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CATCHING UP: THE FERTILITY OF WOMEN OVER 30 YEARS OF AGE, CANADA IN THE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s

Carl F. Grindstaff
The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada

Résumé — Le but de cette étude est d'examiner les structures de la fécondité chez les femmes dans leurs dernières années de procréation pour déterminer les taux et les nombres d'enfants auxquels ces femmes sont en train de donner naissance et aussi pour déterminer le changement dans le rang de naissance. Les données de cinq points dans le temps durant les années 1970 et au début des années 1980, au Canada suggèrent qu'alors que les nombres et les taux d'enfants que les femmes plus âgées sont en train de procréer ont diminué légèrement, la proportion d'enfants premiers-nés procréés par ces femmes a augmenté d'une façon dramatique. Ainsi, le changement en fécondité ne signifie pas que les femmes plus âgées sont en train d'avoir plus d'enfants et de cette façon sont en train se "se rattraper", mais que, pour la première fois, une plus grande proportion de femmes plus âgées ont commencé à créer une famille. On y discute les implications concernant l'enfant et la femme.

Abstract — The purpose of this paper is to examine the fertility patterns of women in their later childbearing years in order to determine the rates and numbers of children being born to these women and to determine the change in the birth order. Data from five points in time in the 1970s and early 1980s in Canada suggest that while the numbers and rates of children being born to older women have decreased slightly, the proportion of first-born children born to these women has increased dramatically. Thus, the fertility change is *not* that older women are having more children and in this way are "catching up," but that a larger proportion of older women are beginning a family and having children for the first time. Implications for the child and for the mother are discussed.

Key Words — **fertility, older women, first-born**

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, to develop and describe the patterns of fertility of women in their late childbearing years and to examine the trends and timing of first births among this cohort. The focus is on women aged 30-44 in Canada at five different time periods in the 1970s and early 1980s. In a publication examining trends in the United States, Pebley (1981) shows that the average age of women at the birth of their first child is increasing due to both increasing age at marriage and a longer interval between marriage and first birth. This is at least partly responsible for the lowest levels of fertility in the history of the U.S.A. In Canada, it is known that the median age at marriage for women has increased substantially in the 1970s (from 21.3 years in 1971 to 22.5 years in 1981), and the interval between marriage and first birth has gone from roughly one year in 1970 to 1.3 years in 1980 (Vital Statistics, 1970, 1982). The trends in Canada are similar to those in the U.S.A., and thus we might expect that more women are postponing both first and subsequent births. This would eventually result in higher levels of fertility among women at older ages and an increase among the number of first births to these women.

A second purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the implications of childbearing among women over the age of 30, both for the woman and for the children. While the timing of first births and even completed family size are importantly related to demographic factors such as age at marriage and childbirth intervals, other socioeconomic variables may also be crucial in accounting for the fertility patterns and trends. Contraceptive availability and utilization, labour force participation, economic conditions, age structure, and norms and values (tastes) might have important impacts on fertility. In addition, the magnitude and timing of births have implications for family finances, childrearing practices, personal and occupational development and marriage satisfaction (Wilkie, 1981). The discussion section of this paper will explore these issues in relation to the fertility trends observed among older women.

A Theoretical Formulation

In an article that summarizes much of his earlier theoretical work, Caldwell (1978:553) argues that:

> fertility behavior...is economically rational within the context of socially determined economic goals and within bounds largely set by biological and psychological factors. Two types of societies can be distinguished: one of stable high fertility, where there would be no net economic gain accruing to the family...from lower fertility levels, and the other in which economic rationality would dictate zero reproduction. The former is characterized by "net wealth flows" from younger to older generations, and the latter by flows in the opposite direction. These flows are defined to embrace all economic benefits both present and anticipated over a lifetime.

In modern, industrial Canada, the prediction that comes out of this theory would be in fact what we are seeing in terms of reproduction – low levels of fertility (well below replacement) and relatively high levels of childlessness among all age groups of women under the age of 35. Several researchers have argued the case for continuing low fertility and larger numbers of childless couples under these circumstances (Bumpass, 1973; Grindstaff, 1975; Ryder, 1979). The factors which account for this type of reproductive practice in the 1970s and 1980s are seen as technical (contraception), normative (expanded opportunities and roles for women) and economic (difficult economic times, inflation, cost of children and lack of flow of wealth from child to parent). Ryder goes so far as to say that the only bond left between parent and child in the modern social context of the Western world is love, and that bond is fragile indeed (Ryder, 1979:365). In this scenario, the prediction is for continued low rates of fertility and high levels of childlessness. This fits into the low fertility model of Caldwell in terms of net wealth flow from parents to children.

However, another group of researchers writing mainly from an economic point of view argue that a child is really one more durable good to be "purchased" at the proper economic and normative (taste) time (Becker, 1960; Becker and Tomes, 1976). At some point in a reproductive lifetime, the opportunity cost of having a child is no longer as large as a point in the past, and thus the bearing of a child is more likely. After education, career, holidays, houses and cars, the demand for children might be quite high as another important good to achieve. "The immediate determinants of the demand for children are income, the price of children relative to goods, and subjective preferences for children compared with goods" (Easterlin, 1975:57). In the context where parenthood has been delayed due to later marriage, economic considerations, and/or

career development, and once these other objectives have been achieved, then childbearing might well be less expensive (relatively) than it once was. If economic situations are more manageable after delay and if children are wanted due to a psychological or normative condition, then fertility might well increase at older ages and probably childlessness would decrease. Also, since fertility is partially dependent on age structure, and age structure is dependent on past fertility (which was high in the 1950s), then the late 1970s and 1980s should see an upswing in both the number of births and the birth rates (Easterlin, 1978).

In Caldwell's formulation for modern industrial society, few children are the norm (in the perfect situation the norm would be zero), and only when the costs are seen as relatively small or when the stream of wealth goes from child to parent is the bearing of children likely. In this context, wealth might be defined less in terms of economic variables and more in relationship to psychology, norms and expectations. In the past decade in Canada, fertility rates were at their lowest point in history, and they showed no substantial movement in an upward direction in the last part of the decade. In 1959, the crude birth rate in Canada was 29.5 and the total fertility rate was 3.9. The corresponding figures in 1980 were approximately 16 and 1.8. It would appear that those scholars who predicted low fertility and high rates of childlessness — that is, "zero reproduction" — are being proven correct. However, one way to further test the argument is to examine the fertility patterns of older women (over 30 years of age) to see if there was a delay in childbearing in the 1970s and to speculate if these women might well "catch up" in terms of overall fertility or in terms of beginning a family.

Findings

The data for this paper were collected for five different time periods: 1970, 1973, 1976, 1978 and the latest available year, 1981. The source for the material was the Vital Statistics birth publications from Statistics Canada. The figures are presented for Canada as a whole, and other than age and birth order of their children, no characteristics of the women were determined. The published data did not include other sociodemographic variables that relate to age of mother by birth order of children.

Table 1 shows the number of births and both the number and per cent of first-born children to women in the late childbearing years, aged

30-44, for the five years under consideration. The data are presented in five-year age groupings – 30-34, 35-39 and 40-44. Overall, there were approximately 320,000 more women in these age categories in 1978 compared to 1970, and they had over 5,000 *fewer* births in 1978 compared to 1970. In 1981, there were about 256,000 more women in this age group than in 1978 (an increase of more than 11 per cent) and a roughly corresponding increase in both the numbers of births – 10,000 more children – and the proportionate increase, 11 per cent. While this may be a function of different marital patterns between 1970 and 1981 (the data on birth order are not available by marital status of mother), it is more likely a function of decreasing fertility. Over the past 10 years, the proportion of women over 30-44 who have ever been married is approximately 90 per cent. For all three age groups, the rates of birth per 1,000 women declined in the 1970s and remained low in the 1980s.

Women aged 30-34 had the smallest decline in the rates over the decade – just over 15 per cent – but the rates of these women have been quite similar since 1973 – about 65 per 1,000. In fact, there were 17,000 more children born to women in this age group in 1981 than in 1970, but there were over one-half million more women in the group. The rates in the other two five-year age categories fell by at least 50 per cent over the decade, with the major decline occurring between 1970 and 1973. What is clear from the data presented is that the fertility of women over the age of 30 did not increase in the 1970s – indeed it decreased, and in the last part of the decade and into the 1980s has stabilized.

Relative to the fertility of all women in the childbearing ages, women aged 35-44 had proportionately fewer children throughout the 1970s. For example, in 1970, these women accounted for 8.1 per cent of the total children born in that year, while in 1981, women in that age group accounted for only 4.8 per cent of the total births. Women aged 30-34 gave birth to 14.1 per cent of all the children born in 1970 and 18.7 per cent of those born in 1981 – a proportionate increase of 33 per cent. This, in combination with the already observed decreasing rate of fertility among women in this age group, is a further indication of the falling fertility levels among women of the younger ages over the decade.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Table 1 relates to the changes in the number of first-born children occurring to these older women. Arthur Campbell predicted that first- and second-order births would increase among older women in the United States after 1975 because total fertility rates at that time were lower than expected, and he saw the pattern of the early 1970s as a delay that would be adjusted (Campbell,

TABLE 1. AGE OF MOTHER, NUMBER OF BIRTHS, AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FIRST BORN CHILDREN FOR WOMEN AGED 30 AND OVER IN CANADA, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1978 AND 1981

	Year				
	1970	1973	1976	1978	1981
Women Aged 30 - 34					
N =	640,000	699,700	804,800	904,200	1,016,900
Total Births	50,547	46,144	51,616	59,227	67,682
% First Born in This Age Group	13.9	18.4	20.0	23.1	25.1
% of All First Births	4.9	5.9	7.1	8.7	10.4
% of All Births	14.1	13.9	14.8	17.0	18.7
Births per 1,000 women	79	66	64	66	66
First Order Births Per 1,000 Women	11.0	12.2	12.8	15.3	16.7
Women Aged 35 - 39					
N =	627,100	615,700	657,500	713,200	807,800
Total Births	23,681	15,516	13,569	13,358	15,331
% First Born in This Age Group	8.8	12.0	14.5	17.5	18.7
% of All First Births	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.8
% of All Births	6.6	4.7	3.9	3.8	4.2
Births per 1,000 women	38	25	21	19	19
First Order Births Per 1,000 Women	3.3	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.6
Women Aged 40 - 44					
N =	643,600	623,900	624,600	622,000	663,200
Total Births	6,964	3,907	2,664	2,166	2,080
% First Born in This Age Group	6.8	8.8	11.1	15.4	15.6
% of All First Births	.3	.2	.2	.2	.2
% of All Births	1.5	1.2	.8	.6	.6
Births per 1,000 women	11	6	4	3	3
First Order Births Per 1,000 Women	.7	.5	.4	.6	.5
Total Births	359,449	331,467	348,857	348,885	361,216
Total First Birth (%)	143,577 (39.9)	143,730 (43.4)	145,978 (41.8)	156,345 (44.8)	163,840 (45.4)

Source: Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics
1970 Table B10
1973 Volume 1, Births, Table 13
1976 Volume 1, Births, Table 11
1978 Volume 1, Births and Deaths, Table 11
1981 Volume 1, Births and Deaths, Table 11
Statistics Canada. Estimates of Population by Sex and Age for Canada and Provinces. June 1, 1978.
Statistics Canada. Intercensal Annual Estimates of Population by Age and Sex for Canada and the Provinces, 1976-1981. Catalogue Number 91-518, Sept., 1983.

1978). Kitagawa (1981) showed that this prediction was coming about in the United States. Between 1975 and 1978, the rate of all first births increased from 8.1 to 11.1 births per 1,000 women aged 30-34 (a 37 per cent

increase) and all second births increased by 26 per cent, from 15.1 to 19.0 births per 1,000.

In Canada, the change in the proportion of first-born children among women 30-44 years of age in the 1970s was even more dramatic. In 1970, 4.9 per cent of all first-order births occurred to women aged 30-34, and 13.9 per cent of all children born to these women were first-born children. In 1981, these figures were 10.4 per cent and 25.1 per cent, respectively. These figures represent increases of over 100 per cent in all first order births and of 80 per cent in the age category. In 1970, one child in eight born to a woman 30-34 was her first-born. In 1978, this number was over one child in four. Over the decade, the rate per 1,000 increased by 51 per cent.

In terms of increasing proportions of first-born children, those born to women in the age groups 35-39 and 40-44 years were even more significant over the decade. The rate of first-born children doubled in both age categories, from 8.8 to 18.7 per cent for women aged 35-39 and from 6.8 to 15.6 per cent for women aged 40-44. While the number of children born to women in these age groups is very small, the increasing proportion of women having a first child is meaningful for the future activities of these women.

For all women in the childbearing ages, the proportion of children who were first births in the 1970s increased from approximately 40 per cent in 1970 to 45 per cent in 1981. However, the rates of increase were even greater among the older women. In this framework, there appear to be two different patterns of fertility going on at the same time among women 30-44 years of age. On the one hand, the rates of fertility have been going down, and currently (1981) they are at the lowest levels in history for women in this age group. These women are not having as many children proportionately as they have had in the past generation. On the other hand, the proportion of first-born children that these women are having is increasing sharply. What this probably means is that the older women are having smaller families overall, but that proportionately more of them are going to have *a* child. In terms of the low fertility/increasing fertility model presented earlier, both approaches seem to have elements of accuracy. In general, *most women are having fewer children, but more women are having some children.* The society norm concerning fertility seems to encourage the women of our society to have a child at some time in their reproductive lives, but does not encourage higher levels of parity for all women.

Thus, it is not likely that women over the age of 30 will have increasing numbers of children and thus lead to a higher birth rate, but it appears that an increasing proportion will have at least one child. In this context, fertility would remain low with the average number of children per 1,000 women even decreasing from the present levels, but childlessness could also decrease as more of these older women give birth to their first child. Childlessness might even be on the increase because of a continuation on the part of some women to delay childbearing. However, childlessness would still be lower than what would have been expected if older women had maintained early 1970s patterns of fertility.[1]

Discussion and Implications

The data from five points in time in Canada in the 1970s and early 1980s suggest that the number of children ever born to women aged 30-44 has decreased slightly, while the proportion of first-born children born to these women has increased dramatically. Thus, the fertility change among older women in the 1970s is not because they are experiencing higher rates of childbearing – they are not. What is occurring is that a larger proportion of the children born to these women are the first children in the family. These women are "catching up" in one sense, but not in terms of number of children. Rather, they are "catching up" by having *a* child.

This pattern of "catching up" indicates that the flow of wealth from parent to child that Caldwell proposes as being a depressant on fertility in industrial society does not lead to a total elimination of childbearing. Within industrial society, there appear to be varying norms, values and economic conditions which have an impact on what the cost of a child would be to couples at various stages in the childbearing years. It seems that couples may indeed delay childbearing due to such circumstances, probably relating to what economists call "opportunity costs." Once other aspirations have been achieved, the cost of a child is not so great so as to make the delay permanent. Thus, while the flow of wealth in terms of economics is from parent to child (estimates in the U.S.A. are that it cost over $85,000 to raise a child to the age of 18), it appears that the relative cost is such that childbearing is a possibility, and the costs or advantages cannot be measured in strictly economic terms (Espenshade, 1980).

Several popular magazines (*Macleans,* 1981; *Time,* 1982) have recently extolled the joys and virtues of bringing up baby — later. After having worked, gone to school, traveled, or done any number of other things for a decade or more, some couples have decided to have a baby as another experience along the way. This may be an example of the power of pronatalism in our society and the factors in our society that make childbearing a positive experience and provide support and impetus to having a child (Blake, 1975). It would seem that pronatalism in these times is probably best defined as having *any* children and not necessarily more than one. It is argued that by having the baby later in life, couples get to have it both ways — career, travel, and education early on in their relationship and then a child later. While the data presented in this paper do not allow for an analysis of sociodemographic characteristics of the couple, it has been stated that "most late-timing parents are successful, career-oriented city dwellers who reject the common assumption that you pay for a baby by giving up other ambitions" (Webb, 1981:45). Rather, it is hypothesized that these couples have their babies on their own terms, when they can afford to have them — both economically and emotionally.

What are the Positive Aspects of Having a First Child at a Later Age?

Maturity. The women are older and perhaps more able to give of themselves to a child without feeling undue pressure that they should really be doing something else. It may be that older men and women are better able to cope with the inevitable problems of raising a child. It may be that personal interests have, by and large, already been met and are therefore now less prevalent in terms of priorities. In this framework, more interest and energy can be directed toward the child.

Priorities. The couple has had the opportunity to achieve much of what is seen as important in our society — occupation, education, housing and experience. It has been hypothesized that an adolescent having a child is condemned to having 90 per cent of their life-script written within the context of raising that child (Furstenberg, 1976). By conceiving a child more than a decade later in her life, the older woman has had the chance to develop a life-script outside of the pressures of caring for offspring.

Finances. Besides the desire to have a period of personal growth without children (Pebley, 1981; Wilkie, 1981), several studies have

shown that the major reason for delaying childbearing is economic, such as buying a house or saving for a holiday. While it is not certain, other things being equal, older couples do tend to be more financially secure and thus better able to handle the rather formidable economic task of raising a child in our society. In general terms, late bearers are likely to be more settled in every financial aspect.

Childrearing. Are more mature, financially secure people better at childrearing practices? Wilkie indicated that other studies have shown that younger women tend to be more relaxed and warmer with their children, while older mothers are less likely to use physical punishment and more likely to encourage verbalization and independence. In reviewing the evidence, she concluded that "these findings suggest that older parents are better able to provide their children with an emotionally healthy environment" (Wilkie, 1981:588). Overall, it seems that late bearers have used a decade to prepare for having a child and are more able to cope with the trials and difficulties of parenthood, be they financial or emotional.

What are the Costs in this Scenario of Childbearing for the First Time at an Advanced Age, Particularly for Women?

Economic. As more and more women seek personal, economic and professional advancement outside of the home setting, the issue of combining childbearing with a full-time occupational commitment is an increasingly important one. It is certain that no matter what the personal or structural support systems, the birth and the first years of a child's life consume a great deal of the time and energy of parents generally, but of mothers particularly. In a situation where the mother is striving to obtain promotion and seniority in a position that requires considerable demonstrable skills in day-to-day job activity, she is very much at a disadvantage in attempting to handle these various demands at a critical occupational juncture of her life.

Women are required in the current childbearing/childrearing system to take time off, that is, to have a discontinuity in their employment. What are the consequences of these breaks in employment? Recent research has shown that discontinuities are quite costly to women in terms of wages and status (Felmlee, 1981; Goyder, 1981; Thurow, 1981). Goyder goes on to say that in Canada, differences in income between men and women (women make between 50 and 60 per cent of what men

do) are not at all related to educational or occupational status. Rather, his data show that, along with discrimination, "the important components of inequality are differences between the sexes in part-time versus full-time work and *the tendency for women to have interruptions during their career*" (Goyder, 1981:336, emphasis mine). Thurow argues that these disruptions take place primarily between the ages of 25 and 35, just when promotion and seniority are at a critical juncture for most people. "But the decade between 25 and 35 is precisely the decade when women are most apt to leave the labour force and become part-time workers to have children. When they do, the current system of promotion and skill acquisition will extract an enormous life time price" (Thurow, 1981).

There is obviously a problem for women who may want to have both parenthood and career, but feel there is great difficulty in doing both and maintaining excellence in each (Wilkie, 1981). To use the old saying, this leaves the woman "between a rock and a hard place." It may be that she needs some type of structural assistance from the employment system (such as "stop the clock" extensions) or perhaps an earlier or later pattern of childbearing is necessary, which also has its economic difficulties.

Health. A recent article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* indicates that childbearing is more difficult after the age of 30, both in terms of conception and health of the mother and child (Federation CECOS *et al.*, 1982). One important health factor reported by Statistics Canada is the birthweight of the child. Table 2 shows that in terms of birthweight, women aged 30-34 have fewer immature children (under 2,500 grams) than all women in the childbearing years, while women aged 35-44 have larger proportions of children with birthweights that are problematically low. It should be noted that over the decade, proportionately fewer women in all age groups were having children with birthweights under 2,500 grams. In terms of the birthweight of the child, having a baby at age 30 or older does not seem to be a serious problem.

Family. One point to be made here is that children born to women over 30 years of age would have less opportunity to be involved with grandparents and the influences that such contact might have. Also, the mothers would not have that store of knowledge and experience to draw upon in the socialization of the child. However, at the older ages, the male present in the situation might be willing to share in the childrearing years to a greater extent than what otherwise might be the case.

Inadequacy. Webb (1981) indicated that some of the older women she interviewed who were having children for the first time were concerned

TABLE 2. LIVE BIRTHS BY BIRTHWEIGHT, BY SEX AND BY AGE OF MOTHER FOR CANADA, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1978 AND 1981

Age of Women	Live Births									
	1970		1973		1976		1978		1981	
	No. %		No. %		No. %		No. %		No. %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Ages										
Birthweight 2500 grams or less	13,194 (7.14)	15,090 (8.66)	10,678 (6.26)	12,441 (7.74)	10,591 (6.05)	11,922 (7.23)	10,164 (5.71)	11,708 (6.91)	10,213 (5.51)	11,555 (6.57)
Over 2,500	171,706	159,254	159,923	148,261	164,418	154,087	167,866	157,742	174,820	163,909
Total:*	185,007	174,442	170,687	160,780	179,044	169,813	178,779	170,106	185,417	175,799
30-34										
Birthweight 2500 grams or less	1,825 (7.03)	2,025 (8.25)	1,465 (6.15)	1,775 (7.96)	1,480 (5.69)	1,705 (6.99)	1,595 (5.26)	1,789 (6.23)	1,730 (4.94)	1,920 (5.88)
Over 2,500	24,143	22,527	22,375	20,513	24,547	22,700	28,718	26,911	33,271	30,718
Total:*	25,978	24,568	23,849	22,295	26,626	24,987	30,427	28,800	35,032	32,649
35-39										
Birthweight 2500 grams or less	882 (7.29)	1,089 (9.44)	554 (6.98)	664 (8.78)	479 (7.02)	501 (7.84)	437 (6.50)	493 (7.47)	489 (6.25)	567 (7.55)
Over 2,500	11,243	10,450	7,388	6,901	6,346	5,888	6,278	6,098	7,328	6,938
Total:*	12,134	11,547	7,948	7,568	7,001	6,567	6,739	6,619	7,821	7,510
40-44										
Birthweight 2500 grams or less	295 (8.40)	306 (8.90)	150 (7.74)	163 (8.29)	124 (9.23)	112 (8.92)	90 (8.01)	85 (8.22)	90 (8.33)	81 (8.10)
Over 2,500	3,218	3,138	1,787	1,804	1,219	1,143	1,033	949	987	919
Total:*	3,517	3,437	1,939	1,968	1,372	1,293	1,129	1,037	1,080	1,000

* Includes a not stated component.

Source: Vital Statistics, 1970, Table B 12, pp. 56-57.
Vital Statistics, 1973, Vol. 1, Table 16, pp. 74-75.
Vital Statistics, 1975-76, Vol. 1, Table 14, pp. 38-39.
Vital Statistics, 1978, Vol. 1, Table 13, p. 17-18.
Vital Statistics, 1981, Vol. 1, Table 13, pp. 20-21.

about organization between both their work outside the home and the raising of the child. Others had difficulty making the transition from work to home if the latter was chosen as a full-time activity. Some also found that the child interrupted an established routine, and the women felt inefficient in coping with this new dimension in their lives.

Summary

Generally, the positive aspects of bearing a child later in life relate to the timing factor which provides more security and maturity. Certainly, for most of the women, having a baby is a clear choice, not an accident; these women really want to have their children. To older women, the negative aspects of fertility seem to fall primarily in the economic realm. Employment disruptions have costly consequences in terms of seniority and finances. Future studies on the fertility of older women should attempt to discover the sociodemographic factors associated with these late bearers, focusing on the types of employment and income these women are "giving up." An analysis of the 1981 census would be ideal for such a study. While there would be some estimation difficulties in terms of the exact age of mother and the date of birth of the first child, the wealth of sociodemographic information in the census would provide a rather definitive answer regarding what kind of women are "catching up" by giving birth for the first time, when most women have already completed their childbearing.

Footnote

1. In a small random sample of 100 university women (average age, 22), 90 per cent indicated that they planned to have their own children, the average age at birth of the first child would be 28.2, and more than 25 per cent felt that their first child would be born after they were 30 years of age (Grindstaff, unpublished data, 1982). If this is a typical pattern for women who are delaying their childbearing due to education or career, obviously there is a substantial number of women who will be beginning families at about the age of 30.

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