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Timing, Sequences, and Variations in
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A. Introduction

In this study, we examine separation and divorce in a life course perspective (Neugarten and Datan, 1973, Hareven, 1980, Elder, 1978, George, 1993). Ideally, these two events should be examined in the context of an entire life course starting from early adulthood (with such events as family formation through cohabitation or marriage and family extension through births of children) into late life (with events such as retirement and widowhood). This would provide us with an understanding of marital dissolution within several life course trajectories, some of which would be more dominant than the others.

We are, however, constrained by the great number of family life and work events within a life course and consequently, the sample size of our data set. In an **early life** course study, for example, we looked into six family and work events: end of schooling, start of work, home-leaving, first cohabitation, first marriage, and birth of first child (Ravanera, Rajulton and Burch, 1998a, 1998b). One of our findings is that among the earliest birth cohort of men (1916-26), *eight* most common trajectories had a total probability of .75; however, among the 1956-65 birth cohort, the same trajectories had a total probability of only .52. Later cohorts of men go through varied trajectories involving different sequences of transitions. Therefore, viewing separation and divorce in the context of these early life events would yield several trajectories and fragment our sample so as to make our analysis unwieldy.

Thus, in this paper, we confine ourselves to examining the events which we consider as commonly occurring at **mid-life**, namely, birth of last child, home-leaving of first child, separation, divorce, and remarriage. In particular, we examine the occurrences of mid-life events, the timing of separation and divorce, and the trajectories involving these two events. We also look into the variations in timing of separation by social status, culture, and region of residence. Our future research will continue with a look into the **late life** events of empty nesting, retirement, widowhood, and activity limitation in old age.

The division into early, mid, and late life stages is an analytical tool and is somewhat arbitrary when viewed from *chronological age*, which Neugarten and Datan (1973) describe as referring to the biological process of growing old. In the North American context, this chronological age called 'middle age' is normatively set to be around ages 40 to 50 (Neugarten, Moore, and Lowe, 1965; Neugarten, 1967). We distinguish this from *social age*, a timing that marks transitions from one social role to another (Neugarten and Datan, 1973). It is according to this social age that we expect certain events to happen such as birth of last child, home-leaving of first child, and marital dissolution, which we call 'mid-life events'. It is possible that among later cohorts, many would also experience these events before 'middle age'. Thus, our basis for the division of events into broad stages is not chronological age but social age. Being separated or divorced is considered a mid-life role in that either cannot be experienced without first assuming a marital role, however short that experience may have been.

Although social age is used as the basis for choosing the events of interest here,

we also make use of chronological age in the presentation of our results. That is, for some of the results of our analysis, we use the ages 40 and 50 (the normative middle age) as vantage points for viewing the mid-life events. This allows a better comparison of event occurrence over a number of early and later cohorts.

Our use of birth cohorts is a means by which we take into account another time dimension, the *historical* time. Each cohort is exposed to the same historical events (political, economic, social), which in turn, have influence on the life courses of individuals.

B. Data and Methodology

This study uses data gathered through the General Social Survey of the Family conducted in 1995 (GSS95). The survey covers the whole of Canada, except the Yukon, Northwest Territories and full-time residents of institutions. The survey had a total of 10750 men and women respondents aged 15 to 80, although for this study, we confine ourselves to only 2286 men born between 1916 to 1955. The survey asked retrospective questions on the year and month at which family and work events were experienced. While this has the advantage of capturing the timing of several events with just one survey, it suffers from limitations inherent in retrospective surveys: The sample includes only those who have survived and remained in the country as of the survey date; there are difficulties in recalling information on past events, particularly among the elderly; and errors may have been made in reporting the timing of events. We have not systematically examined the biases brought about by these limitations. But based on our previous studies and rough comparisons with data from other sources such as the censuses and previous family surveys, we think that the data are generally accurate and the biases insignificant.

We make use of two statistical tools in this study, namely, survival or life table technique and event history analysis. As is well known, the main advantage of a life table is that it takes into account right censoring of data in the estimation of parameters indicating occurrence and timing of an event. A single decrement life table is prepared for each event of interest, by 5-year birth cohorts and by respondent's and mother's education, region of residence, first language, and migration status. This provides a general picture of occurrences and timing of the various events for different cohorts and sub-groups of varied social characteristics. From the life tables, we use the proportions who have experienced the various mid-life events at ages 40 and 50 and also the ages at which 5% , 10%, ... or 25% of the cohort members experience the events. As stated earlier, the use of these parameters allows for comparison over a number of birth cohorts. When examining events such as separation and divorce, it is not possible to use the more common measures such as the median ages and inter-quartile ranges of transitions because these events were experienced by less than half of the members in each cohort.

A disadvantage of a life table analysis is that examining an event with control for several variables is not possible when the sample size is not large. Although this paper does not aim at testing causal relationship, we nevertheless wish to know whether the

observed differentials in the timing of separation and divorce persist when other variables are held constant. Therefore, we also make use of a hazards model that allows the examination of timing of event with simultaneous inclusion of several variables. For this, we use LIFEHIST (Rajulton, 1991) which, unlike SPSS or SAS, allows the use of fractional weights.

Another disadvantage of life table technique when examining several events is that occurrences and timing of events can refer to different sub-groups of population at risk of experiencing the events. In this study for example, all males in the sample are at risk of being a parent but only those who have married are at risk of separation or divorce and only those who have lost a spouse (through divorce or spouse death) are at risk of remarriage. It is thus unsound to relate one event to another using parameters obtained from single-decrement life table for each event. We therefore make use of another event-history technique, namely analysis of sequences of events. This technique preserves the interdependence of preceding and subsequent events (Rajulton, 1991). Among the variety of trajectories that can arise through this approach, we focus on the probabilities of going through the more common trajectories involving separation and divorce.

C. Findings

1. Occurrences of Mid-Life Events:

Table 1 shows the life table proportions who have experienced the various mid-life events at ages 40 and 50. By age 40, a majority of men have undergone a typical stage of 'completed family extension'. Except for the 1916-20 birth cohort, by age 40, more than 70% of men have seen the birth of their last child and an additional 10% did so between ages 40 and 50. The rather small proportion for the earliest cohort is most likely because they started family formation late and had more children than the subsequent cohorts. An additional 25% of this cohort completed their family before age 50, matching the proportions of the subsequent cohorts.

As expected, the event that is most prevalent between ages 40 and 50 is the home-leaving of first child. Between the ages of 40 and 50, about 50% to 60% of all who ever had children get to see a first child leave home. The home-leaving of children started at older ages among the earlier cohorts as shown by the low proportion experiencing the event by age 40 (2% to 4% as against 10% to 12% among the later cohorts). By age 50, about 3 in 5 experience a child leaving home.

If we were to look mainly at these two events of birth of last child and home-leaving of first child, we get a picture of stability of the life course over cohorts. While the tempo may have varied somewhat by cohorts, the proportions eventually experiencing these two events are very similar. But this seeming stability is deceptive. Marital dissolution has dramatically increased over cohorts: at age 40, the proportion separated increased from 2% to 21% for men born about 50 years apart. Moreover, the proportion separating

between the ages of 40 and 50 also increased over cohorts, from 1% among the earliest cohort to 9% among the 1941-45 birth cohorts. The same changes over cohorts can be said for divorce although proportions are lower because some of those who separate do not go through divorce or get divorced only at much later time.

The proportion experiencing remarriage has changed as well. Of those whose first marriage was dissolved, remarriage increased dramatically: at age 40, the proportion increased from 19% to 36% between the 1931-35 and the 1951-55 birth cohorts. Equally dramatic is the increase in remarriages between the ages of 40 and 50. The proportion remarrying between these two ages increased from about 18% among the 1931-35 birth cohort to 23% among the 1941-45 birth cohort.

2. Timing of Separation and Divorce:

The timings of separation and divorce of Canadian men have also changed significantly over cohorts (Figure 1). Among the 1916-25 birth cohort, less than 5% separated by age 50, whereas, among the 1946-55 cohort, 5% have already done so by age 27. The biggest change in timing occurred between the 1916-25 and 1926-35 birth cohorts. While 5% of the 1916-25 cohort separated only by about age 55 (not shown in the figure), the same proportion in the next cohort (1926-35) experienced separation by age 39, a decline of some 15 years. A big proportion of these two cohorts, whose members were born 10 to 19 years apart, separated and subsequently divorced about the same time in the early 70s following the liberalization of divorce laws in 1968.

Comparing the two later cohorts (1936-45 and 1946-55), the trend is still clearly toward younger age at marital dissolution. Among the 1936-45 cohort, 20% experienced separation by age 50 whereas among the next cohort (1946-55), this happened at about age 40. The same trend is true for divorce which generally occurred about 1.5 to 4 years after separation.

The change in timing is also evident in the duration of marriage at its dissolution. Among the earliest cohort (1916-25), 5% separated only after about 30 years of marriage, whereas among the latest cohort (1946-55), the same proportion have separated 4 years after marrying. And, among the 1936-45 cohort, 20% have separated after 25 years of marriage, whereas among the early boomers (1946-55), 20% have already done so 15 years after marriage. The trend is similar for marital duration at divorce, though delayed by about 3 to 5 years in comparison to separation.

3. Trajectories to Separation and Divorce¹:

As a means of examining separation or divorce over a life course marital duration is often used as a vantage point (South and Spitze, 1986, Morgan and Rindfuss, 1985). This is valid in that a life course unfolds over time. Another approach is to look into marital

dissolution in relation to other family life events. This was done by Morgan and Rindfuss (1985) although they focused on the early life events of pre-marital and marital conception and birth. In this study, we take a longer term view and examine marital dissolution together with family completion (or birth of last child²) and beginning of family contraction (or home-leaving of first child), which we consider as mid-life events.

Table 2 presents the conditional probabilities of sequences of transition to separation and divorce through the mid-life events of birth of last child and home-leaving of first child³. The first path is a direct sequence of transition from marriage to separation, which refers to marital dissolution early in the life course when children were not yet born. The second is the 'First Marriage - Birth of Last Child - Separation' sequence in which separation occurred after the birth of children. A third pathway is 'First Marriage - Birth of Last Child - Home Leaving of First Child - Separation'. In this sequence, separation happened later in the life course when the children have started to leave home.

In the two earliest cohorts, 1916-25 and 1926-35, the conditional probabilities for these sequences are low and not much different from each other. There was no one dominant pathway toward marital dissolution. In the early 70s when divorce rates started to increase following the liberalization of divorce laws in 1968, members of the 1916-25 birth cohort would already have reached the later stages of family life course. For the 1926-35 cohort, divorce liberalization came when many were completing or have completed the family extension stage (that is, families have reached the end of child-bearing) and some may already have started the later life stage of children leaving the parental home. Difficulties in obtaining divorce may have prevented or moved marital dissolution to later life course stages. There may also have been greater consideration and greater societal pressure not to dissolve a marriage for the sake of the children.

Substantial increases in the probabilities occurred in the 1936-45 cohort, especially in the second and third sequences. This indicates that a good proportion of marital dissolutions happened in the later life course. It may be that the constraints to marital dissolution were still in effect among this cohort.

Among the early boomers born in 1946-55, the probabilities increased further in all the three sequences, the most popular being the second sequence, that is, separation after birth of last child. Across all four cohorts, this pathway had the greatest increase: from .03 in the 1916-25 cohort to .19 in the 1946-55 cohort. In contrast, the first sequence of direct transition from First Marriage to Separation increased only from .01 to a high of .09. Supposing that barriers to marital disruption experienced by the earlier two cohorts no longer apply to the later cohorts⁴, the probabilities of marital dissolution would largely depend on the period of exposure to separation. That the conditional probability is lower for the direct transition is in part because the period between first marriage and first birth is short (in the case of Canadian men, about 1½ to 2 years [Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 1994]) whereas that between birth and home-leaving of a child is much longer (about 10 to 15 years).

The conditional probability of the third pathway to separation has also increased from .02 among the 1916-25 cohort to .14 in the 1946-55 cohort. This indicates that marital dissolution increased though at a more modest pace even among those who were in the late stage of the life course, that is, after the children have started leaving the parental homes. As of the survey date, however, the latest cohort was just at the start of the family contraction stage. It is possible that there will be more marital dissolutions among this cohort as more of the members move on to this later stage of children's home-leaving. Given a longer life expectation compared to earlier cohorts, the period of exposure to marital dissolution at later stages in the life course will be longer.

Separation subsequently leads to divorce as shown by the different pathways to divorce (bottom panel of Table 2). The trends in the conditional probabilities of the various sequences to divorce are similar to those of separation except that probabilities are lower. In general, divorce is the immediately subsequent event following separation. An exception is the sequence of First Marriage - Birth of Last Child - Separation - Home Leaving of First Child - Divorce. This is the sequence followed by the few men who continue living with their children after separation. The children subsequently leave home, which event was then followed by divorce. The conditional probability of this sequence is low (.01 in the 1916-25 cohort) though it too has increased over cohorts (to .03 among the 1946-55 cohort). This simply confirms the well-known fact that children generally stay with mothers upon separation.

4. Variations in Occurrence and Timing of Separation and Divorce:

We have so far examined the changes over cohorts in the occurrences, timing, and sequences of separation and divorce. But, life courses do vary within each cohort by social status, culture, opportunity structures and other factors (Elder, 1978; Modell and Hareven, 1978; Hareven, 1980; Hogan, 1981; Imhoff, 1986). They can vary both in the timing and in the ordering or sequencing of events⁵. In this section, we show variations in timing of marital dissolution first through the results obtained from life table analysis, and then those from hazards models.

Results of Life Table Analysis:

For the life table analysis, we combined the two later cohorts (1936-45 and 1946-55) to take advantage of larger sample size and fewer censored cases. The independent variables are the same ones we used for the analysis of early life course events (Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 1998a, 1998b). These variables are used as indicators of social status (respondent's education and mother's education), opportunity structure (region of residence), and culture (first language and immigration status). Preferably, these variables should be measured either prior to or as of the time of marital dissolution,

however, data on respondent's education and region of residence were collected only as of the survey date. Histories on schooling and residential mobility were not collected by the survey.

Table 3 presents the results of life table analysis and shows the ages at which 10% of the cohort members separated or divorced, and the proportions separated or divorced at ages 40 and 50. (The highlighted values are those that are significantly different, either higher or lower, from the rest.) Those with college education but no diplomas have the lowest age at marital dissolution and the greatest proportion separated or divorced. And, those whose mothers have college education have also highest proportions separated or divorced. But, although the proportions are high among those with the highest education and those with highly educated mothers, separations tend to happen at somewhat older ages, most likely because they also marry later.

British Columbia stands out as having the youngest ages at separation and divorce and the highest proportions of marital dissolutions. British Columbia is one of the regions with generally bustling economies and therefore, (borrowing from Udry, 1974) may have more to offer in terms of alternative sources of satisfaction in the event of marital dissolution. British Columbia is also a favoured destination of in-country migrants who, most likely, include those whose marriages were dissolved in some other places.

Those whose culture differs from the mainstream have the highest age at marital dissolution and the lowest proportion separated or divorced. The proportion separated among those whose first language was neither French nor English reached 10% at age 44 or about 10 to 12 years later than the English and French. The proportions separated or divorced at ages 40 and 50 were also much lower than those whose first language was either English or French.

While we have examined the differentials in terms of age at occurrence and proportions of marital dissolution by ages 40 and 50, another way would be to look at the differentials in the proportion of marriages dissolved between ages 40 and 50, the normative middle age. This can be done by subtracting the proportions at age 40 from those at age 50. As it turns out, the trends are almost the same. For example, the proportions of marriages dissolved between ages 40 and 50 were also higher among those with higher respondent's or mother's education. And, the proportions of marital dissolution during middle age were also lower among those with "Other" first language, and among immigrants. And, excepting Quebec, British Columbia had the highest proportion of marital dissolution (9%) between the ages of 40 and 50. Quebec's highest proportion (12%) of marital dissolution between ages 40 and 50 may be an indication of some "catching up" among Quebecers as they shed the strong Catholic influence.

Results of Proportional Hazards:

Determinants of marital dissolution have been the subject of several studies both in Canada and other countries (Burch, 1985; Burch and Madan, 1986; Balakrishnan et al., 1987; Balakrishnan, et al, 1993; Hall and Zhao, 1995; Wu and Penning, 1997; White, 1990; Bracher et al., 1993; South and Spitze, 1986; Morgan and Rindfuss, 1985). Some of the studies simply documented variations in marital dissolutions by various correlates while others took the further step of explaining variations using theories of marriage (for example, Becker's (1973, 1974) economic theory of marriage) or some framework for analysis (such as that of Udry, 1974). Aside from the use of more recent data, a contribution that this analysis makes is the inclusion of life course variables not generally included in previous studies.

We constructed hazard models of timing of separation with variables used in the life table analysis and added two more (religion and attendance in religious services) found to have significant effects on marital dissolution. We also included the following life course events: cohabitation before marriage, age at first marriage, number of children, age at birth of last child, and age at home-leaving of first child. Models were made for the 1936-55 cohort, the same group that we examined with life table analysis, and for the 1926-35 birth cohort for comparative purpose. Table 4 presents the beta estimates of the models with indicators of their statistical significance. A positive estimate means a higher risk of experiencing separation compared to the reference category (shown with '0' estimate in the table) and a negative estimate indicates a lower risk. The relative risks are also shown on the table with the reference category having a relative risk of 1. Values lower than 1 indicate lower risks of experiencing separation while values greater than 1 indicate higher risks.

For the 1936-55 cohort, the positive relation between marital dissolution and education of both the respondent and the mother holds even after controlling for other variables. The same is true for region with residents of British Columbia having a higher risk than those from the Atlantic. Ontario and Quebec residents also have significantly higher risks. In these models, the risks of separation among those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French and the immigrants are generally much lower, but not significant, than those of the mainstream population. The lower proportions of separation among these groups (a finding from the life tables) are probably mediated through the other variables included in the hazards model, notably cohabitation and age at home-leaving of children. These groups have significantly low rates of cohabitation and children leave at older ages (Ravanera, Rajulton, and Burch, 1998b). As expected, the risks of separation are lower for the Catholics and for those who regularly attend religious services.

Interestingly, for the 1926-35 cohort, most of the covariates do not have significant effects. Of the socio-economic variables, only those with the highest education and those residing in British Columbia have significantly higher risks of marital dissolution and, the Protestants and regular participants in religious services significantly lower risks. In contrast, 3 of the 4 life course variables have statistically significant effects. The cohabitation variables were excluded for this cohort as very few of them experienced pre-marital cohabitation.

An event occurring in the early life of the 1936-55 cohort that has a positive effect on marital dissolution is cohabitation. Compared to those who did not cohabit, the risk of separation is higher among couples who cohabited before marriage, and even higher among those who cohabited with someone other than the spouse. Another early life course variable the effect of which is well known is that of age at first marriage. As with other studies, the result here shows a strongly negative effect on the risk of separation.

Inasmuch as marital dissolution occurs not only in the early stages of marriage but also in later stages, we included age at birth of last child and age at home-leaving of first child as covariates. The models show that the later the age at birth of last child, the higher is the risk of marital dissolution. This effect is independent of the 'number of children', which has a significantly negative impact on marital dissolution. We speculate that, everything else being equal, a late age at child-bearing may be an indication of lower commitment to marriage or greater adherence to non-family centered values.

In contrast, the later the age at home-leaving of first child, the lower is the risk of separation. Our guess here is also along family values, that is, the same factors keeping the child from leaving early may be the same ones cementing marital solidarity. But, causation may be also the other way about, that is, in an already shaky marriage, the children may be prone to leave home early. The children's early departure may effectively remove a barrier to marital disruption.

D. Summary and Conclusion

Marital dissolution is examined here in the context of and in relation to other mid-life events. The family completion stage marked by the birth of last child and the start of family contraction stage indicated by home-leaving of first child are still experienced by a majority of men. But, across cohorts, this stability has eroded with the increases in marital dissolution. In many cases marriage dissolution is followed by remarriage.

The timing of separation and divorce has changed with the later cohorts experiencing these events at younger ages and at shorter marriage duration. This may give the impression that most marital dissolutions happen mainly among the young and the newly married. Tracing the pathways to separation and divorce, however, shows that these events are experienced at all family life stages. While the probability of marital dissolution at early stage in the family life course increased from the early to later cohorts, those in the later stages increased as well. Among the 1936-45 cohort, the highest conditional probability of separation was at the later stage in the life course, that is, after the children have started leaving home. For the 1946-55 cohort, the probability of marital dissolution is highest during the child-rearing stage, that is, after the children have been born but before they have started to leave home. However, members of this cohort whose marriage has remained intact, have just entered the family contraction stage and given the longer life expectancy, still have a long period in which to experience marital dissolution.

Results of our analysis point to variations in the timing of marital dissolution. Men with higher social status, living in Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec, non-Catholics, or non-regular participants in religious services have higher risks of separation. Of the life course variables, age at first marriage, number of children, and age at home-leaving of first child are negatively associated with separation, whereas, pre-marital cohabitation and late age at birth of last child are associated with higher risks of marital dissolution.

While we have examined the differentials in the timing of separation, an interesting topic to pursue is whether there are variations by socio-economic characteristics in the *sequences* of events leading to marital dissolution. South and Spitze (1986) found that some variables such as race and urban residence have effects that do not vary with marital duration, but that others, such as age at marriage and wife's education may have a differential effect over a marital life course. It may well be that at each life course stage different sets of considerations enter into the decision-making processes and that they differ among sub-groups of individuals.

Endnotes:

1. As noted in an earlier section, many of those whose marriages were dissolved in later cohorts subsequently remarried. We also obtained the probabilities of the sequences toward remarriage through the various mid-life events of birth of last child, home-leaving of first child, separation, and divorce. While the proportion remarrying has increased over cohorts, the absolute numbers in the sample were too few in each cohort rendering the estimates unreliable. We therefore decided to confine our presentation in this paper to marital dissolution.

2. If there is only one child, the age of the respondent at birth of this child is the variable used.

3. These conditional probabilities can be viewed in two different ways:

A. *In a given sequence*, experiencing each event is conditioned on experiencing the preceding events in the sequence. This is obvious with the different trajectories, for example, to separation. Thus, the three conditional probabilities of going through the sequence FM⇒BLC⇒HLFC⇒SEP are .855, .682, .246, which when multiplied together give the value 0.14 given in Table 2 for the 1946-55 cohort.

B. The second way of looking at these conditional probabilities, which is not so obvious as the first, is as follows. The “ultimate proportion separated” given by a life table can be viewed as an “unconditional” probability of separation. This “unconditional” probability can be subdivided into various *trajectories that lead to separation*. Each of these trajectories to, and until, separation entails conditional probabilities of experiencing the given sequence. The probabilities of *all possible* trajectories, when weighted by the number of individuals who follow these trajectories, should yield the life table “unconditional” probability. In addition, since these trajectories are mutually exclusive, all these conditional probabilities themselves should add to value one. Thus, the conditional probabilities dealt with here can be interpreted as the probabilities of experiencing specific trajectories to separation, given that separation was experienced.

4. Obtaining divorce was made easier still with the passing in 1985 of the ‘no fault’ divorce law.

5. We are in the process of exploring suitable techniques for analyzing variations in sequences of events, in a way similar to what is known as “sequential analysis” used in other fields such as bio-genetics.

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**Table 1: Life Table Proportions Who Have Experienced Various Mid-Life Events
By Ages 40 and 50, Males, 1916-20 to 1951-55 Birth Cohorts**

	1916-20	1921-25	1926-30	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55
Age 40								
Birth of Last Child	0.58	0.73	0.73	0.74	0.74	0.79	0.80	0.72
HL of First Child	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.09
Separation	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.14	0.17	0.21
Divorce	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.11	0.14	0.18
Remarriage	*	*	*	0.19	0.24	0.23	0.33	0.36
Age 50								
Birth of Last Child	0.83	0.83	0.84	0.85	0.87	0.87		
HL of First Child	0.56	0.66	0.63	0.60	0.58	0.59		
Separation	0.03	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.17	0.23		
Divorce	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.09	0.14	0.20		
Remarriage	*	*	*	0.37	0.39	0.46		

The groups exposed to risks of experiencing each event vary. For birth of last child, all the respondents are included in the analysis; for home-leaving of first child, those who have had at least one child; for separation, and divorce, those who have had first marriage; and for remarriage, those whose first marriage was dissolved either by spouse's death or divorce.

* Numbers remarried were too few to allow reliable estimates.

Figure1: Cumulative Proportion Separated or Divorced By Age and Marital Duration, and By Birth Cohorts

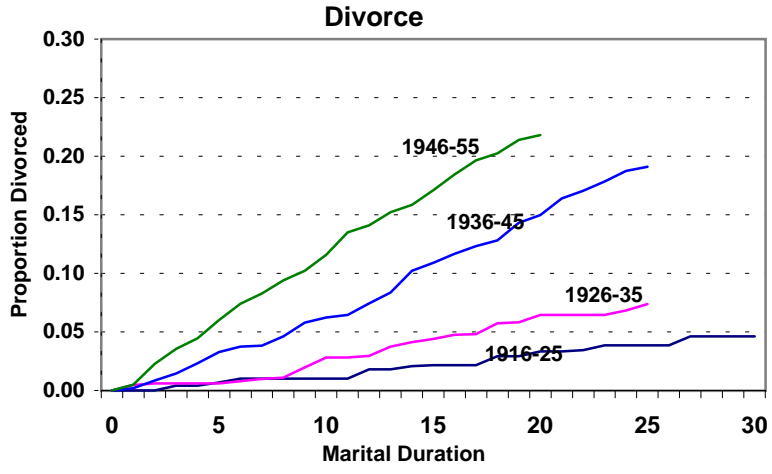
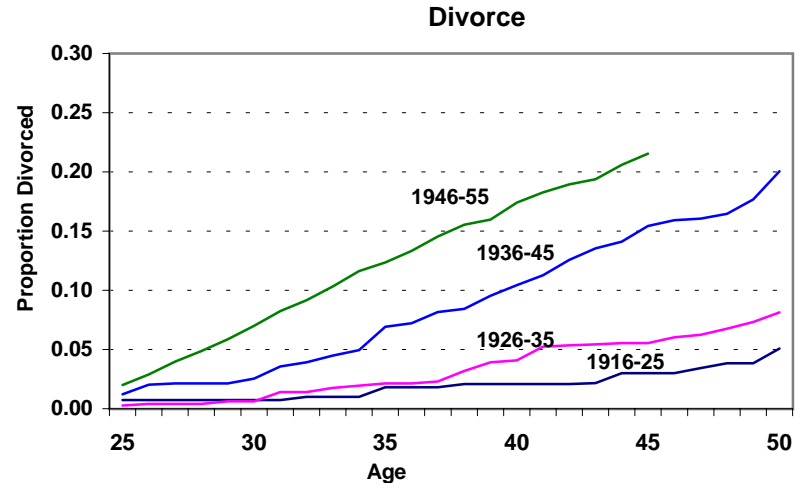
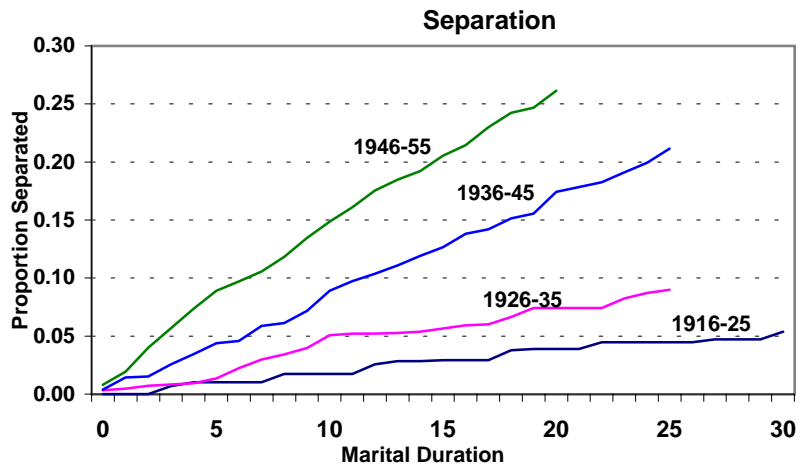
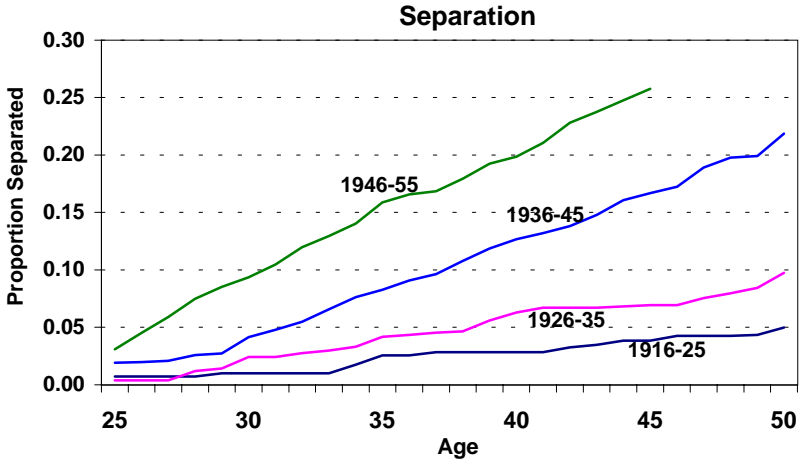


Table 2: Conditional Probabilities of Sequences of Transitions to Separation and Divorce, Males, 1916-25 to 1946-55 Birth Cohorts

	1916-25	1926-35	1936-45	1946-55
No. of Weighted Cases	272	418	538	775
Separation				
FMarriage - Separation	0.01	0.04	0.05	0.09
FM - Birth of LChild - Sep.	0.03	0.04	0.10	0.19
FM - B of LC - HL of FC - Sep.	0.02	0.04	0.13	0.14
Divorce				
FMarriage - Separation- Divorce	0.01	0.03	0.05	0.07
FM - Birth of LC - Sep. - Div.	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.13
FM - B LC - HL FC- Sep. - Div.	0.01	0.02	0.11	0.14
FM - B LC - Sep.- HL FC - Div.	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03

**Table 3: Indicators of Timing of Separation and Divorce
By Various Independent Variables, Males, Birth Cohorts 1936-55**

	Age 10th Percentile		Prop. by Age 40		Prop. by Age 50	
	Separated	Divorced	Separated	Divorced	Separated	Divorced
Males, 1936-55 Birth Cohorts	33.6	35.9	0.16	0.13	0.25	0.22
Respondent's Education						
Less than HS	35.8	37.2	0.14	0.12	0.21	0.20
High Sch. Dip.	31.3	32.4	0.19	0.18	0.23	0.22
Some College	30.8	32.7	0.23	0.19	0.32	0.26
College/Univ Dip.	34.5	37.8	0.15	0.11	0.25	0.20
Mother's Education						
Elem. Or Less	35.3	38.3	0.15	0.11	0.22	0.19
High School	32.3	35.4	0.19	0.15	0.29	0.25
College	34.2	34.3	0.20	0.15	0.34	0.30
Region						
Atlantic	33.6	36.1	0.16	0.13	0.23	0.20
Quebec	35.5	37.0	0.16	0.13	0.28	0.25
Ontario	34.9	37.8	0.14	0.11	0.22	0.17
Prairie	35.9	38.2	0.15	0.12	0.22	0.21
British Columbia	28.6	31.2	0.24	0.22	0.31	0.30
First Language						
English	32.2	35.2	0.18	0.15	0.27	0.25
French	33.9	34.9	0.19	0.15	0.30	0.25
Other	44.0	46.8	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.10
Immigration Status						
Canadian Born	33.3	35.6	0.18	0.14	0.27	0.24
Immigrant	36.4	38.5	0.12	0.10	0.19	0.16

Table 4: Parameters of Proportional Hazards Model of Timing of Separation Males, Birth Cohorts 1926-35 and 1936-55

	1926-35		1936-55	
Number of Weighted Cases	418		1313	
Number of Weighted Censored Cases	374 (89.6%)		1014 (77.3%)	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square for Model	68.19 (20 d.f.)		498 (23 d.f.)	
	Estimate	Rel. Risk	Estimate	Rel. Risk
Respondent's Education				
Less than High Sch. Grad.	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
High Sch. Graduate	0.6265	1.87	0.3067 *	1.36
Some College	-0.0451	0.96	0.7368 ***	2.09
College/Univ. Graduate	0.9113 ***	2.49	0.5293 ***	1.70
Mother's Education				
Elementary	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
High School	-0.2291	0.80	0.2084 *	1.23
College/University	-0.1444	0.87	0.4390 **	1.55
Region of Residence				
Atlantic	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
Quebec	0.3593	1.43	0.3502 *	1.42
Ontario	0.6549	1.92	1.4462 ***	4.25
Prairie	-0.4062	0.67	0.2844	1.33
British Columbia	1.5383 ***	4.66	1.0002 ***	2.72
First Language				
English	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
French	-0.7345	0.48	1.0218 ***	2.78
Other	-0.2388	0.79	-0.1996	0.82
Immigration Status				
Non-Immigrant	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
Immigrant	0.1027	1.11	-0.0092	0.99
Control Variables				
Other Respondent Characteristics				
Religion				
Other/No Religion	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
Roman Catholic	-0.3556	0.70	-0.5274 ***	0.59
Protestant	-1.3314 ***	0.26	0.0225	1.02
Attendance in Rel. Services				
No Attendance	0.0000	1.00	0.0000	1.00
Regular	-1.5641 ***	0.21	-0.6250 ***	0.54
Not Regular	-0.3796	0.68	-0.1681	0.85
Life Course Variables				
Age First Marriage	-0.0336	0.97	-0.1140 ***	0.89
Age at Birth of Last Child	0.0837 ***	1.09	0.0566 ***	1.06
Age at Home-Leaving of First Child	-0.0758 ***	0.93	-0.1434 ***	0.87
Number of Children	-0.3823 ***	0.68	-0.4484 ***	0.64
Cohabitation Before Marriage				
Did not Cohabit			0.0000	1.00
Cohabited with Spouse			0.7713 ***	2.16
Cohabited with Other than Spouse			1.1261 ***	3.08
Cohort				
1936-45			0.0000	1.00
1946-55			0.1994 **	1.22

Significance of P values: *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10%.