

The temporal specifics of the transitions to youth maturity

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Abstract. Youth, as a stage of a person's life path, is the most intense period in terms of age transitions. Despite the presence of many transitions, most researchers identify several basic age transitions. The current stage of development of society is characterized by the complication, lengthening, increasing variability and risks of liminality (incompleteness) of age transitions. The time characteristics of their commission are changing. The temporal component of the features of secondary socialization remains poorly understood, which increases the risks of inefficiency of youth support and assistance programs. In this article, based on the conducted research, the temporal specificity of age transitions of modern youth is analyzed. The study was conducted on a sample of 484 people aged 18 to 40 years. Multi-stage selection.the time characteristics of their commission. The questionnaire method. The results obtained allow us to conclude that there is a general "delay" in leaving childhood. The duration of the period of youth itself is highly likely to stretch over the entire period of maturity. The risks of liminality of basic transitions to maturity have been identified. In the opinion of young respondents about the optimal time for making specific transitions, both the reproduction of previously formed norms remains (the connection of sexual debut with adulthood, entry into the labor market with financial independence), and the consolidation of established practices is planned (the temporary gap between sexual debut and marriage, the formation of one's own family and the birth of a child).

1 Introduction

During the course of life, a person carries out a large number of status and role transitions. Diverse social facts of the acquisition or loss of social statuses or roles are observed in different age periods and at different life stages of a person. However, the maximum intensity occurs during the period of youth. During the period of secondary socialization, which falls on the period of youth, there is an intensive development of social statuses and roles that act as peculiar markers of maturity and mark the end of the age of maturity. The boundaries of youth are conditional and, according to most experts in the field of juvenile medicine, are reduced not to calendar age, but to social age [1,2]. The successful completion of basic

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transitions determines the end of youth and the beginning of maturity. Among the variety of personally and socially significant transitions, most researchers identify seven basic ones: obtaining professional education, entering the labor market and gaining financial independence, autonomous living, acquiring intimate experience, establishing long-term partnerships, getting married and having children [3,4]. Despite the apparent biographical diversity in the set, time and transition strategies, most researchers record the presence of certain patterns in their implementation [5,6]. Consideration of the specifics of the age transition to maturity includes a number of aspects. Society normalizes expectations regarding recruitment, as well as the meaningful and temporal nature of transitions with the help of existing social institutions and agents. At the same time, the expectations of society leave the possibility of individual choice within the boundaries set by institutions and agents [7,8]. The ratio of organizational and individual in the process of transition to maturity is dynamic and depends on the general socio-cultural context [9,10]. The temporal characteristics of transitions also have individual variability within a given "corridor of opportunities" and socially determined typology. The temporal specificity of transitions to maturity in conditions of prolongation of the transitive life period attracts the attention of many sociologists [11,12]. Sociodemographic events, especially those entailing the acquisition of a status-role set of maturity, have repeatedly led to an attempt to temporally divide the young age at the stage [13,14,15]. The purpose of this article is to show the features of the temporal component of age transitions, including the asynchrony of the normatively set social time of growing up and the real time of status-role transitions to maturity.

2 Materials and methods

In order to study the temporal specifics of the basic transitions to youth maturity (boundaries of transitions, speed of transitions), determine the boundaries of status-role transitions and the period of maximum intensity of these processes, the level of synchronicity of the normative time parameters of adulthood and the real time of the onset of age events, a study was conducted on the specifics of age transitions of youth in the Rostov region. The questionnaire method (written). Multi-stage selection. The age of the respondents is from 18 to 40 years old. The age of the respondents is related to the main hypotheses of the study. Since we assumed that early youth (14-18 years old) If it is a period of accumulation of social experience necessary for status-role transitions made dominantly later, then respondents from 14 to 17 years old were not included in the survey. The assumption of delaying age transitions stimulated us to include those aged 36 to 40 in the group of respondents. 484 respondents took part in the survey, of which 51.2% were male and 48.4% were female. Urban residents made up 78.5% of the total number of respondents, rural residents – 21.5%. Of these, 31.4% live in large cities, and 47.1% live in small towns. In order to have an idea of all stages of maturity transition and the main markers of each stage, the sample was divided by age of respondents based on 4 age groups: 18-22 years old, 23-28 years old, 29-34 years old, 35-40 years old.

3 Results

Conditionally, two blocks can be distinguished in the basic transitions to maturity, in each of which there is a meaningful and sometimes causal relationship: matrimonial transitions (sexual debut, partnership, marriage, birth of the first child) and socio-economic transitions (obtaining vocational education, entering the labor market, gaining financial independence, living independently from the parent family).

Table 1. The idea of the optimal age of sexual debut

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
16-17 years	0,8	0	1,6	0	1,8	0
18 – 24 years	91,7	94,9	88,7	89,5	94,7	88,5
25 – 30 years	1,7	1,7	1,6	2,6		3,8
I find it difficult to answer	5,8	3,4	8,1	7,9	3,5	7,7

Table 2. The real age of sexual debut

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
12-13 years	1,6	0	3,2	0	1,8	3,8
14-17 years	38,9	27,2	50	44,7	33,3	38,5
18-24 years old	39,7	50,8	27,5	26,4	49,1	38,5
25-30 years old	0	1,7	1,6	2,6	1,8	0
I find it difficult to answer	19,8	20,3	17,7	26,3	14,0	19,2

Table 3. The idea of the optimal age for creating your own family

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
18 – 24 years	28,1	39,0	17,7	21,1	31,6	30,8
25 – 30 years	57,0	49,2	64,5	65,8	50,9	57,7
31 – 35 years	5,8	5,1	6,5	2,6	7,0	7,7
45 years and older	0,8	0	1,6	0	0	3,8
I find it difficult to answer	6,6	5,1	8,1	5,3	10,5	0
It depends on many factors	1,6	1,7	1,6	5,2	0	0

Table 4. The real age of marriage

Age	Married, all respondents	Married, girls	Married, young men	Married, residents of a large city	Married, residents of a small town	Married, rural residents
18-22 years	35,3	75	0	33,3	42,8	25
23-28 years	27	41,8	38	13,3	43,75	16,6
29-34 years	51,3	50	57,9	38,46	50	70
35-40 years	64,3	66,6	61,5	15	88,8	33,3

Table 5. The idea of the optimal age of birth of a child

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
18 – 24 years	23,9	32,2	16,1	21,1	29,9	15,4
25 – 30 years	58,7	54,2	62,9	68,4	54,4	53,8
31 – 35 years	6,6	3,4	9,7	2,6	3,5	19,2
I find it difficult to answer	9,1	6,8	11,3	7,9	12,3	7,6
When there will be opportunities	1,6	3,4	0	0	0	3,8

Table 6. The real age of birth of children

Age	"there are children," all respondents	"there are children", girls	"there are children", young men	«there are children", residents of a large city	"there are children", residents of a small town	«there are children", residents of rural areas
18-22 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
23-28 years	2,7	0	4,7	0	6,25	0
29-34 years	46,1	45	47,3	38,7	37,5	70
35-40 years	53,6	53,3	53,8	39,0	77,7	44,7

Table 7. The idea of the optimal age to start working

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
12-16 years	3,3	5,1	1,6	5,3	3,5	0
18 – 24 years	81,8	88,1	75,8	76,3	84,2	84,6
25 – 30 years	6,6	5,1	8,1	7,9	5,3	7,7
31 – 35 years	1,7	0	3,2	2,6	0	3,8
36 – 40 years	0,8	1,7	0	2,6	0	0
I find it difficult to answer	5,0	0	9,7	5,3	7,0	0
The sooner the better	0,8	0	1,6	0	0	3,8

Table 8. Are you working now

Age	Are you working now	Are you officially employed? (for those who work)
18-22 years	70,6	58,8
23-28 years	86,5	67,6
29-34 years	89,7	74,4
35-40 years	96,4	82,1

Table 9. The idea of the optimal age of financial independence

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
18 – 24 years	55,4	62,7	48,4	60,5	54,4	50,0
25 – 30 years	31,4	30,5	32,3	23,7	33,3	38,5
31 – 35 years	5,8	5,1	6,5	10,5	3,5	3,8
41 – 45 years	0,8	0	1,6	0	0	3,8
I find it difficult to answer	6,4	1,7	11,3	5,3	8,8	3,8

Table 10. Does your job give you financial independence and independence? (for those who work)

Age	Yes, all respondents
18-22 years	47,1
23-28 years	40,5
29-34 years	46,2
35-40 years	50,0

Table 11. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: "How would you characterize your current financial situation? Do you live"

Age	In prosperity, without denying yourself anything	Not bad, although it takes a lot of effort to do this	With difficulty, barely making ends meet	It is disastrous, you have to malnourish, give up the most necessary things	I find it difficult to answer
18-22 years	29,4	52,9	17,6	0	0
23-28 years	16,2	64,9	8,1	0	10,8
29-34 years	17,9	51,3	17,9	10,3	2,6
35-40 years	17,9	75	7,1	0	0

Table 12. The idea of the optimal age of autonomous living

Age	All respondents	Girls	Young men	A large city	Small town	Rural area
18 – 24 years	70,2	71,2	69,4	68,4	77,2	57,7
25 – 30 years	18,2	18,6	17,7	18,4	15,8	23,1
31 – 35 years	0,8	0	1,6	2,6	0	3,8
36 – 40 years	1,7	3,4	0	0	0	3,8
I find it difficult to answer	5,0	3,4	6,5	5,3	7,0	0

depending on the possibilities	3,2	3,4	3,2	5,2	0	7,2
how to create your own family	0,8	0	1,6	0	0	3,8

4 Discussion of the results

4.1 Temporal specificity of matrimonial transitions.

In the respondents' assessments, the acquisition of sexual experience as a marker of maturity is not highly appreciated, however, this age transition indicates the accumulation of important experience of interaction with the opposite sex, which is a necessary condition for subsequent matrimonial transitions. In modern culture, the time of family formation and the acquisition of intimate experience no longer coincides. Temporal specificity of matrimonial transitions. A new stage often appears between them - a partnership, a long-term relationship to determine compatibility and the possibility of subsequent marital relations. On the other hand, the lack of a sexual culture (early sexual start, lack of a culture of contraception) can become a catalyst for unplanned marital relations and the birth of a child, or vice versa (having a child out of wedlock, promiscuous sexual relations). The idea of the optimal time for sexual debut reproduces legal and social norms in relation to the sexes. The vast majority of respondents believe that the optimal age for sexual debut is between 18 and 24 years old – 91.7%. However, the actual age of acquiring intimate experience is different. Every second respondent had a sexual debut in the period from 16 to 18 years – 52.1%. And in the optimally determined age period, only 37.3% acquired a similar age. As we can see, the real time of the onset of an age event is earlier (40.5% of respondents state that they acquired an intimate experience before adulthood). Ideas about the optimal time for sexual debut are relatively stable and differ little from social determinants. However, for young men, the socially acceptable range is more stretched and shifted to a younger age of experience acquisition. The attitudes of young men to an earlier age of entering into intimate relations are supported by data on the real age of sexual debut: 3.2% made it at the age of 12-13 years, 53.2% before adulthood. The age range of girls is smaller. Before coming of age, 27.2% of respondents had acquired the experience of intimacy. The earliest of the stated ages for girls is 15 years old. The respondents' place of residence has a certain influence on the time of acquisition of intimate experience. The strategy of sexual behavior of young people from rural areas and small towns of Russia is most consistent with the declared optimal age. Social differentials (gender, place of residence, education, education of parents) have little effect on the idea of the optimal time to complete the transition. None of the respondents mentioned an age over 30 years old. But in reality, among respondents aged 29-34, almost one in ten does not have such an experience (10.3%) and only in the group of respondents aged 35-40, we see the completion of sexual debut in all participants of the study. Thus, we can talk about some contradictory trends. On the one hand, the real age of sexual initiation is decreasing, but there are young people for whom the acquisition of intimate experience is shifting towards early adulthood, which in turn, as we will see later, affects mating and reproductive strategies.

The optimal age of marriage is the age period from 25 to 30 years. However, in reality, only one in two young people gets married before the age of 35. Gender has a significant impact on both the idea of the optimal time for marriage and real strategies. Girls are more likely than boys to be ready to name the optimal age from 18 to 24 years (girls 39.0%, boys 17.7%). On the contrary, the age period from 25 to 30 years is more preferable for boys (64.5%) than for girls (49.2%). In general, the optimal time range of males is more stretched

and tends towards adulthood. For girls, the general trend towards an increase in the age of marriage has a limited impact. Two strategies of the life path are clearly visible. The first, marriage-oriented, is characterized by the reproduction of the idea of a close relationship between age transitions (sexual debut, partnership, marriage and the birth of a child). The first three transitions are very closely located in the age schedules. The second, career-oriented strategy, is characterized by the idea of the permissibility of a later date of marriage in relation to the period of sexual debut and partnership. The analysis of the real age of marriage also makes it possible to fix the noted trend. Respondents living in large cities have certain differences in their ideas about the optimal time of marriage. Their age range is more compressed and concentrated in the range from 25 to 30 years. In rural areas and small towns, respondents are more likely to approve of the age from 18 to 24 as acceptable for marriage, although most still push it to the border of the 30th anniversary. Separately, it should be noted the extremely high risks of liminality (incompleteness) for this age transition. Only 51.3% of respondents aged 29-34 said they were married. Having their own family as an important criterion for a mature personality was noted by only 50% of respondents. And when answering the question of the qualities and attributes of a person's social success, only 57.8% chose "having a loving and friendly family."

The idea of the optimal age of marriage and the birth of the first child correlates with each other: 23.9% of respondents note the age from 18 to 24 years, 58.7% - from 25 to 30 years. There is a significant gender differentiation in the responses. In young men, the age limits of the idea of optimal time are more expanded: 16.1% are 18-24 years old; 62.9% are 25-30 years old; 9.7% are 31-35 years old. In girls, they are more shifted to the age of majority: 32.2% - 18-24 years old; 54.2% - 25-30 years old; 3.4% - 31-35 years old. The reproductive schedule of young people living in rural areas is more stretched and shifted to adulthood. The delay in real transitions to marriage relative to optimal ones also affects the prolongation of the age of birth of the first child, which on average falls on 29-34 years, and for urban residents by 35-40 years.

4.2 Temporal specificity of socio-economic transitions to maturity.

The end of school education and the transition to vocational education is considered by most researchers of youth as the beginning of a transit to adulthood. The active period of mastering vocational education is considered to be the age range from 18 to 22 years. Among respondents of this age, the majority of respondents either study at a university (17.6%), college (5.9%), or already have a professional education (71%). However, there are also those among the respondents who noted that they do not have professional education and are not currently receiving it. Among the socio-demographic factors, the absence of parents (social orphanhood) and the lack of professional education among the respondents' mothers have the greatest impact on the risks of incompleteness of this most important age transition. Among those who did not receive professional education at the exit from a young age, 86.3% have a mother who does not have a higher education, 7.1% have defined their status as social orphans.

In the field of professional integration, the study confirmed a contradictory trend in the youth sphere. On the one hand, young people strive to make their work debut as early as possible, which corresponds to the ideas of social success and criteria of adulthood. The vast majority of respondents (181.8%) noted that the beginning of work should be between the ages of 18 and 24. During this age period, young people are still receiving vocational education, which means that in the eyes of modern youth, a combination of vocational education and work is optimal and acceptable. However, there are also those who mark the age from 12 to 16 years. The shift of the optimal age to an earlier period is typical for respondents living in the city. Girls also consider it optimal to acquire earlier work

experience. On the other hand, there are those who choose an inclusive learning strategy, prefer not to combine study and work for a better mastering of the profession, which is more typical for young men, residents of large megacities and rural youth. An analysis of the respondents' answers to the question: "Are you working now?" suggests that young people are actively making their work debut in parallel with their education. Already at the age of 18-22, 58.8% of respondents are working, of which 55.4% are officially employed. Among this age group, there are those who are not currently employed, but 47.1% already have work experience.

Despite the fact that in the modern world, the availability of a job does not guarantee financial independence (at the beginning of work in certain sectors of the economy, young people work to form experience, prerequisites for career advancement), in the ideas about the optimal time to acquire financial independence, there is clearly a reproduction of previously established norms of transitions in which labor debut and financial autonomy It's connected. The idea of the optimal time to gain financial stability is characterized by an age range from 18 to 30 years, which partially coincides with the idea of the optimal time to start working experience. The impetus for early entry into the labor market is the financial situation of parental families, which affects the starting opportunities of young people. Almost one in five young people (17.6%) aged 18 to 22 years old noted that their financial situation can be described by the words "with difficulty, barely making ends meet." Earlier, we showed that most of the young people are trying to combine work with education, but this income is often only an additional financial support for the help of the parent family and until the end of the age of youth, only half of the respondents feel financially independent. The emergence of new age-related tasks undermines the financial stability of young people, does not allow them to "break away" from the financial assistance of the parent family. This explains that after graduation, with an increase in the level of workers, the financial situation of respondents tends to worsen rather than improve. For example, in the group of respondents aged 29 to 34, we see a sharp increase in those who characterize their financial situation as "difficult" (17.9%) and "distressed" (10.3%). It is at this age that such age transitions occur as the formation of one's own family and the birth of children. Taking into account such temporal specifics could help to build support for a young family and mothers and childhood more effectively.

The overwhelming majority of respondents believe that the optimal age of autonomous residence is the period from 18 to 30 years: 70.2% - 18-24 years, 18.2% - 25-30 years. Gender has little effect on the idea of the age of leaving the parental home, while the place of residence has an impact on the respondents' perceptions. Young people from rural areas consider it acceptable to stay in their parents' home for a longer time. One in five said they were over 30 years old. The real age of acquiring an autonomous residence coincides with the idea of an optimal one. The distribution of respondents who stated that they live without parents is as follows: 18-22 years – 82.4%; 23-28 years – 62.1%; 29-34 years – 64.1%; 35-40 years – 82.4%. Living apart from parents does not mean having your own home. Among the options for autonomous living are a hostel, a rented apartment and own housing. Getting an education in another city is a kind of catalyst for leaving the parental home. During the study period (up to about 24-25 years old), among the respondents' options about the housing in which they live, we consistently fix the option "dormitory": 18-22 – 12%, 23-28 l. – 10.8%. At a later age, this percentage decreases significantly and most likely means living in service dormitories (35-40 years old – 3.6%). y the time the age of completion of vocational training is reached, the need for rented housing is also decreasing: 18-22 – 40.9%, 23-28 years – 29.7%; 29-34 – 20.5; 35-40 years – 10.7%. The most active period of becoming a homeowner is the age range from 29 to 40 years: 18-22 – 17.6%, 23-28 years – 32.4%; 29-34 – 56.4; 35-40 years – 78.6%. Comparing the respondents' answers about the material possibilities that their work provides, allows us to say that the possibilities of living in a rented apartment The

support of the parent family plays an important role in an apartment or to purchase their own housing.

5 Conclusions

The temporal features of age transitions correspond to the global trends of expanding the boundaries of youth and stretching the processes of growing up. In the opinion of young respondents about the optimal time for making specific transitions, both the reproduction of previously formed norms remains (the connection of sexual debut with adulthood, entry into the labor market with financial independence), and the consolidation of established practices is planned (the temporary gap between sexual debut and marriage, the formation of one's own family and the birth of a child). The duration of the period of youth itself is highly likely to stretch over the entire period of maturity. Отдельные типы переходов характеризуются лиминальностью (незавершенностью). There is a certain asynchrony of the optimal and real time for making such age transitions as: obtaining vocational education, entering the labor market, gaining financial independence, forming your own family, and having your first child. The most intense age (the highest density of sociodemographic events) is pushed back to the age limit - from 22 to 34 years. In our opinion, the identification of the temporal specifics of growing up should be taken into account when building youth policy, forming a strategy for supporting young families, protecting motherhood and childhood.

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