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# Work and Family Life Trajectories of Young Canadians: Evidence from the 2001 General Social Survey

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**Work and Family Life Trajectories of Young Canadians:  
Evidence from the 2001 General Social Survey**

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## **Abstract**

From the 1980s, there has been a trend among young Canadians to delay their transition to adulthood. This is seen as an indicator of greater investment in career and work life (most often, with parental help) before investing in reproduction. However, there are concerns expressed particularly for women that those with smaller parental and personal resources follow a different life course trajectory. They become parents at younger ages and are more likely to experience family dissolution and lone parenthood.

The study uses Statistics Canada's 2001 General Social Survey on Family History and focuses on men and women born from 1966 to 1975. The timing of transitions by social status is examined for events related to work (school completion and start of regular work) and family life (home-leaving, first union, and first birth). The trajectories through these life course events (or states) are then traced for men and women by categories of social status. A multi-state life table technique of analysis is used to examine the probabilities of experiencing particular pathways among the various states and the duration of stay in each state.

We find that the onset of parenthood differs by social status with differences larger for women than men. As for trajectories to parenthood, the normatively preferred trajectory wherein parenthood is preceded by graduation from post-secondary education, regular work, and marriage is common mainly for those with high social status. Our analysis also shows that becoming parents without marrying is more likely among those with low status; and that the age at onset of parenthood is largely determined by the number of prior transitions.

## A. Introduction

While the balancing of work and family life is frequently seen as a concern for employed individuals with families (Parasuraman and Greenhaus, 1997) and in particular, for women with children (Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Moe, 2003) much can be gained from viewing the issue of work and family life from a life-course perspective (Fast and Frederick, 2004). The need to handle the demands of family and paid work occur from early on in life as young workers care for small children, at mid-life as they guide their teenage children or help their adult children establish themselves, and later in life when older workers deal with their own health problems (Blau, Ferber, and Winkler, 1998: 307-8). Moreover, young people who have not as yet formed their own families also contend with balancing the time allocated for education and for other pursuits such as paid work and leisure activities (Franke, 2003). Furthermore, strategies for balancing work and family life partly depend on pathways taken early in the life course; that is, even before family formation. Johnson and Mortimer (2000) suggest that delaying of marriage and child-bearing is a long term strategy of today's young women to reconcile their interests in both career and family.

There is a concern over polarization or the accentuation of the differences in family life or demographic behaviour (such as those related to fertility and family dissolution) by differences in social and economic dimensions (Schulze and Tyrell, 2002; Bianchi, 2000; Martin, 2000; Lochhead, 2000, 2001). Such a polarization is seen in the strategy towards balancing work and family life as well. Wetzels (2001: 63-83), for example, finds that women's accumulated human capital, particularly education and work experience, determine the length of time between giving birth and return to work. Highly educated career-oriented British women, who tended to delay the onset of motherhood, returned quicker to work after giving birth.

In this paper, we examine the polarization of the timing and trajectories to parenthood on the assumption that, not only family life or having children, but other early life course events such as attainment of education and work are polarized by social status. Further, we assume that one's socio-economic status, and consequently the polarization in the demographic sphere and in balancing of work and family life, is influenced by parental social status through inter-generational transfers of values and resources to children.

Canadians born from the mid 1960s made the transition to adulthood at later ages than those born earlier, a trend that is seen in other Western countries as well (Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 1998; Ravanera et al, 2002; Fussell, 2002). Young Canadians complete a higher level of education, enter the work force and stay in parental homes longer, and delay their family formation, either through cohabitation or marriage, and start of parenthood (Lapierre-Adamcyk, Le Bourdais, and Lehrhaupt, 1995; Boyd and Norris, 1999; Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 1998; Ravanera et al. 2002). However, the timing and trajectories to adulthood have varied within cohorts as these are influenced by factors such as individual and parental characteristics (Shanahan, 2000; Booth, Crouter, and Shanahan, 1999 and articles therein). Having already explored these differentials in our earlier papers (see for example, Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch 1998; 2003), we turn

our attention to specifically examine young Canadian's early life course transitions by social status with particular focus on gender differences in the onset of parenthood. Having children requires adjustment not only in balancing career and family life but also in the allocation of time between paid and unpaid work and in the sharing of tasks within households (Zukewich, 2003; Beaujot and Liu, 2001).

That the timing and life course trajectories differ by social status, most often measured by level of education, is not a recent phenomenon. Studies in the United States show, for example, that the order of transitions has varied by social class within cohorts (Hogan, 1981; Hogan and Astone, 1986; Marini, 1984a). The normative sequence (completing schooling before marrying, for example) is more likely experienced by those in high social class. Consequently, they are also less likely to experience negative consequences in later life such as marital instability (Hogan, 1980; Hogan and Astone, 1986, but see Marini, 1984b). In this study, rather than simply examining differentials by level of education, we focus on parental social status as a context in which to view the early life courses of individuals. Acquiring education, while important particularly for establishing one's own social status, is taken here as just one of the events within a young person's life trajectory.

In the following sections, we first discuss the data and methodology used in this study. We then discuss the results of our analysis in two parts. The first presents analysis of the timing differentials by social status and by gender in the onset of parenthood and in other related life course events. The second presents the trajectories to parenthood passing through early life course transitions such as graduation from post-secondary education, start of regular work, and marriage. The paper concludes with a discussion of possible explanations for the findings and a brief note on implications for policies.

## **B. Data and Methodology**

The study uses the 2001 General Social Survey on Family History, a country-wide survey conducted by Statistics Canada with a representative sample of those aged 15 and older, excluding residents of Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut and full-time residents of institutions (Statistics Canada, 2003). The survey has 24310 respondents; however, we limit our study to 4066 men and 4908 women born from 1961 to 1980, a total of 8974 (weighted) respondents. Information gathered by the survey includes various aspects of the family including parents, children, union histories through both common-law and marriage, fertility, and socioeconomic variables. The survey also collected education and work histories. In this study, we make use of retrospective information on age at birth of first child and age at experience of other events in early life.

The timings are obtained from questions on dates when the events occurred in conjunction with the date of birth of the respondent, yielding the ages at experience of these events.

The *social status* variable was derived from two parental variables, mother's education

and father's occupation *when the respondent was aged 15*. This assumes that parental education and occupation are the most relevant for measuring the social status, which in turn is relevant to the respondents' early life transitions, when the respondents themselves are in the process of establishing their own social status. The mother's education and father's occupation were ranked into low, middle, and high and then combined to obtain the social status variable<sup>1</sup>. Where mother's education is missing, the measurement of social status is based only on father's occupation, which could shift a small percentage of respondents to a category lower than what would have been assigned had information on mother's education been available.

We analyzed the data using the following methodologies for event-history analysis.

1. To explore the differentials in the onset of parenthood by social status, we constructed single-decrement life tables of age at first birth using SPSS. As in the subsequent analyses, life tables were built separately for men and women. It would be ideal to study narrower birth cohorts, for example 5 or 10-year birth cohorts, but the necessity of working with adequate sample sizes does not allow this. In the discussion of the results from these life tables, we use mainly the median ages at birth of first child.
2. As a preliminary step to doing the trajectory analysis, we did life table analysis also for other early life course events – home-leaving, graduation from post-secondary education, start of regular work<sup>2</sup>, first union, and first marriage.
3. The trajectories through four life course events - education, work, marriage, and first birth (also referred to as “states”) are traced for different social status. For this procedure, we used the LIFEHIST program that computes the conditional probabilities of making specific trajectories to parenthood on the assumption that past history is important (that is, a non-Markovian assumption). (Rajulton, 2001). Essentially, the procedure is a multiple-decrement life table technique that estimates the conditional probabilities of transition to each state and the mean duration of stay in each state. For our purpose, we focus on two specific results: (a) the probabilities of experiencing selected pathways or trajectories; and (b) the age at which the specific trajectory is completed.

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<sup>1</sup> Mother's education was ranked as low (some high school or lower), middle (high school graduate or some post-secondary) or high (post-secondary graduate or higher). And, based on the prestige scores established by Goyder, Thompson, and Dixon (2003) and applied to the Standard Occupational Classification provided in the survey, father's occupations was ranked as follows: *Low* (Sales and Services Occupations, Occupations Unique to Processing and Manufacturing, Occupations Unique to Primary Industry), *Middle* (Trades, Transport, and Equipment, Business, Finance, and Administrative Occupation, Artistic, Culture, Recreational, Sport, and Occupations in Social Sciences, Education) and *High* (Management Occupations, Natural and Applied Sciences, and Health Occupations). The two rankings were added and the final social status rank was assigned as follows: low (1,2), middle (3,4), high (5,6). A score of one is possible when information on mother's education is missing.

<sup>2</sup> The question asked about start of work was: “Excluding work while you were going to school, have you ever worked for a job or business for a period of six months or longer?” Those who answered yes were asked the month and year when they started working.

In this study we use individual (fractional) sampling weights in all statistical procedures. This is necessary as Statistics Canada uses complex sampling procedures for its surveys (Statistics Canada, 2003).

### **C. Results of Life Table Analysis**

#### **1. Onset of parenthood differs by social status with larger difference for women than men**

As shown in Figure 1, the onset of parenthood differs by social status. Men with high status start fatherhood at 32.6 years, which is almost 2 years later than low status men (at 30.8) and about a year later than men with middle status (31.8). Similarly, women with high social status become mothers at 30.3, which differs by almost 4 years from that of low status women (at 26.5).

Parenthood has been occurring at later ages from cohorts born in the 1920s to the young cohorts born in 1961-80, the subjects of this study. For both men and women the differences by social status were greatest among those born in 1941-60 that is comprised mainly of the baby-boomers (Ravanera and Rajulton, 2004a; 2004b). Thus, while the difference in this cohort is still appreciable, those of low and middle status have done some catching up with those in high status, though the difference by social status has become narrower more for men than for women.

#### **2. Start of parenthood is embedded in the life course**

The differences in timing by social status happened for other early life events as well (Table 1) indicating that the onset of parenthood is embedded in the life course and that its timing is closely related to that of other life events. In general, compared to women, men experience each of the early life events (from leaving the parental home to parenthood) at older ages with the gender difference being smallest in the age at start of regular work and greatest in the start of parenthood.

An important early life event is completion of schooling. However, there is no difference by social status in age at graduation from post-secondary education as the survey asked the age at completion of first episode of post-secondary education only from those who graduated (Table 1). Those who did not pursue or did not complete post-secondary education, which as shown below is proportionally greater among those with lower social status, were not asked the dates when they stopped schooling.

As with the onset of parenthood, the social status differentials in the timing of other early life events are, in general, greater for women than for men (Figures 2A and 2B). Women with high social status experience all events at older ages than women of other social status. Middle class women are closer in age to low status women when they leave home, start work, and enter into union, but differentiate themselves from low status women in



marriage and start of parenthood. High status men are also clearly distinct in experiencing events at older ages; and men in low and middle class are closer as well in age at experience of the first three life course events. A conspicuous deviation from the timing pattern by social status is the age at first marriage of low status men that is as high (at 30.8) as that of high status men, which is remarkably similar to their age at start of fatherhood as well. This could be an indication that many more low status men may be delaying longer their entry into marriage or by-passing it in favour of cohabitation as precursor to becoming fathers (see trajectory analysis below for corroboration of the latter).

A gender difference that is also seen in Figures 2A and 2B is that men seem to wait before moving on to the next event, whereas, for women, start of regular work is closely followed by entry into first union, and marriage is closely followed by onset motherhood, particularly for low and middle class women. However, observations about sequences of events based on average ages may not hold true. It is clear, for example, that not all women go for regular work before cohabiting or marrying, many do not cohabit before marrying, and, for this cohort, a good proportion does not go through marriage before becoming mothers. To get a better understanding of the inter-relation among the various events, we refine our analysis by tracing the pathways toward parenthood, the results of which are presented in the next section.

#### **D. Results of Trajectory Analysis**

A trajectory analysis follows members of a cohort through the various events that they experience (or “states” that they occupy). These states need to be judiciously chosen since a large number of states would invariably lead to unmanageable number of trajectories and would require a large number of cases for a proper analysis. This need is particularly difficult to meet when members of each cohort are categorized further, here, by social status. On the basis of the results of life table analysis discussed above, we select only three other life course events in addition to the start of parenthood: (a) graduation from first post-secondary education, (b) start of regular work, and (c) first marriage. We excluded first union in favour of first marriage because if a trajectory does not pass through the marriage state, it can be inferred that the birth occurred within a cohabiting union (except when the marriage dates are missing). For a similar reason, we included graduation from first post-secondary education as its absence in a trajectory implies the non-completion of tertiary education.

Tables 2A (for men) and 2B (for women) show the conditional probabilities of transitions from one state to another, the standard errors of these probabilities, and mean duration of stay in each state. These conditional probabilities have been corrected for censoring and thus provide the best possible estimates of true probabilities (unless there is a very heavy censoring). Multiplication of these conditional probabilities in a specific trajectory provides an estimate of the trajectory’s final probability of transition to parenthood. And, summing up the mean durations of stay in each state provides a good estimate of the mean age at transition to parenthood (since the means are computed from the conditional

probabilities that have been corrected for censoring). Tables 2A and 2B show only the first six most common trajectories to parenthood.

### **1. Most common trajectories differ by social status**

The normative pathway to parenthood, that is, *graduation* → *work* → *marriage* → *parenthood* trajectory (A1 in Tables 2A and 2B) is mainly followed by men and women with high social status. The final probabilities of this trajectory are the highest (at 0.24) for high status men and women.

For low status men and women, the most common trajectory to parenthood passes through work but not through graduation from post-secondary education; that is the *work* → *marriage* → *parenthood* trajectory (B2 in Tables 2A and 2B). This trajectory has the highest probability for both low status men (0.23) and women (0.20), which are more than twice the probabilities for high status men (0.11) and women (0.07).

The most common trajectory for those in the middle differs by gender. For women, the most common pathway to motherhood is one that does not go through graduation, which is similar to that of low status women. The probability of the *work* → *marriage* → *motherhood* trajectory (B2 in Table 2B) is highest (at 0.17) although it is not as high as that of low status women. For men, there are two most common trajectories (both with 0.18 probability) – one that goes through graduation, which is most common to high status men (*graduation* → *work* → *marriage* → *fatherhood* trajectory, A1 in Table 2A) and the other, the most common to low status men (the *work* → *marriage* → *fatherhood* trajectory, B2 in Table 2A).

### **2. Women are more likely to start work before graduation**

A distinct difference by gender could be seen in the trajectory to parenthood that passes through work first before graduation; that is, the *work* → *graduation* → *marriage* → *parenthood* trajectory (B1 in Tables 2A and 2B). For all three levels of social status, women are more likely to go through this trajectory than men. The probabilities for women are 0.09, 0.12, and 0.17 for low, middle, and high status respectively, whereas the figures for men are 0.06, 0.07, and 0.10.

The opposite is true for the normative trajectory to parenthood that goes through graduation first before embarking on regular work; that is the *graduation* → *work* → *marriage* → *parenthood* trajectory (A1 in Tables 2A and 2B). Low and middle status men have higher probability of going through this trajectory. Men's probabilities are 0.14 and 0.18 for low and middle status respectively whereas for women the corresponding probabilities are 0.12 and 0.13.

These two trends taken together could be an indication that men benefit more from parental investment on their education, which is also corroborated by their older age at home-leaving (see also Franke, 2003).

The total probabilities of the two trajectories that pass through post-secondary education before parenthood, the *graduation*→*work*→*marriage*→*parenthood* (A1) and the *work*→*graduation*→*marriage*→*parenthood* (B2), are highest among high status men and women. High status women are twice as likely (with 0.41 probability) to graduate from post-secondary education before becoming mothers than low status women (0.20) (see last but one row of Table 2B). The difference by social status among men is substantial as well, though not as much as the difference among women (see last but one row of Table 2A).

### **3. Becoming parents without marrying is more likely among those with low status**

Having a child within cohabiting union has become more widespread among younger Canadians (see Ravanera and Rajulton, 2004a and 2004b), but its prevalence differs by social status. The probabilities of going through a trajectory that by-passes marriage, for example, the *work*→*parenthood* trajectory (B3 in Tables 2A and 2B) are significantly higher among low and middle status men and women. These probabilities are 0.14 and 0.10 for low and middle status but only 0.04 for high status men; similarly, they are 0.13 for low and middle status women but only 0.04 for women with high status.

In addition to social status differential, there is a gender difference in another trajectory that by-passes marriage; that is, becoming parents without first completing post-secondary education, working, or marrying (see First Transitions, row D in Tables 2A and 2B). The probability of this trajectory is highest for low status women at 0.11 and lowest for high status women (at 0.05). For men however, the probabilities are no more than 0.02 for all statuses.

### **4. Life course innovations are more prominent among men and individuals of high social status**

As seen in the total final probabilities of the six trajectories toward parenthood (the total of probabilities of D and A1 to C1 shown in the last row of Tables 2A and 2B), the flexibility in the pathways toward parenthood differ by gender and social status as well. For both men and women, the total probabilities of these trajectories are lower for those with high status, indicating that high status men and women go through more pathways (most likely, innovative pathways) than the six included in this analysis. Furthermore, the totals for all levels of social status are lower for men than women, which similarly point to greater flexibility in the life course for men.

### **5. Age at onset of parenthood is largely determined by the number of prior transitions**

The time spent for other pursuits, mainly for education and work, delays the onset of parenthood. Thus, for men and women in all three levels of social status, those who do not go through the other early life events start parenthood the earliest, while those who go through the other three events of graduation from post-secondary education, regular

work, and marriage become parents the latest. A comparison, for example, of the 'duration' column of D with A1 (v) [in Tables 2A and 2B] shows a difference of about 10 years. However, not many men go through a direct transition to fatherhood, whereas, a substantial proportion of women, particularly those with low status, become mothers without going through the other early life events.

Also noticeable is the time spent between marriage and parenthood which is longest among those who go through post-secondary education, mostly about 3 years; and shortest among those who directly marry, mainly about a year and a half. [Compare A1 (iv) with C (ii) in Tables 2A and 2B]

## **E. Discussion**

In the literature, economic rationality has been used to explain the polarization by levels of education in the timing of and trajectories toward the onset parenthood. That is, education requires investment in resources including time and money, which then requires well-paying jobs to recoup the investment. Higher education and paid employment increase the opportunity cost of having children particularly for women. The perceived high cost of 'high quality' children coupled with the decline in material benefits from children provide more incentives to delay parenthood. Our trajectory analysis provides evidence that these are valid explanations as, regardless of social status, those who graduate from post-secondary education become parents later.

However, our analysis also points to disparities by social status in the probabilities of going through the different trajectories. High status men and women are more likely to go through longer routes that include graduation from post-secondary education while those with low status are more likely to take shorter routes toward parenthood including trajectories that by-pass marriage. This brings in the issue of social inequality and its effects on early life transitions. Parental financial and human capital investment that help young adults go through higher education, which in turn leads to later family formation and delayed onset of parenthood, are smaller among those with lower social status. Opportunities for higher education may be more accessible among high status men and women.

Fertility and its timing are also influenced by cultural factors such as attitudes and values. Change in values, mainly toward individualism and desire for self-fulfillment, has greatly influenced the second demographic transition whose features include delays in the onset of parenthood (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Beaujot, 2000). One strong proponent of values as an explanation for fertility behaviour is Hakim (2003) who categorizes women as *home-centered*, *adaptive*, or *work-centered* on basis of their preferences. Home-centered women have family life and children as priorities, the work-centered are most committed to employment, and the adaptive are the in-between who want work but are not totally committed to it. It follows that, compared to the other two groups, work-centered women would put larger investment for education and training thereby delaying or even foregoing parenthood. In contrast, family-oriented women would take the shorter

trajectories to parenthood, by-passing other early life course events particularly those related to work and education.

The differentials in the timing and trajectories to parenthood by social status may be partly accounted for by differences in values about family life and work as well. Using information on the importance to happiness of having a lasting relationship, having a child, being married and having a paying job, we find that family-related and job-related values differ by social status (see results of factor analysis shown in Appendix Table 1). High status women have factor scores that are highest for job-related value and lowest for family-related values<sup>3</sup>. In contrast, low status women have highest score for family-related values and lowest score for job-related value. In keeping with our assumption of parental social status influence, this cultural explanation implies that values are passed on from parents to children; that is, one's background imparts shared values or attitudes regarding fertility and timing of parenthood through socialization (Rindfuss, Morgan, and Swicegood, 1988; Michael and Tuma, 1985)<sup>4</sup>. However, values-related explanations are not as strong for men, as it is those in the middle class who have the highest score for both family-related and job-related values.

## **F. Conclusion**

While the above discussion has focused on explaining the social status differential, a finding from our study that needs to be highlighted is the gender differential in the trajectories to parenthood. The proportion of women who go through the trajectory to motherhood that bypasses higher education and / or work has decreased over cohorts (Ravanera and Rajulton, 2004b). However, among young Canadians, more women than men still take a more direct route to parenthood, implying that the traditional breadwinner model persists and that the prevalence of the model is more widespread among those with lower social status.

This brings to the fore the importance for interventions that facilitate the balancing of family and work life such as those related to family benefits, and provision of child-care services (for a detailed discussion of the various types of interventions that relate to fertility, see Beaujot, 2004; Pampel, 2001; Gauthier, 1996; Gauthier and Hatzius, 1997; Kaufmann et al, 2002; Joshi, 1998). However, while interventions for families who already have children are important, even earlier interventions that would diminish the

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix Table 1 also shows the remarkable change of values among women: the youngest cohort of women (1961-80) have the highest scores among all three cohorts for job-related values; and much higher score for family values than the preceding cohort (1941-60). These indicate a greater desire of young women to "have it all"; that is, to have both career and family.

<sup>4</sup> While we have pointed to the existence of differences in values by social status, the more difficult question to answer is why they do differ. Lesthaeghe and Moors (2001) point to the process of "selection and adaptation" of values; that is, individuals select themselves into certain behavior on the basis of values they hold. Having behaved in a certain way, they then adapt (reinforce or modify) their values to conform to their behavior. Such a process may be in effect here. To prove this however would require data that are not available.

inequalities, say, in the access to higher education and subsequently, to employment, are equally important to helping individuals balance work with family life. This is because, as studies have shown, polarization of timing and trajectories to parenthood implies as well polarization of strategies in balancing work and family life. Women who take the longer route towards parenthood by going through education and work cope with balancing work and family life differently from women who take more direct trajectory.

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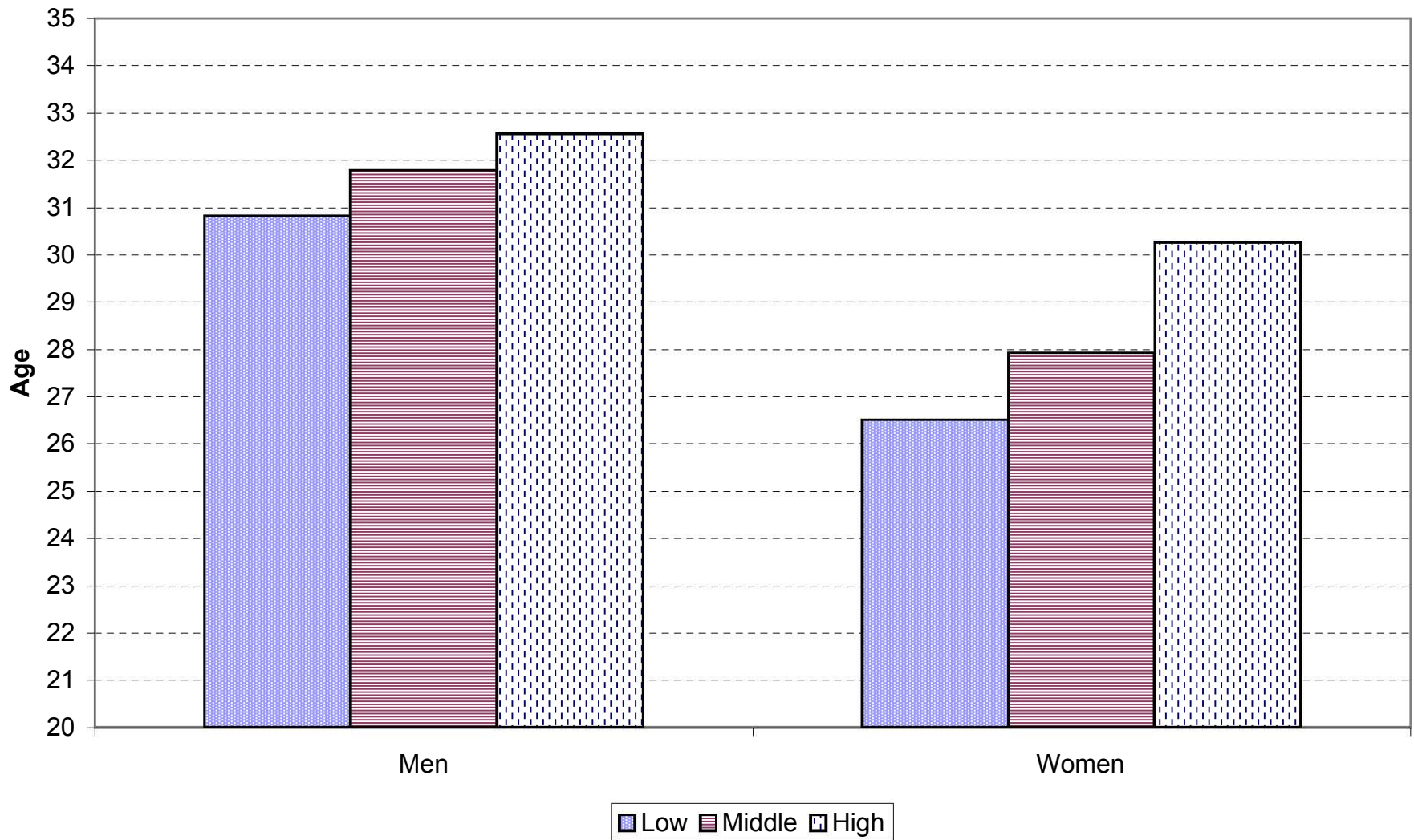
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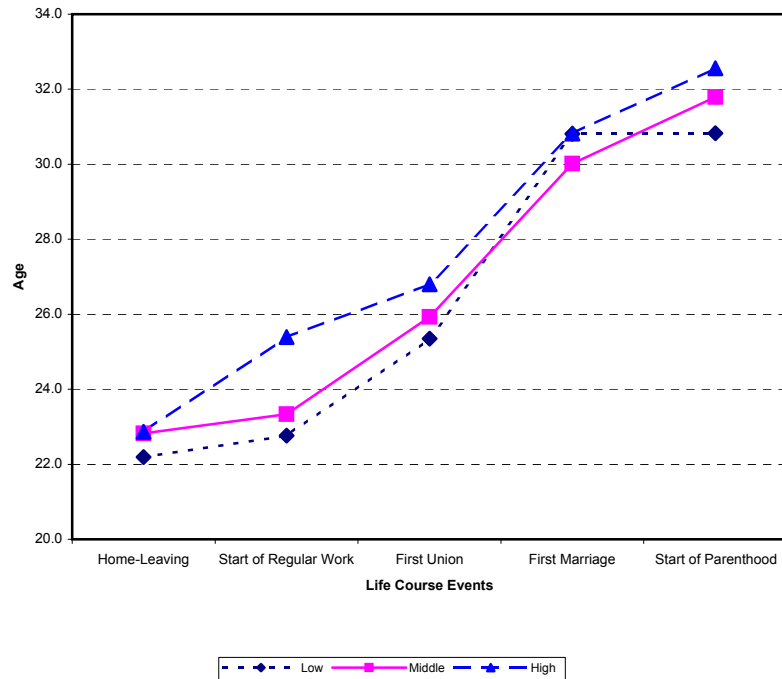
**Figure 1: Median Age at Onset of Parenthood by Social Status and by Gender  
1961-80 Birth Cohort, 2001 General Social Survey**



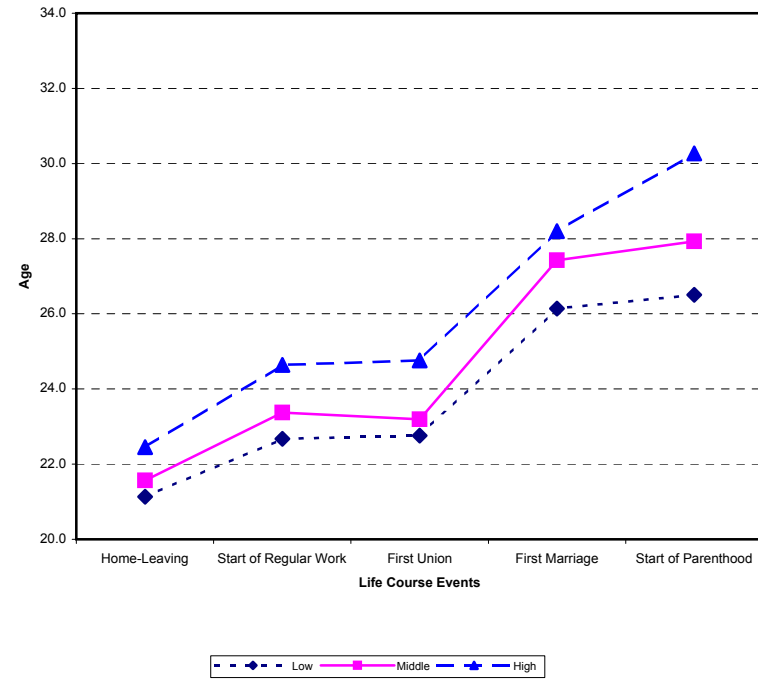
**Table 1: Median Ages at Experience of Life Course Events by Social Status and by Gender, 1961-80 Birth Cohort, 2001 General Social Survey**

	Men				Women			
	Low	Middle	High	All	Low	Middle	High	All
Graduation from Post-Sec. Ed.	23.6	23.3	23.4	23.5	22.5	22.8	22.3	22.7
Home-Leaving	22.2	22.8	22.9	22.6	21.1	21.6	22.5	21.6
Start of Regular Work	22.8	23.3	25.4	23.9	22.7	23.4	24.6	23.8
First Union	25.4	25.9	26.8	26.2	22.8	23.2	24.8	23.6
First Marriage	30.8	30.0	30.8	30.6	26.1	27.4	28.2	27.8
Start of Parenthood	30.8	31.8	32.6	31.7	26.5	27.9	30.3	28.0

**Figure 2A: Median Age at Transition by Social Status  
Men, 1961-80 Birth Cohort**



**Figure 2B: Median Age at Transition by Social Status  
Women, 1941-60 Birth Cohort**



**Table 2A: Probabilities and Mean Duration of Trajectories to Parenthood  
By Social Status, Men, 1961-80 Birth Cohort, 2001 General Social Survey**

	Low				Middle				High			
	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.
<b>First Transitions</b>												
A. Origin (O) to Post-Sec Graduation (Grad)	193	0.27	0.12	21.0	642	0.35	0.13	21.3	370	0.49	0.15	21.6
B. Origin to Work Start (Work)	477	0.64	0.11	17.9	1098	0.58	0.07	18.3	338	0.43	0.12	19.0
C. Origin to First Marriage (Marr)	27	0.04	0.11	24.3	63	0.04	0.08	23.5	22	0.03	0.08	22.7
D. Origin to Fatherhood (Father)	14	0.02	0.04	20.1	28	0.02	0.04	21.0	10	0.01	0.01	20.2
<b>Final Transtions to Fatherhood</b>												
<b>A1. O - Grad - Work- Marr - Father</b>												
(I) Origin to Post-Secondary Graduation	193	0.27	0.12	21.0	642	0.35	0.13	21.3	370	0.49	0.15	21.6
(ii) PS Graduation to Work Start	157	0.86	0.39	1.3	533	0.90	0.54	1.4	290	0.87	0.34	1.7
(iii) Work Start to Marriage	70	0.62	0.23	5.8	226	0.63	0.18	5.0	139	0.67	0.21	4.5
(iv) Marriage to Fatherhood	48	0.95	0.00	3.1	156	0.92	0.58	3.0	94	0.85	0.35	2.3
(v) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.14		31.2		0.18		30.8		0.24		30.0
<b>B1. O - Work - Grad - Marr - Father</b>												
(I) Origin to Work Start	477	0.64	0.11	17.9	1098	0.58	0.07	18.3	338	0.43	0.12	19.0
(ii) Work Start to Post-Secondary Graduation	68	0.16	0.07	5.3	231	0.24	0.05	4.1	97	0.38	0.24	5.1
(iii) Post-Secondary Graduation to Marriage	31	0.67	0.62	5.4	103	0.63	0.23	4.7	35	0.69	0.57	6.6
(iv) Marriage to Fatherhood	20	0.85	0.38	3.5	62	0.78	0.25	2.5	23	0.88	0.58	2.7
(v) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.06		32.2		0.07		29.7		0.10		33.4
<b>B2. O - Work - Marr - Father</b>												
(I) Origin to Work Start	477	0.64	0.11	17.9	1098	0.58	0.07	18.3	338	0.43	0.12	19.0
(ii) Work Start to Marriage	180	0.44	0.14	6.6	352	0.41	0.11	7.2	83	0.36	0.46	6.5
(iii) Marriage to Fatherhood	128	0.80	0.57	2.4	235	0.76	0.24	2.0	46	0.70	0.51	2.3
(iv) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.23		26.9		0.18		27.5		0.11		27.8
<b>B3. O - Work - Father</b>												
(i) Origin to Work Start	477	0.64	0.11	17.9	1098	0.58	0.07	18.3	338	0.43	0.12	19.0
(ii) Work Start to Fatherhood	82	0.21	0.17	7.7	150	0.18	0.09	7.1	24	0.09	0.04	3.7
(iii) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.14		25.6		0.10		25.4		0.04		22.6
<b>C1. O - Marr - Father</b>												
(i) Origin to Marriage	27	0.04	0.11	24.3	63	0.04	0.08	23.5	22	0.03	0.08	22.7
(ii) Marriage to Fatherhood	11	0.45	0.57	1.4	20	0.33	0.23	1.3	9	0.42	0.00	2.1
(iii) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.02		25.7		0.01		24.7		0.01		24.8
Total of Probabilities to Fatherhood through Graduation		0.19				0.25				0.34		
Total of Final Probabilities of Transition to Fatherhood		0.60				0.56				0.51		

**N** -- number of cases; **Prob.** -- Probability of Transition; **Pr. SE** -- Standard error of the probability; **Dur.** -- Mean years of stay in the state before transition

**Table 2B: Probabilities and Mean Duration of Trajectories to Parenthood  
By Social Status, Women, 1961-80 Birth Cohort, 2001 General Social Survey**

	Low				Middle				High			
	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.	N	Prob.	Pr. SE	Dur.
<b>First Transitions</b>												
A. Origin (O) to Post-Sec Graduation (Grad)	181	0.22	0.09	20.2	649	0.29	0.14	20.8	415	0.47	0.20	21.0
B. Origin to Work Start (Work)	449	0.54	0.46	18.8	1234	0.54	0.32	18.7	359	0.40	0.28	19.4
C. Origin to First Marriage (Marr)	99	0.12	0.27	20.7	183	0.08	0.21	20.4	63	0.07	0.28	21.8
D. Origin to Motherhood (Mother)	90	0.11	0.12	19.4	176	0.08	0.31	19.5	42	0.05	0.33	20.4
<b>Final Transtions to Motherhood</b>												
<b>A1. O - Grad - Work- Marr - Mother</b>												
(I) Origin to Post-Secondary Graduation	181	0.22	0.09	20.2	649	0.29	0.14	20.8	415	0.47	0.20	21.0
(ii) PS Graduation to Work Start	121	0.71	0.56	1.3	462	0.79	0.37	1.7	295	0.84	0.21	2.3
(iii) Work Start to Marriage	66	0.75	0.00	4.4	215	0.64	0.14	4.1	134	0.64	0.15	3.2
(iv) Marriage to Motherhood	53	0.99	0.57	2.9	141	0.87	0.24	3.1	85	0.93	0.61	3.0
(v) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.12		28.7		0.13		29.7		0.24		29.4
<b>B1. O - Work - Grad - Marr - Mother</b>												
(I) Origin to Work Start	449	0.54	0.46	18.8	1234	0.54	0.32	18.7	359	0.40	0.28	19.4
(ii) Work Start to Post-Secondary Graduation	122	0.29	0.18	2.4	443	0.39	0.06	2.2	199	0.62	0.25	2.5
(iii) Post-Secondary Graduation to Marriage	62	0.59	0.22	4.5	216	0.64	0.13	4.2	101	0.71	0.24	3.8
(iv) Marriage to Motherhood	49	0.93	0.59	2.6	154	0.90	0.28	2.7	71	0.95	0.71	2.9
(v) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.09		28.2		0.12		27.8		0.17		28.6
<b>B2. O - Work - Marr - Mother</b>												
(I) Origin to Work Start	449	0.54	0.46	18.8	1234	0.54	0.32	18.7	359	0.40	0.28	19.4
(ii) Work Start to Marriage	169	0.42	0.15	4.4	359	0.35	0.16	5.4	64	0.23	0.20	4.9
(iii) Marriage to Motherhood	138	0.89	0.30	2.06	274	0.88	0.30	2.9	45	0.78	0.32	1.9
(iv) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.20		25.2		0.17		27.0		0.07		26.1
<b>B3. O - Work -Mother</b>												
(i) Origin to Work Start	449	0.54	0.46	18.8	1234	0.54	0.32	18.7	359	0.40	0.28	19.4
(ii) Work Start to Motherhood	94	0.25	0.19	5.6	226	0.23	0.16	6.2	31	0.11	0.16	4.4
(iii) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.13		24.3		0.13		24.9		0.04		23.8
<b>C1. O - Marr - Mother</b>												
(i) Origin to Marriage	99	0.12	0.27	20.7	183	0.08	0.21	20.4	63	0.07	0.28	21.8
(ii) Marriage to Motherhood	57	0.57	0.40	1.6	100	0.56	0.43	1.2	18	0.30	0.29	1.5
(iii) Probabilty/ Age at Final Transition		0.07		22.3		0.05		21.6		0.02		23.3
Total of Probabilities to Motherhood through Graduation		0.20				0.25				0.41		
Total of Final Probabilities of Transition to Motherhood		0.72				0.67				0.59		

**N** -- number of cases; **Prob.** -- Probability of Transition; **Pr. SE** -- Standard error of the probability; **Dur.** -- Mean years of stay in the state before transition

**Appendix Table 1: Results of Factor Analysis  
2001 General Social Survey**

**Panel A: Factor Extraction**

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.944	48.599	48.599	1.944	48.599	48.599
2	1.002	25.054	73.653	1.002	25.054	73.653
3	0.652	16.301	89.954			
4	0.402	10.046	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

**Panel B: Factor Loadings**

Component Matrix

	Component	
	1	2
Happiness requires lasting relationship	0.821	0.029
Happiness requires to be married	0.852	-0.119
Happiness requires to have at least one child	0.731	-0.023
Happiness requires to have a paying job	0.095	0.993

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

**Panel C: Mean Factor Scores by Social Status, Cohort, and Gender**

	Importance of Family			Importance of Paying Job		
	1961-80	1941-60	1922-40	1961-80	1941-60	1922-40
<b>Men</b>						
Low	-0.068	-0.060	0.157	0.370	0.281	0.018
Middle	0.037	-0.048	0.217	0.389	0.304	0.137
High	-0.042	-0.118	0.051	0.365	0.295	0.146
Missing	-0.145	-0.130	0.099	0.333	0.324	-0.042
Total	-0.024	-0.069	0.160	0.373	0.298	0.049
<b>Women</b>						
Low	0.121	0.011	0.077	-0.019	-0.244	-0.941
Middle	0.103	-0.063	0.156	0.049	-0.103	-0.830
High	0.092	-0.120	0.004	0.073	-0.019	-0.780
Missing	-0.048	-0.123	0.037	0.061	-0.177	-0.690
Total	0.079	-0.054	0.092	0.044	-0.149	-0.855