882 to 1915 (census materials).

Date	**Number of people**	**Percentage to 1897**
24.01.1882	753,469	72.5
28.01.1897	1,038,591	100.0
31.01.1902	1,174,673	113.1
01.03.1907	1,359,886	130.9
06.03.1912	1,617,700	155.8
20.11.1915	1,984,000	191.0

Source**:** *Svodnyi biulleten' po gorodu Moskve, 1915.* (Moscow, 1917) p.3.

In addition, during World War I many refugees migrated to large cities. As of 29th February 1916 100,704 refugees were registered in Petrograd, including 32,390 children under the age of 16 (32.2%) and 40,096 women (39.8%).[14] As far as Moscow was

[12] See, for example: *Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii*, 1906 (St. Petersburg, 1907), p .63.

[13] European Russia was an official term for the territory encompassing 50 (later 51) provinces to the West of the Urals. It included the Baltic provinces, but did not include Finland, Poland and the Caucasus.

[14] *Perepis' bezhentsev v Petrograde*, p. 17.

concerned, the census of 20th November 1915 listed 141,649 refugees (7.1% of the total population of the city), amongst them 42,158 children under the age of 15 (29.7%) and 57,435 women (40.5%).[15]

3. Gender and age distribution among the urban population.

The censuses provide us with detailed data on gender and age distribution among the urban population. Since these represent the most important demographic values, such data are included separately from the general census information in each published census. These basic data give us a good overview of the urban population in different types of town.

Tables 3-6. Gender and age distribution among the populations of different cities/towns.

	St. Petersburg, 1897				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-9 years old	90705	92639	183344	49.5	50.5
10-19	131727	89540	221267	59.5	40.5
20-29	207063	131231	338294	61.2	38.8
30-39	133973	104890	238863	56.1	43.9
Over 39	128656	153486	282142	45.6	54.4
Total	692667	572253	1264920	54.8	45.2

Source: *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiskoi imperii 28 yanvarya 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1905) Vol.XXXVII, Book 2, pp. 6-8.

	Moscow, 1897				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-9 years old	64318	65121	129439	49.7	50.3
10-19	124973	74211	199184	62.7	37.3
20-29	172139	101303	273442	63.0	37.0
30-39	114795	81140	195935	58.6	41.4
Over 39	115029	124459	239488	48.0	52.0
Total	591852	446739	1038591	57.0	43.0

Source: *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiskoi imperii 28 yanvarya 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1905) Vol.XXXVII, Book 2, pp. 6-8.

	Odessa, 1897				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-9 years old	38967	38837	77804	50.1	49.9
10-19	36774	40020	76794	47.9	52.1
20-29	60003	36584	96587	62.1	37.9
30-39	347039	28273	62312	54.6	45.4
Over 39	46932	43224	90156	52.1	47.9
Total	216792	187023	403815	53.7	46.3
21-24	*33514*	*14511*	*48025*	*69.8*	*30.2*

Source: *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* (St. Petersburg, 1905) Vol.XLVII. pp. 4-6.

[15] *Statisticheskii Ezhegodnik goroda Moskvy za 1911-1913* (Moscow, 1916). Appendix, p.105.

	Baku, 1913				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-9 years old	23343	22377	45720	51.1	48.9
10-19	22550	18404	40954	55.1	44.9
20-29	29391	21290	50681	58.0	42.0
30-39	22439	14472	36911	60.8	39.2
Over 39	22685	17097	39782	57.0	43.0
Total	120803	93869	214672	56.3	43.7

Source: *Perepis' Baku 1913 goda* (Baku, 1916) Vol.III. Population. Book 1. pp. 81-82.

	Barnaul, 1895				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-10 years old	2826	2790	5616	50.3	49.7
11-20	2233	2443	4676	47.8	52.2
21-30	1878	1943	3821	49.1	50.9
31-40	1708	1659	3367	50.7	49.3
Over 40	2736	2810	5546	49.3	50.7
Total	11396	11668	23064	49.4	50.6

Source: *Altaiskii statisticheskii sbornik* (Barnaul, 1898), Vol.II, book 1., pp. 34-35.

	Lyubim of Yaroslavl province, 1911				
	Males	**Females**	**Total**	**Males, %**	**Females, %**
0-14 years old	440	476	916	48.0	52.0
15-24	134	269	403	33.3	66.7
25-34	143	185	328	43.6	56.4
Over 34	410	618	1028	39.9	60.1
Total	1132	1554	2686	42.1	57.9

Source: *Statisticheskii sbornik po Yaroslavskoi gubernii* (Yaroslavl, 1913) vol.97. pp. 13.

As we can see from the above tables, men of working age were the dominant group among the overall urban population. Whilst among the under-14s there are almost equal numbers of girls and boys, the proportion of males increases markedly in the teenage and adult age groups (in Odessa males make up no less than 69.8% of the 21-24 age group!). Such a distribution can be explained by the high percentage of men of peasant origin who went to the cities looking for earnings, usually leaving their families at home in the villages.

This imbalance in gender distribution was also strongly influenced by the presence of soldiers' barracks and prisons, which were located mostly in towns. In certain towns this impact was especially evident: for example Vladivostok, founded in 1860, was first and foremost the base of the Siberian Navy; in 1897 its population consisted of 24361 men and only 4535 (less than 16%) women.[16]

It is interesting to see that in Barnaul (which was not a large industrial centre), no such overrepresentation of men can be observed. In the town of Lyubim, on the contrary, women outnumbered men, accounting for two thirds of those of working age. This finding is in fact more characteristic of the rural sector, but from an economic standpoint this small administrative centre was equivalent to the countryside – it was hard to find

[16] *Naselenie gorodov po perepisi 1897 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1897).

work there. As the census report puts it, "Such a surplus of women is explained by the fact that many men leave the town in search of additional earnings."[17]

The census data on Moscow and St. Petersburg allow us to see the dynamics of gender distribution among the population of the big cities:

Table 7. Dynamics of Moscow population from 1882 to 1915 (census materials).

Date	Number, thousands		Percentage	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
24.01.1882	432.4	321.0	57.4	42.6
28.01.1897	591.9	446.7	57.0	43.0
31.01.1902	664.8	509.8	56.6	43.4
01.03.1907	754.4	605.5	55.5	44.5
06.03.1912	877.7	740.0	54.3	45.7
20.11.1915	1049.2	934.8	52.9	47.1

Source: *Svodnyi biulleten' po gorodu Moskve. 1915,* p. 3.

The increase in the proportion of women in the urban population can be explained by general socio-economic changes, as more people became permanent city residents while fewer came to cities to earn money, leaving their families in the country. The majority of historians favour this explanation.[18] Robert Johnson, however, surmised that the cause of this phenomenon was the increasing number of female labour-migrants without families.[19] This seems to me doubtful: the number of people living in households composed of relatives was not insignificant, and (as Sergei Semanov has shown in the case of St. Petersburg[20]) the proportion of workers leaving their families in the countryside was not so great as to account for such a major re-distribution.

3. Family/Household Structure

The population census of 1897 provides us with information about household structures, but not about family structures. Given the inadequate data, few researchers have tried to shed light on this topic. Boris Mironov gives a few estimates for 1897 in his *Social History of Russia,*[21] but they are not very exact. He relied exclusively on data from the overall population census, which tell us only about the subdivision of families by size and do not reveal anything about family structure e.g. about how many multiple or extended families there were. A family registered as consisting of two persons might involve either a married couple or, for example, a widow with a child. Indeed only the percentage of single families given by Mironov can be taken at face value.

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17 *Statisticheskii sbornik po Yaroslavskoi gubernii*, Vol. 97 (Yaroslavl, 1913), p.5.

18 See, for example, A.G. Rashin, "Dinamika chislennosti i protsessy formirovaniya gorodskogo naseleniya Rossii v XIX – nachale XX vv.", *Istoricheskie zapiski* 34 (1950), p. 83-84.

19 Robert Johnson. *Peasant and Proletarian*., p.55-56.

20 S.N. Semanov, *Peterburgskie rabochie nakanune pervoi russkoi revolutsii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), pp. 49-52.

21 B.N. Mironov. *Sotsialnaya Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 1, p. 234-235.

Town censuses undertaken after 1897 do not give us even this information.[22] However, we can point out some interesting indicators.

First of all, these town censuses differentiated between non-family, single-person and family households. Each of these groups exhibits different modes of life and different survival strategies. Non-family households consisted usually of labour-related people, living together in apartments provided by the employer or, in the case of *artel* workers, renting an apartment together. The people occupying single-person households had a wide range of occupations, but were united by the fact that they did not share payments or benefits with others and thus were free from many of the problems confronting heads of families.

a) Percentage of non-family households

Table 8. Percentage of non-family households in Russia in 1897.

	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
Percentage of households	**2.9**	**3.2**	**0.6**	**7.1**	**9.5**	**2.2**
Percentage of people living in these households	**11.6**	**12.3**	**1.3**	**17.0**	**24.7**	**11.5**

Source: Obschii svod… Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

The table shows that there was a higher percentage of non-relative households in the towns, particularly the major cities, compared with the countryside. Thus non-family households constituted less than 1 per cent in the country, whereas they represented a quite significant sector in the towns and especially the big cities (non-family households accounted for almost 10 per cent of households in Moscow, and comprised almost a quarter of its population). The table also shows a high proportion of urban citizens who did not permanently reside in the cities but merely went there in search of earnings.

[22] Information about the subdivision of households according to size can again be found only in the census of St. Petersburg in 1900 and in the census of the town of Lyubim in 1911.

b) Percentage of single-person households (including single-person households with servants)

Table 9. Percentage of single-person households (including single-person households with servants) in Russia in 1897.

	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
Percentage of single households	**9.3**	**9.3**	**3.3**	**14.5**	**13.3**	**11.2**
Percentage of people in these households	**4.2**	**4.4**	**0.9**	**8.0**	**8.3**	**5.4**

Source: *Obschii svod…* Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

One can see that the proportion of single households in the urban sector was higher than in the countryside, amounting to almost 15% of the households in St. Petersburg. Such a high proportion of single-person households reflects an economic mode of life peculiar to the cities, which may have been due to the combination of labour-migrants who left their families at home, wealthy people and the economically independent nobility.

c) Distribution of households by size

As mentioned above, there are no data on family structure in pre-revolutionary Russia. The census does not differentiate between family members and outsiders. It offers only general figures on, for example, the "number of households with 4 members," including both family members and outsiders. Thus these data tell us only about the size of *households* in 1897, rather than the size of families as such.

Table 10. Distribution of households (excluding non-family households) by size in Russia in 1897 (upper figure is the percentage of households in each category; the lower figure is the percentage of people living in such households)

	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
1-member households	7.1 1.3[23]	**7.0** **1.3**	**2.9** **0.5**	8.8 1.3	7.4 1.0	9.6 1.9
2-member households	17.9 6.8	**18.7** **6.9**	**85** **3.0**	24.5 7.0	22.6 5.9	20.5 8.1
3- member households	17.1 9.6	**17.2** **9.6**	**11.4** **6.0**	19.1 8.2	18.8 7.3	16.9 10.0
4-member households	16.5 12.5	**16.4** **12.2**	**14.7** **10.3**	16.8 9.5	16.8 8.7	15.7 12.4
5- member households	14.1 13.3	**13.9** **12.9**	**16.1** **14.1**	12.4 8.8	12.9 8.3	12.9 12.7
Households with 6 or more members	27.3 56,5	**26.7** **57.1**	**46.4** **66.1**	18.4 65.3	21.5 68.9	24.5 55.1

Source: *Obschii svod…* Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

At the general level, however, the population census allows us to divide all the members of households into family members and outsiders (for instance, servants) so we are also able to calculate the average size of families.

Table 11. Average family size in Russia in 1897.

	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
Average family size	4.2	**4.2**	**5.5**	3.6	3.8	4.0

Source: *Obschii svod…* Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

These tables show that rural families in most cases had more members than urban ones and thus that the size of the average family in the countryside was higher than that in the towns. However, although we do not know the internal make-up of these families, there are two possible explanations for the larger size of rural families. Firstly, the proportion of extended families – what we might call the "agrarian type" of family – may have been higher in the countryside. Secondly, the high average number of family members may also have been due to the higher number of children (and, usually, old people) in rural families. The following table, also based on data from the population

[23] These figures are lower than the corresponding ones in Table 9, because in Table 9 single households with servants were counted as single households, while in Table 10 they are registered in different rows of the table according to the size of households. Unfortunately, the census data do not allow us to calculate the distribution of families by size without any outsiders.

census of 1897, shows this very clearly, and I would suggest that the second explanation is the more plausible.

Table 12. The percentage of selected age groups within the population as a whole, 1897.

	Children up to 16	People over 50
All the Russian Empire		
in the countryside	43.9	13.6
in towns	34.1	12.8
European Russia		
in the countryside	44.1	13.8
in towns	33.1	13.2
Cities		
St. Petersburg	13.6	6.3
Moscow	15.1	6.2
Odessa	14.2	7.5

Source: *Obschii svod…* Vol. I, pp. 36-38, 78-82; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 2, pp. 6-8; vol. XXXVII, book 2, pp. 6-8; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-6.

If we turn to households, we see a slightly different distribution (see Table 13). Although in most cases urban households consisted of small families, and there were fewer large families, the average *household* size was higher in the towns, particularly the big cities, than in the country. It is clear that certain cities had a concentration of very large households, including various *artels*, institutions that were counted as households, and so on.

Table 13. Households (including non-family households) according to size in Russia in 1897 (percentages only).

	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
1- member households	6.9	6.8	2.9	8.2	6.7	9.4
2-5-member households	64.8	65.3	50.6	70.3	67.0	65.5
Households with 6 or more members	28.3	27.9	46.5	21.5	26.3	25.2
Average number of members per household	5.8	6.0	5.7	7.9	9.3	5.6

Source: Obschii svod… Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

d) Outsiders ("postoronnie")

The lack of data on the various categories of outsiders prevents us from drawing any definitive conclusions about family size in the Russian empire. The outsiders who figure

as members of households could have been servants living together with their masters, apprentices, different types of workers and employees, and even lodgers.[24]

The population census of 1897 allows us to see, firstly, the subdivision of households by the number of servants and, secondly, the overall number of outsiders in households:

Table 14. Percentage of households with servants in Russia in 1897.

Percentage of Households:	Urban population of the Russian Empire	Urban population of European Russia	Rural population of European Russia	St. Peters-burg	Moscow	Odessa
Without servants	77.1	75.3	94.1	60.2	49.3	78.18
with 1 servant	14.1	14.6	4.2	21.9	22.5	14.3
with 2-3 servants	6.6	7.3	1.3	12.9	16.4	6.2
with 4-5 servants	1.3	1.5	0.3	2.8	5.0	0.8
with 6-10 servants	0.7	0.8	0.1	1.7	4.4	0.3
with more than 10 servants	0.2	0.3	0.03	0.5	2.5	0.1
Total with servants	**22.9**	**24.7**	**5.9**	**39.8**	**50.7**	**21.8**
Percentage of outsiders among the whole population	**20.2**	**22.9**	**4.2**	**48.6**	**50.8**	**21.5**

Source: *Obschii svod…* Vol. I, pp. 16-19; *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XXXVII, book 1, pp. 4-7; vol. XLVII, pp. 4-5.

The data show a very large percentage of servants and outsiders in Russian urban households. But who were these outsiders? It is easy to estimate the approximate number of servants. The census data show the breakdown of the population in terms of types of activity, and we can see, for example, that in St. Petersburg there were about 230,000 servants and members of servants' families (constituting 22% of the city's population, they are included among the 48.6% of outsiders recorded in Table 14). Other outsiders could have been lodgers who were counted as members of their landlords' households.

Table 15 presents the percentage of different categories of household members according to the population census of St. Petersburg held on 15th December, 1900. Here we can see more clearly the subdivision of outsiders within households.

[24] *Pervaya vseobschaya perepis' naseleniya Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 goda.* Vypusk I. (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 11. These problems are also discussed in: Joseph Bradley. *Muzhik and Muscovite. Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1985), pp. 215-217.

Table 15. Distribution of household members in St. Petersburg in 1900.

Category	Number	Percentage
Total number of people counted	1248122	100.0
Heads of households (both males and females)	236700	19.0
Their children	216211	17.3
Other relatives of head	76967	6.2
Domestic servants and labourers	245448	19.7
Members of families of servants etc.	15193	1.2
Lodgers and their families	333065	26.7
Servants of institutions	10545	0.8
Other	113932	9.1

Source: *Sankt-Peterburg soglasno perepisi naseleniia 15 dekabria 1900 goda* Vol. III. (St. Petersburg, 1905) pp. 520-521.

According to this table, more than a quarter of St. Petersburg citizens were lodgers who were counted as members of their landlords' households. This may indicate a significant form of survival strategy on the part of both householders and lodgers. Many servants and workers (about one fifth of the population) were also counted as members of their masters' households. There were probably a great many different survival strategies among these strata of the St. Petersburg population, and this topic deserves proper investigation. But it is interesting to see that many servants and workmen lived with their masters, and that many employers preferred to have their workmen reside with them.

As far as servants are concerned, we can see that rural households had many fewer servants than urban ones. In fact many rural people were sent to the towns and cities expressly to become servants. Table 16 shows that plenty of women-servants in Moscow were born outside the city and had gone there in search of earnings:

Table 16. The distribution of women-servants in Moscow in 1902.

	Total number	The percentage among them born outside Moscow	The percentage of illiterate women-servants
5-9 years old	27	74.1	74.1
10-14 years old	1697	91.2	49.8
15-17 years old	3721	92.1	51.6
18-19 years old	3391	94.0	55.4
20-24 years old	10792	95.4	63.6
25-29 years old	10813	96.1	69.7
30-39 years old	16772	95.8	76.0
over 40 years old	23400	94.3	84.1
Total	**70762**	**94.9**	**72.9**

Source: *Statisticheskii atlas goroda Moskvy,.* (Moscow, 1911) p.39.

e) Labour participation rates

Each census provides data on "labour participation" rates and we can see how many urban people in pre-revolutionary Russia were labour-participating. These figures are obviously important in considering survival strategies and household budgets. On the one hand, it is obvious that most "non-participating" members of households must have been

financially supported by other household members. On the other, these people (excluding those who could not work at all) had free time and could share a lot of household chores such as cooking, taking care of babies etc. This gave free time to the "labour-participating" people and dramatically changed their survival strategies. In discussing workers' budgets, some observers have made a point of distinguishing between families "with" and "without a mother working at home."[25]

It is necessary to note, however, that the category of "labour-participating" individuals used in the Tsarist period cannot provide a basis for comparison with later statistics. The term "non-participating" referred to people who did not have their own money and co-resided with the heads of their families. All pensioners and people supported by their relatives but living separately from them as far as people living on private means were considered to be "labour-participating."

In Moscow the percentage of "labour-participating" individuals was slightly higher than in St. Petersburg. This can be explained by the relatively high proportion of both nobles and other wealthy people in the capital of the Russian empire.

Table 17. Percentage of "labour-participating" people. St. Petersburg, 1897.

	Men	Women	Total
0-12 years old	7.2	5.9	6.5
13-14 years old	62.2	36.9	52.2
15-16 years old	78.4	53.0	68.9
17-19 years old	88.8	64.1	79.4
20-39 years old	97.8	54.6	80.1
40-59 years old	99.1	57.8	78.2
Over 60 years old	93.7	66.5	75.2
Total	**80.1**	**46.3**	**64,8**

Source: *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXXVII, book 2, pp. 156-157.

Table 18. Percentage of "labour-participating" people. Moscow, 1897.

	Men	Women	Total
0-12 years old	9.8	8.0	8.9
13-14 years old	70.3	47.9	62.0
15-s16 years old	83.9	58.6	75.5
17-19 years old	90.0	63.0	80.7
20-39 years old	97.4	59.3	82.6
40-59 years old	99.2	63.8	82.1
Over 60 years old	93.0	67.6	76.3
Total	**82.7**	**51.1**	**69.1**

Source: *Pervaia vseobschaia perepis' naseleniia…* Vol. XXIV, book 2, pp. 170-171.

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We have briefly observed the main features of urban households in Russia before 1917 and compared the principal statistical results with those for the countryside.

[25] See, for example M. Davidovich. *Peterburgskii tekstilnyi rabochii v ego byudzhetah* (St. Petersburg, 1912).

First of all, we have discovered that there were not many large families in Russian towns, particularly in the big cities (all the characteristics that distinguish the urban from the rural population are much more clearly visible in the cities, especially St. Petersburg and Moscow). There were many single-person households in the towns; the average size of family was smaller than that in the country and there were relatively few people who were neither members of the main conjugal unit nor the children of that unit, but lived together with their relatives, thereby forming extended families (see Table 15). The percentage of extended families may have been higher than in the subsequent inter-war period, but it was not high enough to be regarded as typical of urban households.

Secondly, one can see a high number of both non-family households and family households with co-resident non-relatives such as servants and apprentices. While the size of the average urban *family* was smaller than that of the average rural one, the size of the average urban *household* was bigger because of labour-related co-residents. This is one of the most important socio-economic features of the towns and cities of the Russian Empire in the 1900s: many labourers and employees lived far from their families or without families and built their survival strategies on this economic base.

Urban Households in the Inter-War Soviet Union:

Demographic Shock and Recovery, 1914-39

Gijs Kessler

The current paper traces the evolution of the urban household as a social and demographic entity over the period between the revolution of 1917 and the start of the Second World War. The paper deals with size, composition, and other such household characteristics, but also with the mechanisms of household formation that stand behind these variables. It shows how, after the initial demographic shock incurred during the successive wars of the years 1914-22, urban households in the Soviet Union realigned and regrouped in the course of the 1920s, principally through a process of remarriage, which was fuelled by the presence of a large contingent of war-widows and broadened opportunities for divorce. This expressed itself in an increasing share of the middle groups in terms of household size, consisting of between two and four members. The mass-migration of the 1930s further consolidated the dominance of the small household among the urban population, dispersing the generations and slowing down processes of family formation.

1. Households and Families, 1917-41

With the exception of the first few years of Soviet power, the use of the term household (*domokhozyaistvo*) was by and large abandoned after 1917 as a concept for describing the demographic entities that urban society was composed of. Instead, the family became the main focus of analysis and, consequently, the main unit in population statistics. A family was defined as a co-resident group of persons linked by kinship or marriage that wholly or partially shared a common budget, specifically excluding servants, lodgers, boarders and other "inmates" that shared the same dwellings. [1] Soviet censuses distinguished two main categories; solitaries (*odinochki*) and families (*sem'i*). For our purposes, though, both are households, in the sense that they occupy separate dwellings and have a separate budget. Next to solitaries and families, Soviet statisticians distinguished a third category of "family members living separately" (*chleny semei, zhivushchie otdel'no*). This category referred to individuals related to their families only by kinship (or marriage) and joint budget, but not by co-residence. Labour migrants made up the majority in this category.

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[1] G. Pollyak, "Metody ucheta naseleniya v Petrogradskoi gorodskoi perepisi 1918 g.", *Vestnik statistiki*, Nº 4-7 (aprel'-iyun' 1919), pp. 20-22; *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moskva, 1928-35), Vol. 56, vyp. 3, p. VI; A.G. Volkov, *Sem'ya - ob"ekt demografii* (Moskva, Mysl', 1986), pp. 24-5.

In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to trace the evolution of the urban household over the period between the revolution of 1917 and the start of the Second World War. This was a period of great demographic turmoil, and as we will see this had a substantial impact on the processes this paper is concerned with. In the first place great shifts took place in the proportion between urban and rural population, with a short phase of actual de-urbanisation during the Civil War years, subsequent recovery during the NEP years, and a rapid process of urbanisation during the industrialisation of the 1930s, particularly during the years 1929-35.[2] Secondly, the country went through three spates of significant excess mortality, the first being related to the wars of 1914-22, the second to the famine of 1932-33 and the third to the terror of 1936-8. All in all, the total number of excess deaths amounted to an estimated sixteen million during 1914-22, ten million during the famine of 1932-33 and around a million during the Great Terror of 1936-8.[3]

The main source for the analysis contained in this paper are the mass data on size, structure and composition of the household contained in the three population censuses of those years that covered the entire urban population. These are the urban census of 1923 and the all-union population censuses of 1926 and 1939. The earlier census of 1920, when the Civil War was still going on, did not cover the entire country, and the data on family composition from the 1937 census were apparently never worked out after the census was suppressed by the Stalinist leadership.[4] Supplementary information is derived from statistical journals and handbooks of the time, as well as from archival sources. The aim of the analysis is to provide a dynamic overview of size, structure and composition of the family. For this purpose the census data are compared for the following variables: proportion of single-person households and families, family size, nuptiality, gender-composition, housing conditions, and household structure.

2. Solitaries and Households

The first variable we want to chart is the proportion of solitaries and families. Unfortunately, the published data of the 1923 census do not give the number of single-person households, and therefore the main comparison will have to be between 1926 and 1939.

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2 Eugene Kulischer, *Europe on the Move. War and Population Changes, 1917-47* (New York, 1948), pp. 57-8; O. Kvitkin, "Pervye itogi perepisy 1926 goda", *Statisticheskoe obozrenie*, Nº 1, 1927, pp. 15-17; G.C. Kessler, "The Peasant and the Town. Rural-Urban Migration in the Soviet Union, 1929-40" (Ph.D., European University Institute, 2001), esp. Chapters I, V.

3 R. W. Davies *et al.*, *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1913-1945* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 57-8; Colloquium “Nuove fonti e nuovi studi sulla storia del comunismo. Il grande terrore nell’URSS degli anni trenta”, Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, Rome, 4 May 2001.

4 Goskomstat RF, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897-1997). Statisticheskii sbornik* (1998, Moskva), p. 11. On the 1937 population census, cf. V.B. Zhiromskaya *et al.*, *Polveka pod grifom "sekretno". Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1937 goda* (Moscow,1996)

Table 1 – Urban Households, 1923-39

	1923[5]		**1926**[6]		**1939**[7]	
	SSSR	*RSFSR*	*SSSR*	*RSFSR*	*SSSR*	*RSFSR*
% single-person households	no data	no data	24.6	26.2	15.5	17.8
% families	no data	no data	75.4	73.8	84.5	82.2
solitaries as a % of total household population	no data	no data	7.7	8.4	4.2	5.0
family-members as a % of total household population	no data	no data	92.3	91.6	95.8	95.0
solitaries as a % of total population	no data	no data	7.2	7.9	4.2	4.9
family-members as a % of total population	88.3	86.3	86.9	86.5	94.3	93.5
Non-household population (%)	no data	no data	5.9	5.6	1.5	1.6
% of family members living apart from the family	no data	no data	0.8	no data	12.7	12.5
% of the population temporarily present at the place where they were included in the census	no data	no data	2.0	2.1	4.5	no data

As we can see from table 1, the most pronounced difference between the 1926 and the 1939 census turnouts concerns the relative weight of the category of single-person households, declining from 24.6% of all households in 1926 to 15.5% in 1939. This shift is reflected in the figures concerning the relative weight of the category of family-members, which increases both among the household population and the urban population as a whole. These figures are misleading, though. In 1926 the criteria for being classified as member of a family were stricter than in 1939. The key difference concerns family members that were living separately from the family they belonged to. In 1926, such persons were only counted as part of the family if they were wholly and entirely supported by the family they belonged to, otherwise they were classified as solitaries.[8] As we can see from table 1 this narrowly defined category comprised only 0.8% of all persons being part of a family. In 1939 no such strict criterion was applied, and it probably sufficed for separately living relatives of the first degree to have some sort of financial connection to a family in order not to be classified as solitary.

Because of this difference in criteria, we have no way of establishing whether the changes in the percentage of single-person households and separately living family members observed between 1926 and 1939 are due to different ways of counting, or to real shifts in residence patterns. Judging from what we know about population change in the 1930s, it seems likely, however that the relative share of single-person households would have increased between 1926 and 1939. Millions of young people swarmed out over the construction sites and industrial complexes of the country during the Five Year Plans of the 1930s, and because of the intense shortages of housing in those years, many must have postponed setting up a family longer than in the 1920s, while already having separated from the paternal household.

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5 *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi gorodskoi perepisi 1923 g.* (1924), Chast' IV, pp. 52, 54-9, 68-163; Chast' II, Vyp. 3, pp. 2, 6, 14. The data for the SSSR do not include the Transcaucasian SFSR.

6 *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 17, pp. 6-7; Vol. 55, 2-3, 26-7, 46-7, 50-1, 54-55, 58-9, 60-3

7 Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (RGAE), f. 1562 (TsSU SSSR), op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7

8 *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 55, p. 248

3. Household Size

Household size is captured in the population censuses by two variables; the average number of persons per family and the distribution of households according to the number of members. The former variable is obviously a very crude indicator of the demographic processes that stand behind it, but it does provide a simple and convenient yardstick for judging developments over time. Moreover, in addition to the population censuses of 1923, 1926 and 1939 there are some rudimentary data on average family size in 1917 and 1920 that provide a glimpse of what might have happened in this respect during the Civil War years. In 1919 and 1920 regular surveys were held of the nutritional standards among both the urban and the rural population. Since these surveys took the family as the main unit of analysis, they contain some data that characterise the sample of families that the survey was based on, and one of the parameters that is given, is average family size. In juxtaposition with the data for 1923, 1926 and 1939, the following picture emerges:

Table 2a – Average Family Size (Urban Population)

	May-April 1919[9]	July 1919	Dec. 1919	May 1920	Oct. – Nov. 1920	March 1923[10]	Dec. 1926[11]	Jan. 1939[12]
Moscow/ Leningrad	4.0	3.7	3	2.9	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.4[13]
RSFSR	4.8	4.4	3.9	3.9	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.6
SSSR	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	4.1	3.9	3.6

In the course of 1919 and 1920 the average family size among the urban population of the RSFSR decreases rapidly, from 4.8 in May-April 1919 to 3.9 in May 1920. Most likely this is due to a combination of two factors: 1) excess mortality as a result of famine and war action and 2) return or flight of part of the urban population to the countryside in search of food. After May 1920 average family size starts to increase again, reaching 4.1 in November 1920, which might be caused by a partial return from the countryside, given the fact that it is accompanied by a slight decline of average family size in the countryside between the spring and the autumn of 1920.[14] In March 1923 average urban family size still stands at 4.1, but in 1926 it is further down to 3.9, which is probably largely due to the fact that in 1926 persons who were living separately from the family were mostly counted as solitaries, unless they were wholly supported by it. The marked drop between 1926 and 1939 has a similar cause. As we saw in table 1 the number of family members living separately had increased dramatically between 1926 and 1939, and this causes for a much lower average size of the co-resident domestic group in 1939.

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9 *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik, 1918-1920 gg.* (Moskva, 1921), Vypusk 1, pp. 2-3, 10, 18

10 Without the Transcaucasian SFSR. *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi gorodskoi perepisi 1923 g.* (1924), Chast' IV, pp. 64-163

11 *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 55, pp. 60, 62, 128, 130

12 RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7; d. 309, l. 2

13 Only Moscow

14 *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik, 1918-1920 gg.* (1921), 36, 52

In order to cancel out the distortions caused by the changing categories we can look at average household size instead of average family size, excluding family members living separately, but including solitaries. For 1926 and 1939, the only years we can make this calculation for, this renders the following picture:

Table 2b – Average Household Size, 1926-39

	1926	**1939**
Moscow-Leningrad	-	2.8
RSFSR	-	3.1
SSSR	3.2	3.2

Source:
Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g. (1928-1935), Vol. 55, pp. 2-3, 26-7, 46-7, 50-1, 54-55, 58-9; RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7; d. 309, l. 12

As we can see, average household size remained stable between the censuses, and this suggests shifts between the categories are to a large extent responsible for the fluctuation in average family size that can be observed in table 2a. Nonetheless, the general trend over the years 1919-1939 is one of a substantial reduction in average family size, at least from 4.8 in 1919 to 3.9 in 1926, and possibly even less in 1939. As we can see from table 2a, this decrease took place predominantly during the years 1919-23, and this is a testimony to the deep imprint left on Russia's demographic development by the years of civil strife.

The second set of figures that characterise trends in household size, is their distribution according to the number of persons they consist of. These data can be calculated for 1926 and 1939:

Table 3 – Urban Household Distribution by Number of Members (in %)

	1926		**1939**	
	SSSR	*RSFSR*	*SSSR*	*RSFSR*
1 person	24.6	26.6	15.5	17.8
2 persons	17.7	18.3	22.3	22.2
3 persons	18.6	18.2	23.4	22.8
4 persons	15.6	14.9	18.8	18.0
5 persons	10.7	10.0	10.9	10.5
6 persons and more	12.8	12.0	9.0	8.8
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 55, pp. 60-63. Data for the RSFSR for territory comparable to 1939, i.e. without the Kazakskaya ASSR and the Kirgizskaya ASSR. For 1939: RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7

Two developments stand out clearly from the data in table 3. In the first place this is the declining importance of larger households with six or more members, from 12.8% in 1926 to 9.0% in 1939, and, much more significantly, of single-person households,

from 24.6 to 15.5%. At the same time the share of households with five members remained practically stable. By consequence, the share of families consisting of between 2 and 4 persons rose from 51.9% to 64.5% over the same period. Secondly, the proportion of larger households (five and more persons) decreases more rapidly for the Soviet Union as a whole than for the RSFSR, and by 1939 the difference is minimal, with a 19.9% share of this group for the SSSR and a 19.3% share for the RSFSR, as against 23.5% and 22.0% respectively in 1926. This means larger households must have been disappearing rather rapidly in the non-Russian republics.

How can these trends be explained? The fact that average household size remained stable over the same period (Cf. table 2b) means that the decline of the larger households must have been statistically compensated by a decline in the number of households relative to the total household population. In other words, a process of consolidation of the domestic group must have taken place, rather than of fragmentation. It seems likely that the main factor behind this must have been the remarriage of persons having lost their first spouse during the wars of 1914-22, which would lead to the formation of two-person households in case both spouses were childless, or three- and four-person households in case one or both already had a child from their first marriage. Meanwhile, the share of larger households is reduced by the combined effect of declining birth rates among the urban population during both the 1920s and 1930s, and a renewed rise of mortality rates during the 1930s.[15]

4. Nuptiality

The population censuses of 1923 and 1926 contain detailed data, differentiated by age-groups, on the number of men and women that were single, married, widowed, or divorced. The 1939 census unfortunately registered only whether persons were married or not at the time of the census, without any indication of previous status. In 1923 only persons that were legally married were counted as such, while in 1926 and 1939, in line with the changes in legislation, also not officially registered marriages made one qualify for married status.

[15] Yu. A. Polyakov *et al.*, *Naselenie Rossii v XX veke. Istoricheskie ocherki*, T. 1. 1900-1939 gg. (Moskva, 2000), pp. 181, 189, 342-3

Table 4 – Civil Status (Urban Population - % of age-group per sex)

Age		1923 (a)				1926 (b)				1939 (c)	
		RSFSR		*SSSR*		*RSFSR*		*SSSR*		*RSFSR*	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-19	Single	98.0	90.4	98.0	88.7	98.2	90.2	98.1	89.7	-	-
	Married	2.0	9.0	2.0	10.7	1.7	9.1	1.8	9.7	1.6	7.9
	Widow(er)	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	-	-
	Divorced	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.5	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-
20-24	Single	72.1	42.4	71.8	40.8	63.3	38.5	63.2	37.7	-	-
	Married	27.3	50.4	27.6	54.5	35.3	56.5	35.4	57.2	31.9	55.5
	Widow(er)	0.3	3.3	0.3	3.4	0.2	1.5	0.2	1.5	-	-
	Divorced	0.4	1.7	0.3	1.5	0.6	3.3	0.6	3.3	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.3	-	-
25-29	Single	34.1	19.6	33.7	18.2	24.3	15.1	24.3	14.7	-	-
	Married	64.4	70.2	64.8	72.1	73.8	75.8	73.8	76.2	69.7	74.7
	Widow(er)	0.8	8.2	0.9	8.0	0.4	4.9	0.4	4.9	-	-
	Divorced	0.7	2.0	0.6	1.8	1.0	4.0	1.1	3.9	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	-	-
30-39	Single	14.1	10.7	13.5	9.5	9.0	8.9	8.9	8.6	-	-
	Married	83.6	71.7	84.2	73.8	88.8	74.9	88.8	75.3	89.3	76.5
	Widow(er)	1.6	15.8	1.7	15.3	0.8	12.7	0.9	12.6	-	-
	Divorced	0.7	1.7	0.7	1.5	1.1	3.2	1.1	3.2	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-
40-49	Single	7.8	9.0	7.0	7.7	5.1	7.4	5.0	7.3	-	-
	Married	87.4	62.6	88.3	64.7	91.3	64.7	91.3	65.0	93.3	67.7
	Widow(er)	4.1	27.4	4.0	26.6	2.3	25.6	2.3	25.4	-	-
	Divorced	0.7	1.1	0.6	1.0	1.0	2.1	1.0	2.0	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-
50-59	Single	5.7	8.7	5.0	7.2	4.1	7.8	4.0	7.6	-	-
	Married	84.4	45.4	85.5	48.1	88.0	45.5	88.1	45.7	90.8	49.0
	Widow(er)	9.3	45.3	8.9	44.1	6.7	45.3	6.7	45.3	-	-
	Divorced	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.1	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-
□60	Single	4.3	7.8	3.7	6.4	2.5	7.0	2.5	6.8	-	-
	Married	71.2	22.2	73.1	24.6	73.0	20.6	73.3	20.7	76.2	22.3
	Widow(er)	24.2	69.8	22.9	68.8	22.6	71.6	22.4	71.6	-	-
	Divorced	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.4	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	-	-
All 15+	Single	46.7	39.3	46.3	39.2	33.6	27.0	33.5	26.6	-	-
	Married	49.8	42.1	50.1	44.3	62.7	52.3	62.8	52.7	65.0	55.1
	Widow(er)	3.1	17.6	3.2	17.6	2.5	18.2	2.5	18.1	-	-
	Divorced	0.4	1.0	0.4	0.9	0.8	2.3	0.8	2.2	-	-
	Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	-	-

(a) *Itogi vsesoyuznoi gorodskoi perepisi 1923 g.* (Moskva, 1924), Chast' III, pp. 410-425
(b) *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moskva, 1928-35), Vol. 51, pp. 2-4
(c) V. B. Zhiromskaya ed. - *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1939 goda. Osnovnye itogi. Rossiya* (Sankt Peterburg, BLITs, 1999)

The following observations can be made on the basis of the data from table 4. First of all, the data for 1923 and 1926 show that, in spite of all the legal change, in all age-groups only a small number of both men and women were registered as divorced. For 1926 the percentage of divorced women is highest in the age-groups 25-29 (3.9%) and 30-39 (3.2%); in all other age groups and among men the figures are insignificant. These figures are misleading, though, about the real incidence of divorces in post-revolutionary Russia, and this is due to remarriage. The remarriage rates of the 1920s are an interesting phenomenon, which, earlier on, I ascribed to the effects of the high excess mortality among men during the wars of 1914-22. To all evidence, however, divorce seems to have

been a much more powerful factor behind remarriage than the untimely death of husbands or wives. Of the newly weds in 1927only 7.1% of the men and 8.37% of the women were widowers and widows, while 20.2 and 17.3% respectively were divorcees. In Leningrad and Moscow, of the different combinations involving one or two partners that had been married before, the most common occurrence were marriages between two divorced persons, followed by marriages between a widow and a widower, and between a divorced man and a widow. All other combinations occurred much less frequently. The two capital cities were obviously much more progressive in this respect, though, than the rest of the country. For the urban population of the RSFSR as a whole, marriages between a widow and a widower were the most common occurrence, but marriages between divorcees followed close suit. [16]

Returning to table 4, we have further evidence of remarriage in the marked decline of the percentage of singles between 1923 and 1926, from 46.3% to 33.5% among men, and from 39.2% to 26.6% for women, although part of this shift is probably explained by the fact that in 1923 only officially registered marriages made one qualify for the category married person, whereas in 1926 also not officially registered marriages counted as marriages. Notwithstanding high rates of remarriage the 1923 and 1926 census turnouts clearly reveal the contingent of war- and civil war widows in the age groups 25-29 and 30-39, which gradually moves up with the passing of the years. If in 1923 the percentage of widows almost triples in the age-group 25-29 in comparison with the preceding group, in 1926 the same jump can be observed , slightly attenuated by remarriage, between the age groups 25-29 and 30-39. Besides, whereas for the age classes 15-49 the percentage of widows decreases between 1923 and 1926, it is on the rise for the older generations, and is on average slightly above the 1923 level.

One of the most outstanding differences in table 4 is that between the percentage of widows and widowers. For the Soviet Union as a whole, on average the percentage of widows was 5.5 times higher than the percentage of widowers in 1923, and in 1926 this figure had increased to 7.24. Although for all age-groups widows were more numerous than men, the difference increased with age. Of the female population between fifty and 60 years of age, almost half were widows, and for those over sixty years the percentage of widows even rises to 68.8% in 1923 and 71.6% in 1926. This tremendous difference is explained by two factors. Not specific to the Russian context is the fact that women tend to marry men that are older than they are, and together with the fact that women tend to live longer than men, this produces a higher incidence of widows among the older generations. Among the urban population of the Soviet Union the median marriage age was almost three years lower for women than for men.[17] What exacerbated the disproportion in the Soviet Union of the 1920s was the shortage of men due to the heavy loss of male life during the wars of 1914-22, and the high rates of remarriage among widow(er)s and divorcees. What obviously happened, was that older men who divorced, or lost their wife remarried with younger women, who faced a shortage of men of their own age due to the decimation of this generation in military action. Thus, older women, who already were more numerous than men of their age, faced almost zero chances of remarrying, and this must have accounted for the amazingly high percentages of widows in these age-groups.

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[16] M. Kaplun, "Brachnost' naseleniya RSFSR", *Statisticheskoe obozrenie*, Nº 7, 1929, pp. 91, 96-7

[17] Kaplun, "Brachnost' naseleniya RSFSR", p. 93

If we compare marriage rates between 1926 and 1939 for the RSFSR an overall increase of marriage rates can be observed, with on average 65.0% of all men above 15 years of age married in 1939 and 55.1% of women, against 62.7% and 52.3% respectively in 1926. Together with the decline in the share of one-person households this testifies to continuing high remarriage rates and the fusion of broken families left by the wars of 1914-22.

5. Gender-Composition

Unfortunately, the available data on the gender-composition of households are much less coherent between the censuses than most of the other data we have so far discussed. Nonetheless, through juxtaposition some things can be inferred from them. The tables 5 to 7 plot the relevant data.

Table 5a – Gender-composition of households – SSSR

	1923 (a)		**1926 (b)**		**1939 (c)**	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Solitaries	-	-	52.5	47.5	43.7	56.3
Families	46.2	53.8	-	-	47.9	52.1
Heads of families	82.2	17.8	83.8	16.2	78.5	21.5
Family members living together with the head	-	-	-	-	33.4	66.6
Family members living separately	-	-	-	-	61.8	38.2

Table 5b – Gender-composition of households – RSFSR

	1923 (a)		**1926 (b)**		**1939 (c)**	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Solitaries	-	-	51.5	48.5	41.8	58.2
Families	45.8	54.2	-	-	47.5	52.5
Heads of families	-	-	82.2	17.8	77	23
Family members living together with the head	-	-	-	-	33.4	66.6
Family members living separately	-	-	-	-	61.4	38.6

(a) Source: For SSSR (excl. Armenia & Georgia): *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi gorodskoi perepisi 1923 g.* (Moskva, Izd. TsSU SSSR, 1924), Chast' IV, pp. 52-3. For RSFSR - pp. 54-9

(b) Source: *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moskva, TsSU SSSR, 1928-1935), Vol. 55, pp. 60, 62

(c) Source: RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7

Table 6 – Gender-composition according to head of household (1923)

	SSSR	
	Male head	*Female head*
% male	48.9	41.5
% female	51.1	68.5
average size	4.2	3.5

(a) Excl. Armenia & Georgia. Source: *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi gorodskoi perepisi 1923 g.* (Moskva, Izd. TsSU SSSR, 1924), Chast' IV, pp. 52-3

Table 7 – Gender of head of household according to household size, 1939 (%)

	1939			
	SSSR		*RSFSR*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
2-pers.	62.9	37.1	61.2	38.8
3-pers.	77.4	22.6	76.1	23.9
4-pers.	85.4	14.6	84.2	15.8
5-pers.	89.1	10.9	88.1	11.9
6-pers.	91.4	8.6	90.7	9.3
7-pers.	92.7	7.3	92.2	7.8
8-pers.	93.2	6.8	92.8	7.2
9-pers.	93.7	6.3	93.2	6.8
□ 10	91.9	8.1	90.5	9.5
All	78.5	21.5	77.0	23.0

Source: RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 586, ll. 6-9, 23-4, 26-7

Because of the paucity of data for 1926 the main comparisons in the field of gender will have to be made between 1923 and 1939. As RSFSR and SSSR show roughly the same trend I will discuss only the latter figures. Again, the excess mortality among males during 1914-22 shows through in the 1923 figures. To start with, households contained considerable more women than men (table 5a – 53.8% against 46.2%), and this is still the case in 1939 (52.1% against 47.9%). Also, as we can see in table 6, families with a female head of household (defined as the person who brings in the main share of family income) were not only considerably smaller than those with a male at the head (3.5 against 4.2 on average), they also contained a much larger share of women than households with a male at the head (68.5% against 51.1%). The inevitable conclusion from these data is that households headed by women were predominantly incomplete families, headed by widows, and this is indeed confirmed in an article on family structure in the small town of Nerekhta in the Yaroslavl' province, which has obviously been based on original census data per household, containing information on family composition that is lost in the aggregate data. Households headed by women in 1923 were almost without exception households headed by widows.[18]

Between the 1923/26 data on the one hand and the 1939 data on the other hand the following shifts can be observed. In the first place, among solitaries the percentage of women increases from 47.5% in 1926 to 56.3% in 1939 (table 5a). The second change

[18] N.I. Vorob'ev, "Sem'ya v g. Nerekhte", *Vestnik statistiki*, Nº 1-3, 1925, p. 93

concerns the increase in the percentage of women that were heads of families, from 16.2% in 1926 to 21.5% in 1939, and a corresponding decrease of the percentage of male heads of households from 83.8% to 78.5% (table 5a). In view of the increase in marriage rates among women over the same period (see table 4), this cannot be due to an increase in the percentage of widows or divorced women. Thus, we have to conclude that during the late 1920s and the 1930s more married women became heads of household. To some extent this must have reflected the increased social and economic independence for women, but in view of the fact that women still tended to work in worse-paid jobs than men, this cannot account for the full difference between 1926 and 1939. Rather, the question should be why the men these women were married to brought in so little income. A possible explanation would be that here we see the reflection of the fact that so much more men than women were locked up in the GULag by the end of the 1930s.[19]

6. Housing

Because of the principle of co-residence housing conditions are an important factor in the process of household formation as well as in determining the boundaries of the domestic group. Of the three censuses only the 1926 census contains data on housing. In addition, there are some rudimentary data on housing in 1917 and 1920 for 18 mostly provincial towns in the Urals, European Russia and Byelorussia. Together, they allow for the following comparison over time:

Table 8 – Percentage of the urban population living in apartments with:

	1917 (a)	1920 (a)	1926 (b)
Š 1 persons per room	10.2	11.6	4.9
1-2 pers.	33.3	42.8	21.4
2-5 pers.	45.1	39.4	50.5
> 5 pers.	11.4	6.2	23.2

(a) 18 middle-sized provincial towns in Urals, European Russia and Byelorussia. Source: *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik, 1918-1920 gg.* (Moscow, 1921), pp. 321-2, 328

(b) RSFSR, excl. Moscow & Leningrad. Calculated by author from: *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moscow, 1928-35), Vol. 54, pp. 68-81

The data for 1917 and 1920 cover only a selection of 18 provincial towns, and to get a more or less comparable figure for 1926 the two metropolises Moscow and Leningrad have been excluded from the calculation so as not to let them affect the outcome too strongly. Between 1917 and 1920 a noticeable improvement in housing standards can be observed. The percentage of the population that lived in overcrowded apartments with more than five persons per room was almost halved, from 11.4% in 1917 to 6.2% in 1920, as well as the percentage of the population living in apartments with between two and five persons per room, which decreased from 45.1% to 39.4%. The

[19] M. Ilic, "The Great Terror in Leningrad: a Quantitative Analysis", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 52, Nº 8, 2000, p. 1518; Polyakov *et al. Naselenie Rossii v XX veke.* (2000), p. 324

most numerous category in 1920 were people living in apartments with between one and two persons per room. The percentage of the population that lived in apartments where on average there was a separate room for every person also increased slightly, from 10.2% in 1917 to 11.6% in 1920. As a consequence, the average number of persons per apartment decreased from 6.8 to 5.45.[20] These data reflect the decline in the average household size that occurred during the Civil War years, as well as the departure of a significant part of the urban population to the countryside between 1917 and 1920.

As we saw above, after 1920 the urban population stabilised and started to grow again, at first not uniformly across the country, but after 1923 re-urbanisation really took off. The housing stock had been severely depleted however during the war years and with little new construction taking place during the early years of NEP the growth of the urban population put an increasing strain on existing capacity.[21] The deterioration in housing standards shows up dramatically in table 12, with a decrease of the share of the population that lived in apartments with one room or more per person from 11.6% in 1920 to 4.9% in 1926, a decrease of a similar magnitude of the share of the population that lived with between one and two persons in one room, and equally impressive increases in the percentages of the population that shared a room with between two and five persons and with more than five. Almost a quarter of the urban population in 1926 lived in apartments with on average more than five persons per room, which should be classified as extremely overcrowded conditions. The average floor-space per urban inhabitant was 5.85 m^2.[22]

Overcrowding was not a matter of average floor-space per person alone, though. Slightly over half of the urban population shared apartments or even rooms with one or more other families. In 1926 25.5% of the urban population lived in a house of their own, 24.4% in a separate apartment, 13.6% had more than one room in an a shared apartment, 20.8% one room only, and 12.2% only part of a room. A further 1.2% of the urban population lived in hostels, and 1.3% in dwellings not meant for human habitation, mainly kitchens in apartments they shared with other families.[23]

In short, housing conditions were severe, but in 1926 the worst was still to come. The influx of millions into the towns during the 1930s led to an intensification of the use of existing housing stock that made the one of the 1920s pale in comparison. Families occupying separate apartments disappeared from the scene altogether as “excess” rooms were allotted to other families, and many cottages and other small individual dwellings had to give way to industrial construction and slum clearances, particularly in the larger towns, where population density was already much higher to start with. Conditions of intense overcrowding in short, and in this light the consolidation of existing households that we saw take place between 1926 and 1939 perhaps comes a little less as a surprise.

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[20] *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik, 1918-1920 gg.* (1921), pp. 321-2, 328

[21] A. Gibshman, "Zhilishchnyi fond i zhilishchnye usloviya nashikh gorodov", *Statisticheskoe obozrenie*, 7 (1928), p. 81

[22] *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 54, p. 25

[23] Figures for the Soviet Union as a whole. *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), pp. 2-3

7. Household Structure

Some of the data discussed in the preceding sections provided short glimpses of the types of households that are hiding behind the figures. For the 1926 population census we have much more detailed data on household structure. The data that we have been analysing so far cover only a small part of the wealth of information on household composition that was gathered in the census, and merely served to give the overall characteristics of the co-resident domestic group. The bulk of data on the family were meant to be worked out separately. Because of their complexity, however, this took years, and by the time the statisticians had finally come down to it, it was 1931, and the socio-economic reality in the country had changed so radically, as to render the 1926 census data on the family a snapshot of a past that no longer existed. In the political climate of the 1930s this signed the verdict of the project.[24] What had been processed, was published, and these data cover only the RSFSR, worked out for all towns of the RSFSR taken together, and for Moscow and Leningrad separately. The data for the other union republics and the national data were apparently lost to future generations.

This second set of family data does not just give more detail, it also principally differs from the data we have discussed so far. The second, specialised elaboration of the census data was intended to give an idea of the reproduction of the family and of urban labour reserves. Therefore, an effort was made to isolate incomplete families of peasants working in urban areas while having left all or part of their family behind in the village, and to exclude these from the in-depth analysis of the reproductive patterns of the urban household. As the main criterion for this selection the statisticians used the data on the possession of land in the village: all families and single-person households having land in the village were assumed to be incomplete peasant-families bridging the rural-urban divide. For all towns of the RSFSR taken together, this amounted to 8.3% of all families.[25] Accordingly, only 91.7% of the families that the statistics I used for comparisons over time are based on, were included in the in-depth family census. Secondly, given the absence of a concept like household in Soviet statistics, no further data on solitaries were gathered, except for their overall number among the contingent of households included in this special elaboration of the census data.

Unfortunately, the 1926 census primarily classified households according to the ratio between economically active and inactive members, and this typology provides little insight into the types of families these households were based on.[26] Combining some of the data it is possible, though, to assess the share of different types of family with a good deal of accuracy. The aim is to isolate the following principal types of household. In the first place what I will call “simple family households”, consisting of a married couple with or without children. One-parent households are a subtype of this category. A second category are the “extended family households”, consisting of a simple family household with added-on unmarried relatives, in most cases an old-aged parent of one of the spouses. Note that the core household can also be a one-parent household. A third category are “multiple family households”, that contain two or more married couples. These can be from different generations (e.g. father-mother plus their married

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[24] *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 56, Vypusk I, p. V
[25] *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 56, Vypusk I, pp. VI-VII; Vol. 55, p. 60
[26] *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (1928-1935), Vol. 56, Vypusk I, pp. VI-XI

son/daughter) or from the same generation (e.g. single parent living in with two or more married sons or daughters) or a combination of both. Finally, we distinguish one-person households, or solitaries. For Moscow, Leningrad and the towns of the RSFSR these household types accounted for the following share of the 1926 population:

Table 9 – Household Structure, 1926 (%)[27]

	RSFSR	*Moscow*	*Leningrad*
Solitaries	21.2	30.8	33.4
One-parent households	13.0	12.3	12.3
Simple-family households	45.7	38.9	39.4
Extended and multiple family households based on a one-parent household	5.6	5.3	4.6
Extended and multiple family households based on a simple family household	14.5	12.7	10.2
All extended and multiple family households	20.1	18.0	14.8
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source:
Calculated by author from: *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moscow, 1928-35), Vol. 56, Vypusk 1, pp. 2-13, 104-7 (Moscow); Vypusk 2, pp. 2-13, 104-7 (Leningrad); Vypusk 3, pp. 2-13, 122-5 (RSFSR)

What do these data show us? The first thing that springs to attention is the large number of one-parent households. "Pure" one-parent households, i.e. households of an unmarried father or mother plus children accounted for a solid 13% of urban households for the RSFSR as a whole, and 12.3% for Moscow and Leningrad. In addition, a further 5.6% of households consisted of one-parent households with some added-on relatives,

[27] These data were calculated using the following method. Apart from the grand total the census contains direct data on the number of solitaries and simple family households. One-parent households, however, are divided over two of the categories directly contained in the census. Direct data are available on the number of one-parent households in which the mother or father is head of household. One-parent households in which one of the children has become head of household end up in a separate category, though, irrespective of the fact whether they contained further relatives or not. To separate those without further relatives from those with further relatives I have used the average size of "pure" one-parent households (meaning those in which the mother/father is head of household) as a proxy for separating the second amalgamated category into households with and without further relatives. Those households which have more members than this average are assumed to have been extended one-parent household, whereas those on and below the average are assumed to have consisted of only a mother/father plus children. Subtracting solitaries, simple family-households and one-parent households from the total number of households, finally, we obtain a rest-category of extended and multiple family households.

altogether amounting to 18.6% or almost a fifth of all urban households. These figures again bear witness to the tremendous impact of the War and Civil War Years on the urban population. What is interesting in this respect is that in 56.8% of all one-parent households the mother/father was the main breadwinner, while in the remaining 43.2% one of the children had taken over this role.[28] The first category must have been largely war-widows with small children, while the second category reflects both excess-deaths among the civil population and the gradual expulsion of elderly women from the remarriage market that has been discussed above. The high percentage of solitaries also points in the direction of the excess-mortality of the war-years and the existence of a sizeable contingent of widows.

A second observation concerns the relatively small share of simple family-households, or what is often called nuclear families, consisting of a married couple with or without children. For the RSFSR as a whole such households accounted for 45.7%, and for Moscow and Leningrad even for only 38.9 and 39.4 percent respectively. On the one hand this is of course related to the existence of such a large share of broken households. On the other hand it is related to the fact that there was a distinct tendency towards the formation of households consisting of a complete or incomplete nuclear family plus other relatives, the overwhelming part of which must have been elderly parents of one or both of the spouses. Such three-generation households accounted for a fifth (20.1%) of the urban population of the RSFSR in 1926. It seems likely that the shortage of housing might have played a role here, but cultural factors and the lack of child-care facilities and old-people's homes might have played just as important a role, with the older generation taking care of the small children in the household until the moment it would be in need of care itself.

Unfortunately, the available data do not allow us to separate extended and multiple family households from each other. Consequently, this last category contains both households consisting of two or more married couples, households containing one married couple with or without their children plus added-on unmarried relatives, and one-parent households plus other unmarried relatives. The only thing we can separate is the share of households in this category in which the core household, i.e. the household containing the main breadwinner, is a one-parent household. As we can see such households accounted for a minority of extended and multiple households (5.6% for the RSFSR, 5.3% for Moscow, and 4.6% for Leningrad). Most likely, the majority of them consisted of a unmarried father or mother plus one of his/her old-aged parents, as it does not seem very likely that a single father/mother would be able to support a parental couple, particularly considering the fact that most one-parent households were probably headed by women.

As we can see from table 9 Moscow and Leningrad significantly differed from the other towns of the RSFSR. Most strikingly, the share of solitaries among households was much higher, reaching 30.8% in Moscow and 33.4% in Leningrad, i.e. around one-third of all households. This finds its expression in a smaller share of simple family-households and extended and multiple family-households relative to the national data, whereas the percentage of one-parent households did not differ much. Most likely, there are two explanations for this. The lower share of simple family households should to all

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[28] Calculated by author from: *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g.* (Moscow, 1928-35), Vol. 56, Vypusk 3, pp. 2-13, 122-5 (RSFSR)

likelihood be ascribed to the fact that in the two metropolises unmarried or widowed young women and men were under less social pressure to marry or remarry than in smaller provincial towns. The lower share of extended and multiple households might be due to the fact that housing shortages in Moscow and Leningrad were probably much more severe than in smaller towns.

The question that immediately presents itself, of course, is how these residential patterns evolved during the period of turmoil and mass-migration of the 1930s. As ever for this period, data are very scarce indeed. Apart from the fact that it does not contain any direct information on household structure, the 1939 population census does not even contain sufficient data for a qualified estimate of the share of the different types of households. In order to have at least some idea of possible trends I have applied a method elaborated by Andrei Markevich for the 1959 census to estimate the share of extended and multiple households in 1939.[29] Applying this method can only yield a very rough estimate in our case, because, for lack of data we have to assume that the age-distribution of solitaries and family members living separately in 1939 was identical to that of 1959. On this assumption we arrive at an estimate of the share of extended and multiple households among the urban population of the RSFSR of 14-16% for 1939, which would mean a noticeable decrease in comparison with 1926. How likely is this estimate?

Obviously, it contains a distortion related to the fact that the 1939 age-distribution of solitaries and family members living separately probably differed from that of 1959. Given what we know about migration patterns during the 1930s it seems plausible that in 1939 both the categories solitaries and family members living separately contained a larger contingent of young people than in 1959, and this would mean the 1959 method would to some extent underestimate the share of extended and multiple households, although it seems unlikely that this would explain all of the difference with the 1926 figures. What is more, a lower share of such households in 1939 would lie in the line of expectation, considering the demographic developments during the 1930s. Because of mass-migration from village to town the urban population of 1939 would have contained a significant share of households of recent rural extraction that simply would not have had the time yet to form multiple-generation households. Among this contingent solitaries and simple family households or one-parent households would have dominated. As for existing urban households, it also seems plausible that the mass-migration of the 1930s reduced the number of extended and multiple family households, as young people swarmed out over the construction sites and new industrial settlements that were rising up in various areas. Finally, housing shortages during the 1930s might have been so severe that they effectively imposed physical limitations on the ability to form three-generation multiple person households. Thus, until more accurate data prove otherwise, a reduction in the number of non-nuclear households between 1926 and 1939 appears as a plausible trend. In combination with the reduction in the share of single-person households as

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[29] This method uses the number of elderly unmarried persons that are not solitary and do not fall into the category of family members living separately as a proxy for the number of extended and multiple households. This rests on the assumption that only very rarely an extended or multiple household will contain two elderly unmarried persons. Crucial in this method is to set the age-limit right, so as to exclude unmarried fathers and mothers that were head of household. "Minimum ages" of 45 and 50 yield the best range of results. For more details, see Andrei Markevich, "Urban Households in the USSR, 1941-1964", in *Urban Households in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-2000; Size, Structure and Composition* (Amsterdam, 2005), IISH Research paper 44.

compared to 1926 (see table 3), this means the number of simple family-households and one-parent households increased, including between 66.2 and 68.3% of urban households as against a comparable figure of 58.7% in 1926 (cf. table 9). Unfortunately, though, we have no means of separating these two categories.

8. Conclusion

What did the typical household of the inter-war years look like then? In as far as it makes sense speaking in such terms, there was a good chance that it was a one-parent household, particularly during the 1920s, but also during the 1930s. In this case the head of household would as a rule be female. If the household contained a complete married couple, a man would generally be the breadwinner. Married couples often contained one or two persons that had been married before. In terms of size the household would contain between two and four members. During the 1920s about one in every five households would contain one or more old-aged relatives of the core family, during the 1930s this would be one out of every six or seven. In the 1930s there was a good chance that either the father or a brother were not regularly living together with the family, but working elsewhere and sending money home, visiting the family probably only a couple of times per year. Towards the end of the decade there also was a good chance that either a father, a brother or a son was serving a prison term somewhere or had vanished into the GULag, in which case all ties with the family would be severed. During the 1920s such a family was very likely to share an apartment or even a room with another family. During the 1930s they were sure to do so. These, then, were the boundaries of the co-resident domestic group in the inter-war Soviet Union.

Urban Households in the USSR, 1941-1964

The Legacy of War

Andrei Markevich

The current paper investigates the evolution of urban households after the Second World War in the USSR. On the basis of census data and several sociological and demographic case studies carried out in the late 1950s – 1960s it shows how colossal war losses affected the size and structure of urban families and households. The paper demonstrates that the war contributed to the decline in the proportion of simple family households. A distortion of the gender balance led to an increase in the number of solitaries and one-parent simple family households as well as extended family households.

1. Introduction.

1.1. War losses.

The Second World War was undoubtedly one of the most important events in Soviet history and its profound impact on the country's life is manifest in demographic

Table 1. Age and gender distribution among the USSR population 1941 and 1946.

	Middle of 1941				01.01.1946			
	Thousands people		Percents		Thousands people		Percents	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	94338	102378	47.96	52.04	74364	96184	43.60	56.40
0 – 4	13324	13189	50.25	49.74	6687	6632	50.21	49.79
5 – 9	9228	9235	49.98	50.02	11006	11054	49.89	50.11
10 – 14	11102	11222	49.73	50.27	8761	8900	49.61	50.39
15-19	10451	10462	49.97	50.02	10028	10880	47.96	52.04
20-24	7231	7718	48.37	51.63	6430	9023	41.61	58.39
25-29	8342	9094	47.84	52.16	4357	6648	39.59	60.41
30-34	8163	8456	49.12	50.88	5156	7996	39.21	60.80
35-39	6625	6997	48.63	51.37	5006	7528	39.94	60.06
40-44	5085	5959	46.05	53.96	4070	6509	38.48	61.53
45-49	3805	4437	46.17	53.83	3282	5418	37.72	62.28
50-54	3106	3872	44.51	55.49	2882	3967	42.08	57.92
55-59	2482	3368	42.43	57.57	2307	3407	40.37	59.63
60-64	1974	2952	40.07	59.93	1705	2848	37.45	62.55
65-69					1203	2283	34.51	65.49
70-74					767	1563	32.90	67.05

75-79	3419	5416	38.70	61.30	385	865	30.80	69.20
80-84					209	405	34.04	65.96
85 and older					126	258	32.81	67.19

Source: E.M. Andreev *et al.*, *Naselenie SSSR* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 56, 126.

changes. The war eliminated about 26 - 27 million people, excluding unborn children, and markedly deformed the demographic composition and gender balance in the USSR.

Table 1 demonstrates the age and gender distribution among the USSR population before and after the war. One can easily see that the gender balance, which had already been deformed by 1941, was completely distorted by the war. After the war, the total proportion of males was only 43.6 percent; among middle-aged men it was about 40 percent, and attained a low of 30 - 35 percent among the elderly.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the legacy of the war: to assess whether it disrupted previous trends in Soviet urban household development and to detect how demographic changes affected Soviet urban household and family structures.

1.2. Terminology and Data

Two things should be noted here in relation to the data used in this paper. Throughout the Soviet period statisticians thought in terms of families rather than households, and therefore most data in this paper refer to families only. Where possible or necessary, data have been calculated in two different ways: for households, i.e. including solitaries, and for families, i.e. without solitaries. Data for solitaries are usually given alongside data on the peculiar Soviet category of "family members living separately", which shared a budget with the families they belonged to, while (temporarily) residing elsewhere, a phenomenon largely related to extensive labour migration.

In relation to the household classification scheme of Laslett and Hammel available data do not as a rule permit us to distinguish between extended and multiple families within the aggregate group of non-simple families. I therefore use the term "extended family" to denote both categories. In the single case when the term extended family is used to denote extended families in the narrow sense of the word, this is explicitly mentioned.

1.3. Urbanisation as a background process. Migration.

Before turning to urban family development in the post-war Soviet Union, it is necessary to give a brief outline of urban population growth and the way in which it was influenced by the war. From the early 1920s onwards the proportion of urban-dwellers in the USSR continuously increased. Starting from 14 percent in 1920, it reached 74 percent in 1991, expanding most rapidly in the 1930s (from 18 per cent in 1926 to 33 percent in 1941).[1] This rapid expansion was due to collectivisation and industrialisation. Growth continued in the post-war period, but at a declining rate. Urban population first exceeded the 50 percent mark in the early 1960s (table 2).

[1] Goskomstat RF, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897-1997). Statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1998), p. 32.

Table 2. The USSR population, 1940-1964 (millions people).

	Total	Urban	Percents
1940	191.7	60.6	31.61
Middle of 1941	200	66	33
Middle of 1943	111.6	39.9	35.75
Middle of 1945	166	61.4	36.99
1950	179.2	69.4	38.88
1951	182.3	71.4	39.67
1952	185.5	76.8	41.56
1953	188.7	80.2	42.66
1954	191.6	83.6	43.77
1955	195	84.6	43.9
1956	198.5	87	43.46
1957	201.9	91.4	45.38
1958	205.3	95.6	46.66
1959	209	100.0	47.88
1960	212.3	103.7	48.85
1961	216.2	108.3	50.09
1962	219.7	111.8	50.89
1963	223.1	115.1	51.59
1964	226.3	118.6	52.41

Sources: *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1956* (Moscow, 1957) pp. 17, 32; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1958* (Moscow, 1959) p. 10; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1959* (Moscow, 1960) p. 9; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1960* (Moscow, 1961) p. 9; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1961* (Moscow, 1962) p. 10; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1962* (Moscow, 1963) p. 8; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1963* (Moscow, 1964) p. 8; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo SSSR v 1964* (Moscow, 1965) p. 7; V.A. Isupov *Gorodskoe naselenie Sibiri. Ot katastrofy k vozrozhdeniyu (konets 1930 – konets 1950)* (Novosibirsk, 1991), p. 19.

The Second World War only modified the process of urbanisation but did not halt it. War losses and army mobilisation caused a decrease in the number of urban citizens. However, since during the war the rural population suffered a more substantial decrease, the proportion of urban-dwellers grew by 4 percent: a higher rate of growth than in the following five years, when it grew by only 2 percent.

In terms of urbanisation, the main consequence of the war was the redistribution of urban citizens among the regions. The rate of urbanisation in areas remote from the front line, such as the Urals and Siberia, was higher than in the regions under German occupation. After the war the proportion of urban-dwellers in the Ural region and Siberia was higher than in the country as a whole, whereas before the war it had been lower.[2]

As in the 1920s and 1930s, rural-urban migration remained the main cause of urban growth. However, the scale of migration was reduced during the post-war period. The war had reversed the general tendency towards declining migration (about 20 million people were evacuated in the first two years of the war alone), but this tendency reasserted itself after the war.

The war changed the gender distribution among migrants. Before the war males constituted the majority of migrants**:** they often changed residence several times. By

[2] V.A. Isupov, *Gorodskoe naselenie Sibiri. Ot katastrofy k vozrozhdeniyu (konets 1930 – konets 1950)* (Novosibirsk, 1991), pp. 17, 22-23; G.E. Kornilov, *Ural'skoe selo i voina* (Ekaterinburg, 1993), p. 22.

contrast, females generally moved only once in their lifetime, usually as a result of marriage or of moving to live with their adult children**.** Because of male losses incurred during the war women constituted the majority in the most mobile age-group (20-29 years old) during the 1940s. Only in the 1950s did the number of young males start exceeding the number of females.[3] Another consequence of the war was the widespread migration of elderly women to live with their adult children. Among urban newcomers after the war the number of females over the age of 50 was on average 1.75 times higher than that of males of this age.[4] A large proportion of them were war widows.

Apart from migration during the war, most of this relocation was voluntary. Labour mobilisations (the so called "*orgnabor*") played only a minor role. The percentage of mobilized employees decreased during the 1950s.[5] Mobilized migrants accounted for only about 3 percent of all migration in that decade,[6] and only in the construction industry did they constitute a significant proportion (between 10 and 30 percent).

2. Available data on household/family size and structure.

Unfortunately there are no statistical data on the changes in household/family size and structure during the war. However, on the basis of our background knowledge of what happened during the First World War and the Civil War, we can reasonably assume that war losses and mobilisation reduced average family size and created a larger number of solitaries and one-parent simple families. Simultaneously, poor living conditions forced relatives to create joint households in order to survive, thus increasing the proportion of households based on extended families.

The available data do not permit us to estimate the proportion of all these types of household during the war, but we can make an estimate for the post-war period. By studying the latter period we will be able to verify our conjectures about what happened during the war, since it is clear that demographic changes brought about by war, including the evolution of family structure, would still be clearly visible after the war was over.

The most informative source for the post-war period is the 1959 census. By comparing it with the pre-war 1939 census one is able to gauge the impact of the war on family and household development. However, these two censuses are the least comprehensive of all those taken in the Soviet Union. They contain only data on family size, and no data on family structure (simple, one-parent, extended etc.), so as far as the latter is concerned one can only make estimates.

The problems arising from the limited data in the 1939 and 1959 censuses are compounded by the fact that no specific sociological or demographic case studies were undertaken in the 1940s. The first such studies appeared only in the mid-1950s when Soviet sociology and demography were reborn. In the present paper I analyse the statistics from the censuses, then compare the results with data from the case studies.

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3 E.M. Andreev *et al. Demograficheskaya istoriya Rossii, 1927 – 1959* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 178-181.

4 Ibid.

5 M. Ya. Sonin, *Vosproizvodstvo rabochei sili v SSSR i balans truda* (Moscow, 1959), p. 177.

6 Isupov, *Gorodskoe naselenie Sibiri*, p. 255.

3. Censuses.

3.1. Solitaries.

The censuses show a reduction during the post-war period in the number of family households and a concomitant increase in the number of solitaries both in the Russian Federation and in the USSR as a whole. The proportion of single-person households increased by more than half between the 1939 and 1959 censuses and by 1959 had reached 15.7 percent of all Soviet households. In the cities the proportion of solitaries was even higher, amounting to almost 20 percent in 1959 (table 3).

There is no doubt that the growth in solitaries was a consequence of the war. This is evident from the gender distribution among solitaries. The increase in solitaries was caused mainly by the distortion of the gender balance. War losses and the consequent scarcity of males meant that after the war there were a great many widows and unmarried women. As a result, the proportion of female solitaries in 1959 was almost double that of 1939. By contrast, the proportion of male solitaries remained stable

Table 3. Solitaries and family members living separately in 1939 and 1959 (percents).

		1939					1959				
		USSR		Russia		Moscow	USSR		Russia		Moscow
		Total	Urban	Total	Urban		Total	Urban	Total	Urban	
Percentage of single-person households		9.7	15.5	11.1	17.8	23.4	15.7	19.1	16.5	19.2	19.4
Percentage of family households		90.3	84.5	88.9	82.2	76.6	84.3	80.9	83.5	80.8	80.6
Solitaries as percent of total population	Total	2.4	4.2	2.7	5.0	7.3	4.5	5.8	4.8	5.9	6.4
	Males	1.1	1.8	1.1	2.1	2.8	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.7	1.2
	Females	1.3	2.4	1.6	2.9	4.5	3.3	4.0	3.6	4.2	5.1
Family members living separately as percent of total population	Total	8.4	12.2	8.3	11.9	11.6	5.7	7.4	6.4	7.5	6.5
	Males	5.5	7.5	5.2	7.3	7.3	3.9	4.9	4.3	5	4.4
	Females	2.9	4.7	3.1	4.6	4.3	1.8	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.1

Sources: *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya. Svodnyi tom* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 240-241; *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya. RSFSR* (Moscow, 1963), p. 451.

or even decreased over the same period. If we look at the age and gender distribution among urban solitaries in the USSR in 1959 (table 4) we can see that there were more than six times as many elderly female solitaries as there were elderly male solitaries. The imbalance was even higher in the Russian Federation, since the RSFSR suffered greater war losses than the other Soviet republics. Although there are no data on the age and gender distribution among solitaries in 1939, it is clear that the increased proportion of solitaries was mainly due to the large number of single elderly women.

Table 4. Age and gender distribution among urban solitaries and family members living separately in 1959 (percents).

	USSR	Russia

	Solitaries		Family members living separately		Solitaries		Family members living separately	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total (millions people)	1.769	3.996	4.856	2.433	1.054	2.536	3.086	1.513
Younger than 20 years	7.8	8.4	17.9	10.4	7.2	8.4	17.7	10.2
20-29	15.1	18.3	35.6	11.7	14.8	18.6	36.0	11.5
30-39	3.1	8.7	7.8	3.1	3.1	8.7	8.3	3.0
40-49	1.5	9.6	3.3	2.7	1.4	10.1	3.4	2.8
50-59	1.4	11.3	1.3	2.7	1.3	11.9	1.2	2.8
60 and older	1.9	13.1	0.7	2.7	1.6	12.9	0.6	2.6
Total	30.8	69.4	66.6	33.3	29.4	70.6	67.2	32.9

Sources: RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 3451, ll. 4-6, 13-15[7].

The increase in the number of solitaries can be seen most clearly if we look at the country as a whole, since it was less marked in urban settlements (table 3). A possible explanation for this difference is the scale of post-war rural-urban migration. Young adults formed the majority of urban newcomers. Most of these married shortly after moving to the city, and only a few remained single. This boosted the proportion of family households and improved the gender balance in the cities, while aggravating it in rural areas. Since the larger Soviet cities grew more rapidly than the smaller ones, the proportion of solitaries in these big urban centres even fell in some cases. Moscow offers a good example. As a result of evacuation and mobilisation the capital lost almost half its citizens (2 of 4.5 million) during the war, but by 1959 its population already exceeded 5 million. Simultaneously, the proportion of single-person households in Moscow fell from 23.4 percent in 1939 to only 19.4 percent in 1959.

Migration was also the main reason for the decrease in the category of "family members living separately" (the majority of these being male migrants). Although there were still a great many migrants in the post-war period, the scale of migration, as mentioned above, decreased after the war. In comparison with the large numbers in the 1930s, there were fewer urban newcomers and the older ones were already married.

3.2 Marriage rates.

We have seen that one of the main consequences of the war was the growth in the number of female solitaries. Clearly this also meant a decline in the female marriage rate. In urban settlements in 1959 only about half the women over the age of 16 were married.

The impact of the war on the male part of the population was precisely the opposite: an increase in their rate of marriage. The shortage of males meant that even elderly men were easily able to find spouses, primarily among much younger women. Table 5 shows that almost all men aged between 50 and 70 were married, whereas only about a third of women of this age had husbands. After the war it was almost impossible for men over 30 to remain unmarried.

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[7] Russian archival documents are numbered according to a standard system; the foregoing refers to the Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (RGAE), TsSU collection (*fond*) no. 1562, inventory (*opis'*) no. 336, file (*delo*) no. 3451, folios (*listi*) 4-6, 13-15.

The war led to an increase in the average age of marriage. Mobilisation, evacuation, migration, etc. prevented a lot of young people from getting married at the "normal" age (i.e. the average age in the pre-war period); many postponed marriage until after the war. If we look at the marriage rates among different age groups in 1939 and 1959 respectively, we can see that the tendency towards later marriage continued after the war. There was a drastic fall in the proportion of married people

Table 5. Marriage rates among the urban population in Russia (per 1000 people).

Age	1939		1959	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
16 – 17	3	25	3	16
18 – 19	38	177	33	111
20 – 24	320	554	251	446
25 – 29	698	746	779	757
30 – 34	873	776	913	781
35 – 39	921	753	948	736
40 – 44	934	708	962	648
45 – 49	931	635	962	568
50 – 54	918	541	955	479
55 – 59	893	428	943	399
60 – 69	817	280	905	299
70 and older	590	107	721	122
Total	673	550	687	520

Source: Goskomstat RF, *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897-1997). Statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 80-81.

among the under-25s. This was due mainly to changes in family legislation in 1944, which seriously complicated the process of divorce, thus acting as a deterrent to early marriages.

3.3 Number of urban households and average family size.

Although the proportion of urban family households declined between the censuses, their absolute number almost doubled from 12.8 to 24.4 million as a result of rapid urbanisation. The rise in the number of such households was even greater than the rise in the urban population. This was due to a slight decline in the size of the average family.

Table 6. Soviet families in 1939 and 1959.

		1939					1959				
		USSR		Russia		Moscow	USSR		Russia		Moscow
		Total	Urban	Total	Urban		Total	Urban	Total	Urban	
Average family size		4.1	3.6	4.1	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.3
Number of families per 1000 of population		220	232	219	231	241	242	246	243	247	313
Family	Total	89.2	83.6	89	83.1	81.1	89.8	86.8	88.8	86.6	87

members as percent of total population	Males	41.3	38.4	40.8	37.8	36.5	40.0	38.6	39.0	38.1	36.9
	Females	47.9	45.2	48.2	45.3	44.6	49.8	48.2	49.8	48.5	50.1
Heads of families (percents)	Male	79.6	78.5	78.2	77	74.3	71.5	73.3	69.4	71.8	64.7
	Female	20.4	21.5	21.8	23	25.7	28.5	26.7	30.6	28.2	35.3
Family size (percents)	2	20.1	26.3	20.7	27	30.3	26	27.1	26.7	27.2	30.5
	3	22.9	27.7	22.6	27.8	31.1	26	28.9	26.6	29.3	33
	4	21.9	22.3	21.3	21.8	21.5	21.7	23	21.8	23.1	22.1
	5	16.2	12.9	16	12.7	10.3	13.4	12.1	13.2	12.1	9.4
	6	10	6.4	10.2	6.3	4.3	7.2	5.3	6.7	5.2	3.2
	7	5.2	2.7	5.4	2.7	1.6	3.3	2.1	3	1.9	1.1
	8	2.3	1.1	2.4	1.1	0.6	1.4	0.9	1.3	0.7	0.4
	9	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.2
	10 and more	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1

Sources: *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya. Svodnyi tom* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 242-243; *Itogi vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya. RSFSR* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 452-453.

Table 6 illustrates the reduction in the size of the average family. The proportion of urban families consisting of 2, 3 and 4 members increased and the size of the average urban family fell from 3.6 to 3.5 members in the Russian Federation and in the USSR as a whole, and from 3.4 to 3.3 in Moscow. At the same time the proportion of large urban families (consisting of 5 members or more) remained quite high: in the USSR as a whole the figures were 23.7 percent in 1939 as against 21 percent in 1959; similarly, in the Russian Federation they were 23.4 percent versus 20.4 percent. The fact that there was only a slight reduction in the size of the average urban family after the Second World War, compared to the steep decline after the First World War and Civil War,[8] might be explained by two factors: the fourteen years of peace between the end of the war and the census, and the higher proportion of extended families.

A more visible consequence of the war can be seen in the gender distribution among family members and heads of family. The gender balance among family members had already been distorted before the war, which only exacerbated the disproportion between the genders. The great war losses also led to a rapid increase in the number of female heads of family who were taking the place of husbands lost at the front.

3.4 Family/household structure.

Since the 1939 and 1959 censuses do not provide us with data on the distribution of family types among urban families, we do not know exactly how many simple, one-parent and extended family households existed. But on the basis of the available data it is possible to make certain estimates.

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[8] On average family household size after the First World War and Civil War cf. G. Kessler, "Urban Households in the Inter-War Soviet Union: Demographic Shock and Recovery, 1914 – 1939", in *Urban Households in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-2000; Size, Structure and Composition* (Amsterdam, 2005), IISH Research paper 44, pp. 18-34.

First of all we can estimate the number of urban one-parent simple family households after the war. From the information available in the archives of the 1959 census we can see how urban heads of family divided up in terms of gender, age and family size.[9] Using this information, and making the assumption that all 2-3 person families with female heads in the age group 16-50 were families consisting only of mothers and their children, it is possible to make a rough estimate of the total number of urban one-parent simple family households.[10] This method yields the following figures: the proportion of one-parent simple families among all urban families amounted to 14 percent in the Russian Federation and 13.5 percent in the USSR as a whole, or, expressed as a share of all urban households, i.e. including solitaries, came to 11.3 percent in Russia and 10.9 percent in the USSR.

It is impossible to perform the same calculation for 1939 because of the absence of data for this year on how the category of urban family heads divided up in terms of gender, age and size of family. However, we can reasonably assume that as a result of war losses the number of one-parent simple family households must have been highest just after the war and slowly declined over the following years. The data from the 1970 census confirm this assumption. In 1970 only 12.6 percent of all urban families in the USSR were one-parent simple families.

The rather small number of urban one-parent simple family households in 1959 can be explained by the fact that fourteen years had elapsed since the end of the war, by which time a great many of the children who had lost their fathers at the front had already become adults and left their mothers. Moreover, the normalisation of the gender balance had a positive effect on marriage rates and led to a reduction in the number of broken families. We can see this from the gradual decline in the number of children born outside marriage. For example, in the urban settlements of Eastern Siberia, the proportion of extramarital children among all newborns was 35 percent in 1945.[11] If we look at the figures for Novosibirsk in 1950, we can see that only 22.8 percent of newborns were born outside marriage, and by 1960 this figure had shrunk further to 11.7 percent; similarly, in Nizhnii Tagil the proportion decreased from 15 percent in 1959 to 12.1 percent in 1966.[12]

It should also be noted that only some urban one-parent simple families consisted of the combination of a lone parent and small children, while others consisted of single parents with adult children. The available data suggest that this latter category accounted for the majority of one-parent simple families. The relevant data are presented in Table 7, which shows the 1959 age-distribution among members of urban families. The information given in Table 7 allows us to eliminate the number of one-parent families with small children, and consequently, to isolate the number of one-parent families with adult children from among the total. Assuming that children under 16 do not live without

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9 RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 3451, ll. 4-6, 13-15.

10 The disadvantages of this method are the following. On the one hand, it ignores all one-parent families consisting of 2 or 3 persons where the mother was older than 50; all one-parent simple family households consisting of more than 3 people, and those with only fathers and children. On the other hand, it counts as one-parent simple family households the category of complete simple families with no children, or only one, where a woman was the head of the family. But it seems that the total number of families mistakenly excluded or included by this method was not very great, so the method produces roughly correct figures.

11 Isupov, *Gorodskoe naselenie Sibiri*, p. 157.

12 A.G. Kharchev *et al.*, *Sovremennaya sem'ya i ee problemy* (Moscow, 1978), p. 66.

adults, the total number of children under the age of 16 among members of families consisting of only two people equals the number of one-parent simple families with one child under 16. According to this logic, then, the proportion of one-parent simple families with one child under 16 must have been 2.5%. To this should be added the number of one-parent families with two or more small children, but these must have been less numerous. Accordingly the total number of one-parent families cannot have exceeded 4-5%. In other words the combination of a single parent and one or more adult children must have accounted for the majority of all single parent families, i.e. around 8 - 9 percent of all urban families.

The unexpectedly high rate of one-parent simple families with adult children can also be put down to the lag between the war and the first post-war census. Although by 1959 a lot of adult children who had lost their fathers at the front had left their mothers, a quite significant number were still living in the families into which they were born. It should be emphasized that after the First World War and Civil War the proportion of one-parent simple families with adult children was also high.

Table 7. Age distribution of urban family members in 1959 (based on a 5 percent sample)

			Number of family members									
			2		3		4		5		6 and more	
	M*	F**	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total number of families headed by (thousands)	871	312	175	144	251	90	227	45	124	20	94	12
Total number of family members (thousands)	1860	2322	243	396	452	571	502	588	332	390	332	378
In age (percents)												
0-16	15.8	15.4	4.7	4.9	12.8	12.3	18.2	17.4	20.0	19.3	22.2	22.0
16-20	2.4	3.1	2.1	3.0	2.3	3.0	2.3	2.8	2.5	3.1	3.2	3.8
20-30	7.4	9.7	8.4	11.5	10.0	12.7	6.6	9.1	5.7	7.6	5.7	7.1
30-40	7.3	9.8	4.5	9.9	7.8	10.3	9.2	11.0	7.8	9.6	5.4	7.2
40-50	5.1	7.2	4.6	12.1	4.9	7.9	5.5	6.1	5.4	5.4	5.0	5.2
50-60	3.7	5.4	6.2	11.7	4.0	5.5	2.9	3.9	2.9	4.1	3.0	3.5
60 and older	2.7	4.9	7.4	8.9	2.3	4.1	1.4	3.6	1.8	4.9	2.2	4.4
Total	44.4	55.5	37.9	62	44.1	55.8	46.1	53.9	46.1	54	46.7	53.3

* M – males; ** F – females.
Source: RGAE, f. 1562, op. 336, d. 3483, ll. 1-2.

Another point that can be deduced from the gender imbalance in Table 7 is that in 1959 there must have been a large proportion of extended families in the USSR. The existence of a considerable number of such families can be seen by looking at the age breakdown among family members, which suggests that the number of non-simple families was rather high even among families consisting of 3 and 4 members. For, if all the families had been simple ones, the total percentage of children (members from 0 to 16 years old) and juveniles (members from 16 to 20 years old) would have been close to 33 percent for families consisting of 3 members, close to 50 percent for families of 4 members, close to 60 percent for families of 5 members, and close to 66 percent or more

for families of 6 or more members.[13] In actual fact, the respective figures were only 30.4; 40.7; 44.9 and 51.2 percent (or 25.1; 35.6; 39.3 and 44.2 without juveniles).

A further indication of an increase in the number of urban extended family households as a result of the war is that the war dramatically reduced the birth-rate, which led to a reduction in the number of children in families. As average family size remained more or less stable, this means that the percentage of extended family households must have increased.

There are several ways to estimate the total number of urban extended family households. The first method is based on the assumption that most such households consisted of a simple family with one attached elderly parent or other elderly relative. Consequently, the number of unmarried elderly adults living with families would provide a rough estimate of the number of extended family households. Although the 1959 census does not contain this figure in a direct form, it can be calculated. We have data on the distribution of marriage rates and the age and gender distribution among the urban population, and we can therefore combine these to calculate the age and gender among urban unmarried people. By looking at the age and gender distribution among solitaries and family members living separately, we can distinguish unmarried persons living in families from those living alone. The next step is to separate unmarried adults living with their children, thus forming extended households, from unmarried adult children who never left the parental home. We can do this by means of an age-separator, assuming that statistically speaking unmarried children living with their parents would not exceed a certain average age.[14]

In order to set the age-separator correctly, I tested this method on the data from the 1970 census, for which the subdivision of families by family types is known. This gave us the opportunity to compare, on the one hand, the results obtained using various different age-limits for separating the two categories of unmarried persons, with, on the other, the real subdivision of families by family types. The test proved that the method was efficient, although it slightly overestimated the total number of extended family households. The best results were obtained using age-separators at 45 and 50 years. For the 1959 census this method yields the following figures: in the case of an age limit of 45 years it produces a figure of 26.8 percent for urban extended families in the USSR as a whole, and 25.3 percent in Russia; while the figures in the case of a 50- year age-limit were 22.3 and 20.5 respectively.

The other method, based on the assumption that the relationship between size and type of family was just the same in 1959 as in 1970, gives a similar result: 24.8 percent of urban extended families in the USSR and 24.3 percent in Russia. Together these figures allow us to draw the conclusion that in 1959 extended families formed a considerable proportion of urban families - about 20 – 25 percent. If we include solitaries, this means that about 16 – 20 percent of urban households were extended family households.

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[13] In principle, simple families could of course also consist entirely of adults (a married couple with unmarried adult children), but this is balanced by the existence of one-parent simple families in which children are over-represented.

[14] This method has the following disadvantages: on the one hand, it ignores families consisting of two or more married couples; on the other hand, it has a systematic upward bias because it does not take into account families containing two or more elderly unmarried relatives.

Unfortunately we run into difficulties in applying these methods to the 1939 data. It is clear that the second method cannot be used at all, because the time gap between 1939 and 1970 is too great. The first method can be applied only to Russia, since we lack some of the necessary data for the USSR; moreover, it requires an additional assumption that the age distribution among solitaries and family members living separately in 1939 was just the same as in 1959.[15] If we apply the first method we obtain the following figures: urban extended families constituted 19.8 percent of all urban families where the age limit was 45, and 17.2 percent where the age limit was 50. If these figures are expressed as a proportion of all households, this method gives an estimate of 14-16 percent for 1939.

These calculations confirm the conclusion that the war contributed to the growth of urban extended family households, since it increased the number of unmarried adults, who did not usually live separately, but were generally attached to other family households. The estimates also show that the war reversed previous household trends. In the 1930s the proportion of urban extended family households declined as a result of intensive migration.[16] Former peasants, who constituted almost half of urban citizens in the 1930s, could hardly create extended families, since the overwhelming majority of their relatives lived in rural areas or in other cities. High migration among native- born urban citizens produced the same effect. After the war migration declined and the overall effect of the war exceeded that of migration, causing an increase in the proportion of urban extended family households.

4. Case studies.

Several demographic case studies carried out in the 1950s and 1960s offer additional information on urban family structure and family cycles in the Soviet Union.[17] These are so-called 1957 test census in the town of Bolotnoe (a small town in Western Siberia); the special case study based on the results of the 1959 census in Armenia; and case studies in Leningrad in 1960-1961 and 1969, in the town of Severodonetsk (a medium-sized town in the Donbas region) in 1966, and in Kostroma in 1969-1970. The latter three include retrospective data.[18] They confirm the plausibility of previous calculations and provide additional information on Soviet household structure after the war.

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15 The age distribution among solitaries and family members living separately is not available for 1939. Only their total number is known.

16 Kessler, "Urban Households in the Inter-War Soviet Union", pp. 18-34.

17 Unfortunately none of these studies offers any data on solitaries, and they do not therefore allow us to proceed from the family to household structure.

18 A.G. Volkov, "Analiz struktury sem'i dlya prognoza chisla semei i ikh sostava", in *Problemy demograficheskoi statistiki* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 30-42; E.A. Chomar'yan *et al*, "Morfologiya sovremennoi sem'i v Armyanskoi SSR (po materialam perepisi 1959)", in *Problemy demograficheskoi statistiki*, pp.43-64; G.D. Platonov, "Izuchenie sem'i i voprosi zhilishchnogo stroitel'stva", in *Problemy demograficheskoi statistiki,* pp.65-81; E.K. Vasil'ev, "Sotsialno-demograficheskaya tipologiya sovremennoi sem'i, in *Sem'ya i zhilaya yacheika (kvartira)"* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 49-54; N.S. Volga, "Nekotorye osobennosti demograficheskoi struktury Severodonetska", in *Voprosy demografii* (Kiev, 1968), pp. 202-204; N.S. Volga, "Issledovanie dinamiki razvitiya semei dlya sovershenstvovaniya tipov zhilishch", in *Problemy byta, braka i sem'i* (Vilnius, 1970), pp. 50-61; I.A. Gerasimova, *Struktura sem'i* (Moscow, 1976).

4.1. Family structure. The 1957 test census in the town of Bolotnoe.

Of all these case studies, the 1957 test census conducted in the town of Bolotnoe offers the richest data, including direct information on family structure. It gives a snapshot of patterns of family composition after the war in a small Russian town. A comparison of our previous estimates with the figures from Table 8 shows two things. First, the number of one-parent families was higher in this small town (18.1 %) than in the country as a whole (c.13.5 %); second, the proportion of extended families seems to have been smaller. If we add up the percentage of (a) families consisting of a married couple and parents but no children (1.8 %), (b) consisting of a married couple as well as parents and children (9.6 %) and (c) single parents living with their parents (2.6 %) we can see that extended families accounted for only 14 percent of families in Bolotnoe, as against 20 - 25 percent in the country as a whole.

The differences between the data for Armenia and for Bolotnoe in Table 8 can probably be explained by the fact that the war had a different impact on the Russian Federation than on the other Soviet republics. Since war losses were higher in the Russian Federation than in other republics, the proportion of one-parent families was also higher. Another explanation may be that there were specific cultural and national factors in Armenia that resulted in a large proportion of families of "other types".

The Bolotnoe data suggest that there was a correlation between size of a city and the proportion of extended families. This is confirmed by the results of the other case studies. In Severodonetsk, a medium-sized town, three-generation families alone accounted for 17 percent of all families in 1966, and in Leningrad extended families made up at least 24 percent of all families in the early 1960s.[19].

Table 8. Family structure in Bolotnoe (1957) and Armenia (1959), percent

		1957	1959
		Bolotnoe town	Armenia (urban and rural population)
Families with married couple		78	83
Including	Without children and parents	13.5	n.d.
	With children without parents	53.1	
	Without children with parents	1.8	
	With children and parents	9.6	
One-parent simple families		18.1	10
One of spouses with children and parents		2.6	
Other types		1.3	7
Total		100	100

Sources: A.G. Volkov, "Analiz struktury sem'i dlya prognoza chisla semei i ikh sostava", in *Problemy demograficheskoi statistiki* (Moscow, 1966), p. 35; E.A. Chomar'yan *et al.*, "Morfologiya sovremennoi sem'i v Armyanskoi SSR (po materialam perepisi 1959)", in *Problemy demograficheskoi statistiki*, p. 52.

The 1957 test census data also show that extended families in the narrow sense of the term constituted an absolute majority of the total number of non-simple families. In

[19] Severodonetsk: Volga, *Nekotorye osobennosti demograficheskoi struktury Severodonetska*, p. 205; Leningrad: A.G. Kharchev, *Brak i sem'ya v SSSR* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 231, 236.

Bolotnoe, the proportion of families with two married couples was rather small, only 2.5 percent, and there were hardly any families consisting of three married couples.[20] In other words, proportion of multiple families among all urban families was less than 3 percent.

Table 9. Percentage of unmarried women with children by age group in Bolotnoe, 1957.

Age	Unmarried with children
15-19	0
20-24	4.7
25-29	9.9
30-34	15.7
35-39	19.2
40-45	25.8
45-49	24.8
Total	13.1

Source: A.G. Volkov, "Analiz strukturi sem'i dlya prognosa chisla semei i ikh sostava", in *Problemi demograficheskoi statistiki* (Moscow, 1966), p. 36.

Last but not the least, the Bolotnoe data provide evidence that the number of single mothers was highest among the elderly, whose youth coincided with the war (table 9). The total proportion of single mothers among all females in the age group 15-49 was only 13.1 percent, while the proportion among females in the age group 40-49 was almost twice as high, amounting to about a quarter. There was an inverse relationship between the women's age and the proportion of single mothers among them. This explains why there was such a high proportion of one-parent simple families with adult children among the category of one-parent simple families as a whole.

4.2. Family cycles.

Another approach to studying family structure is to look at family cycles and the way in which new family units are formed. Case studies based on material from Leningrad, Severodonetsk and Kostroma yield information on this subject.

Firstly, these studies show that the proportion of extended families varied according to the age of the married couple. The Leningrad study illustrates this very well (table 10). The proportion of extended families was highest among families that included newly married couples. It declined rapidly among middle-aged couples as, on the one hand, parents of spouses became older and finally died, and, on the other hand, junior couples moved to new separate dwellings. It increased again among elderly married couples, as their own children grew up and created new married couples.

[20] Volkov, "Analiz struktury sem'i", pp. 32-33.

Table 10. Percentage of extended families in Leningrad, 1959 – 1969.

Stage of family development	percents
From wedding to the first newborn	38
At least one child is younger than 16	31.5
All children are older than 16 but at least one is unmarried and lives with parents	16.3
All children have left their parents or have got married but still live with parents	31

Source: E.K. Vasil'eva, "Sotsial'no-demograficheskaya tipologiya sovremennoi sem'i", in *Sem'ya i zhilaya yacheika (kvartira)* (Moscow, 1974), p. 51.

Table 11. 500 newly married couples' answers to the question: "Where will you live?" Leningrad, 1962.

	percents
Separately from parents. One of spouses has dwelling.	17
With parents	42.2
In dormitory	11
Rent a room	17.5
Go to Siberia	0.2
"We hope to receive a new separate dwelling"	10.5
Don't know	1.6

Source: A.G. Kharchev, *Brak i sem'ya* (Moscow, 1964), p. 180.

Secondly, a comparative analysis of these case studies further confirms the correlation between the number of extended families and the size of city. In the case of Kostroma, as many as 72 percent of newly married couples formed their own households and only 28 percent joined existing households.[21] The figures for Kostroma differ markedly from those for Leningrad. Table 10 shows that in Leningrad as many as 38 percent of newly married couples lived with parents or other relatives in the 1960s. The sociologist A.G. Kharchev, who carried out 500 interviews with newly married couples in the early 1960s, arrived at exactly the same figure: 42.2 percent of couples answered that they were going to live with their husband/wife's parents (table 11).

Table 12. Formation of families: distribution among urban extended families in Severodonetsk (percents).

	Elderly parents joined to married children	Married children joined to parents
1956	67	33
1957	69	31
1958	71	29
1959	68	32
1960	73	27
1961	77	23
1962	75	25
1963	77	23
1964	75	25
1965	76	24
1966	77	23

Source: N.S. Volga, "Issledovanie dinamiki razvitiya semei dlya sovershenstvovaniya tipov zhilishch", in *Problemy byta, braka i sem'i* (Vilnius, 1970), p. 57.

[21] Gerasimova, *Struktura sem'i,* p. 150.

Poorer housing conditions in large cities are the most likely explanation for the correlation between the number of extended families and the size of city. It should also be noted, however, that housing conditions were not the only reason for the high percentage of extended families. In Severodonetsk in 1966, only 36.3 percent of such families identified housing conditions as the main reason for the co-residence of children, parents and grandparents. In 27.8 percent of cases, the members of extended families claimed that they would still have wanted to live together even if they had had the option of a separate dwelling. The interviewers noted that the reasons given for this were "to take care of children" or "to take care of grandparents." The second reason was of especial importance. When married children joined their parents, their choice was mainly due to housing conditions, but when elderly parents joined their married children, the main reason given was the need to take care of old people. The majority of extended families in Severodonetsk resulted from parents joining their married children.

Moreover, this proportion was on the rise during the 1960s (table 12). It seems that this should be interpreted as another consequence of the war. Many of the elderly parents who joined their children in the 1960s were widows who had lost their husbands at the front.

5. Conclusions.

The available data on urban household/family structure and size in the post-war period are limited and show only general trends in household/family development. Nevertheless, it is possible to define the main legacy of the war - namely, that the proportion of complete simple households declined as a result of the increase in other types of households: solitaries, one-parent simple family households and extended households.

A short-term effect of the war was an increase in one-parent family households. As soon as the gender balance among middle-aged persons improved, the proportion of such households declined. The increase in the number of solitaries and extended family households was due to the large number of unmarried adults (mostly elderly females) after the war. The majority of these unmarried adults lived in families, which led to the formation of extended family households. This reversed the pre-war tendency towards a decline in the percentage of such households.

There is no doubt that poor housing conditions markedly influenced the number of extended family households. However, because the data are inadequate, we cannot come to any definite conclusion as to precisely how these conditions affected family formation. On the one hand, the impossibility of obtaining a separate room or flat favours the formation of extended family households; on the other hand, very poor housing conditions also contribute to late marriage, and this would have put a brake on the formation of extended family households.

The Family Household as a Demographic Entity

in the 1960s – 1980s

Viktoria Tyazhelnikova

In this paper I present an analysis of the main trends in the development of the Soviet family household as a demographic entity during the period from the mid-1960s to the late 1980s. The analysis leads to the conclusion that the "Eastern-type family" (J. Hajnal's terminology) was re-created in the urban environment. This was revealed by the fact that 86 to 88% of the population of Russia lived in family households, as well as by exceptionally high rates of marriage among men; a low (and continually decreasing) age of first marriage, and stability in the number of nuclear families. The traditional pattern of family life was regenerated under the influence of both propaganda and inadequate living conditions, as well as deeper social processes.

1. The 1960s-1980s: social processes and amendments to the law.

In the light of our present aims, we need to identify: 1) common factors in social development that had an impact on demographic processes and 2) amendments in the legal environment that influenced the demographic data.

1.1. General factors in social development

The period of the 1960s – 1980s as a whole was characterised by certain sustained social developments. From the point of view of demographic processes, the most important factors were urbanisation, on the one hand, and exploration of the North, Siberia and the Far East on the other.

1.1.1. Urbanisation

Urbanisation was the most important factor influencing the urban family and urban household. In the population censuses, two terms were used in the Soviet statistics: "city" and "urban settlement." As the Goskomstat specialists note, "The category of cities (towns) in the Russian Federation includes, as a rule, populated places with at least 12,000 inhabitants in which more then 85 per cent of the total population are engaged in the non-agricultural sector. There may be regional variations in the criteria chosen for the

classification of towns.[1] On the other hand, urban settlements are defined as **"**legally established populated areas, namely cities, towns and urban-type settlements (industrial communities, recreation zones, and areas of summer cottages (dachas)."[2] All the other settlements were listed as "rural", with their populations defined accordingly as rural or non-urban.

Table 1 – Urban Population, 1959-1989[3]

Year	USSR urban population, % of the total population	RSFSR urban population, % of the total population	RSFSR population of cities % of the urban population	RSFSR population of cities with over 1 million inhabitants, % of the urban population
1959	47.9	52.4	84.7	15.2
1970	56.0	62.0	86.4	21.2
1979	62.0	69.1	87.4	22.8
1989	66.0	73.6	87.7	26.6

As can be seen from Table 1, the urbanisation process over the whole period was characterised by 1) a continuous increase in the proportion of the urban population within the population as a whole; 2) a sustained preponderance (85 to 88%) of the city population within the total population of urban settlements; 3) continuous population growth in cities with over 1 million inhabitants. There was a vigorous growth in large cities, with the population of cities with over 1 million inhabitants growing by a factor of 1.76 over this period. It is interesting to note that urban population growth in the Russian Federation was more rapid than in the USSR as a whole.

1.1.2. Exploration of the North, Siberia and the Far East

The development of the Siberian, Northern and Far-Eastern regions was related to the exploration of mineral deposits. The strategy was to concentrate industrial development close to the resource base. A new, civilian, stage of the exploration began after the closing down of the GULAG forced labour camps in 1956-1957, and the consequent sharp drop in the exploitation of prison labour. The exploration of the North and Siberia was accompanied by propaganda campaigns aimed at promoting the development of Komsomol building sites.

Population growth rates over the 30-year period under consideration were particularly high in the Khanty-Mansiiskii autonomous region (923%), the Yamalo-Nenetskii autonomous region (684%) and the Tumenskaya region (182%). The main reason for such vigorous growth was the discovery of mineral resources (most

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1 Ibid. p.57.

2 Ibid.

3 *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 g.* (Moskva, 1962), SSSR. Svodnyi tom, pp.242-243; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-207; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast' 1, p. 44-47; *Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1900), pp.14-15; Goskomstat RF - *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897-1997). Statisticheskii sbornik* (1998, Moskva), pp. 55-56.

importantly, oil and gas) in these territories in the 1960s, as well as the construction of hydraulic power stations on major Siberian rivers. Even in the East Siberian regions (Tomsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk), which had the longest tradition of exploration by the Russians, the increase in population was very significant (34.1, 30.1 and 21%, respectively).

The exploration of these regions was accompanied by a high level of labour migration from European Russia, as well as from Siberian villages and small towns. The population in the new industrial cities was much younger than the average across the country, and living standards and social activity were higher. The particular features of households in these cities deserve further research.

1.2. Amendments to marriage and family legislation.

Up to 1968, the issues of marriage and family were regulated by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR of 8 July 1944[4]. In contrast to the previous legislation (1926 Code on marriage, family and guardianship), the decree of 1944 only recognised officially registered marriage. Non-registered marriages were declared null. The possibility of obtaining a court decision on fatherhood was abolished for children born outside official marriage, even where the father was willing to admit the child. The entire legal and material responsibility for a child born outside marriage was laid on the mother, who was given the status of "single mother". Divorce procedures became very complex and expensive. It was necessary to publicise the divorce in a newspaper, and the divorce was subject to Party committee hearings at the workplaces of those involved. Ideologically, divorce was now seen as a sign of a citizen's "moral instability", and as such entailed serious administrative penalties, as well as penalties imposed by the Party organisation. The legal implementation of the 1944 Decree resulted in an artificial restraint on divorce. Separated spouses often started new *de facto* marriages without registration. In 1965 the process of divorce was greatly simplified by a number of special legal acts, which were later included in the "Basic legislation of the USSR and Soviet Republics on marriage and the family" in 1968[5].

Table 2 – Divorce Rate, 1959-1970[6]

year	divorce rate / urban population per 1000 people	divorce rate / rural population per 1000 people	divorce rate / total population per 1000 people
1959	2.16	0.49	1.38
1960	2.39	0.53	1.54
1961	2.36	0.53	1.54
1962	2.47	0.57	1.63

4 *Vedomosti Verchovnogo Soveta SSSR*, 1944, N37.

5 *Zakonodatel'stvo o pravakh zhenzshin v SSSR: Sbornik normativnuch aktov*. (Moskva, 1975)

6 The collection of annual data on Russian demography in the period 1959 – 1991, presented on the website "Demography of Russia and its Empire" by A. Blum (l'Institut national d'études démographiques (Ined) and A. Avdeev (Department of Economics, MSU). In.: http://www-census.ined.fr/demogrus and http://dmo.econ.msu.ru/demografia/Serveurs/project_stat.htm.

1963	2.38	0.5	1.57
1964	2.66	0.56	1.77
1965	**2.7**	**0.6**	**1.83**
1966	**4.68**	**1.13**	**3.23**
1967	4.51	1.26	3.21
1968	4.42	1.25	3.18
1969	4.15	1.12	2.99
1970	4.19	1.12	3.04

As we can see from Table 2, the simplification of divorce procedures in 1965 resulted in a sharp rise in the divorce rate, due to "postponed divorces" from previous years. After a few years divorce rates stabilised (in both the urban and the rural population), with a slight tendency to decrease.

2. Statistics on the Family, 1960-1989

In our analysis of family households in this period, we have discovered and drawn on a wide range of data. The most important sources are:

- the USSR censuses of 1970, 1979, 1989.
- selective surveys of family budgets of industrial and office workers.
- snapshot statistical and sociological observations.
- recent statistical publications.

Census data for this period are subject to the same limitations as for the years covered by the papers of Kessler and Markevich in this volume: Soviet statistics did not rely on the household as an analytical concept and distinguished only families, solitaries and family members living separately. Neither did they consider non-related co-resident outsiders as part of the domestic group.

2.1. Percentage of solitaries and members of families living separately

The censuses identify two categories of people living outside a family household: 1) single people, not connected to a family via a common budget or with no family at all; and 2) people living separately, but sharing a common budget with a family. There is no precise evidence in the literature as to the actual demographic composition of the "single persons" group. Moreover, this aspect of the censuses was subject to methodological criticism in Soviet research. However, on the basis of their study of families in Taganrog, N.M.Rimashevskaya et al reached two important conclusions. Firstly, when carrying out selective surveys one cannot merge the two groups of "single" or "separately-living" people into a single group.[7] Secondly, the group of independent single people should be divided into two subgroups. The first group would include local residents who had ended up single as a result of changes in their families – death of a family member, divorce,

[7] In the treatment of data on Taganrog in 1968-69 and on Kostroma, both groups of single persons were combined. In the survey of 1978-79 in Taganrog, on the other hand, only the "native single persons " were taken into account, while those living in hostels were not considered.

departure of grown up children, etc. The second group would include people who had moved to the city for a job or education. Such people were separated from their parents, and lived in hostels[8].

The group of "local single persons" can therefore be assumed to coincide with the category of "single persons, either with no family, or with no common budget with a family". A section of the second group (people who had moved to the city) can definitely, in N.M. Rimashevskaya's opinion, be regarded as belonging to the category of "persons living separately from a family, but having a shared budget".

When we consider the second group of single persons, we see that their strategy of participation in the household (even while living away) requires further analysis. People living in hostels could be recipients of financial aid from the family (students), or indeed donors (seasonal workers, people working on a contract in the North or the Far East etc). It is clear, however, that the census data are not sufficient for such an analysis.

Taking these remarks into account, let us consider the two groups of single persons separately.

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[8] N.M. Rimashevskaya *et al., Sem'ya I narodnoe blagososotoyanie v razvitom sozialisticheskom obzhestve*. (Moskva, 1985), p.19.

Table 3 – Family and non-family households in 1970, 1979, and 1989[1]

	1970						***1979***						***1989***			
	SSSR		*RSFSR*		*M*	*L*	*SSSR*		*RSFSR*		*M*	*L*	*SSSR*		*RSFSR*	
	total	urban	total	urban			total	urban	total	urban			total	urban	total	urban
1. % of single-person households	19.5	21.0	20.8	22.0	21.9	28.9	19.1	19.3	20.7	20.4	23.0	26.2	18.3	18.5	20.1	19.8
2. % of family households	80.5	79.0	79.2	78.0	78.1	71.1	80.9	80.7	79.3	79.6	77.0	73.8	81.7	81.5	79.9	80.2
3. Solitaries as a % of total population	5.9	6.7	6.6	7.2	7.8	11.1	5.97	6.24	6.97	6.91	8.4	9.7	5.7	5.98	6.9	6.8
4. Female solitaries as a % of total solitaries	73.4	67.4	73.8	68.7			73.1	68.3	72.5	68.2	69.9	71.1				
5. Family members living apart from the family as a % of total population	4.1	5.4	4.5	5.5	3.6	4.1	5.3	6.6	5.7	6.6	4.5	6.2	4.5	5.3	4.7	5.1
6. Female family members living apart from the family as a % of all those living apart from the family	29.4	30.6	29.6	30.5			35.4	37.0	36.7	37.4	39.7	44.8				
7. Non-family household population (3+5)	10.0	12.1	11.1	12.7	11.4	15.2	11.3	12.8	12.7	13.5	12.9	15.9	10.2	11.28	11.6	11.9
8.Family household population	90.0	87.9	88.9	87.3	88.6	84.8	88.7	87.2	87.3	86.5	87.1	84.1	89.8	88.72	88.4	88.1

M—Moscow, L - Leningrad

[1] *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-207; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast' 1, pp. 44-47; Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g. (Moskva, 1900), pp.14-15.

Among the urban population both in the USSR and in the RSFSR the proportion of "single persons" decreased slowly but steadily during this period. In the course of the 1970s, the percentage of such persons decreased in Leningrad but grew in Moscow. Within the population as a whole, the percentage of single persons at first grew slightly, then started to decrease, but again not significantly. It is worth noting that the percentage was considerably higher in the capitals (higher in Leningrad than in Moscow).

It is extremely important to consider the gender distribution among single people. Among the single-person households, the percentage of females is huge: over all the regions and population types, it amounts to 67%. It can be assumed that men, when widowed or divorced, usually joined another household (through a new marriage**,** or through their children), whereas women more often lived independently. In what follows, I will consider the data on marital status, which also support this conclusion.

The main reason for the strong predisposition among divorced or widowed men to join a household was the fact that the lion's share of housework fell to women. Thus, according to the selective survey of 1985, the average man spent 58 minutes per weekday on housework, whereas the average woman devoted 3 h. 13 m. of her time to household chores. At the weekends, the amounts of time devoted to household work by men and women respectively were 2h 44m and 6h 18m[1]. So the women's share was 3.2 times larger than the share taken by men on weekdays and 3.5 times larger at weekends. Such a disproportion may be explained by the way in which the responsibilities were divided up: usually women did the laundering (washing machines were rare) and ironing, spent long hours in queues doing shopping, cleaned the house, and sewed. Men did the less time-consuming tasks such as small home repairs, shopping at weekends (especially buying in bulk quantities of foodstuffs such as vegetables). Divorced or widowed men thus had an incentive to establish new households in which they would be looked after. Given the permanent demographic shortage of men over the century as a whole, this was easy enough to do. According to the census data, the dynamics of female solitary households did not vary significantly over the period under consideration. Following the assumption made by Rimashevskaya et al. (that the group of single persons not linked to a family and not sharing a common budget was formed mainly by native citizens who had become single due to changes in their families), we would expect that the percentage of single female households would have decreased during the 1970s, as the generation that included numerous war widows passed away. However, the data disprove this suggestion. Women who for various reasons ended up single (whether through divorce or the departure of grown up children) were eager to keep their independence. It would be interesting in due course to uncover the reasons behind this behavioural pattern, and investigate why it was so persistent.

In the USSR and RSFSR as a whole, as well as among the urban population, the group of "family members living apart from the family" tended to grow in the 1970s in relation to the permanent population, but subsequently decreased, falling by 1989 back to the level of 1970. If we assume that this group was composed mainly of people living in hostels, then its variation with respect to the permanent population is probably due mainly to workforce migrations to major construction and exploration sites: the Baikal-Amur railway, industrial and power plants in Siberia and in the North, and the construction sites for the Moscow Olympic games. It should be noted that the number of

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[1] *Sotsial'noe razvitie SSSR. Statisticheskii sbornik*. (Moskva. 1990) p.300.

students living in hostels was almost constant. In order to understand the nature of this "group of those sharing a budget with the family", it is important to examine the gender breakdown of the group.

Table 3 demonstrates that the ratio of men to women in this group was roughly 70:30. In the course of the 1970s, the general rise in the percentage of women is quite clear; by 1979 it had increased from 35 to 45%. It was especially high in the capital cities. In future research we need to determine whether the high percentage of women among single persons was related to the feminisation of the migrant workforce ("limitchiki") in the capitals, or was mainly due to a change in the relative numbers of male and female students.

As we can see from Table 3, the dynamics of all single households (i.e. both groups, independently of their family ties or otherwise) followed an oscillating pattern: the percentage of this group within the population decreased by 1970, increased during the 1970s, and decreased again during the 1980s. At the same time, in relation to the permanent urban population of the RSFSR, the share of single households was fairly stable, at around 12-14%.

Thus in the 1960s – 1980s family households - the main subject of the current project - embraced from 86 to 88% of the total permanent population of Russia and from 87 to 90% of the population of the USSR..

2.2. Marriage rates

The data on marital status are exceptionally important for this project, as they allow us:

1. to analyse the general attitude towards marriage and family among different age groups of men and women (by looking at the proportion of married people per thousand in a each given age group);
2. to trace variations in the priority given to family values at different times (by looking at the average age of first marriage).

The statistics on marriage offer one way of measuring the difference between the "Western" and the "Eastern" types of family. In a paper published in 1965, J. Hajnal[2] came to the conclusion that the Eastern family model is characterised by early marriage (under the age of 25 for men and under the age of 23 for women) and a stable level of marriage across the reproductive age groups. By comparison, the average age of marriage in the West is higher, and the marriage rate is variable across the age groups. This hypothesis attracted widespread support and interest among historians, and became the basis for comparative studies in a number of projects. The "borderline" from Trieste to St. Petersburg, separating the two types of families, was dubbed the "Hanjal line". In our view, it would be misleading mechanically to transfer the conclusions of studies on pre-industrial Europe to the Russian urban family in the 1960s – 1980s. Nevertheless,

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[2] J. Hajnal, "European marriage patterns in perspective", in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Everslay (eds). *Population in History* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 101 – 143; J. Hajnal, "Two kinds of pre-industrial household formation systems", in R. Wall (ed.) *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 65 - 104.

these works may provide a useful point of embarkation for future studies on marital patterns.

2.2.1. Proportion of married people.

Let us consider the data on married people per 1000 individuals of a given sex and age among the urban population of the RSFSR.

Table 4 - Proportion married / urban population (per 1000 population of given sex and age)[3]

RSFSR at age	males, 1970	males, 1979	males, 1989	females, 1970	females, 1979	females, 1989
Total population	**701**	**704**	**714**	**565**	**569**	**592**
at age:						
16-17	4	8	11	17	23	31
18-19	41	43	50	138	165	201
20-24	300	396	383	509	565	589
25-29	764	776	743	803	778	779
30-34	873	851	824	838	804	806
35-39	919	872	843	831	794	789
40-44	938	888	847	785	780	756
45-49	945	906	845	716	747	717
50-54	949	917	857	604	678	690
55-59	945	921	871	491	572	622
60-69	918	903	867	335	371	473
70 and over	767	773	739	154	146	161

Table 4 demonstrates that the number of married people per 1000 individuals in the urban population of Russia grew steadily among both men and women.

At the same time, the figures for women are lower than for men. This imbalance was related to the demographic consequences of the war and to higher marriage rates among men than among women in the under-30 age groups.

The demographic consequences of the war can be traced by comparing the data in the 1970 census on men and women in the age groups over 50. The high marriage rate values for men are related to the large number of war widows (born 1920 or earlier), and to the number of women born in 1921 – 25 (aged 45-49 in 1970), whose prime age for marriage coincided with the war. Data from the 1979 and 1989 censuses show the transition of the war widows to the older age group. Thus, according to the 1979 census, the number of widows in the 50-54, 55-59, 60-69 and over-70 age groups was 148, 263,

[3] *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 2, p. 26; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 2. Chast' 2, pp.717-718, 747-748; *Vozrast i sostoyanie v brake naselen'ya SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g*. (Moskva, 1900), p.4 , pp 60-64.

525 and 794 per 1000 respectively. In interpreting these data, of course, we need to bear in mind that they also reflect the early deaths of men who had returned from the war, and the generally higher life expectancy of women.

A higher marriage rate among men than women can be observed among all the over-30 age groups. At the same time, there is a steady decrease in the number of married men per 1000 in all the age groups[4]. Among women, a similar tendency is evident between the ages of 30 and 44. The marriage rate increases among the older female age groups, an effect due to the re-establishment of the natural marriage rate and to recovery from the demographic consequences of the war.

Throughout the whole period there is a steady increase in the number of early marriages: 16 to 19 years of age for men and 16 to 24 years for women. In what follows we will consider the dynamics of the average age of first marriage in more detail.

The data in Table 4 demonstrate higher marriage rates among men than women in the corresponding age groups. As we found earlier, women dominated the category of single households, with single-woman households accounting for 67% of all single households in all regions and population types. Our assumption that men, when widowed or divorced, were more keen to join a household, is supported by data from the 1979 census[5] on the respective numbers of male and female divorcees in various age-groups per 1000 population.

Table 5 - Proportion divorced and separated / urban population in 1979 (per 1000 population of given sex and age)[6]

RSFSR	males	females
at age:		
16-17	0	1
18-19	1	6
20-24	13	38
25-29	45	81
30-34	65	108
35-39	**76**	**133**
40-44	**74**	**137**
45-49	**63**	**131**
50-54	**50**	**130**
55-59	**39**	**112**
60-69	25	65
70 and over	16	29

[4] See also: Irina Ilyina, "Marital-Status Composition of the Soviet Population", in: W.Lutz, S.Scherbov and A.Volkov (ed.) *Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991,* (London etc., 1994), pp. 171 – 173.

[5] Data on the numbers of widows, divorced women and those who never married are not available in the 1970 census.

[6] *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 2. Chast' 2, pp.717-718, 747-748.

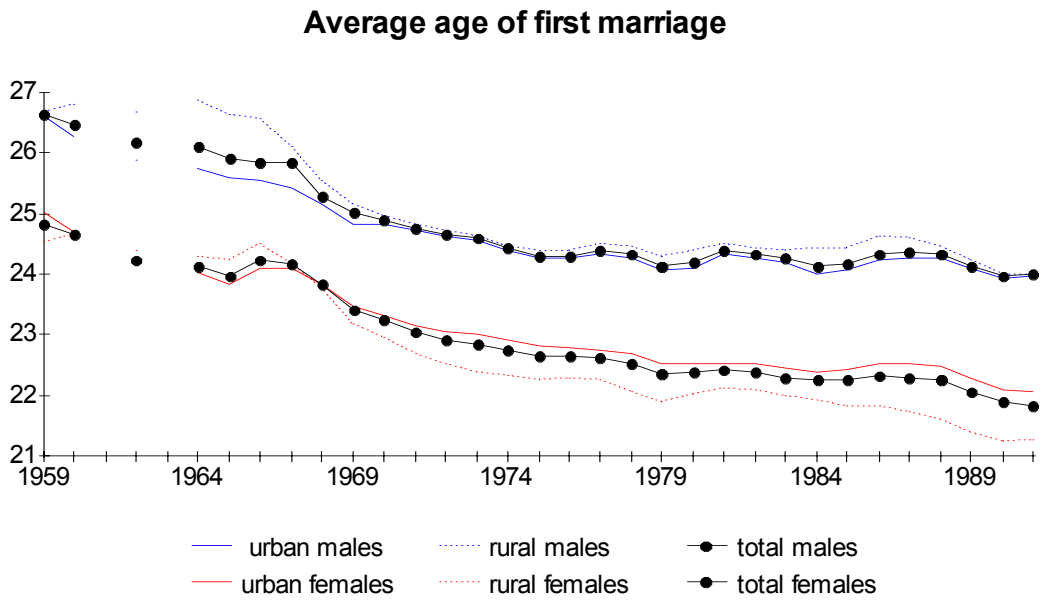
Table 5 demonstrates that there were more female than male divorcees. Among younger people, the difference was most significant in the 20 – 24 age group, where the number of women divorcees was 2.9 times higher than that of men. In all the age groups between 35 and 69 this ratio varied from 1.7 to 2.9. Comparing these data with the data on single households, we came to the conclusion that men often started a new family after they were divorced, whereas women were more likely to continue living independently.

Thus the data on marital rates demonstrate that among the Russian urban population, men were more strongly inclined than women towards marriage and family. The average male marital rate across the age groups between 30 and 69 was 80%, and in certain groups it was as high as 90%.

While male marriage rates were high, there was a tendency towards a gradual but steady decrease in marriage rates among all age groups over 30. The relatively large number of unmarried women in the older groups was due to the demographic consequences of the war in which so many men died. Moreover, divorced women re-married less frequently than divorced men.

2.2.2. Average age of first marriage

We have already mentioned the increase in the marriage rate in the age groups under 24. Consider now the dynamics of the age of first marriage[7].



The above graph gives a clear picture of the major trends in marital behaviour over this period. The age of first marriage among both men and women decreased steadily

[7] This graph is based on data from the collection of annual data on Russian demography in the period 1959 – 1991, presented on the web site "Demography of Russia and its Empire" by A. Blum (l'Institut national d'études démographiques (Ined) and A. Avdeev (Department of Economics, MSU). In.: http://www-census.ined.fr/demogrus and http://dmo.econ.msu.ru/demografia/Serveurs/project_stat.htm.

during this period in both the rural and the urban population. The sharpest decrease can be observed after the new marriage legislation was passed in 1968. After 1970 the average age of marriage for men remained below 25 years in both urban and rural areas. Among women, the average age of marriage remained under 25 throughout the period. The most marked drop in the age of marriage was among young rural girls: between 1960 and 1989 it fell by more than 2 years.

The reasons for the decrease in the age of first marriage in Russia appear to be twofold.

1. This was practically the first time since the revolution that the country had lived through a period of sustained social development. These favourable conditions are likely to have encouraged the reinstatement of the "genetic code" of marital behaviour. Parents (very often single mothers) whose own youth had coincided with the War were not inclined to oppose early marriage by their children.

2. Early marriages were supported by official propaganda. On the one hand they were seen as an alternative to early free sexual relationships, and on the other as a means to boost the birth rate. A.K. Kharchev, a leading Soviet sociologist specialising on the issues of marriage and the family, went so far as to propose a system of measures "in the interest of ordering the relationship between sexes, lowering the marriage age, and [encouraging] an earlier beginning of the fertile period in the life of women."[8] As the deputy minister for higher education wrote in a newspaper article, more than half of all graduates were married.[9]

It would therefore seem that the population's attitudes to early marriage were largely in harmony with the views expressed in the official Communist propaganda. Neither men nor women, moreover, regarded material hardship, lack of accommodation, or incomplete education as obstacles to marriage. The propaganda arguments are easy to understand, but the background factors that determined this type of social behaviour require more detailed study.

3. Housing

Living conditions changed dramatically during the period under consideration. Separate city apartments became the dominant type of accommodation, while the proportion of private houses (typical of suburban and rural areas) decreased. In 1972 the ratio of people living in their own houses to those living in apartments was 49:45; by 1989 this ratio had changed to 36:55. However, a significant part of the population still lived in shared (communal) flats, barracks, hostels, or rented accommodation.

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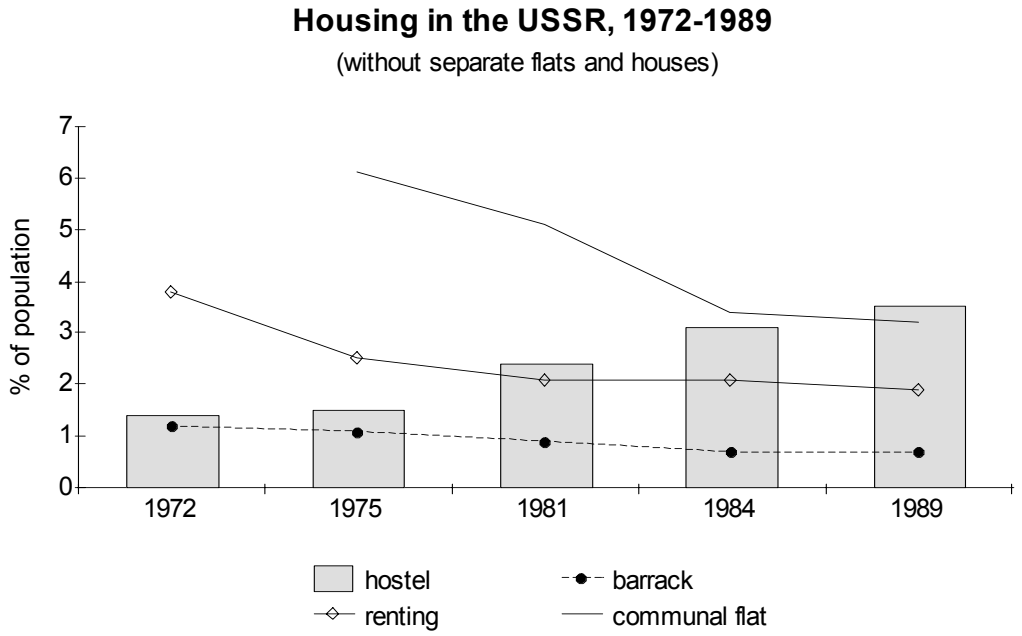
8 A. G. Kharchev, *Brak i sem'ya v SSSR*, 2nd edition (Moskva, 1979), p.9; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1959 g.* (Moskva, 1962), SSSR. Svodnyi tom, pp.242-243

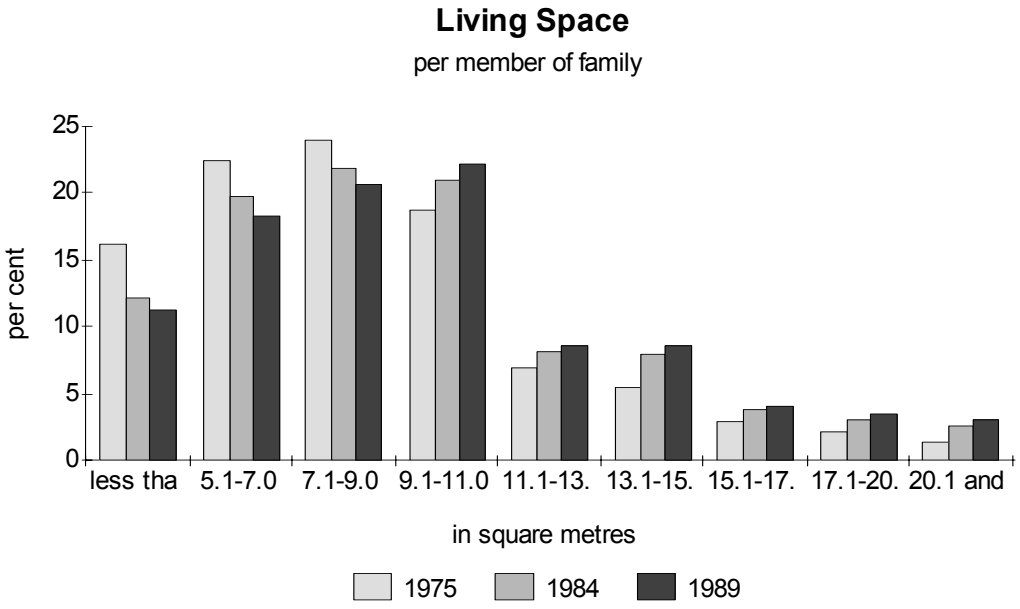
9 K. Savichev, "Dumaya o kazhdoi sud'be", *Pravda*, 17 March 1978



This diagram[10] shows the breakdown of types of accommodation, among people who did not own an apartment or house, in relation to the total population of the USSR. From the diagram we can see that the proportion of the population who lived in communal apartments decreased quite rapidly until 1984. With the onset of "perestroika" this process slowed down. Communal apartments were a common form of accommodation in large cities, so the proportion of people living in this type of dwelling was highest in the capitals. In 1989, 13% of families in Moscow lived in shared apartments; in Leningrad the proportion was 26%. Although the percentage of people living in cellars, basements and barracks amounted to just 1%, this type of accommodation continued to be used. After 1975 (according to the official data, which are likely to underestimate the figures) the percentage of those living in rented accommodation remained practically unchanged. The diagram clearly demonstrates that the proportion of the population living in hostels rose steadily, from 1.4 to 3.5%. This was mainly related to the phenomenon of "limitchiki"(migrant workers).

As the city apartment became the dominant type of housing, we need to look at the varying amount of living space available to ordinary citizens.

[10] Data from: N.F. Belovva, *Dmitriev. Semeinii byudzhet. Statisticheskii aspect* (Moskva, 1990), p. 118.



The diagram[11], based on a study of the families of industrial and office workers living in state- and publicly-owned flats and cooperative apartments, show the percentage of such families with a given amount of living space. Most families lived in rather cramped conditions, occupying less than 11 sq. metres per person.

These clearly modest living conditions would seem to account for the low "nuclearisation rate" (i.e. the relatively slow rate at which extended or multiple families converted into nuclear families). However, several contributors to the literature on living conditions in the Soviet Union in the 1960s - 1980s - principally sociologists who worked closely with architects and studied family relations in large cities - have favoured, instead, the theory of "family groups."[12] Sociological surveys in Leningrad revealed that there was almost daily contact between a new nuclear family and the parents of (one of) the spouses. 6.2% of parents visited the new family several times a day, 15.2% - once a day, 27.3% - a few times a week, 23.6% - during the weekends. The average number of parental visits was about three per week. The young in their turn did not lag behind: 5.1% visited their parents several times a day, 6.4% - once a day, 20.1% - several times a week, 29% at weekends.

The frequency of contact was inversely related to the age of grandchildren. A survey of grandmothers showed that more than half of them helped with their grandchildren's upbringing until 3 years of age; one third until 7 years, 36% until 12 years, 20% until 18 years; while12.2% of grandmothers continued to help their grandchildren after they were 18 years old.. More than 60% of women between the age of 20 and 24 in Leningrad linked the possibility of having a second child with the prospect

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[11] Data from: Belova, *Dmitriev*, p. 122.

[12] A.G. Kharchev *et al*., *Professional'naya rabota zhenzshin i sem'ya*. (Moskva, 1971); Z.A. Yankova, *Gorodskaya sem'ya* (Moskva, 1978); A.G. Kharchev *et al., Sovremennaya sem'ya i ee problemy* (Moskva, 1978); *Demograficheskie problemy sem'i*. (Moskva., 1978); L. Chuiko *et al.* "Pokoleniya v sem'e", in *Sem'ya segodnya* (Moskva, 1979); A.V. Baranov. *Sotsial'no-demograficheskoe razvitie krupnogo goroda* (Moskva, 1981).

of support from grandmothers.[13] Such intra-family cooperation resulted in the frequent practice of exchanging apartments, so that new families and their parents could move to the same area. The authors of the "family group" theory recommended taking this factor into account when planning new blocks, so that neighbouring flats would be available for young families and their parents. The empirical data collected in the course of the surveys put the question of low “nuclearisation” into a new perspective, suggesting that the phenomenon cannot be explained simply by congested living conditions. Even when different generations of a family lived separately, their close connections strongly affected the basic functioning of the urban household in Russia.

4. Household Size and Structure

4.1. Average number of persons per household

The census data allow us to calculate the size of the average household. Table 6 demonstrates that from 1970 to 1989 this decreased both in urban and rural areas. This development can be observed both in Russia and in the USSR as a whole. However, the size of the rural household decreased slightly more rapidly in Russia (from 3.3 to 2.9 persons) than in the USSR, where the overall drop was just 0.2.

Table 6 - Average number of persons per household[14]

	1970 household	1979 household	1989 household
USSR, urban population	3.2	3.1	3.1
USSR, rural population	3.6	3.4	3.4
RSFSR, urban population	2.9	2.8	2.8
RSFSR, rural population	3.3	3.0	2.9

At the same time, the size of an urban household was notably stable during the period. In the USSR the average urban household was larger than that in Russia (3.1 – 3.2 and 2.9 – 2.8 respectively).

4.2.Distribution of households by number of members

The general trends in household development, including certain differences between the USSR and Russia, can best be demonstrated visually, by looking at the distribution of households in terms of number of members.

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[13] V.L. Ruzhzhe *et al., Struktura i funktsii semeinykh grupp* (Moskva, 1983), pp.49, 53

[14] Calculated by the author from: *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g*. (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-207; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast’ 1, pp. 44-47; *Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1900), pp.14-15.

Table 7 –Distribution of urban households by number of members (in %[15])

	1970		1979		1989	
	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR
1 person	21.1	22.0	19.2	20.4	18.5	19.9
2 persons	20.0	20.3	23.5	24.3	**25.4**	**26.5**
3 persons	**23.9**	**24.6**	**26.0**	**27.0**	23.2	23.7
4 persons	21.0	20.9	20.1	19.6	21.3	21.0
5 persons	8.7	8.3	6.9	6.2	7.1	6.2
6 persons and more	5.3	3.9	4.3	2.5	4.5	2.7
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

This table shows that the proportion of households composed of solitaries was generally stable during the period, with a slight tendency to decrease. The leading trend during the period was the increase in the percentage of small households. This tendency was more pronounced in Russia than in the USSR. The tendency towards small families was revealed in the following facts:

1. Throughout the period there was a steady increase in the share of 2-person households (from 20% in 1970 to a quarter in 1989). This process reached a new threshold in 1989, when 2-person households came to predominate in the towns of Russia and the USSR.

2. The leading role of 3- and 4-person households during the period. These groups comprised 44 to 46% of the total number of households. It is worth mentioning that in 1970 3-person households predominated in the towns of Russia and the USSR, losing this position to 2-person households in 1989. During this period, the proportion of 4-person households was fairly stable, fluctuating between 19.6 and 21.3 % of the total number of households.

3. The tendency towards a preponderance of small urban households is more striking in the RSFSR than in the USSR as a whole: Russia had fewer large households (5 persons and more). In Russia, the proportion of 5-person households decreased from 8.3 to 6.2% between 1970 and 1979, and stabilised during the 1980s. The dynamics of 5-person households in the USSR followed an oscillating pattern, dropping from 8.9 to 6.9% during the 1970s, but bouncing back to 7.1% by 1989. The small group of households of 6 people or more was more strongly represented in the urban USSR than in urban Russia.

The development of urban households followed the same pattern throughout the entire USSR. The tendency towards a preponderance of small urban households was strongest in Russian towns. Given the scarce accommodation in the cities, which acted as a brake on the tendency of young married couples to move away from their parents' households, it is fair to assume that more favourable housing conditions would have contributed to an even higher proportion of small households. This conclusion is of

[15] Calculated by the author from: *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-209; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast' 1, pp. 44-47, Vol.6, pp.56-57; *Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1900), pp.14-15;

significance for further research, since the results for Russian households may in certain aspects be representative of the USSR as a whole.

The pattern of rural households, in terms of number of members, was slightly different.

Table 8 – Rural households: distribution by number of members (in %[16])

	1970		1979		1989	
	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR
1 person	17.1	19.1	18.7	21.2	17.8	20.8
2 persons	**21.3**	**22.1**	**24.8**	**27.0**	**26.1**	**29.4**
3 persons	17.0	17.6	18.7	20.7	16.7	18.7
4 persons	17.1	17.5	15.9	16.3	17.0	18.1
5 persons	12.1	11.8	9.2	8.1	9.4	7.8
6 persons or more	15.4	11.9	**12.7**	**6.7**	**13.0**	**5.2**
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The proportion of solitary households was fairly stable during the period, ranging from 17.1 to 21.2%. In Russia this figure was slightly higher than in the USSR.

Among rural households the category of 2-person households predominated. The percentage of such households grew constantly over the period: from 21.3% to almost a quarter in the USSR and from 22.1% to almost a third in Russia. These data once again confirm the conclusion that the increase in 2-person households in towns was curbed by the system of housing distribution.

The fractions of 3- and 4-person households were fairly stable, varying from 16 to 20%, and here the trends were similar in Russia and in the USSR.

Rural households with 5 members decreased during the period. In Russia this group represented a slightly lower proportion of all households than it did in the USSR. In the USSR, the percentage of 5-person households decreased from 12.1% to just over 9% between 1970 and 1979, and remained at this level until 1989. Among rural households in Russia the percentage of such households dropped from 11.8 to 7.8%.

While there was a general decline in the number of large rural households, this development was more marked in Russia than in the USSR. In Russia, the percentage of large households decreased much more rapidly over the period in question, dropping from 11.9 to 5.2% of the total number of households, whereas in the USSR overall the percentage of such households decreased by just 2.4%, from 15.4% in 1970 to 13.0% in 1989.

Regional differences in patterns of family size (differences which have been described in detail in the literature, the most notable regional difference being the significant proportion of large families in Central Asia[17]) are important to bear in mind in

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[16] Calculated by the author from: *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-209; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g*. (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast' 1, pp. 44-47, Vol.6, p.56-57; *Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1900), pp.14-15;

[17] Andrei Volkov, "Family and Household Changes in the USSR: A Demographic Approach", in W.Lutz, S.Scherbov and A.Volkov (ed.) *Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991.* (London etc., 1994), pp. 149-166.

analysing trends in household development in the USSR. In the analysis of *urban* households, regional differences appear to be less important. In general, the pattern of urban household development throughout the USSR resembles that seen in Russia.

4.3. Household Structure in terms of types of family

I will now consider in more detail the structure of urban households as revealed by data from the 1970 and 1979 censuses. As I have already pointed out, the census materials include information on the breakdown of families in terms of different family types. These data allow us to calculate the household structure on the basis of P. Laslett's classification. If we combine the data on the different types of family with data on households composed of solitaries, four groups of households can be identified.

1. Solitary households.

2. Simple-family households: spouses with children. These are divided in turn into two-parent and one-parent households.

3. Extended-family households: simple family plus one or more non-married parents or other relatives. As in the previous case, this may be based on either a two-parent or a one-parent family (mother or father with a child living together with a grandfather, grandmother or other relative – with upward extension, in P. Laslett's terminology).

4. Multiple-family households including two or more married couples plus one or more non-married parent or equivalent.

The census data also identify a group referred to as "other families." This small category included siblings living together, grandparents with grandchildren, or other similar groups. In any case, since such households were not based on a married couple, they can be amalgamated with groups 3 and 4 to produce a united group of all extended and multiple-family households.

Table 9 – Household Structure by family types, 1970-89 (%)[18]

All households

	1970		***1979***		***1989***	
	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR
1. Solitaries	19.5	20.8	19.1	20.7	18.3	20.2
2. One-parent households	9.4	9.9	9.6	10.1	10.0	10.5
3. Simple family households	51.2	50.1	53.5	52.6	53.6	53.4
4. Extended family households based on a one-parent household	2.6	2.7	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6
5. Extended family households based on a simple-family household	12.8	12.4	10.7	10.1	10.0	9.1
6. Multiple family households	3.0	2.6	3.4	2.8	4.1	2.7
7. Other family households	1.5	1.5	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.5
8. All extended and multiple family households (4+5+6+7)	19.9	19.2	17.8	16.6	18.1	15.9
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Urban Households

	1970		***1979***		***1989***	
	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR	SSSR	RSFSR
1. Solitaries	21.0	**22.0**	19.3	**20.5**	18.5	19.9
2. One-parent households	9.8	9.8	10.1	10.4	11.0	11.2
3. Simple family households	50.7	49.9	53.4	52.3	52.6	52.4
4. Extended family households based on a one-parent household	2.6	2.6	1.6	1.7	1.9	1.8
5. Extended family households based on a simple-family household	11.9	11.6	10.1	9.9	9.8	9.3
6. Multiple family households	3.0	2.7	3.3	3.1	3.7	2.9
7. Other family households	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.1	2.5	2.5

[18] *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), Vol. 7, pp. 206-207, 238-239; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), Vol. 4. Chast' 1, pp. 44-47, Vol.6, Chast'2, p-4, 6-8; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1992), Vol. 3. Chislo I sostav semei v SSSR, p.5, pp.82-86.

8. All extended and multiple-family households (4+5+6+7)	18.9	16.6	17.1	16.8	17.9	16.5
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The data on the distribution of different types of family structure among households reveal the following tendencies.

1. There was a steady decrease in the proportion of solitary households. By 1989 the percentage of solitary households in urban areas was almost equal to the mean percentage of solitary households across the country. It amounted to 18% in the USSR and 20% in Russia. The main reason for this decrease was the gradual loss by death of the generation of war widows. At the same time, this tendency was counterbalanced by the increasing number of divorces, the decreasing percentage of married men in the young and medium age groups, and certain other factors.

2 Two significant factors are worth mentioning in considering the group of simple family households. First, the number of single-parent households was large and constantly increasing, both in Russia (from 9.9 to 10.5%) and in the USSR (from 9.4% to 10%). The growth of this group in urban areas was even more significant: from 9.8% to 11% in the USSR, and from 9.8% to 11.2% in Russia. Secondly, there was in increasing trend in the number of households based on a married couple, but the rate of growth decreased in the 1980s. In the USSR this group grew by only 0.1% between 1979 and 1989. There was a difference in this respect in the development of urban households in Russia and in the USSR. In Russia, the proportion of simple family households increased, whereas in the USSR it decreased from 53.4 to 52.6% during the1980s. As Table 9 shows, the decreasing number of simple-family households was due to the growth of either single parent households or of multiple-family households. The predominance of one or the other factor depended on specific regional factors. In regions with a Muslim population (primarily in Central Asia) the growth in the number of urban multiple-family households played the most conspicuous role. In European Russia, the increase in the number of single-parent households was a more significant factor.

3. The proportion of households based on an extended family with a complete married couple tended to decrease within the total number of households. The most significant decrease was among all Russian households (where between 1970 and 1989 the percentage of extended-family households dropped by 3.3%, from 12.4% to 9.1%). In the USSR the corresponding decrease was 2.8%. This process was less pronounced in the urban areas of the USSR (where there was a decrease of 2.1%) and Russia (2.3%). The percentage of extended households based on single-parent families decreased from 2.6 to 1.5 – 1.6% between 1970 and 1979, in the USSR and in Russia. In the 1980s the percentage of such households remained constant overall, marginally increasing in the towns – by 0.3% in the USSR and by 0.1% in Russia. It appears that this persistence in the proportion of extended families was due on the one hand to poor living conditions (a factor that applied particularly in the cities) and on the other to the objective need – already mentioned above - for family cooperation (e.g. in childcare and the care of aged parents). The most important question in this respect is what factors underlay this high

level of intra-family co-operation: whether it was primarily due to the low level of development in the sphere of social welfare, or to traditional cultural and moral factors.

4. The development of multiple-family households appears to reflect regional differences in types of family organisation. Thus there was an increase in the proportion of such households in the USSR as a whole (from 3 to 4.1%), as well as among urban households (from 3 to 3.7%). In Russia the percentage of multiple-family households fluctuated, growing slightly in the 1970s and dropping in 1980s.

Together, extended and multiple households accounted for 15 – 20% of all households. Among Russian households, the percentage of such households decreased – from 19.9 to 15.9%. The small increase in the proportion of these households in Russian towns and cities during the 1970s (from 16.6 to 16.8%) can be attributed to the decrease in the age of first marriage, combined with housing difficulties. The data on the USSR as a whole reveal simultaneous variations in the proportion of such households among the total population, as well as in urban areas. In 1970s the percentage of extended and multiple households decreased from 19.9 to 17.8% among the total population, and from 18.9 to 17.1% in urban areas. During the 1980s this trend was reversed in the USSR: the proportion of households in this category increased to 18.1% of the total population, and to 17.9% of urban households.

5. Conclusions

Family households - the main subject of the current project - included between 86 and 90% of the population of Russia and the USSR in the 1960s – 1980s.

The leading trend during this period was an increase in the percentage of small households. In the analysis of urban households, regional differences appear to be rather insignificant. In general, the pattern of urban household development in the USSR follows that of Russia.

Two significant factors are worth mentioning in the dynamics of the group of simple-family households. First, the number of single-parent households was already large and grew continuously during this period, both in Russia (from 9.9 to 10.5%) and in the USSR (from 9.4 to 10%). Second, households based on a married couple generally increased, but the rate of growth declined in the 1980s. The joint category of extended and multiple households accounted for 15 – 20% of all households. It appears that the persistence in the number of extended and multiple families was due to poor living conditions (particularly in the towns) and the objective need for family cooperation (in childcare and the care of aged parents). The most important question in this respect is what factors underlay the high level of activity inside the family group: whether this was primarily due to the low level of development in the sphere of social welfare, or to traditional cultural and moral factors.

The Post-Soviet Urban Household

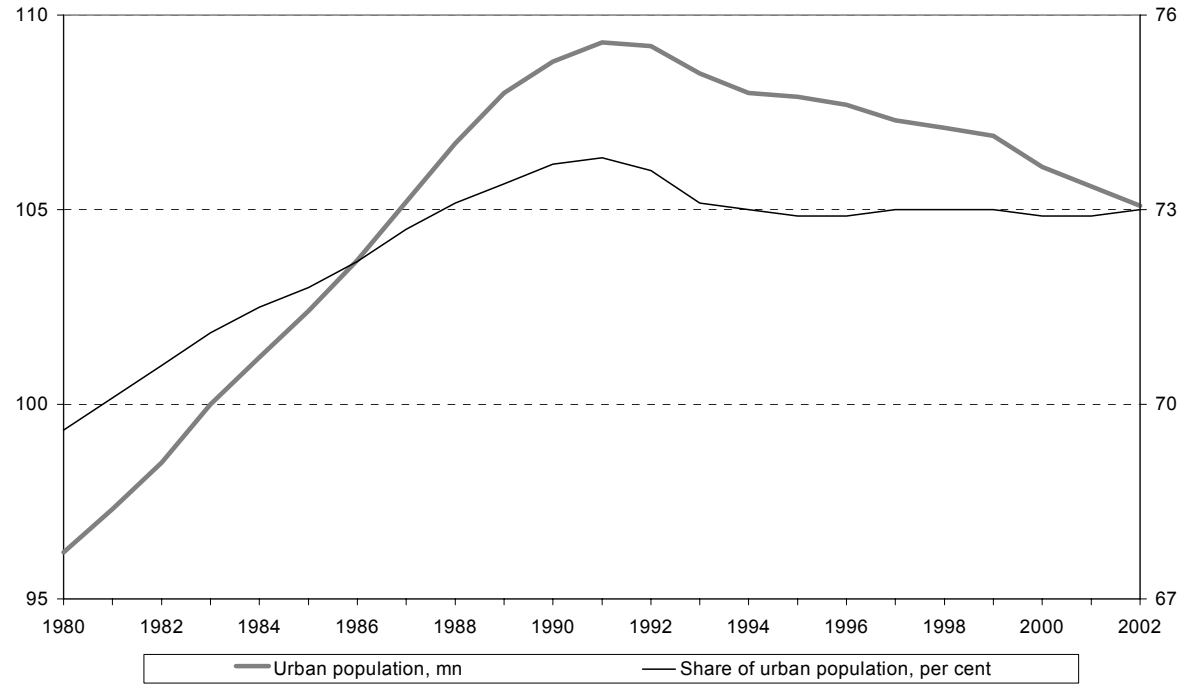
Major Trends and Patterns of Change

Sergey A. Afontsev

1. Dynamics of Urban Population

The appropriate starting point for discussing the demography of urban households in post-Soviet years would be the dynamics of urban population since the late communist period. As can be seen from Figure 1, both total number of Russians residing in cities and the share of urban population grew until 1991, though in the late 1980s their growth decelerated somewhat. The breakdown of the former Soviet Union followed by economic collapse produced a reversal of these trends. As a result, the share of urban population dropped from the maximum of 73.8 per cent in 1991 to some 73.0 per cent in 1993–2001, while the absolute figures for urban population are still falling.

Figure 1. Dynamics of Urban Population, 1980–2002



Left axis – urban population, right axis – share of urban population
Source: *Demograficheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii* (Moskva, 2002), p.19.

To understand the logic of this phenomenon, let us address sources of changes in the urban population. Picture presented by Table 1 is not a trivial one. Since 1993, the major contributor to the urban population dynamics was the adverse fertility/mortality trend. In 1991–1992, however, the role of two other factors was much more pronounced. On the one hand, net urban migration was negative, in contrast to earlier and later years. At least in part this was caused by emigration of non-Russian soldiers and officers of the former Soviet army who served in Russia but left after the breakdown of the Soviet Union[1], although the fact of a 'conversion of city-dwellers to village-dwellers' is usually not denied. This episode, however, was quite short. 'Normal' direction of domestic rural-urban migration was restored in 1994, while positive net migration inflow to cities began as soon as in 1993 due to immigration from the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union. Both these facts reflect the restoration of citizens' confidence in higher chances to gain monetary income in urban settlements, in contrast to beliefs widely held in the beginning of 1990s that countryside settlements could provide more reliable sources of means for living (mostly foodstuffs from small-size private farming) than urban settlements suffering from economic decline and total deficit of consumer goods.

Table 1. Change in Urban Population, 1989–2001 (in thousands)

	Growth/decrease in urban population	Contribution of particular factors		
		fertility/mortality	net migration	change in settlements' status
1989	870.3	436.3	355.8	78.2
1990	560.5	250	236.6	73.9
1991	-123.5	65.7	-5.8	-183.4
1992	-750.8	-176.8	-113.4	-460.6
1993	-447.9	-553.6	176.1	-70.4
1994	-123	-642.4	538.7	-19.3
1995	-215.9	-620.2	406	-1.7
1996	-323.8	-578.1	311.8	-57.5
1997	-264.9	-517.4	296.2	-43.7
1998	-217	-489.6	240.2	32.4
1999	-760.6	-655	94	-199.6
2000	-505.3	-676	208.8	-38.1
2001	-518.7	-662	159	-15.7

Source: *Demograficheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii* (Moskva, 2002), p.21.

On the other hand, 1991 marked a reversal of a general tendency toward the rise of the number of urban-type countryside settlements (*posiolki gorodskogo tipa*). Their number fell from 2204 in 1991 to 1875 in 2000, and their population dropped from 13.8 mn to 11.2 mn, respectively. The majority of these settlements was transformed to 'normal' countryside settlements.[2] This process was the most intensive in 1991–1992 and 1999 (following the most intensive spasms of economic crisis). Reasons for this are

[1] *Naselenie Rossii 2000* (Moscow, 2001), section 5.6.
[2] *Ibid.*, section 1.3.1.

rather controversial. The most likely one suggested in the literature has to do with differences in budget obligations born by governments of urban and countryside settlements. Given the more preferential treatment of countryside settlements by upper-level authorities in terms of inter-budget transfers, revenue-constrained governments of urban-type countryside settlements have had incentives to change their status at times of sharp financial austerity.

2. Household Structure

As far as the late Soviet and early post-Soviet periods are concerned, the major problem related with comparative household structure study has to do with the change in principles of conducting population censuses. In all Soviet censuses since 1926 (including that of 1989), the unit of observation was 'a family', referred to as a 'group of two or more persons residing together, related by blood or marriage, who have a common budget.'[3] In contrast, the micro-census of 1994[4] focused on 'a household', which was understood as 'persons sharing a living unit or its part, having or lacking kinship relations, cooperating in procuring themselves with all what is necessary for their lives, combining and spending all or part of their income'[5]. Thus, for a comparative analysis of the late soviet – early post-soviet period we need to present census data in the unified framework.

This task can be accomplished due to the fact that Russian demographic statistics, despite the ban on explicit 'household' terminology, used a definition of family very close to the definition of a multi-person household. Further, it distinguished among three groups of population: 'solitaires', 'family members living outside their families', and 'family members living with their families'. As a result, the sum of

- the total number of families and
- the total number of solitaires (people living separately and not sharing income with any family)

can give us an approximation of the total number of households. It should be admitted, however, that some people treated by Soviet statistics as solitaires could in fact have lived in collective households like hostels for the aged, orphanages or monasteries. As a result, our figure for the total number of households would be higher than the actual one, whereas the share of single-person households would be exaggerated at the expense of non-family households. Given these reservations, we can recalculate available data for the last three Soviet censuses so as to present a general picture of structural evolution of Russian households.

The most remarkable observation from Table 2 is the rise of a two-person household to the dominant position in the household structure during the period of 1970–1989. The share of single-person households declined somewhat, despite the common-

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3 *Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897–1997)*, p.75.

4 *Tipy i sostav domokhoziaistv v Rossii (po dannym mikroperepisi naselenija 1994 g.)* (Moskva, 1995). This micro-census (*mikroperepis'*) was conducted in all Russian regions (except for the Chechen Republic) in February 14–23, 1994, and addressed 7.3 mn people (5 per cent of total population).

5 *Sotsial'noe polozhenie i uroven' zhizni naselenija Rossii 2002* (Moskva, 2002), p.220.

sense expectations based on the 'atomization-of-the-society' argument.[6] The share of households with five or more members dropped remarkably from 1970 to 1979, but stabilized afterwards and even rose somewhat from 1989 to 1994. In other respects, however, the thirty five year period under consideration was characterized by a surprising stability in both household composition and the average household size.

Table 2. Households by Number of Their Members

Total Population				
	1970	*1979*	*1989*	*1994*
1	20.8	20.8	20.2	19.2
2	21.0	25.0	27.3	26.2
3	22.1	25.0	22.4	22.6
4	19.7	18.5	20.1	20.5
5 and more	16.4	10.7	10.1	11.5
Average household size	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.8
Urban Population				
	1970	*1979*	*1989*	*1994*
1	22.0	20.5	19.9	18.1
2	20.3	24.3	26.5	26.1
3	24.6	27.0	23.7	24.3
4	20.9	19.6	20.9	21.0
5 and more	12.3	8.7	9.0	10.5
Average household size	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8

Data for Soviet censuses refer to the territory of the Russian Federation.
Sources of data for calculations*: Naselenie Rossii za 100 let (1897–1997)*, p.32–33, 74; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1974), vol. 7, p.206–207; *Itogi Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g.* (Moskva, 1982), vol. 4. Chast' 1, p.44–47; *Sem'ya v SSSR. Po itogam Vsesoyuznoi perepisi naseleniya 1989 g.* (Moskva, 1990), p.14–15; *Tipy i sostav domokhoziaistv v Rossii*, p.23.

This feeling of a stability, however, becomes weaker after casting a glance at Table 3, which presents data on different household types. Households with one married couple were dominant in both total and urban population, with their share being somewhat lower in the latter case. From 1989 to 1994, it declined by 2 percentage points for total population and 1 percentage point for urban population, with the declining trend in the latter being already observable since the census of 1979. The drop in the share of households consisting of one married couple with or without children and without other relatives was even larger (3.3 and 3.9 percentage points, respectively). At the same time, shares of households consisting of two or more married couples as well as of lone parents

[6] As far as the household structure of the total population is concerned, we attempted to take into account collective household reservation mentioned in the text. For this purpose, we used available data on orphanages and hostels for aged and disabled people (*Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik* (Moskva, 2001), p.212, 255) to adjust data based on censuses of 1979 and 1989. The total number of people living in these institutions was subtracted from the total number of solitaires presented in the census statistics, whereas the total number of the respective institutions was added to the total number of households with 5 and more members. As a result, the share of single-person households dropped by 0.4 percentage points for both censuses, with the proportionate rise in other structural shares. Given the magnitude of this adjustment, we can conclude that the lack of data on collective households is not likely to affect our calculations in any substantial way.

with their children and other household members in 1994 even surpassed the figure for 1970.

Table 3. Household Types, Late Soviet – Early Post-Soviet Period (in per cent)

Total Population					
		1970	*1979*	*1989*	*1994*
1	Solitaires	20.8	20.8	20.2	19.2
2	Households with one married couple, incl.	62.5	62.6	62.5	60.5
3	married couple, with or without children	50.1	52.5	53.4	50.1
4	married couple, with or without children, with other household members	12.4	10.1	9.1	10.4
5	Two or more married couples	2.5	2.8	2.7	3.6
6	Lone parents with their children	9.9	10.1	10.5	10.5
7	Lone parents with their children and other household members	2.8	1.7	1.6	2.9
8	Other households*	1.5	2.1	2.5	3.3
Urban Population					
		1970	*1979*	*1989*	*1994*
9	Solitaires	22.0	20.5	19.9	18.1
10	Households with one married couple, incl.	61.4	62.3	61.7	59.7
11	married couple, with or without children	49.8	52.3	52.4	48.5
12	married couple, with or without children, with other household members	11.6	9.9	9.3	11.2
13	Two or more married couples	2.7	3.1	2.9	3.9
14	Lone parents with their children	9.8	10.3	11.2	11.2
15	Lone parents with their children and other household members	2.7	1.7	1.8	3.4
16	Other households*	1.4	2.1	2.5	3.8

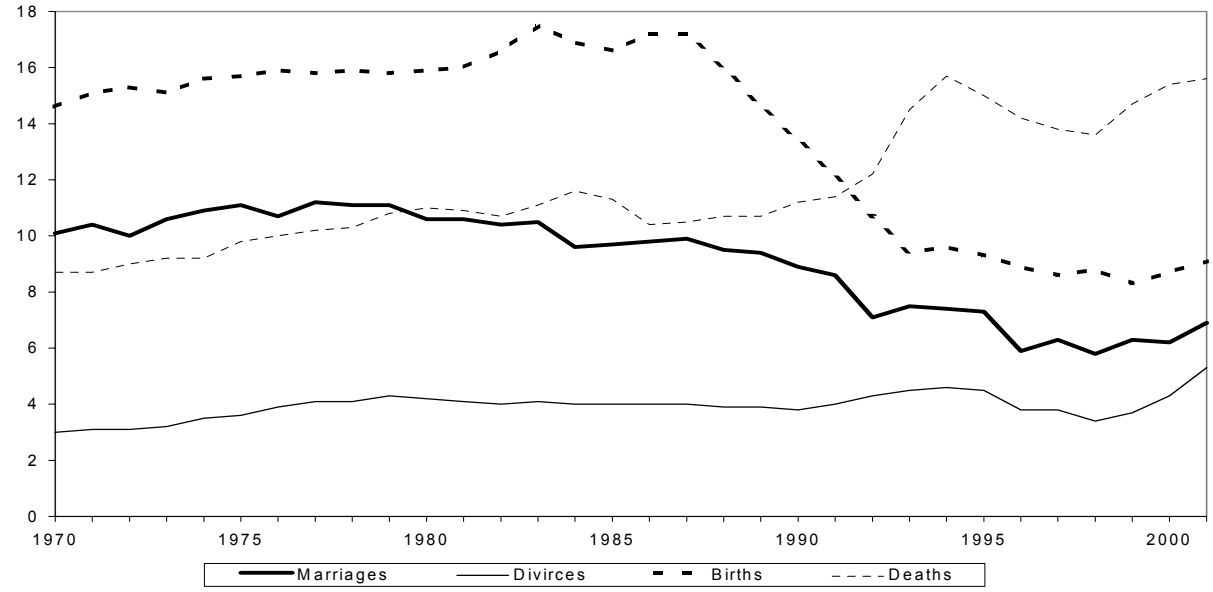
* 'Other families' for censuses of 1970, 1979, and 1989.
Source: *Naselenie Rossii 1994* (Moskva, 1994), p.58; sources for Table 2.

What factors are likely to explain these changes? Though it is possible that some methodological features of the micro-census of 1994 (e.g., sample formation procedures) also played their role, it is worth looking at more general demographic trends (Figure 2). The twofold rise in divorce/marriage ratio (from 0.30 in 1970 to 0.62 in 1994), as well as the rise of the share of births out of wedlock (from 10.6 per cent in 1970 to 13.5 per cent in 1989 and 19.6 per cent in 1994**)** contributed to the fact that lone parents with their children with of without other household members formed an important group, comprising 13.4 per cent of all Russian households and 14.6 of urban households in 1994 (lines 6–7 and 14–15, respectively). This is somewhat lower than in the US according to the 1992 census (15.4 per cent), but much higher than the European average of 7.4 per

cent in 1991–1992.[7] The sharp decline in the birth rate since 1988 and the rise in the death rate since 1987 (i.e., the notorious 'Russian cross' clearly visible at Figure 2) were likely to affect share of household**s** consisting of married couples with *versus* without children, but this level of disaggregation is not reflected in our data.

The most puzzling effect has to do with the rise in the share of households consisting of two or more married couples for both total and urban population (lines 5 and 13, respectively). If this fact is not related with any bias in the census sample, this suggests that economic hardships generated stimuli for married couples – most likely, parents and their married children – to move to a common apartment (e.g., to rent or sell a vacated one), as well as curtailed opportunities to get a separate apartment for newly married couples. This interpretation seems to be quite reasonable, given the fact that the share of urban families consisting of one married couple (line 11) was somewhat less than for the population as a whole (line 3). Most likely, this fact was due to the widespread practice of 'transferring' aged parents to cities from the countryside as well as a tough situation on housing market in cities (for a discussion of the housing problem, see section 3). The share of households with two or more married couples, however, did not exceed 4 per cent even in 1994. In Europe, the highest share of these households in the beginning of 1990s was in Portugal (3.9 per cent), while in the Netherlands they simply did not exist.[8] Almost all of these households in Russia were comprised of only two married couples.

Figure 2. Basic Demographic Indicators (per 1000 of population)



Source: *Demograficheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii* (Moskva, 2002), p.55, 119.

As for the single-person households, higher share of women-led ones can suggest that a significant proportion of single-person households is concentrated in higher-age

[7] *Naselenie Rossii 1995* (Moskva, 1996), p.25.
[8] *Ibid.*, p.24–25.

groups, where the share of women is relatively higher (Table 4; quite naturally, the share of population living in single-person households is much lower than the share of these households). Thus, the decline of the share of these households can partly reflect a rise in mortality rates, which was especially sharp in higher-age groups of population[9].

Table 4. Share of Population Living Single-Person Households, 1994

	Men and women	Men	Women
Total population	6.7	4.2	8.9
Urban	6.4	4.3	8.1
Rural	7.7	3.9	11.0

Source: *Tipy i sostav domokhoziaistv v Rossii*, p.9.

3. Housing Conditions

The impact of housing conditions on the composition and living strategies of households can be analyzed within the following framework.

- *Current housing conditions*. First, they affect the spectrum of available behavioral alternatives of a particular household – e.g., decisions concerning a desired number of children, job opportunities (given transportation costs and time), other income-earning options (such as renting or selling one's housing, cultivating land plots attached to a house), etc. Second, they create incentives for splitting and opportunities for merging existing households (e.g., incentives for a just married couple to live with parents of one of the spouses or opportunities to transfer aged parents to an apartment of their children).
- *Demand for housing* reflects incentives to change living conditions as supported by available resources. These resources can be monetary as well as 'intangible'. For the latter, one can site such valuable 'resources' as the presence of a household member eligible for special treatment in 'lists for improving housing conditions' (e.g., during the Soviet period, veterans of the Civil war and the Great Patriotic war, Heroes of Labor, etc.) or the conformity of a housing to existing 'sanitary norms'. In the late Soviet period, membership in building cooperatives usually required one to devote a specified amount of time to manual construction works.
- *Supply of housing* determine**s** the available set of options for those who wish to improve living conditions; at the same time, it partly reflects decisions of those who wish to exchange better living conditions for higher income. During the Soviet period, by far the most important supplier of housing were state agencies, local governments, and state enterprises. The 1990s were marked by an emergence of private construction firms and real estate agencies. Private households also play an active part as suppliers of housing for rent and sale, which leads sometimes to changes in household composition (when, e.g., aged parents move to an apartment of their children to make a vacated housing unit available for rent).

[9] E.g., mortality rates per 1000 of population in the respective age groups rose from 45.7 (for people aged 70–74) and 71.6 (for people aged 75–79) in 1990 to 53.8 and 83.7 in 1994. See *Demograficheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii* (Moskva, 1994), p.221; *Demograficheskii Ezhegodnik Rossii* (Moskva, 1996), p.251.

All these aspects are closely interrelated and form a particular mix in each specific case. For example, unfavourable current housing conditions of an urban household can create incentives to improve them, but complying with regulations concerning the preferential access to housing could require a transfer of an aged relative to a household (thus temporary worsening housing conditions even further). This, in turn, could make an apartment left by this latter person an item of supply on the housing market.

During the entire Soviet period, availability of housing was one of the principal factors affecting the size of both urban families and households. Economic crisis of the 1990s strongly affected the volume of newly built housing, which almost halved in 1990–2001 (Table 5). Sharp decline in state-sponsored construction was associated with the remarkable (more than fourfold) rise in the share of housing built at people's own expense, while the role of building cooperatives declined steadily. Both trends reflected the increased 'individualization' of people's efforts to obtain new and/or better housing. However, lower volumes of new construction testify that a shift towards the 'ability-to-pay' principle puts much tougher constraints on the availability of housing, especially for poorer families.

Table 5. Housing Built, 1990–2001

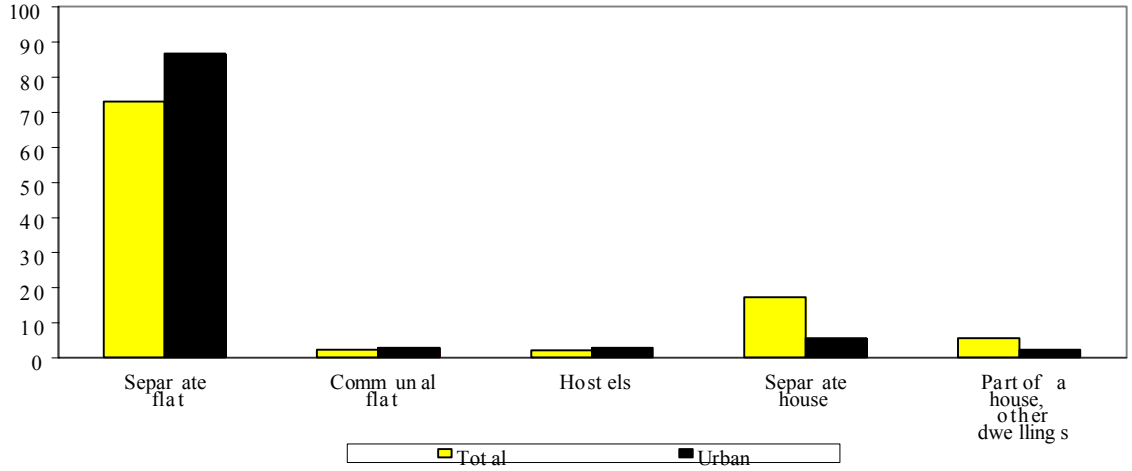
	1990		1997		2001	
	mn m^2	per cent	mn m^2	per cent	mn m^2	per cent
Dwellings built, total	61.7	100	32.7	100	31.7	100
at people's own expense, incl. construction using credit	6	9.7	11.5	35.2	13.1	41.3
by building cooperatives	2.9	4.7	1.3	4.0	0.6	1.9

Source: *Sotsial'noe polozhenie*, p.272.

Separate flats are by far the most common housing for urban households (Figure 3).[10] Communal flats, hostels, and parts of a house sheltered less than 3 per cent of urban households each, while the respective figure for separate houses is slightly higher (5.6 per cent).

[10] Figure 2, Tables 8–9 and 11–12 are based on the results of household budget surveys conducted since 1997 on the basis of unbiased sample of 49175 households (excluding collective households like monasteries, school hostels, hostels for the aged, etc.). See *Sotsial'noe polozhenie*, p.220.

Figure 3. Structure of Housing in Russia, 2001 (per cent)



Source: *Dokhody, raskhody i potreblenie domashnikh khoziaistv v 2001 godu (po itogam vyborochnogo obsledovanija budzhetov domashnikh khoziaistv)* (Moskva, 2002), p.43.

Although the average housing area per household member increased since 1990, it decreases sharply with their number (see Table 6). In 2001, an average housing of a household consisting of 5 members and more was almost the same as in 1997, being only some 1.5 times larger than that of a single-person household. Taking into account recent trends in housing construction described above, the moderate rise in housing size for all other households during 1997–2001 can be associated with higher-income households, while for the majority of population housing congestion remains an obvious problem.

Table 6. Living Conditions of Russian Population (square meters of total housing area per household)

Number of household members	All households		Urban households	
	1997	2001	1997	2001
1	41.0	43.0	38.9	41.4
2	47.6	49.4	45.6	47.5
3	50.1	52.8	48.5	51.4
4	56.3	56.8	54.8	55.4
5 and more	62.2	63.4	60.4	60.2
Area per person, m^2*	18.6**	19.7	18.4***	19.5

* Including collective households.
** 16.4 in 1990.
*** 15.7 in 1990.
Source: *Sotsial'noe polozhenie*, p.272–273.

Table 7 make this fact even more clear. On the average, an urban household 'enjoyed' in 2001 only 11.5 square meters of the net housing area (i.e., housing area net of sanitary facilities, store-rooms, etc.). Quite naturally, situation of households residing in communal flats and hostels was the most desperate.

Table 7. Living Conditions of Urban Households, 2001

	All households	Separate flat	Communal flat	Hostels	Separate house	Part of a house
Area per 1 person, m^2						
total housing area	17.8	17.9	15.0	10.0	21.0	17.9
net housing area	11.5	11.5	9.4	7.2	14.6	12.7
Distribution of households by number of rooms per living unit, per cent						
1	19	16	63	68	6	16
2	45	47	30	29	29	45
3 and more	37	37	5	3	65	39
Share of households living in a housing equipped with						
central heating	97	99	95	100	71	67
water supply	95	99	93	99	49	54
hot water	83	88	76	87	19	19
sewerage	93	98	92	97	33	37
gas supply	70	72	80	39	61	59
bath or shower	91	97	83	86	25	26
telephone	65	70	49	19	31	30

Source: *Dokhody, raskhody i potreblenie domashnikh khoziaistv v 2001 godu*, p.47.

People living in separate houses escaped such a congestion, but, if we address the quality of these houses (the last block of data in Table 7), we can easily find that practically all of them were of a 'village type', lacking most of the modern housing facilities. It can be thus concluded that availability of housing remains the 'bottleneck' for those multi-generational and multi-family households that feel stimuli to split, though these stimuli themselves are much more complex, having to do among all with the division of money-earning, child-rearing and house-keeping functions among household members.

4. Economic Activity of Household Members

Hardships of the 1990s led to a remarkable drop in the economic activity of Russian population. The share of economically active population (i.e., those employed or unemployed but seeking a new job) fell by 5.5 percentage points in 1992–2000; for men, this decrease was even more remarkable (6.7 percentage points). This seems to provide one of explanations to the fact that unemployment was paradoxically low even at culminating points of the economic crisis: People who lost their hopes to find a job just shifted to household activities and thus left both the unemployment pool and the group of economically active population.

Table 8. Economic Activity of Population at the Age of 15–72

	Economically active, in per cent of population in the respective group			Employed, in per cent of population in the respective group			Unemployed, in per cent of economically active		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1992	70.3	77.6	63.7	66.7	73.6	60.4	5.2	5.2	5.2
1993	68.1	75.6	61.3	64.1	71.1	57.8	5.9	5.9	5.8
1994	65.4	72.8	58.7	60.1	66.8	54.0	8.1	8.3	7.9
1995	64.8	72.1	58.3	58.7	65.2	52.9	9.5	9.7	9.2
1996	63.7	71.0	57.2	57.6	63.9	51.9	9.7	10.0	9.3
1997	62.3	69.4	55.9	54.9	60.9	49.5	11.8	12.2	11.5
1998	61.1	67.6	65.2	53.0	58.5	48.1	13.2	13.5	12.9
1999	65.5	71.9	59.7	57.2	62.8	52.2	12.6	12.8	12.4
2000	64.8	70.9	59.2	58.4	63.8	53.7	9.8	10.2	9.4

Source: *Rossiiskii Statisticheskii Exhegodnik* (Moskva, 2001), p.134.

Economic reforms brought not only a decrease in economically active population and the number of persons employed, but also a significant diversification of sources of household income (Table 9). The combined share of entrepreneurial and property income rose almost threefold (from 6.2 per cent to 18.2 per cent of monetary income). This rise was achieved at the expense of wages, whereas the share of social benefits even rose by 0.6 percentage points. This points to the important role that the government continues to play in providing means for living for a substantial part of Russian population.

Table 9. Structure of Monetary Income, General Population (per cent)

	1990	2001
Total	100	100
Wages, incl. hidden wages	76.4	64.6
Social benefits	14.7	15.3
Pensions	10.1	10.1
Subsidies	2.5	1.9
students' allowances	0.4	0.1
Entrepreneurial income	3.7	12.4
Property income	2.5	5.8
Other income	2.7	1.9

Source: *Sotsial'noe polozhenie*, p.104.

Detailed data on economic activity of household members are available only from the results of the micro-census of 1994. Almost all Russian households have had independent sources of income, though for more than one fifth of them these sources were not associated with any economic activity. This principally means complete reliance on government benefits and subsidies for survival.

Table 10. Sources of Household Monetary Income, 1994 (in per cent of the total number of households)

	All households	Urban households
Households having independent sources of income	99.4	99.3
Households with income from economic activity*, by number of persons receiving this income	75.7	78.7
1	29.9	31.4
2	36.4	37.1
3 and more	9.4	10.2
Households without any income from economic activity, of which	24.3	21.3
households where pensioners are the only members with independent sources of income	22.3	19.1

* I.e., wages, labor remuneration in collective farms and from private persons, entrepreneurial income and income from farming.
Source: *Tipy i sostav domokhoziaistv v Rossii*, p.230–231.

It should be noted that monetary income is not the only source of disposable income for Russian households. Table 11 shows that even in the late 1990s – beginning of the 2000s urban households extracted some 5 per cent of their disposable income from their own agricultural activities or those of their relatives living in the countryside. According to the micro-census of 1994, 58.5 per cent of Russian households owned and/or cultivated land plots. This figure is more than twice as high as the share of rural households in the total number of Russian households (26.9 per cent), suggesting that agricultural activities were quite common among urban population.[11]

The share of in-kind foodstuffs in total disposable income is, however, declining steadily, reflecting a quite natural trend towards the specialization of urban households on 'typically urban' economic activities and higher reliance on market as a source of foodstuffs. In other words, urban households become more and more urban, breaking with the Soviet tradition of 'merging' urban and rural economic activities within a household.

Table 11. Structure of Disposable Income of Households

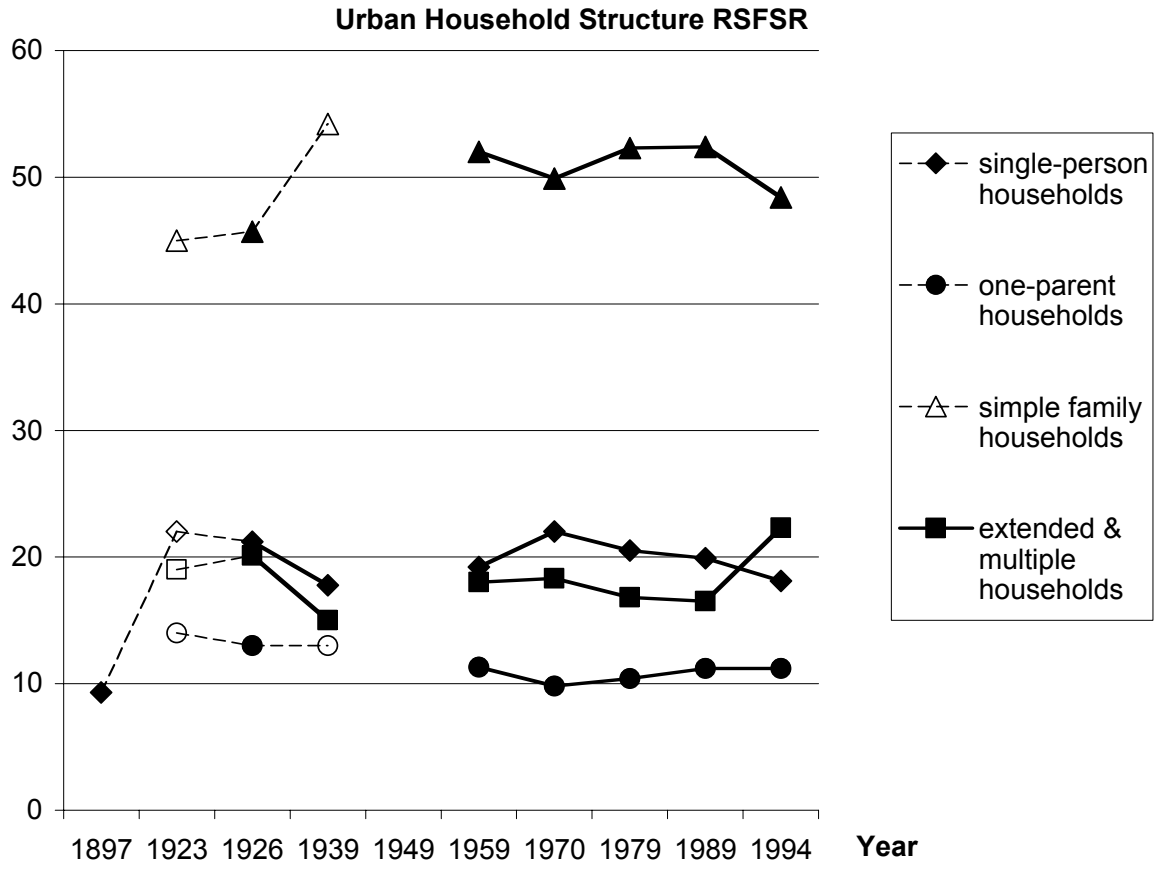
	All households		Urban households	
	1997	2001	1997	2001
Total disposable income	100	100	100	100
Monetary income	89.2	90.0	93.4	93.2
Food in kind*	9.6	8.0	5.3	4.6
Value of benefits received in kind**	1.2	2.0	1.4	2.2

* Food from private farming and received in form of gifts/transfers.
Source: *Sotsial'noe polozhenie*, p.222.

ing Standard of Russian Population. Moscow: Goskomstat, 2002, p.222.

[11] *Naselenie Rossii 1994*, p.27.

Appendix A – Summary Chart 1897-1994



Notes:
interrupted lines = estimates

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