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THE LONG ROAD TO THE FAST TRACK:
CAREER AND FAMILY

Claudia Goldin

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The Long Road to the Fast Track: Career and Family
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ABSTRACT

The career and family outcomes of college graduate women suggest that the twentieth century contained five distinct "cohorts." Each cohort made choices concerning career and family subject to different constraints. The first cohort, graduating college from the beginning of the twentieth century to the close of World War I, had either "family or career." The second, graduating college from around 1920 to the end of World War II, had "job then family." The third cohort – the college graduate mothers of the "baby boom" – graduated college from around 1946 to the mid-1960s and had "family then job." The fourth cohort graduated college from the late 1960s to the late 1970s. Using the NLS Young Women I demonstrate that 13 to 18 percent achieved "career then family" by age 40. The objective of the fifth cohort, graduating from around 1980 to 1990, has been "career and family," and 21 to 28 percent (using the NLS Youth) have realized that goal by age 40. I trace the demographic and labor force experiences of these five cohorts of college graduates and discuss why "career and family" outcomes changed over time.

Claudia Goldin
Department of Economics
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
and NBER
cgoldin@harvard.edu

Women who graduated college at the dawn of the twentieth century were of a generation that contained two groups, equal in size, yet highly dissimilar. One married and had children but had few jobs and even fewer careers. The other had no children and married at much lower rates.¹ Many in that group had jobs at some point in their post-college lives. Some even had careers. Thus half of this generation of college graduate women had “family.” Some in the other half had “career.” Few had both.

Long after this generation, college women began a struggle to “have it all,” to have both “career and family.” It wouldn’t be one *or* the other. Nor would it be one *then* the other. It would be *both*.

This essay concerns the “long and winding road” from the cohort who had “family or career” to the latest generation of college graduate women who define their goal as “career and family.” They are women who want to be “mothers on the fast track.”

It was about 15 to 20 years ago that I first began to realize that college women as a group were talking about their futures in ways that would have been unimaginable to me, when I was in college. They spoke, candidly and honestly, of desiring “CAREERANDFAMILY” or “FAMILYANDCAREER” as if the words were not three but one, and as if the timing of the two goals would not be an issue. They were aware that only atypical and extraordinary college woman had been able to accomplish both career and family in the past. But, in defense of their optimism, they noted that their generation was different. Barriers had fallen. They were as well trained and as able as their male friends, the majority of whom would achieve these two goals.

I became curious about the evolution of this change in “attitude,” and over the years I have compiled evidence concerning the labor force and demographic histories of college women

¹ Throughout this paper, having no children and the term “childless” will mean having no *biological* children. In the analysis of more recent cohorts the fraction adopting can also be included, but is small.

from the late nineteenth century to the present.² The sources range widely and include census materials, Current Population Surveys, U.S. Women’s Bureau surveys, alumni records, and, for the most recent cohorts, the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of Young Women (1968) and the NLS of Youth (1979). As I looked at the data, I realized that college women across the past century had widely different attainments concerning family and job and career.

Five Cohorts of College Graduate Women

The experiences of the cohorts of college women across the past century suggested to me that the full 100 years contained five distinct cohorts—not necessarily of equal length by birth year. The cohort boundaries emerged from the data. They are not arbitrary and imposed. Each of these cohorts was faced with a different set of constraints and each made their choices concerning family and career subject to these constraints. Table 1 will serve to introduce the five cohorts.

To summarize, the first cohort that I am able to track graduated college from the beginning of the twentieth century to the close of World War I and had either “family or career.”³ The second cohort graduated college from around 1920 to the end of World War I and had “job then family.” This cohort was, as will soon be made clear, a transitional generation linking one of low-marriage and low-fertility rates to one of high-marriage and high-fertility rates. The third cohort graduated college from around 1946 to the mid-1960s and had “family

² The data I use here are primarily for white college graduate women because the numbers of African-American college graduate women in the early years of this study are too small. I hope that a future project will tap into the alumni records of historically black colleges to get a larger sample of black female college graduates.

³ Historians often call this group the “second cohort” of female college graduates to distinguish it from the “first cohort” who attended college just after the establishment of many of the fine women’s colleges in the 1870s and 1880s. The fraction of women in Cohort 1 who graduated from women’s colleges was

then job.” These women were the college graduate mothers of the “baby boom.” The fourth cohort graduated college from the late 1960s to the late 1970s and aspired to have “career then family.” The fifth cohort graduated from around 1980 to 1990 and is the most recent one that can be studied. Their goal has been “career *and* family.” These are five distinct cohorts. Yet each one’s achievements and ability to attain its goals built on both the accomplishments and frustrations of the previous cohorts.

I should note at the outset that I must truncate the groups studied with the fifth cohort. The reason is that I can categorize and assess the achievements of these women only if they are now old enough to have been given a chance to have “family and career.” I have used a cutoff of about 40 years old and for that reason the last cohort I can study—Cohort 5—is that born in the 1960s.

Cohort 5, who proclaimed that they would achieve *both* family and career (and not career first and then family), is now old enough for the researcher to observe if their members have broken through to the “fast track” in substantial numbers. We can also assess how this cohort differed from (or was similar to) previous generations of college women in their ability to achieve career and to combine it with family. And for this particular cohort, we can compare the “family and career” success of college graduate women with that of comparable men. The NLS Youth (1979) dataset, which I will use to assess the success of Cohort 5, has a large sample of *both* females and males traced over time, something absent in data sets for previous cohorts. The NLS Young Women (1968) data, used to evaluate the career and family accomplishments of Cohort 4, began with a large group of male respondents but attrition led to the discontinuation of that portion of the survey.

only about 20 percent, far lower than most presume. In 1897 it was 18 percent and in 1924 it was 23 percent (these calculations use the data sources given in Goldin and Katz 1999, e.g., table 1).

I will trace the demographic and labor force experiences of these five cohorts of college graduates and discuss some of the constraints they faced, the tradeoffs they made, and their “career and family” outcomes. I will first give the “broad brush” details for each of the cohorts separately (given in tabular form in Table 2) and then link the cohorts together in a more continuous fashion, using graphs.

Cohort 1

Recall that this cohort graduated college during the first two decades of the twentieth century and was born during the last two decades of the previous century. More than 30 percent of this cohort never married by age 50, a rate that was four times that for their female counterparts who attended no college at all. College graduate men in this cohort, furthermore, had about the same marriage rates as did non-college men. Among the women who married, about 30 percent had no children. Putting these two facts together (that is, weighting the numbers by their relative proportions in the relevant population) reveals that more than 50 percent of the group did not have children. This rather high rate of childlessness led some contemporaries, in an era of rampant nativism, to ruminate about “race suicide,” for a substantial number of these college women were from upper-class families. Many questioned the appropriateness of college for women.

Despite their low rate of family formation these women also had surprisingly low rates of labor force participation when young and married. Even when they were around age 45, their participation rate was around 20 percent, on average, for those who had married. Among those who had jobs, teaching was, by far, the main occupation.

These women had made a clear choice between *family and career*. Given the constraints of their day, they could *not* easily have had both. Many of this generation wrote and spoke of

their careers—as teachers, librarians, social workers, and nurses, among other professions—as *higher callings*. Their careers liberated them from the constraints of marriage and household duties.

Cohort 2

Cohort 2 graduated college mainly during the interwar years of the twentieth century. The generation was transitional in yet another sense. The fraction of the cohort who never married by 50 years old was about 15 to 20 percent, an decrease from Cohort 1, and the fraction who never had a first birth was about 30 to 35 percent, also a decrease from that experienced by Cohort 1. Although the rate of family formation was higher than that for Cohort 1, it was much smaller than that for Cohort 3.

The fraction of Cohort 2 who worked when young and married was much higher than that for Cohort 1. About 25 percent of the group was in the labor force when they were about age 30 (conditional on being married). This cohort was the first not to exit the labor force at the precise moment of marriage but, in general, to wait until they were pregnant with their first child. As a group, therefore, they had “job then family.” Among those with occupations, teaching was, once again, the most customary.

Mary McCarthy’s semi-autobiographical novel *The Group* (1954) best epitomizes this cohort. In its description of the “group’s” mothers, it also characterizes the previous cohort of college graduate women (Cohort 1). The novel depicts a “group” of eight Vassar women, graduates of the class of 1933, who resolve to be different from their conventional parents. Each embarks on a career ranging from journalist, to veterinarian, to airplane pilot, although most marry and eventually exit the labor force. Their mothers achieve some vicarious satisfaction that

their daughters occupied exciting positions, if only for a while. That is, Cohort 2 built on the frustrations of Cohort 1.

Cohort 3

Cohort 3 graduated from college during the era of the “baby boom”—from the end of World War II to the turbulent and socially transformative era of the mid-1960s. The cohort married and had children at exceptionally high rates. Just 8 percent never married—a rate that was almost as low as it was for women who attended no college at all. Just 10 percent of those who married did not have a first birth in their life time. Once again, this is an extremely low rate. Therefore, putting together these numbers, correctly weighted by the proportions in the population, yields just 17 percent of the entire group who were childless in their lifetime.

Not only was their rate of marriage high, but their age at first marriage was extremely low by historical standards for college graduate women. The median age at first marriage was less than 23 years old. Of those who ever married, a substantial fraction—57.2 percent—married within one year of graduating college or during college (the drop-out rate due to marriage and often pregnancy was also substantial). Given the timing of marriage relative to college graduation, a considerable portion of these women must have met their future husbands while in college, raising interesting issues regarding the role of college as a “marriage market.”

The fraction of this cohort that was in the labor force when young and married was 25 to 30 percent, or almost the same level as for Cohort 2. But the fraction in the labor force at age 45 was 75 percent, considerably higher than for the previous cohort. These college graduate women had “family then job.” Family came *first* both in terms of priority and timing.

College women had gained considerably in “family” but had not advanced much in terms of “career.” Cohort 3 became the frustrated group described by Betty Friedan in her influential

volume *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). As a group they became increasingly discontent with a labor market that offered college women little in the way of career advancement and with employment officers who often asked them just one question: “Can you type?”

Cohort 4

The women of Cohort 4, the “baby boom generation,” graduated college during the heady days of the late 1960s and early 1970s. A substantial fraction put off getting married for several years after college. In consequence, the age at first marriage rose by more than two years—from 23 years old for the cohort born in 1950 to more than 25 years old for that born in 1957.⁴ But even though this generation married late, they deferred marriage rather than avoiding it all together and just a small fraction—12 percent—remained single by their mid-40s,

Even though a substantial fraction married at some point in their lives, the delay in marriage, together with several other factors, led 19 percent of the ever-married group to have no births by age 40. Together with the group who never married and had no children, about 28 percent of the entire group remained childless by age 40.

The labor force participation rate of the group when it was young and married soared relative to that of the previous cohort. About 65 percent were in the labor force at age 30 (conditional on being married). About 80 percent were in the labor force at age 45 (again, conditional on being married). The dominant occupation for college graduate women in this cohort shifted from teaching to a variety of professions, including those at the very top of any occupational prestige scale.

⁴ The age at first marriage among college graduate women remained fairly constant from the cohort born in 1930 to that born in 1950 (see Goldin and Katz 2002). The age at first marriage continued to rise after the cohort born in 1957, although more slowly.

College women gained in careers but lost in family. As a group, I will show that about 13 to 18 percent of this cohort achieved “career and family” by age 40. Among those who placed their careers first, children were put on “hold,” sometimes forever.

Cohort 5

This cohort, graduating from college in the 1980s—the “decade of greed”—and the last one we can track to around age 40, looked to previous generations for direction. Putting career first and then trying for a family, as was attempted by Cohort 4, had led to substantial “childlessness.” Putting family first and then getting a job, as Cohort 3 did, would not be the route either. Cohort 5 would try for both together. But did it succeed?

College graduate women in Cohort 5 deferred marriage, just as did those in Cohort 4. They achieved a slight decline in the fraction with no births—26 percent by around age 40 rather than 28 percent for the previous cohort. Their labor force participation when young and married was extremely high—around 80 percent, and their dominant occupation was a group of diverse professions, as was the case for Cohort 4. A larger fraction of this cohort managed to achieve career and family by around age 40. The range is about 21 to 27 percent for Cohort 5, as opposed to 13 to 18 percent for Cohort 4. The answer, then, is that Cohort 5 did succeed to a greater extent than did their predecessors in large part because those with children did better at attaining a career.

Cohort Summary

In sum, Cohort 1 had either family or career, rarely both. Cohort 2 was a transition cohort who married and had children to a greater degree, but who also had a greater variety of jobs when young. By Cohort 3 college women had discovered family to an almost equal degree as non-college women. But these women eventually became deeply frustrated by their treatment

in the labor market and by potential employers who did not take them seriously. Cohort 4 delayed marriage and childbirth and aimed to have career first and then family. Cohort 5, recognizing the problems with the biological clock, claimed they could balance the two together. It has achieved more success in managing family and career than Cohort 4 and probably has had the greatest achievement in this regard among all cohorts of college graduate women in U.S. history.

Whether or not the fraction of Cohort 5 that has attained family and career is large is a question I will address in a moment. Before I do that I would like to confront an important issue concerning the selectivity of women into the group of college graduates in each of the cohorts and how that might influence my findings. I would also like to give the more continuous details of marriage and childbearing using all years of college graduates to show how I demarcated the cohorts.

College Graduation Rates by Cohorts

The rate of college graduation (from four-year institutions) increased over time for both men and women, as can be seen in Figure 1, but at different rates for much of the century. Graduation rates were not much different by sex for those born early in the twentieth century, such as Cohort 1. In fact the rate of college going (not shown here), rather than graduation from a four-year institution, was about the same for men and women until the birth cohorts of the 1920s. The cohorts of men who fought in World War II and Korea (those born from around the early 1920s to the early 1930s) had vastly increased college going and graduation rates. By the cohorts born in the 1930s, and thus who graduated from college in the 1950s (such as Cohort 3), the ratio of men to women in college was two or more. But the rate of graduation for young

women also began to rise for Cohort 3. Although the rates for women rose, college graduation rates for the men of Cohort 4 increased precipitously with the draft deferments of the Viet Nam War. But by the close of Cohort 4, graduation rates were on par by sex and have remained so for Cohort 5.⁵

Thus the earliest cohorts of college graduates studied here must have been from a highly select group of families by income and social standing. By mid-century, however, the middle-class had found their way to college and by the end of the period college graduation included individuals from all types of families. The selection of young people into college and the families from which they came could affect the conclusions I have made about marriage, family, and career goals.

Although selectivity might affect many issues of importance concerning college graduate women, the characterizations of each of the cohorts I have offered remain robust to selectivity concerns. When the group is limited to a particular college, such as a private woman's college like Wellesley and Radcliffe, or a coeducational, public institution such as the University of Michigan, the portrayals of each of the cohorts with respect to marriage, family, occupation, and career remain the same. That is, women from particular colleges, and even those from elite colleges, conformed to the trends described.

Marriage and Childbearing for College Graduate Women during the Past 100 Years

To connect the various cohorts I have delineated and to give more information about the demarcations selected, I have constructed continuous series for marriage rates and childbearing that encompass as many of the cohorts as the data would allow. The data on marriage rates,

⁵ The more recent increase in college enrollments for women relative to men is reflected in the extrapolations in Figure 1 for college graduation rates achieved by 35 years old.

given in Figure 2, show the very high rate of non-marriage—about 30 percent for even the oldest age group—for Cohort 1.⁶ In sharp contrast, the extremely low rates of non-marriage for Cohort 3 reveal why Cohort 2 was a transitional cohort. The rate of non-marriage among the members of Cohort 3 bottomed out around the 1940 birth cohort when the rate dropped to about 7 percent for women 45 to 54 years old. Note as well that although the rate of marriage for Cohort 4 by the time it was 35 to 44 years old was almost as high as for Cohort 3, it deferred getting married until it was considerably older. By the start of Cohort 5, more than 30 percent of the 25 to 34 year old group was not yet married, whereas that figure was 17 percent for Cohort 3.

For the birth data, which are measured when the cohort reached 35 to 44 years, only three of the cohorts can be precisely studied. Cohort 1 was born too early to be tracked with the 1940 population census and Cohort 5 is too young to be studied with any surveys.⁷ But related data suggest what the childlessness rates of these cohorts were or will be.

Figure 3 gives the fraction of women by cohort (and educational attainment) who had not yet had a first birth by ages 35 to 44 years old. Although the trend for college graduate women mimics that for the two other educational groups, it has a more extreme dip and later rise.⁸ Note that the fraction without children for the youngest in Cohort 1 was around 50 percent. Alumni records for various colleges suggest that the fraction may have been higher for all of Cohort 1. Also note that by the mid-point of Cohort 3 about 15 percent of college graduate women did not have a first birth by ages 35 to 44 years, the lowest figure on record here.

Career and Family among Cohorts 4 and 5

⁶ It should be noted that non-marriage means that the woman was never married by the age given.

⁷ The 1940 population census was the first to include information on educational attainment.

I can now return to the more recent cohorts and assess the extent to which they have achieved family and career. First of all, I have to define “family” and “career.” No single definition will satisfy everyone and thus I have employed several.

I define “family” as ever having a first birth (adoptive children can easily be added, but they do not change the results by much). Note that having a “family” does not necessarily mean that the individual in question is currently married or that the individual was ever married.

“Career” is a more difficult concept. The word comes from the French for “racecourse,” and means a person’s progress through life. In common parlance it means a success that is not ephemeral but which exists over some period of time. To assess “career” one needs longitudinal data and these are, luckily, available for both Cohort 4 and Cohort 5 in two of the National Longitudinal Surveys.

I define “career” as reaching an annual income (or hourly wage) level greater than that achieved by a comparable college graduate man who was at the 25th percentile of the male annual income (or hourly wage) distribution. This accomplishment, moreover, must exist for two or three years running when the woman in question was in her late thirties or early forties. Thus, the definition of “career” entails earning more than a college graduate man whose income is well below that of the median man (but about equal to the median of the female earnings distribution) for several consecutive years.

To assess both career and family for Cohort 4 I use the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of Young Women. When the survey began in 1968 these women were 14 to 24 years old. That is, the women interviewed were born from 1944 to 1954 and were in 1988, around the year when I assess career, 34 to 44 years old. I restrict the sample to (white) college graduate women

⁸ The other two educational groups are: no college and no college but a high school graduate. The latter group is given for the earlier years when college graduation was less common and high school graduation

and employ four definitions of career. Two use hourly earnings and two use annual earnings. The latter definition of income will include more individuals, such as the self employed and those who did not list usual weekly hours. For each income measure I require that the individual earn at least the cut-off amount for either two years or three years. Because the NLS Young Women skipped some years, these are not all consecutive.

The results given in Table 3 show, first of all, that about 29 percent of the group did not have a first birth, consistent with the aggregate data and that about 25 to 28 percent attained career. The shaded boxes give the fraction that had both family and career and they range from 13 to 18 percent, depending on the definition of career used. Whether we judge this to be high or low will depend on a reference group and there is none in this survey. But there is one in a subsequent survey.

Luckily, the NLS 1979 has followed both men and women who were 14 to 22 years old in 1979. These individuals, born from 1957 to 1965, are members of Cohort 5. I employ the same definitions of career and family, except that career is now calculated with respect to the college graduate man at the 25th percentile in a later year. Also, the NLS 1979 was performed biennially, so the years chosen could not be consecutive. Table 4 gives the results for the women and Table 5 gives them for the men.

The results for the women show, first of all, that the fraction with children rose ever so slightly, consistent with the aggregate data. The real change is that the fraction with careers rose to around 35 to 40 percent, up by about 10 percentage points from the previous cohort. Thus the fraction with both family and career (the shaded boxes) increased to around 21 to 27 percent. Whether or not this is considered large or small can be judged relative to the men in the sample.

was not yet the norm.

The fraction of the men who claimed never to have fathered a child is a bit higher than the fraction of the women who stated they never had a birth—from 30 to 34 percent. But the fraction that had a career was much higher than for the women, ranging from 61 to 74 percent.⁹ In consequence the fraction with career and family for the male sample ranged from 45 to 55 percent or about double that for the women. But even though men managed to achieve career and family about two times as often as women, this is probably the lowest that figure has been in U.S. history.

Why Did Change Occur?

What were the main factors that led college graduate women to take the long and winding road to the fast track? The transitions occurred, by and large, because constraints were loosened on women's ability to work in fulfilling careers, first after marriage and later after child-bearing.

Some of these changes were rooted in the labor market—such as the growth of a wide variety of white collar jobs (as was the case in the 1920s and again in the 1950s) and the greater ability of women in various periods to hold certain professional jobs. These changes were also rooted in schools—such as the increase in labor market relevant college majors for women beginning in the 1970s and the related increase the enrollment of women in professional schools.

But many of these changes occurred in the personal lives of college women. For example, Cohort II was able to be married *and* have a job, at least for a short while. Cohort IV achieved a later age at marriage and delayed of childbirth because of better contraceptive

⁹ The income levels for the man at the 25th percentile come from the Current Population Survey and are a bit lower than those from the NLS. Thus the fraction of men with income exceeding this mark for two years can even exceed 75 percent. Since the same cutoff is used for both men and women, this should not affect the comparisons for Cohort 5.

methods such as “the pill” that enabled them to perfectly control their fertility and thus plan for “career then family.”

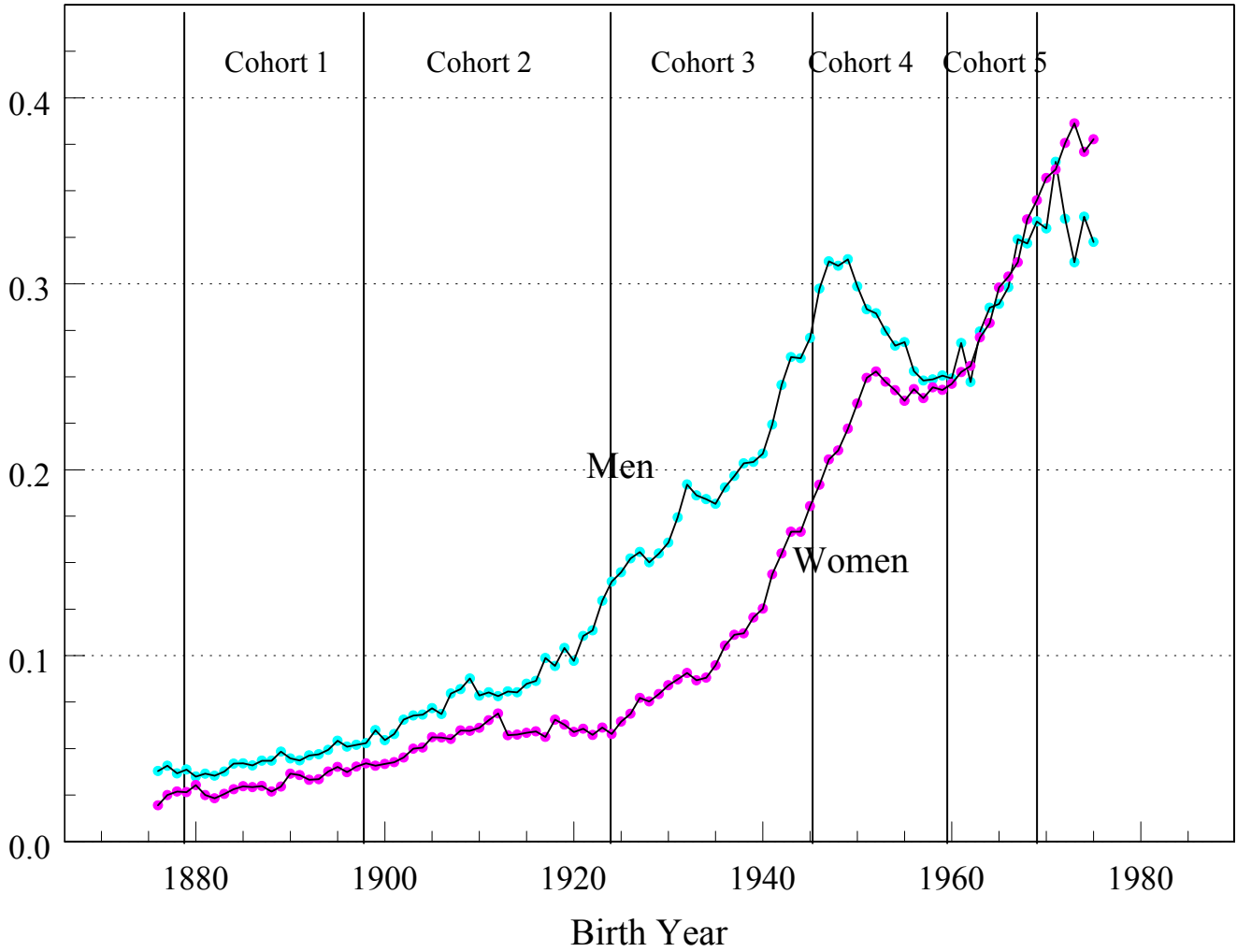
Conclusion

I have described the path to the fast track that college graduate women have taken starting with Cohort 1, who graduated in the first two decades of the twentieth century and who had “family or career” to the latest group, Cohort 5, who has achieved a modicum of success in combining career and family. Each generation built on the successes and frustrations of the previous ones. Each stepped into a society and a labor market with loosened constraints and shifting barriers. The road was not only long, but it has also been winding. Some cohorts of college graduate women gained “family,” whereas others gained “career.” Only recently has a substantial group been able to grasp both at the same time.

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Figure 1
 Graduation Rates from Four-Year Colleges and Universities for Men and Women,
 by Birth Cohort (as of 35 Years Old)

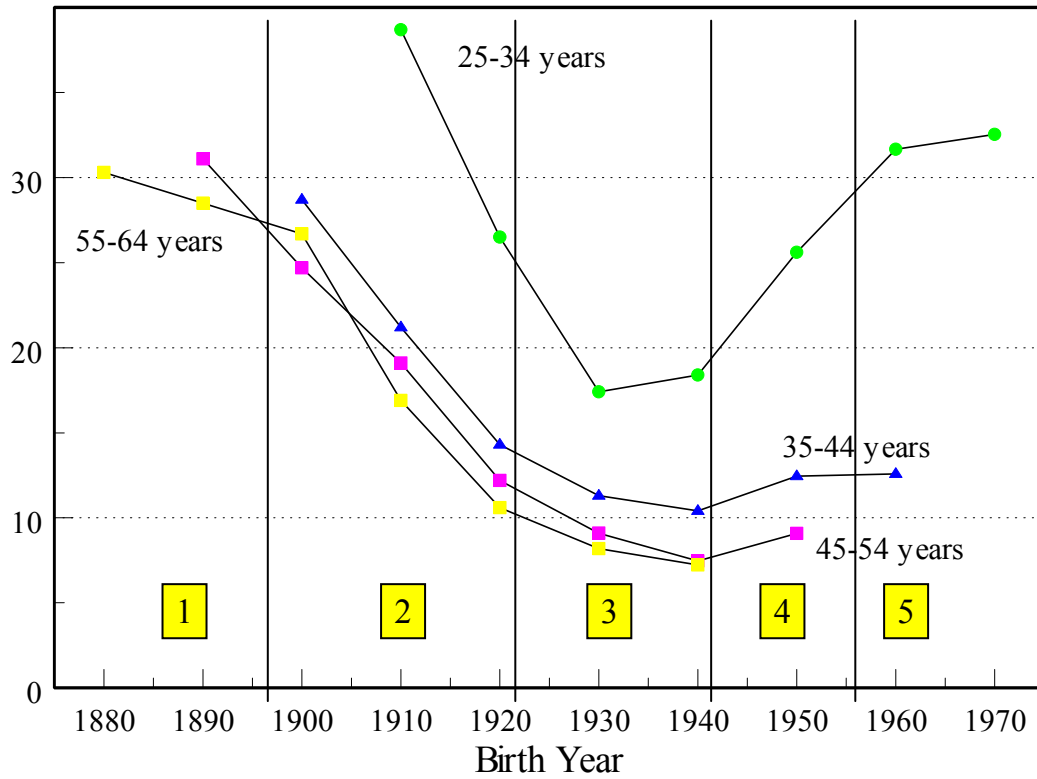


Sources: De Long, Goldin, and Katz (2003).

Notes: Graduation data for cohorts born after 1970 are based on extrapolations.

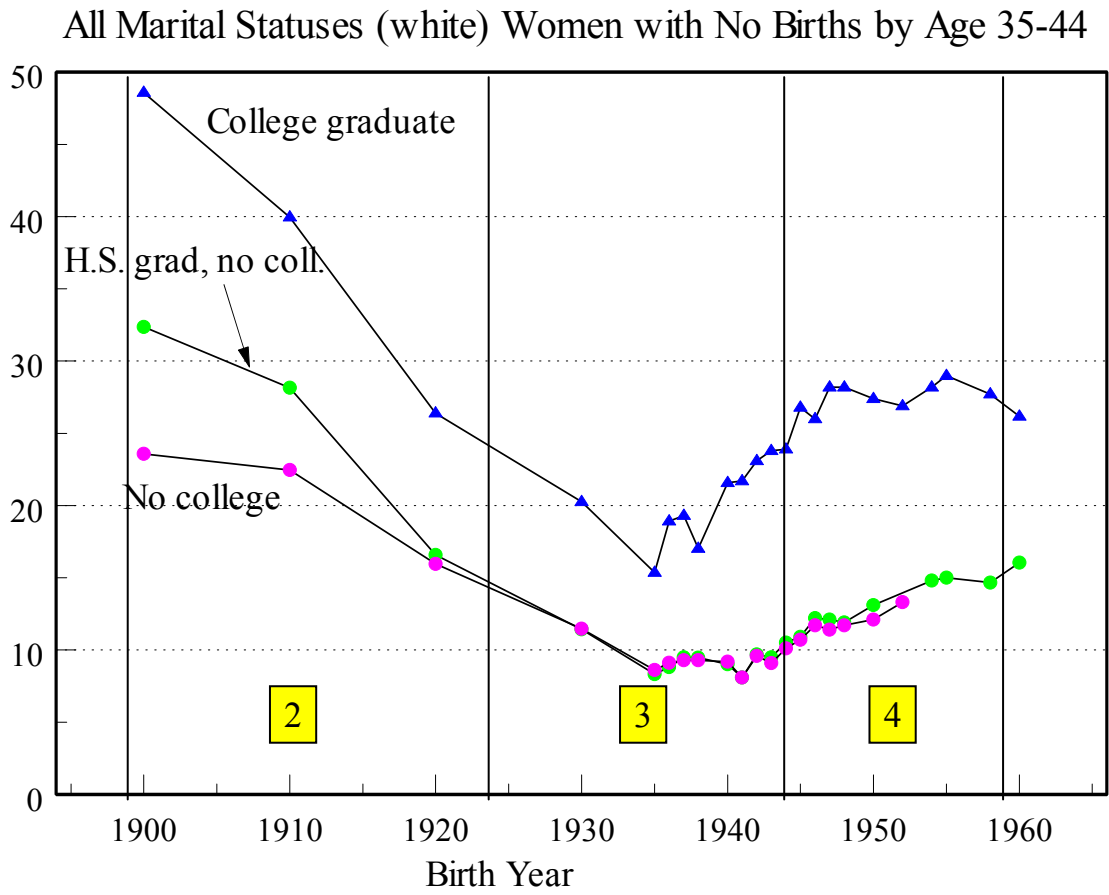
Figure 2

Percentage Never Married, College Graduate Women (white)



Sources: See Goldin (1992, 1997).

Figure 3



Sources: See Goldin (1992, 1997).

Table 1: Five Cohorts of College Graduate Women

Cohort	Interval When Graduated from Four-Year College	Approximate Birth Interval (assuming college graduation at 22 years old)	Characterization of Desired (or Achieved) Family and Career Path
1	1900 to 1919	1878 to 1897	Family or career
2	1920 to 1945	1898 to 1923	Job then family
3	1946 to 1965	1924 to 1943	Family then job
4	1966 to 1979	1944 to 1957	Career then family (13 to 18% attained)
5	1980 to 1990	1958 to 1968	Career and family (21 to 27% attained)

Table 2: Demographic and Economic Characteristics of the Five Cohorts

College Grad Years	Non-marriage (by age 50)	No children (by age 40)	Work at age 30 (if married)	Work at age 45 (if married)	Dominant occupation
Cohort 1 1900-19	> 30%	> 50%	Low	20%	Teaching, office work
Cohort 2 1920-45	15-20%	30-35%	25%	50%	Teaching, office work
Cohort 3 1946-65	8%	17%	25-30%	75%	Teaching
Cohort 4 1966-79	12% (but deferral)	28%	65%	80%	Varied professions
Cohort 5 1980-90	(too young)	26%	80%	(too young)	Varied professions

Sources: Goldin (1997) and Current Population Survey data.

Notes: Labor force participation rates, non-marriage rates, and childlessness rates are approximations based on the decennial censuses.

Table 3
Career and Family for the College Graduate Women of Cohort 4

Hourly Wage: 3 years ^a			Annual Income: 3 years ^b		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	55.3%	16.7%	No	58.9%	15.8%
Yes	14.0%	14.0%	Yes	12.9%	12.4%

Hourly Wage: 2 years ^c			Annual Income: 2 years ^d		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	51.8%	13.8%	No	53.5%	11.5%
Yes	17.8%	16.6%	Yes	18.4%	16.7%

^a Uses hourly wage measure for 1985, 1987, 1988 (N = 443).

^b Uses income measure for 1985, 1987, 1988 (N = 550).

^c Uses hourly wage measure for 1987, 1988 (N = 477).

^d Uses income measure for 1987, 1988 (N = 550).

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women (1968).

Notes: The “hourly wage” panels use only observations that gave annual earnings and usual hours. The income measure uses annual earnings and includes the self-employed. “Kids” are biological and exclude adoptive and step-children. The inclusion of adoptive children does not change the results much. Some of these results differ slightly from those in Goldin (1997) and correct minor errors in them. See text and Goldin (1997) for the definition of “career.”

Table 4
Career and Family for the College Graduate Women of Cohort 5

Hourly Wage: 3 years ^a			Annual Income: 3 years ^b		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	47.8%	17.9%	No	50.4%	14.9%
Yes	23.7%	10.6%	Yes	21.4%	13.3%

Hourly Wage: 2 years ^c			Annual Income: 2 years ^d		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	44.9%	15.4%	No	48.9%	13.6%
Yes	26.7%	13.0%	Yes	22.9%	14.6%

^a Uses hourly wage measure for 1996, 1998, 2000 (N = 536).

^b Uses income measure for 1996, 1998, 2000 (N = 611).

^c Uses hourly wage measure for 1998, 2000 (N = 570).

^d Uses income measure for 1998, 2000 (N = 611).

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1979).

Notes: The “hourly wage” panels use only observations that gave annual earnings and usual hours. The income measure uses annual earnings and includes the self-employed. “Kids” are biological and exclude adoptive and step-children. The inclusion of adoptive children does not change the results much. See text and Goldin (1997) for the definition of “career.”

Table 5
Career and Family for the College Graduate Men of Cohort 5

Hourly Wage: 3 years ^a			Annual Income: 3 years ^b		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	25.2%	14.1%	No	17.9%	13.8%
Yes	44.6%	16.2%	Yes	51.4%	17.0%

Hourly Wage: 2 years ^c			Annual Income: 2 years ^d		
Family			Family		
Career	Kids	No Kids	Career	Kids	No Kids
No	17.7%	12.5%	No	14.3%	11.3%
Yes	48.0%	21.8%	Yes	55.0%	19.4%

^a Uses hourly wage measure for 1996, 1998, 2000 (N = 505).

^b Uses income measure for 1996, 1998, 2000 (N = 582).

^c Uses hourly wage measure for 1998, 2000 (N = 527).

^d Uses income measure for 1998, 2000 (N = 582).

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1979).

Notes: The “hourly wage” panels use only observations that gave annual earnings and usual hours. The income measure uses annual earnings and includes the self-employed. “Kids” are biological and exclude adoptive and step-children. The inclusion of adoptive children does not change the results much. See text and Goldin (1997) for the definition of “career.” The definition for men is the same as for women.