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# Variations in the Length of Male Parenting: Evidence from the 1995 GSS Canada

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**Variations in the Length of Male Parenting:  
Evidence from the 1995 GSS Canada**

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## Introduction

The gender division of roles has predominantly assigned women the responsibility for rearing children. In recent years, men have been urged to take on more active roles in child-rearing. With greater involvement of women in paid employment, it seems but logical and fair for men to take on bigger roles in parenting (Presser, 1995; Goldscheider and Waite, 1991). As Goldscheider and Waite (1991) remark, the choice among the young is clear: either to have "new families" with men taking on more of the traditional roles played by women for centuries, or to have "no families" at all. With inevitable changes in parental involvement in child-rearing, it becomes imperative that men's parenting patterns be examined more closely.

While men are still not as greatly involved in parenting as many women (or men themselves) would like them to be, there is no question that men father and live with children. In this paper, we concentrate on measuring the quantity or the total amount of time lived by men with their children over their life course, and leave out the quality or the types and intensity of day-to-day involvement in child-rearing. For measurement purposes, we define "parenting" simply as living in the same household with one's children. Using a life course approach and data gathered through the General Social Survey of Families in 1995, we examine the timing of the start and end of parenting and their variations with men's socio-economic characteristics.

## A Life Course Approach

The classic family life cycle studies basically described family life as starting with family formation, then moving on to family extension and contraction, and finally, to family dissolution (Hill and Rodgers, 1967; Duval and Miller, 1985). These stages were assumed to coincide with events such as marriage, births of children, home-leaving of children, and finally death of a spouse. More recently, family life cycles are seen as composite results of individual experiences within the family, which trace a pathway or trajectories forming life histories or biographies (Elder, 1991; for a review of life course studies, see George, 1993). In many life cycles studies, both in the United States and Canada, women were the basic units of the analyses. This is mainly because data particularly on timing of births from censuses and surveys were collected only from women (Uhlenberg, 1974; Glick, 1977; Spanier and Glick, 1980; Norton, 1980; 1983; Rogers and Witney, 1981; Gee, 1986, 1992). Now, it has become desirable to examine men's life courses and it has become possible with the availability of survey data on life events of men.

In our previous studies, we have looked into life courses of Canadian men and women from leaving their parental homes to home-leaving of their own children (Ravanera *et al.*, 1994; 1997). Using the retrospective data gathered through the General Social Survey of Family and Friends in 1990 (GSS90), we examined the life course trajectories and timing of transitions to the classic family life cycle stages. These studies showed that the ages at start and end of parenting and the duration of parenting have decreased from the 1910-20 to 1931-40 birth cohorts.

In a follow-up study, which focussed mainly on male parenting, we extended the classic family life cycle stages to capture the recent increasing trends in divorce and remarriage rates. Using the data from a more recent survey, the 1995 General Social Survey of Families (GSS95), we estimated the probabilities of experiencing the sequences of events leading to various family types (Rajulton and Ravanera, 1997). We also examined the timing of start and end of parenting for various cohorts among intact families (those who followed the classic family life cycle trajectories), single-parent families, and step-parent families. We found that the probabilities of experiencing the non-classic types of single-parenthood and step-parenting have increased among the later cohorts. However, among the earlier cohorts (1910-20 to 1941-50), many members of which have ended parenting as of the survey date, the numbers who followed the sequences of events defining single parenting and step-parenting were few and the length of time added by step-parenting to the average total parenting duration was minimal. Thus, in this analysis of variations in parenting, we take birth parenting alone, and exclude the few cases of step-parenting.

### **Social Status, Cultural Influences, and Regional Differences in Canada**

Studies have shown that not only are there differences among cohorts, but that the life courses of members of the same cohorts vary much by socio-economic characteristics like social class, community backgrounds, and culture (Elder, 1978; Hareven; 1980, Modell and Hareven, 1978; Hogan, 1981; Imhoff, 1986). We think that these factors also affect the subset of the life course that we are interested in: the start and end of parenting. To anticipate what the effects of socio-economic characteristics are, we briefly review the relevant literature on timing of first birth (studies which are mainly in relation to women) and on the number and home-leaving of children. The latter two are major determinants of end of parenting. In particular, we focus on studies that examine the effects of social status, cultural influences, and community backgrounds.

Studies in Canada on the timing of births (or fertility, in general) have mainly focussed on women but it is probably reasonable to assume that many of the findings apply to men as well. Women with lower education start family formation and child-bearing at younger ages than women with higher education (Rao and Balakrishnan, 1988; De Wit and Rajulton, 1992; Ravanera *et al.*, 1997). Women of lower education also have greater number of children ever-born (Beaujot, 1995). The direction of differential in age at home-leaving of children by parent's socio-economic status is not very clear. In an earlier study on home-leaving, Zhao *et al.* (1995) found that there is no significant difference in the age at home-leaving by parental education. However, that study did not distinguish parents by gender, which may have confounded the education levels of men and women. In the study of home-leaving patterns in the US, Aquilino (1991) showed that children from families with higher socio-economic status are more likely to leave before age 19. Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) also argue that higher family income increases the chance of young adults leaving home because greater financial resources of parents can be used to help children start independent living. But, it is likely too that economic deprivation may force children to leave home to seek employment (Young, 1987). Men of lower social status do probably start parenting early and their

greater number of children can lead to later end of parenting but, the direction of the influence of social status on the timing of the launching of children is not very clear *a priori*.

A number of fertility studies in Canada show that the differentials in fertility by cultures as indicated by mother tongue, ethnicity, or place of birth have been decreasing or have disappeared in recent years (Balakrishanan, *et al.*, 1993; Beaujot, 1995). However, our study focuses on the timing of parenting among cohorts born from early in the century to about 1945 for whom this differential may still hold. Immigrant women and those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French have first birth at older ages (Ravanera *et al.*, 1998). De Wit and Rajulton (1992) also found that in certain cohorts, non-native Canadian women have first births at older ages than Canadian-born women. As for the end of parenting, members of non-mainstream cultural groups launch their children at older ages. In Canada, higher proportions of young adults are living with parents whose mother tongues are Greek, Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese (Boyd and Pryor, 1989). And in the US, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) found that children from more traditional ethnic and religious groups leave their parental homes later. We therefore expect a differential in parenting with a late start and late end among immigrants and among men influenced by traditional culture.

Community background or the place of residence before or at the time of occurrence of events affects the life courses of individuals. Information on the types of residence such as whether it is urban or rural, the employment levels in a place, and other indicators are necessary to capture the effect of community background on a life course event such as the start and end of parenting. Often, analysis is done only by region or province of residence mainly because of non-availability of data. While this measure is not ideal, it may still capture important differences among Canadians. In the case of Canadian women, it has been found that ages at first birth in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia are higher than in the Atlantic provinces and the Prairies (Ravanera *et al.*, 1998). Beaujot's (1995) analysis of the 1991 census data shows that the number of children of women in the Atlantic provinces and in the West is higher than in Quebec and Ontario although regional differentials are much less than what were found in 1971 and 1981. And, the average number of children ever born to women in non-Census Metropolitan Areas is higher than in CMAs (Beaujot, 1995). Finally, the age at home-leaving of children differs by place of residence as well. More unmarried children aged 20-29 are still living with parents in rural than in urban areas (Boyd and Norris, 1995); and more in the East (including the Atlantic provinces) and less in the Western provinces and in the Territories. It seems therefore that community backgrounds roughly indicated by places of residence do influence parenting patterns.

## **Data and Methodology**

For this study, we use the data gathered through the General Social Survey of Families conducted in 1995 (GSS95) by Statistics Canada. It gathered refined measures of timing, asking for both the year and month when each life course event occurred (Statistics Canada, 1997). In this paper, we make use of both the main file and the children's file. The variables for the socio-economic characteristics are from the main file whereas the ages of respondents at birth of first child and at home-leaving of the last child are taken from the children's file.

The sample survey covers the whole of Canada excluding residents of Yukon and Northwest Territories and full-time residents of institutions. The respondents consist of 10750 individuals aged 15 and older, of whom 4836 are men. We limit our study to 2325 men born between 1916 to 1955 as a substantial number in these cohorts have started and ended parenting as of the survey date. The sampling procedure followed by Statistics Canada ensures that the sample is representative of the population. Since the survey had a complex design rather than simple random sampling, weights are used throughout all our analyses.

Like any retrospective survey, the GSS95 has limitations. The first limitation is that those included in the sample are those who have survived and have remained in the country as of survey date. We assume that those who died or emigrated would have experienced the events in a manner similar to those who were around at the time of the survey. We have not measured the bias introduced by this assumption but the bias is probably not substantial. The trends obtained from these data are similar to those found in previous studies (for example, on first marriage and first birth of women) using census and/or registration data (Dumas and Peron, 1992; Ram, 1990; Ravanera, 1995). A second limitation is the problem of recalling information on past events, particularly among the elderly. The recall problem is severe for information that is not directly about the respondents themselves, for example, about the respondent's parents. As much as possible, we chose variables with the least number of missing data. A third limitation is the problem of misdating of events, that is, respondents may not have accurately recalled the dates of the event's occurrence. While we have not systematically checked on the extent of these errors, our previous analysis of the same set of data tends to show that the dates gathered through this survey are reasonably reliable.

To examine the variations in timing of parenting, we use life table analysis, the well-known advantage of which is that it takes care of right censoring of data. This means that those who have not experienced the event as of the survey date are taken into account in computations yielding unbiased probability estimates. For each category of independent variables, a single-decrement life table is done for (a) the start of birth parenting, (b) the end of birth parenting, and (c) the duration or length of parenting. For these life tables, we need to confine our analysis to those who are at risk of experiencing the events. All the men are included for the start of birth parenting, but only those who have started parenting as of the time of the survey are included for the last two events. Life table analysis provides an examination of the gross effects of the socioeconomic variables on the timing and duration of parenting. The small sample size does not allow the simultaneous control of the other variables.

We use proportional hazards models to analyse the net effects of the variables on parenting. For this, we utilize the LIFEHIST program, the two main advantages of which are: it can make use of fractional weights of sample data, and it does not disregard an entire case if there are missing information on certain variables (see Rajulton, 1991 for description of the LIFEHIST package). This multivariate analysis simultaneously controls for the effects of the variables included in our study. The proportional hazards analysis is done for the start and end of parenting. We also made an analysis of the duration of parenting (that is, the difference in the age at start and end of parenting) but found that the effects of the independent variables are not different from those on the age at end

of parenting (see Appendix Table 1). This is mainly because in the model of end of parenting, we have included as control variable the start of parenting thereby effectively getting the net effects of the variables on the duration of parenting.

As indicated above, we examine the variation in parenting by social status, cultural influences and region of residence. We use both mother's education and respondent's education as indicators of **social class** (see Table 1). We considered using father's education and occupation but many respondents particularly those of the earlier cohorts did not know the educational attainment of their fathers and the information on father's occupation was not collected in the survey. Compared to the number able to provide information on father's education, about 10% more respondents gave information on their mother's education. For **cultural influences**, we use the mother tongue (or first language) and immigration status variables. We would have preferred to use ethnicity but this question was not asked in the survey. And, we had to make do with broad categories because of small sample size. As for **community backgrounds**, it would have been better to use such indicators as rural-urban, non-CMA - CMA, or such aggregate variables as levels of employment but these are not available from our data set. The best we could manage is the region of residence as of the time of the survey. The bias on the results of our analysis would be proportionate to the extent of internal migration between regions during the period of parenting.

In addition to the above independent variables, we also have included demographic control variables such as the birth cohorts categorized as 10-year birth cohorts from 1916-25 to 1946-55. In the multivariate hazards analysis of end of parenting, we also included life course variables such as number of children, number of marriages, whether or not respondent ever cohabited, and the start of parenting, all of which are expected to influence the home-leaving patterns of children.

### **Results of Life Table and Proportional Hazards Analysis: The Gross and Net Effects**

While discussing the effects of each independent variable, we will look at both its gross and net effects, given separately in different tables. Table 1 shows the median ages at start, end, and duration of parenting obtained from the life tables. The median duration of parenting was obtained from a life table of the difference between the start and end of parenting. As noted above, the men at risk of experiencing the start of parenting are all men whereas those at risk of ending parenting are only those who have had at least one child. It would have been inaccurate to subtract the median age of the start from the median age of the end of parenting as the two medians were obtained from different groups of men.

Table 2 presents the results of the proportional hazards model of age at start of parenting. This model has fewer variables than the one for the end and duration of parenting. We have excluded the respondent's level of education as it may not have been attained prior to birth of first child. For this model, mother's education adequately captures the effect of social status. The parameters presented are the beta estimates, the standard errors and the relative risk. In our discussion, we shall mainly focus on the relative risk, which is the exponential of the beta estimate. This represents the

risk of experiencing the event, here the start of parenting, relative to the reference category. The reference category is identifiable in the table as it has a beta estimate of 0 and a relative risk of 1. A relative risk greater than 1 implies a higher risk of starting parenting (which translates to an earlier age at first birth). Conversely, a relative risk of less than 1 means a lower risk of starting parenting (or a later age at first birth) than the reference category.

Table 3 shows the results of the proportional hazards model of age at end of parenting. In this model we include the respondent's education and a number of other variables that capture the earlier life course transitions - the number of children, experience of cohabitation, and the age at start of parenting itself. These variables have direct effects on the end of parenting. The additional socioeconomic variables included in the model therefore represent the net effects that are mainly associated with the process of launching children. As with the start of parenting, we will also focus on the *relative risks* of ending parenting. In this model, the higher the risk, the earlier is the end of parenting relative to the reference category. And conversely, the lower the risk, the later is the age at which parenting ends.

### **Social Status Effects:**

The median ages by education categories, both of the respondent and of the mother, show that parenting patterns do differ by social status (Table 1). Men of lower status start earlier and end parenting later. Men whose mothers had elementary education have their first child about 2 years earlier (at 27.7) than men whose mothers had college education (29.6). Among men who have had children, those whose mothers had the lowest education end parenting about 2 years later (58.1) than those whose mothers had high school or college education (56.2). Consequently, the duration of parenting is longer for men of lower social status (30.4 years), although men whose mothers had college education have a slightly longer length of parenting (28.4) than those with high-school educated mothers (27.9).

The patterns revealed through life table analysis hold even after controlling for other variables (Table 2). Men whose mothers had higher education have significantly lower risks of starting parenting, which means that they have their first child at later ages. And, Table 3 shows that men whose mothers had higher education also have significantly higher relative risks of ending parenthood, that is, they tend to end parenting early. Respondent's education has similar effects.

The social status differential in the start of parenting may be a continuation of differentials that begin early on in men's life courses. Younger age at birth of first child among those in the lower status, for example, is closely associated with their earlier school completion, earlier work start and earlier marriage than those with higher social status. The lack of parental resources to support the children's schooling may lead to an early start of regular work, which in turn leads to earlier marriage and early start of parenting. Social class seems to be also related to differential aspirations for children's timing of life course transitions, for example, to school completion and marriage (Hogan, 1985; Cooney and Hogan, 1991). Parental expectations and aspirations influence the

children's own expectations and aspirations which in turn affect their marriage timing, and consequently, the timing of start of parenting.

The later end of parenting of men of lower status is due partly to their greater number of children. Their children also stay longer with them than do children of higher status men. At first glance this seems contradictory because these lower status men marry and start parenting earlier. We would thus expect that their children would leave earlier too. The likely explanation here is, as substantiated in an earlier study (Ravanera *et al.*, 1995), that the main reason for home-leaving of children (particularly, males) has shifted from marriage to independent living. Consistent with the argument of Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989), parental resources are probably used to help children live independently or to pursue higher studies in places away from home.

### **Cultural Influences:**

Table 1 shows that there are no significant differences in the timing of parenting between men whose mother tongue is English or French. The age at start of parenting is identical (at about 27.6) and the end of parenting is only slightly higher for French (56.6) than for English (56.0). Consequently, the duration of parenting is almost the same. Men whose first language is neither English nor French have the highest age at birth of first child (29.3) and at end of parenting (61.1). Immigrants start parenting later (29.4) than Canadian-born men (27.6). They also end parenting at an older age so that they end up with longer duration of parenting.

But, controlling for the other variables presents a different picture of the start of parenting (Table 2). The risk of men with "other" mother tongue is not significantly different from the reference category, English. Neither is the risk of parenting different between the immigrants and Canadian-born men. This means that all other variables being equal (in terms of mother's education, place of residence, and cohorts), the start of parenting among those of "other" cultures is no different from that of the main-stream English culture. What stands out is the significantly higher risk of start of parenting among men with French as the mother tongue. This probably reflects the drastic change in fertility patterns among the Francophones in Quebec. The earlier cohorts had much higher fertility (and lower age at first birth), which trend has been completely reversed among the later cohorts. The average start of parenting, therefore, does not show the cultural differences in fertility between men influenced by French or English cultures.

As for end of parenting, the later age at which immigrant men experience the final home-leaving of their children persists even after controlling for other variables. The relative risk of ending birth parenting is significantly lower than for Canadian-born men (Table 3). However, the risk among those with "other" mother tongue is not distinctly different from those with English mother tongue. This may be an indication of familism strongly embedded in the traditional culture that leads to older age at home-leaving of children. But, the influence of familism may no longer be strong among the Canadian-born not belonging to mainstream cultures, *ceteris paribus*.

### **Regional Differences:**

Table 1 shows that there are regional differences in parenting: men from the Atlantic provinces have the youngest age at birth of their first child (26.8) with those in the Prairies coming in next (27.9). These two regions are also distinct in terms of end of parenting with men in the Atlantic provinces ending their birth parenting at oldest ages (57.8) and those in the Prairies, youngest (55.9). Given these ages, the duration of parenting is, not surprisingly, highest among men in the Atlantic Provinces (30.8) and lowest in the Prairies (27.9).

However, controlling for other variables reverses the gross effects on age at first birth. As seen in Table 2, the risk of start of parenting is significantly higher in all other regions compared to that in the Atlantic. This means that, all other variables being equal, men in the Atlantic would start parenting at later ages. The direction of the regional differentials in ending of parenting remains the same even when other variables are controlled for (Table 3). But, the relative risk of ending parenting is highest in Ontario, not in the Prairies. This means that, *ceteris paribus*, men in the Atlantic have the longest parenting years and Ontarians, the shortest.

The differential brought out by the multivariate analysis points to the differences in opportunity structures indicated by regions of residence. The economies in the Atlantic provinces are not as vibrant, as say, in Ontario or in the West and have been so for decades. Our analysis shows that low availability of economic opportunities leads to later start of parenting, everything else being equal, confirming the rationality of fertility decisions. And, in the environment of fewer opportunities, longer parenting is a rational response to strained economic circumstances. This is consistent with the findings of Boyd and Norris (1995) regarding factors affecting the living arrangements of young adults. Analysis of both the 1981 and 1991 censuses showed that the propensity of young adults to live with parents was high among those who were unemployed or out of the labour force, had low income, or were full-time students (Boyd and Norris, 1995; Boyd and Pryor, 1989). When opportunities for the young are not plentiful, extended parenting is an alternative strategy of optimizing resources of parents and young adults.

Out-migration may also be a possible explanation for parenting differentials by region. It may be that those who migrated out of areas with low economic opportunities are also those who tend to end parenting earlier, for example, the highly educated. Or, those who remain in the area may be those whose family values promote later end of parenting. It does appear that economic opportunities do affect parenting either directly or through migration.

### **Demographic and Life Course Variables:**

In addition to the independent variables discussed above, we included demographic variables in both our analyses of gross and net effects. Table 1 shows that parenting differs by cohorts: the age at start of parenting was high in the 1916-25 birth cohort, decreased in the two mid-cohorts and

increased again in the 1946-55 birth cohorts. Table 2 presents the same pattern of risks of parenting by cohorts. This trend in age at start of parenting is consistent with the trends in fertility in Canada that gave rise to baby boom in the years following the Second World War and the subsequent reversal brought about by the boomers themselves. As for the end of parenting, Table 1 shows the youngest age at end of parenting among the latest cohort, which is also revealed in Table 3 where the risks show an increase over cohorts. This means that later cohorts of men are experiencing empty-nesting at younger ages. A significant factor contributing to the decreasing age at end of parenting is the decreasing number of children. The very high risk found for the 1946-55 cohort (44.5 times greater than the 1916-25 cohort) reflects a selection effect. The members of this latest cohort who have ended parenting as of the survey date are probably not representative of the entire cohort.

The life course variables included in the analysis of end of parenting have relative risks in the expected direction. A later start of parenting and greater number of children lead to lower risks which translate to later age at end of parenting. This is simply a matter of "accounting" and need no further explanation. And, those who have experienced cohabitation have a higher risk of ending parenting, implying an earlier end of parenting. This is consistent with the finding of an earlier study on children's home-leaving (Zhao *et al.*, 1995) and which, borrowing from Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1993), was explained as possibly due to reduced level of familism among those who cohabit.

A more comprehensive analysis of life course events affecting the end of parenting can include related events of union formation and dissolution as well as episodes of step-parenting. Such an analysis would throw light on the effects of evolution of different family types in individual life histories (such as intact, single parent, blended and step-parent family types) on the end of parenting. But, the small number of cases involving step-parenting makes it difficult to do a complete analysis of the evolution of family types. One way of circumventing this problem is to examine the impact of the immediately preceding event. If the end of parenting is preceded by start of birth parenting (which in turn was preceded by first union), it would clearly imply an intact family type; if immediately preceded by either start of first union or end of first or second union, it would imply some form of single parent family type; if preceded by step-parenting, clearly a step-parent family type; and finally, if preceded by start of second union, some form of blended family type.

Using the approach described above, we can do a proportional hazards analysis of end of parenting by immediately previous life course event. These results are shown in Table 4, where the start of birth parenting is considered to be the reference category. As mentioned above, this category essentially represents the intact family *up to the time of end of birth parenting* (it may be that family dissolution either by divorce or spouse's death occurs after the end of parenting). As seen in Table 4, marital changes (either start of first union or end of first union) bring about significantly lower risks of end of parenting when compared to an intact family. In other words, changes in marital status lead to significantly longer parenting than in an intact family. This is perhaps more evident in cases where the immediately previous event is end of first union, which may oblige fathers to continue parenting even after widowhood or divorce. Cases where the immediately preceding event is start of first union need more elaborate examination of preceding events.

In contrast, cases preceded by either start of second union or start of step-parenting have much higher risks of ending parenting, that is parenting ends much quicker than in an intact family. This most likely reflects the difficulties in adjustments experienced in blended or step-parent families. As discussed in an earlier study (see Zhao et al., 1995), these difficulties may be practically resolved by children's leaving the parental home at younger ages.

### **Summary and Conclusion:**

While we have focussed on the *variations* in the timing and duration of parenting, an interesting point here is that, regardless of socioeconomic characteristics, men do spend a great number of years living with their children. Children are a big part of men's lives from their late 20s to late 50s or even early 60s, a period of about 27 to 32 years. We also know that majority of men do become fathers. And yet, variation by socioeconomic status seems to show that fathering is not "enthusiastically" embraced: higher status men start late and end parenting early. It seems that whenever resources (either of parents or one's own) allow, the choices made are for delayed start of parenting and early launching of children. But, the magnitude of difference in median ages, which is just about 2 to 3 years for both start and end of parenting, indicates that these choices are probably made within normative constraints. There are age ranges within which it is acceptable to start parenting and within which children are expected to leave home.

Cultural differences are manifested in men's parenting too but mainly on the length of stay of children in parental homes. The differentials by cultures in the start of parenting (and fertility) seem to be disappearing (or have disappeared) among Canadians. Familism, or the greater value placed on families, is manifested through the later home-leaving of children.

And, community backgrounds, particularly opportunity structures, do affect men's parenting patterns. Consistent with economic rationality in fertility decisions, men start parenting earlier in places where opportunities are greater. And, in regions where children have better chances for employment or higher wages, parenting ends earlier.

We have explored here the differences in men's length of stay with their children within their life course. Refinement in our analysis could probably be done in the future. For instance, it may be good to factor in the bias caused by the assumption that men who have died as of the survey date and men who have emigrated have parenting behaviours similar to those who have survived and are living within the country. More elaborate models of parenting could be constructed, for example, by linking the early life transitions (such as school completion, start of work, and family formation) to the start of parenting, and late life transitions (such as retirement from work and death of spouse) to end of parenting. And, for later cohorts, variations in the timing of transitions to divorce, remarriage, and step-parenting will have to be considered.

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**Table 1. Weighted Number and Percentage Distribution of Socio-Economic Variables, Life Table Median Ages at Start and End of Parenting and Median Duration of Parenting Canadian Men, 1916-55 Birth Cohorts**

	Number	%	Median Age at Start	Number	%	Median Age at End	Median Duration
<b>Social Status</b>							
Respondent's Education							
HS or Less	713	32.0	26.8	568	31.0	57.4	30.8
HS Diploma	301	13.5	27.4	255	13.9	57.1	29.0
Some College	277	12.4	28.2	227	12.4	56.4	27.6
College/Univ Dipl.	938	42.1	28.6	783	42.7	56.8	28.2
N	2229	100.0		1833	100.0		
Mother's Education							
Elementary	946	53.3	27.7	805	54.5	58.1	30.4
High School	644	36.3	28.4	529	35.8	56.2	27.9
College	185	10.4	29.6	142	9.6	56.2	28.4
N	1775	100.0		1476	100.0		
<b>Cultural Influence</b>							
First Language							
English	1176	53.0	27.6	966	52.9	56.0	28.6
French	612	27.6	27.7	501	27.4	56.6	28.8
Other	431	19.4	29.3	359	19.7	61.1	32.0
	2220	100.0		1826	100.0		
Immigrant Status							
Canadian Born	1723	74.1	27.6	1417	74.5	56.3	28.9
Immigrant	602	25.9	29.4	486	25.5	59.2	31.5
	2325	100.0		1903	100.0		
<b>Place of Residence</b>							
Region							
Atlantic	192	8.3	26.8	163	8.6	57.8	30.8
Quebec	588	25.3	28.3	468	24.6	56.8	29.4
Ontario	879	37.8	28.2	728	38.2	57.4	30.4
Prairies	360	15.5	27.9	292	15.3	55.9	27.9
British Columbia	306	13.2	28.5	253	13.3	56.5	28.2
N	2325	100.0		1904	100.0		
<b>Control Variable</b>							
Cohorts							
1916-25	309	13.3	29.1	243	12.8	57.2	28.9
1926-35	471	20.3	27.8	386	20.3	58.2	30.8
1936-45	616	26.5	27.0	534	28.1	56.8	29.4
1946-55	929	40.0	28.4	740	38.9		
N	2325	100.0		1903	100.0		

**Table 2. Parameters of Proportional Hazards Model of Age at Start of Parenting, Canadian Men, 1916-55 Birth Cohorts**

Total number of weighted cases	2323
Total number of weighted censored cases	361 (15.5%)
The likelihood ratio (chi square)	450.2656 (12 d.f.)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Relative Risk
<b>Social Status</b>			
Mother's Education			
Elementary	0.0000		1.0000
High School	-0.0944	0.0516	0.9100 **
College	-0.2471	0.0787	0.7811 ***
<b>Cultural Influence</b>			
First Language			
English	0.0000		1.0000
French	0.2596	0.0833	1.2964 ***
Other	-0.0856	0.0717	0.9179
Immigrant Status			
Canadian Born	0.0000		1.0000
Immigrant	-0.0461	0.0625	0.9550
<b>Place of Residence</b>			
Region			
Atlantic	0.0000		1.0000
Quebec	0.2737	0.1075	1.3149 ***
Ontario	1.3694	0.0875	3.9330 ***
Prairies	0.3452	0.0983	1.4553 ***
British Columbia	0.7698	0.1008	2.1594 ***
<b>Demographic Variable</b>			
Cohorts			
1916-25	0.0000		1.0000
1926-35	0.1302	0.0807	1.1391 **
1936-45	0.2239	0.0769	1.2510 ***
1946-55	-0.0807	0.0741	0.9225

**Table 3. Parameters of Proportional Hazards Model of Age at End of Parenting, Canadian Men, 1916-55 Birth Cohorts**

Total number of weighted cases 1844  
 Total number of weighted censored cases 58 (3.1%)  
 The likelihood ratio (chi square) 2285.014 (18 d.f.)

	Estimate	Std. Error	RelativeRisk
<b>Social Status</b>			
Respondent's Education			
HS or Less	0.0000		1.0000
HS Diploma	0.1205	0.0784	1.1281 *
Some College	0.3684	0.0835	1.4454 ***
College/Univ Dipl.	0.2143	0.0599	1.2390 ***
Mother's Education			
Elementary	0.0000		1.0000
High School	0.2117	0.0563	1.2357 ***
College	0.1305	0.0845	1.1394 **
<b>Cultural Influence</b>			
First Language			
English	0.0000		1.0000
French	0.0116	0.0833	1.0117
Other	0.0971	0.0767	1.1020
Immigrant Status			
Canadian Born	0.0000		1.0000
Immigrant	-0.1226	0.0677	0.8846 **
<b>Place of Residence</b>			
Region			
Atlantic	0.0000		1.0000
Quebec	0.7805	0.1119	2.1825 ***
Ontario	1.5335	0.0920	4.6343 ***
Prairies	0.5922	0.1033	1.8079 ***
British Columbia	0.9871	0.1063	2.6402 ***
<b>Demographic and Life Course Variables</b>			
Cohorts			
1916-25	0.0000		1.0000
1926-35	0.4895	0.0957	1.6314 ***
1936-45	1.5378	0.1043	4.6545 ***
1946-55	3.7946	0.1256	44.4593 ***
Age at Start of Parenting	-0.0491	0.0049	0.9521 ***
Number of Children	-0.0915	0.0186	0.9126 ***
Marital Status			
Never Cohabited	0.0000		
Cohabited	0.1265	0.0851	1.1349 *

**Table 4: Parameters of Proportional Hazards Model of End of Parenting, By Immediately Preceding Life Course Event**

<b>Preceding Event</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Relative Risk</b>	<b>N</b>
Start of Birth Parenting	0.0000 **	1.0000	1262
Start of First Union	-0.2154 ***	0.8062	78
End of First Union	-0.5727 ***	0.5640	166
Start of Second Union	0.1401 **	1.1504	142
End of Second Union	-0.1536	0.8576	122
Start of Step-parenting	0.3903 ***	1.4774	74

**Appendix Table 1. Parameters of Proportional Hazards Model of Duration of Parenting, Canadian Men, 1916-55 Birth Cohorts**

Total number of weighted cases 1844  
 Total number of weighted censored cases 58 (3.1%)  
 The likelihood ratio (chi square) 2437.096 (18 d.f.)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Relative Risk
<b>Social Status</b>			
Respondent's Education			
HS or Less	0.0000		1.0000
HS Diploma	0.0956	0.0788	1.1003
Some College	0.3782	0.0832	1.4596 ***
College/Univ Dipl.	0.2218	0.0560	1.2384 ***
Mother's Education			
Elementary	0.0000		1.0000
High School	0.2218	0.0560	1.2484 ***
College	0.1610	0.0845	1.1747 **
<b>Cultural Influence</b>			
First Language			
English	0.0000		1.0000
French	-0.0522	0.0812	0.9492
Other	0.1353	0.0769	1.1449 **
Immigrant Status			
Canadian Born	0.0000		1.0000
Immigrant	-0.1391	0.0677	0.8701 **
<b>Place of Residence</b>			
Region			
Atlantic	0.0000		1.0000
Quebec	0.8279	0.1109	2.2885 ***
Ontario	1.5273	0.0924	4.6056 ***
Prairies	0.5904	0.1031	1.8048 ***
British Columbia	0.9533	0.1065	2.5943 ***
<b>Demographic and Life Course Variables</b>			
Cohorts			
1916-25	0.0000		1.0000
1926-35	0.9488	0.0955	2.5826 ***
1936-45	2.1400	0.1088	8.4997 ***
1946-55	3.9868	0.1281	53.8795 ***
Age at Start of Parenting	0.1628	0.0060	1.1769 ***
Number of Children	-0.0623	0.0188	0.9396 ***
Marital Status			
Never Cohabited	0.0000		
Cohabited	0.2245	0.0856	1.2517 ***