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Danish Family Life Pathways

Examining Cohabitation, Marriage, and Parenthood in Context

Abstract: Today Denmark (together with Sweden) holds the highest rate of cohabiting households and the largest share of non-marital childbearing. Using data from the a birth cohort of Danish women and men born in 1954, this paper examines how cohabitation has developed across individual life trajectories alongside singlehood and marriage, as well as the transition out of the parental home, the experience of parenthood, and the timing of educational attainment and engaging in formal employment. This specific birth cohort plays a very particular role in Danish history, as they were one of the first birth cohorts to cohabit in large numbers, and they came of age during a time where a well-established social-democratic welfare state had become a Danish reality. The results suggest that to be a cohabiting partner is a significant ingredient in a dynamic family formation process that unfold over the life course. In addition, the entrance of cohabitation into family life pathways of this cohort of Danish women and men did not result in a devaluation of marriage in the Danish context, rather marriage remained a popular institution for this 1954 cohort. Instead what my findings suggests is that a liberating question of flavor has entered the scene as cohabitation likely developed as a prelude to marriage as well as a functional equivalent to both being married or to being single for a significant amount of Danish women and men.

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INTRODUCTION

The widespread increase in voluntary cohabitation, in families deliberately without children, and in intentional non-marital childbearing is definitely among the most remarkable social and demographic changes in recent history. These changes are not only related to recent demographic transformations such as limited fertility and increased age at first marriage and first birth, but is to a large extent correlated with an unprecedented shift in social values and cultural norms associated with individual lifestyles and structural opportunities. Thus, it has become increasingly important to understand the conditions under which these changes have come about and to detangle how the family formation process has changed. More specifically, together with this new social complexity of family formation in the latter half of the twentieth century, a need to include cohabitation alongside singlehood and marriage in the larger context of the life course has emerged. In turn, this need to situate cohabitation within the social context of peoples lived lives underscore the necessity of capturing the variable nature of family formation over the life course accounting for the temporal process by which lives unfold over time. Drawing on the notion of the life course as being differentially defined by the order and timing of multiple social roles (Macmillan and Copher 2005:860), this paper locate cohabitation as a growing social phenomenon within family life pathways in Denmark.

Only a limited number of studies have examined the empirical basis for cohabitation emerging as a normative experience in the past sixty years, and especially so in the Scandinavian countries which today holds the largest share of cohabiting households and has the largest prevalence of non-marital childbearing in the western world (Sobotka and Toulemont 2008). In addition, most studies related to cohabitation include only the experience of women. This paper explores how family formation in general, and cohabitation in particular, develop across

individual life trajectories in concurrence with other union statuses including singlehood and marriage in a cohort Danish women and men born in 1954. Furthermore the transition out of the parental home, the experience of becoming a parent, the timing of educational attainment, and the experience of first formal employment are considered too. This specific birth cohort is placed at an extraordinary point in Danish history, as they were among the first birth cohorts to i) cohabit in large numbers, and ii) come of age during a time where a well established social-democratic welfare state had become a Danish reality.

In agreement with Macmillan and Eliason's (2003) call for a theoretical and methodological integration of the life course as a dynamic process characterized by role configurations rather than roles and for pathways rather than transitions, the results presented in this paper provide unique insights regarding the amplified complexity in patterns of family formation that this pioneering cohort of Danish women and men experience, including the location of cohabitation within the life course. Thus, the analysis presented in this paper enables me to view multiple dimensions of the family formation process as a complex whole and to specify cohabitation alongside other social roles such as being a student, a husband, or a parent.

BACKGROUND

In today's Denmark more than 80 percent of adults are estimated to experience at least one cohabiting union and about half of all children are born outside marriage (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004). The fact that that cohabitation and non-marital childbearing are so common in the Danish context is not a sudden occurrence, but is rather a result of almost a century of demographic and social change. The circumstance under which couples meet each other as well as the pathway to union formation and parenthood has changed significantly since the 1950s. In

the past sixty years young people have become much less influenced by parents in their choice of partner, the presence of multiple relationships throughout life has become increasingly common, and a number of different living arrangements that were surrounded by social stigma in the past have gained normative approval in today's society. For example, in the Danish context, it was unheard of that an unmarried couple could live together on their own in the early 1960s; however by the early 1970s it was no longer such a rare occurrence for young couples to live together before they got married (Thomsen 1998). Although, we know these changes came about during the late 1960s and 1970s, and that they did impact current patterns in relationship formation, our knowledge is still sparse with regard to how the family patterns emerged over the life course. That is, we know very little about the shifting dynamics of family life pathways different from the traditional sequence of marrying the person of first partnership and move directly out of the parental home and into a home with one's new husband or wife.

Changes in how romantic unions were formed, the meaning of first partnership, and a growing acceptance of alternative living arrangements happened in close connection with a number of changes in demographic, economic, and social structures that took place in the wake of WWII. Most western nations experienced a baby boom just after the end of WWII, where age at first marriage and first child dropped significantly after having been on the rise since the beginning of the twentieth century. The respondents in my study were born in the wake of this mid 1940s peak fertility where rates of younger parents were high compared to the late 1960s and afterward. Since the mid 1960s age at first marriage and first birth has increased more in the Scandinavian countries than in any other region of the western world (Lesthaghe and Moors 2000). Despite the fact that this age increase is prevalent for both women and men, research continues largely to only assess how these changes came about and their impact for women.

Thus, these studies ignore the fact that many of these changes also correspond with a normative shift away from childbearing and rearing decisions being a sole responsibility of mothers, towards it being something valued by both men and women. This shift is often noted as particularly apparent in the Danish context (Kiernan 2004), and therefore studying family life in Denmark, during a period where the groundwork for these changes was laid, is a rare opportunity to fill the void of literature on men's experiences of romantic relationships and parenthood.

The most drastic demographic transformation in Denmark in the twentieth century, is without question the fact that the share of births taking place outside marriage increased dramatically. From the beginning of the century until the end of the 1960s the share of non-marital births was stable at approximately 10 percent. However in 1980, when the respondents in my study were in their mid 20s, this figure had steadily increased to 33 percent, and continued to be on the rise till the mid 1990s where it stabilized around 48 percent (see Figure A in the Appendix). This does not mean that Denmark holds high rates of single motherhood; rather the majority of these children are born into cohabiting unions (see Figure B in the Appendix). In fact observers note that Denmark has today reached a position where marriage and cohabitation have become indistinguishable mainly because children are commonly born and reared in both family settings (Kiernan 2002). In Denmark, as opposed to the US, family law has come to be applied to married and cohabiting couples in the same way, recognizing that legislation developed to meet the needs of married couples is also suited to the needs of unmarried couples (Bradley 1996). In such a setting it then becomes curious why cohabitation is chosen and why marriage is chosen. We arrive at an extraordinary chance not only to study the meaning attached to cohabitation compared to marriage and single life, but to also control for the possibility that couples choose to cohabit in order to avoid the traditional marriage contract and the assumption of more traditional

roles that seem to go with it. That is, cohabiting couples might not be less committed or in objection to a pact per se, as long as the pact available does not carry the same ideological baggage as conventional marriage.

Only limited research has focused on processes of family formation explicitly the family formation process in general and cohabitation in particular at the historical onset of the complicated set of social changes that have led to the diverse nature of family life we see today. However, cultural context is an important component in the social changes that couples and families today are navigating. A snapshot of contemporary customs cannot assess the linkage between demographic and social change appropriately, but need to be placed in a historical context.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Drawing on life the life course perspective, this paper's point of departure is that the meaning and implications of social roles reflect their order and timing in the life course. Within this framework, the objective of this paper is to provide an account of transitions between multiple family related social roles over the life course within the context of typological pathways in general, and to assess the position of cohabitation within these transitions in particular. By means of residence- relationship- parenthood- education- and work- histories of the 1954 cohort, I 1) explore the social roles Danes born in 1954 simultaneously occupy (role configurations) between age 16 and 35, and 2) how these configurations form distinct family life paths over time (pathways). Moreover, I allocate specific attention to the location of cohabitation in the broader structure of the life course, and thereby address two additional research questions: 3) how cohabitation is situated in the configurations of social roles and 4) how cohabitation is positioned

within typological family life pathways. Two explicit hypotheses are associated with these two additional research questions: a) among Danish women and men born in 1954 to be a cohabiting partner constitutes an autonomous role as a part of one or more role configurations, and b) among Danish women and men born in 1954 role configurations that include the role of being a cohabiting partner play a prevailing part in one or more of the established family life pathways of this cohort.

METHOD

Data and Sample

In order to examine to examine the location of cohabitation within family life pathways in Denmark Danish context in the latter part of the 20th century, I use data from of the Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth (DLSY). Conducted by the Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI), DLSY is a Danish nationally representative sample of men and women born in 1954. The first wave of the DLSY were collected in 1968, when the respondents were about age 14 (attending 7th grade), and the seventh and most recent wave was collected in 2001, when the respondents were about age 47. This dataset is not only selected because it holds plentiful information on the life histories of the respondents, but also as it offers a rare opportunity to study family formation and transitions throughout the life course, and not only as a part of the transition to adulthood. Although not facilitated in the study presented in this paper, it should be noted that the DLSY data have been matched to the Danish Central population Registers at Statistics Denmark, and that future work will take advantage of these data as well.

In the analysis presented here I use data from the two most recent waves collected in 1992 and 2001. Despite the fact that the data has been collected over a period of 33 years, 76

percent of the original 2998 respondents have answered both the 1992 wave and the 2001 wave of the survey. With regard to the 1992 and the 2001 data collections reasons for respondents not to participate have been made available, which makes it possible to distinguish those who refused, who moved abroad, or who died. A thorough investigation of both the 1992 and the 2001 waves showed that no attrition bias could be detected. My final analysis sample consists of 2272 respondents, that is, 1174 women and 1098 men.

Five measures are used in the study presented here, and a low rate of missing data exists on each of these variables (less than 6 percent). These missing data have been replaced using multiple imputation. The analysis presented in this paper has been estimated individually for each of the 10 imputed data sets and all of these yield similar results. The results presented in this paper is from imputed dataset 1.

Measures

Conceptualizing the life course as a relative and age-graded movement through social institutions (Elder 1999:319), I examine roles in relation to leaving the parental home, union status, parenthood, education, and employment. The role associated with leaving the parental home is measured as when a respondent moves out of the parental home (irreversible). Roles related to union status are differentiated by being single, being in a cohabiting relationship, or being married (timevarying). The parenthood role is measured as when a respondent become a parent for the first time (irreversible). Educational roles are differentiated as not being in vocational training or additional schooling beyond the mandatory 7 years, or being in any further vocational training or additional schooling (timevarying). The employment role is measured in terms of

when a respondent experience his or her first formal employment that lasted for at least six months (irreversible). Descriptive statistics are available in Table 1.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Modelling procedure

In order to model the life course as probabilistically distributed pathways though age-graded role configurations I employ a two-stage latent class model as proposed by Macmillan and Eliason (2003). In this model all states of leaving the parental home, union status, parenthood, education, and employment are examined at discrete one-year intervals from when the respondents are age 16 to they are age 35. This strategy allows me to consider which particular states are present or has been attained at each age, and thus to identify configurations of social roles over time (role configurations). Moreover, it enables me to link these role configurations over the life course (pathways) asserting heterogeneity in people's journey through life (Macmillan and Eliason 2003: 533). Initially, models were to be estimated regarding all years from the respondents were age 14 (in 1968) to they were age 47 (in 2001), however at the early ages (14 and 15) as well as the later ones (36 to 47) no notable variation was present for any of the measures. In consequence, these years of observation were excluded from the analysis.

In this analysis all 1174 women and 1098 men in my analysis sample are observed over the 20-year window of observation, yielding 23480 person-years among the women and 21960 person-years among the men. I expect the heterogeneity of the role configurations and pathways to be gendered experiences too, and therefore all models are estimated separately for women and men.

The model selection procedure is best described as a two-step process based on both empirical and theoretical assumptions. First the value of the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) is used to identify the initial empirically best fitting model. Using this criterion the model with the lowest BIC value is selected. Second, within a 1 percent range of the lowest BIC, the model with the most clearly distinct categories and with the least classification error is chosen. Table A in the Appendix provides an overview of the model selection among the models estimated for women, and Table B in the Appendix does so for men. Among women a model including 5 role configurations and 6 pathways most effectively summarizes the interconnections between social roles over time, and among men it is a model counting 5 role configurations and 5 pathways.

RESULTS

Latent role configurations

In order to understand the qualitative aspects of the role configurations for women and men I examine each of the included measures' conditional probabilities. These are shown in Table 2 and Table 3. The role configurations among women and among men are overall strikingly alike and as a result the five identified latent role configurations have been labeled in the same way. The five role configurations are labeled: Dependent, Independent, Married, Married Parent, and Cohabiting Parent. In what follows I will examine each of these.

[TABLE 2 AND 3 ABOUT HERE]

Dependent. In the first role configuration, labeled *Dependent*, both women and men have a very high probability of still living at home, this probability, however, is higher among women (0.8308) than among men (0.7570). In turn, the probability of having experienced first formal employment is higher among men (0.5148) than among women (0.3323). With regard to education we also see a higher likelihood for men (0.4051) to be in school or vocational training compared to the moderate probability (0.2123) found among women. Both among men and among women there is practically no probability of cohabitation, marriage, or parenthood present within this configuration of roles. This role configuration has an overall likelihood of 0.2552 among the male population, suggesting 25 percent of all person-years among men are spent this role configuration. Among the female population this probability is 0.1542, yielding 15 percent of the person-years among women to be characterized by this role configuration. Substantively, this role configuration is dominated by a high propensity of not having transitioned to independent living (moved out of the parental home) and not taking on any of the social roles associated with family formation.

Independent. In contrast to the *Dependent* role configuration, the second role configuration has been labeled *Independent*. This configuration of social roles is distinguished by the high probability of both women and men to have left the parental home (0.9962 and 0.9527 respectively). Both women and men remain at a high probability of being single, however women (0.3881) as well as men (0.3926) also experience a moderately high probability of being in a cohabiting union. Yet, for both women and men virtually no probability exists of having experienced marriage or having become a parent. There is also a moderately high probability (0.3226) of women doing school or vocational training, and a high probability (0.8121) of having

entered formal employment. A similar pattern of education and work is present among men. Men in this role configuration have a moderate probability of pursuing education (0.2424), and a high probability (0.8996) of having experienced first formal employment. The overall probability of experiencing this latent role configuration is 0.1675 for women and 0.2111 for men. That is, 17 of the female person-years are likely to be spent in this role configuration and among the male population this figure is 21 percent. The move away from the parental home and the high probability of paid employment combined with remaining single or engaging in cohabitation (but not marriage or parenthood) that characterize the Independent role configuration, suggests that this configuration of social roles are likely to denote an extended period of youth where independence from ones parents has been gained.

Married. Role configuration 3, labeled Married, primarily describes women and men who have left the parental home and who have a high probability of being married (0.8878 and 0.8713 respectively). These individuals have not become parents, their probability of being involved in education remains moderate, and both women and men stay highly involved in paid employment. In this role configuration women's probability for entry to the labor force (0.8869) is only slightly lower than that of the male population (0.9182). However, the fact that both women and men hold a high probability of having experienced debut in the labor force speaks to the fact that in the Danish context an increase in women's participation in paid employment together with a variety of other factors brought about a significant change in the breadwinner dynamics of the family (Dencik et al 2008). This 1954 cohort of women and men come of age and form families in a time where the Danish family experiences a shift away from the traditional male breadwinner model towards a dual-income based structure (Schultz-Jørgensen

and Christensen 2011). Thus, the women in this cohort exhibit a general high probability of ever having entered formal employment lasting at least 6 months. Both women and men there have a moderate probability of experiencing this latent role configuration (0.1779 and 0.1891 respectively). That is, 18 percent of the female person-years are characterized by this role configuration and among the male population this figure is 19 percent.

Married Parent. The fourth role configuration is labeled Married Parent. Among all of the five identified role configurations, it is in this configuration that the highest probabilities of being married as well as having transitioned to parenthood exist. Among the women the probability of being married is 0.9647 and no probable account of cohabitation is present. The same is true for the male population; the probability of being married is 0.9738 and no probable account of cohabitation subsists. In this role configuration virtually all women and men have left the parental home and have become parents. The probability for involvement in further education is low among women (0.0709) as well as among men (0.0814), and both women and men maintain a very high probability of having experienced first formal employment (0.9559 and 0.9848 respectively). This role configuration suggests a life stage characterized by attainment of traditional and formal family and adult roles. For women this configuration of social roles is by far the most prevalent among the five identified role configurations. With an overall probability of 0.4142, just over 40 percent of women's person-years are likely to be spent in this role configuration. Although an overall lower probability for men, this life stage is also the most prevalent among the five identified role configurations for men. More than one fourth (0.2807) of the men's person-years are distinguished by this configuration of social roles.

Cohabiting Parent. The fifth role configuration is remarkably similar to the Married Parent role configuration. Yet, one major difference stands out: there is practically no probability of being married. Instead a high probability exists for being in a cohabiting relationship. Thus, this fifth role configuration is labeled Cohabiting Parent. The probability of being in a cohabiting relationship is 0.6634 among the women and 0.7823 among the men. This high probability in combination with virtually all women and men having experienced parenthood (0.9980 and 0.9987 respectively) highlights a significant change in the conventional family formation process. Scandinavian observers noted from early on the fact that cohabitation in the Nordic setting may best be characterized as being outwardly indistinguishable from traditional marriages (Alnebring 1973; Andersen 1975; Manniche 1989; Näsholm 1972), and thus the notion of having children within this type of union may not be as an extraordinary event as noted in other national settings. Though the majority of cohabiting couples in both Denmark and Sweden stated in the mid 1970s that the event of having a child would probably result in marriage eventually (Trost 1979), still a group remained that did not express this necessity to formalize their relationship by marriage. Although this role configuration has a markedly lower overall prevalence, still 9 percent (0.0862) of the women's person-years are spent in this role configuration, and among the men this figure is 6 percent (0.0639).

My examination of each the five latent role configurations identified among Danish women and men add to the general discussion of social roles over the life course as well as to the debate on cohabitation and the process of family formation. First it is noteworthy how alike the role configurations are for women and men in the Danish setting. Traditionally women and men's engagement in family related social roles is expected to differ significantly. Yet, for this 1954

cohort of Danish women and men the constellation of roles seems remarkably similar, even those associated with educational attainment and labor market entry. However, the Married Parent role configuration still had an overall higher prevalence among women than among men. Second, both among women and men two of the identified configurations are distinguishable by a moderate or a high probability of cohabitation. That is, among Danish women and men born in 1954 cohabitation does constitute an autonomous position as a part of one or more role configurations. The Independent role configuration as well as the Cohabiting Parent role configuration is both characterized by cohabitation being an important element. Finally, echoing Macmillan and Eliason (2003) conclusions, the results presented here emphasize the importance of considering a simultaneous presence of multiple social roles. In my analysis none of the role configurations are dominated by one role alone, rather in each of the identified role configurations high probabilities of multiple roles exists. This joint prevalence yield a further examination of the how these configurations of roles unfold over the life course informing us about how role transitions are likely to occur in combination rather than as single events within the realm of family life.

Latent pathways

In order to further investigate the dynamic structure of family formation over the life course, I estimate typological family life pathways by linking the identified latent role configurations over time. In contrast to observing only the transition from one assumed dominant role to another, this second stage of the latent class analysis allows me to review transitions between configurations of social roles. For the 1954 cohort of Danish women and men, I find strong support for 6 distinct latent family life pathways among women and 5 among men. That is, clearly distinctive

paths in the course of leaving home, forming union, becoming a parent, pursuing further education, and experiencing first formal employment between age 16 and 35.

Just as we observed with the latent role configurations, great similarity exists among women and men’s latent family life pathways. Thus, the labeling of the observed family life pathways displays a considerable overlap between women and men. The first five pathways are labeled: Pathway 1 - Traditional, Pathway2 - Extended Independence, Pathway3 - Deferred Parenthood, Pathway 4 - Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage, and Pathway 5 - Delayed Traditional. The sixth pathway identified among women only is labeled Pathway 6 - Early Traditional. The conditional probabilities associated with each family life pathway are shown in Table 4 and 5. The conditional probabilities displayed within a given pathway indicate transitions between latent role configurations.

[TABLE 4 AND 5 ABOUT HERE]

As a general overview Table 8.5 and Table 8.6 show that within the first pathway, among both women and men, there are moderate probabilities of being in the Dependent role configuration and experiencing the Married role configuration, as well as a high probability of the Married Parent configurations of roles. In contrast, Pathway 2 is marked by the non-occurrence of traditional and formal family transitions. Again the second pathway is very similar among women and men. Within the context of the third pathway both women and men experience moderate probabilities of the Dependent role configuration and the Independent role configuration, in combination with a high probability of being in the Married role configuration. In addition, among the men a moderate low probability also exists for being a in the Married

Parent role configuration. Considering Pathway 4, I find a moderate probability of being in the Dependent role configuration as well as engage in the roles associated with the role configuration labeled Independent. Moreover, a high probability of being in the configuration of social roles of Cohabiting Parent exists. Also this pathway is similar for women and men. The fifth pathway identified among the women includes moderate probabilities associated with each of four out of the five roles configurations; namely Dependent, Independent, Married, and Married Parent. A similar pattern is found among men for their Pathway 5, though with one exception; the probability of being in the Independent role configuration is somewhat lower than found among women. Among women one additional pathway was identified, Pathway 6. This pathway is characterized by a relatively low probability of being in Married role configuration and a high probability of the Married Parent role configuration.

In order to provide a more meaningful interpretation of these conditional probabilities and how they play out over time, I calculate, for each latent pathway, the average probability of being in each latent role configuration at each age. These calculated conditional probabilities are then graphed at each age in order to describe the variable structure of family formation over the life course as indicated by the identified family life paths. The graphs are available in Figure 1 through 11.

Pathway 1- Traditional. Among the women family life Pathway 1 begins with virtually everyone being in the Dependent role configuration (0.9999) at age 16, yet this high probability decreases rapidly and by age 19 it is reduced to an average of 0.4141. This effective transition out of the parental home and out of school is parallel to an increase in the role configuration of being

Married which peaks at age 22 with a probability of 0.8859. Yet, at age 24 a crossover occur between being in the Married role configuration and being in the Married Parent role configuration, and by age 27 virtually all women (0.9905) in this pathway are likely to have completed all the social roles associated with traditional family formation.

Among men I observe a very similar pattern of a decrease in the Dependent role configuration during adolescence accompanied by an increase in the Married role configuration with a crossover (~ 0.4100) between age 19 and age 20. Similar to the women, the probability of the Married role configuration peaks at age 22, however the probability here is only 0.6256. The crossover between the probability of being in the Married configuration of roles and being in the Married Parent role configuration for men occur between age 23 and 24 (~ 0.5000) and by age 26 virtually all men (0.9878) in this pathway have completed all the social roles associated with traditional family formation.

[FIGURE 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE]

In many respects this pathway describe the traditional model of family life transitions; leaving the parental home, experience first formal employment, transitioning into marriage, and within a couple of years of marriage becoming a parent. The transition between the Married role configuration and the Married Parent role configuration does not only correspond with a very high likelihood of becoming a parent, but also reflect an effective move away from the moderate probability associated with being in school or vocational training seen in the Married role configuration to the much lower probability of education observed in the Married Parent role configuration. This suggests that both women and men – at least in this pathway - tend to move

out of further education before they move into parenthood. Both among women and men this latent family life pathway characterize about one fourth (0.2804 and 0.2536 percent respectively) of the population.

Pathway 2 – Extended Independence. The second latent family life pathway is dominated by two latent role configurations, namely the Dependent and the Independent. Among the women, once more, individuals in this pathway are most likely to be characterized by the Dependent role configuration (0.9908) at age 16, which extends into the late adolescence and at age 19 a crossover with the probability of being in the Independent role configuration occur (0.4935). The likelihood of being in the Independent role configuration continues to increase and have a very high level of involvement from about age 22 (0.9240) and reach its maximum at age 26 (0.9898). At age 28 and throughout the early thirties a continual movement out of the Independent role configuration (0.9733 to 0.5404) exists and - though still remaining at a low probability - an increase in the acquisition of role configurations associated with traditional family formation including Married (0.0266 to 0.1451) and Married Parent (0.0004 to 0.2506) begin to take form. In addition, from age 30 and onwards a slight increase in being in the Cohabiting Parent configuration of social roles is observed (to 0.0638).

[FIGURE 3 AND 4 ABOUT HERE]

The pattern of Pathway 2 observed for men is very similar to that of women, however with a somewhat slower pace of interchanging dynamics of role configurations. For men the probability of the Dependent role configuration remains highly or moderately prevalent into the

early 20s, where at age 21 a crossover with the Independent role configuration (0.5185) occur. The likelihood of being in the Independent role configuration then continues to increase and men have a very high level of involvement in this role configuration from about age 24 (0.9018) and this involvement arrives at its maximum at age 28 (0.9987). At about age 31 and throughout the remainder of the window of observation a steady decrease of the probability of being in the Independent role configuration appear (0.9922 to 0.6921) and a corresponding increase in the acquisition of role configurations associated with traditional family formation, especially including Married (0.0077 to 0.1796), emerge.

Among women as well as among men, latent family life Pathway 2 characterizes a period of extended independence from ones parents and from traditional norms associated with family formation. In Pathway 1 a more traditional scheme of family formation was displayed involving family formation through marriage and parenthood was attained during the early 20s, whereas in this pathway the 20s are spent in singlehood or cohabitation and a moderate attachment to further education remain present throughout the window of observation. This pattern through adolescence, young adulthood, and adulthood complement the notion of new or modern value adjustments and independent lifestyle very well. Nielsen (1994) notes that the modernization and welfare state developments Denmark experienced in the wake of WWII had significant consequences for future cohorts of young people, and especially those coming of age in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The general change in living conditions and continued increase in living standard that Denmark experienced, resulted in Danish young adults gained a level of economic independence that had never been seen before (Nielsen 1994). This cohort of Danes came of age during a time where the years associated with “being young” underwent significant extension due to this gained economic independence. Wallace and Kowatcheva (1998) notes that because

these young adults also are inclined to spend longer time in education or in a combination of education and work, they are likely to postpone engagement in roles conventionally associated with being adult, such as working full-time, getting married, and becoming parents. The individuals characterized by this pathway are likely to be the most prevalent carriers of these new opportunities and expectations associated with such extended youth.

Regarding the probability of cohabitation present in the Independent role configuration, Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel (1990) point out that cohabitation may for some function well as an alternative to being single. These individuals are characterized by wanting to postpone forming a family, but preferring cohabitation rather than living apart during courtship (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004). Again, this option likely becomes possible as a result of increased living standard that includes affordable housing. In addition, as the 1954 cohort come of age access to efficient contraceptives became normative, allowing a more stringent control of the timing of the transition to parenthood. Thus, for the individuals in this pathway, characterized by an extended period independence, may prefer to live as singles or to engage in cohabitation as an alternative to being single during the young adult years, but as they age and begin consider parenthood a formalization of their romantic unions are likely to occur – and especially so among the women.

These findings further underscore that in order understand the continued dynamics of family life over the life course, an extended period of inquiry beyond the classic transition to adulthood period (which is often expected to be completed by the mid or late 20s), is required. Though this pathway is very alike for women and men, only a little over one in ten (0.1185) women are best described by this pathway. Among men this figure is close to one in five (0.1916).

Pathway 3 – Deferred Parenthood. The third latent family life pathway also involves high involvement in the Dependent life pathway during the adolescence years. Among women, as this high involvement decreases, the likelihood of being in the Independent role configuration as well as being in the Married Parent role configuration increases correspondingly. Yet, the probability of being in the Independent configuration of social roles remains moderate to low and peaks about age 21 (0.2725). The Married role configuration, on the other hand, continues a steady increase and crossover with Dependent role configuration about age 20 (0.4213) and arrives at a very high probability at age 28 (0.9368) where it stays until age 32 where a slight downward trend sets in (0.0.9681 to 0.7935), and a comparative slight increase in the Married Parent role configuration emerge (0.0003 to 0.1408).

[FIGURE 5 AND 6 ABOUT HERE]

In comparison to women, men's high involvement in the Dependent role configuration decrease at a somewhat slower rate, and the same is true about the increase in the probability of being in the Independent roles configuration and in the Married role configuration. Also among men the probability of involvement in the configuration of social roles labeled as Independent remain moderate to low peaking at age 23 with a probability of 0.3796. The crossover between the Dependent and the Married role configurations also occurs at age 23 (0.3149). In contrast to the women, men in this pathway hit the highest probability (0.9559) for being in the Married role configuration at age 30 immediately followed by a sharp decrease and a correspondingly rapid increase in the likelihood of being in the Married Parent role configuration. At about age 34 a crossover exists between these two role configurations (0.4706).

Along similar lines to the results presented in Pathway 1, I again note that the transition out of the Married role configuration and into the Married Parent role configuration does not only correspond with a very high likelihood of becoming a parent, but also mirror an effective move away from the moderate probability associated with educational attainment that we see in the married role configuration to the much lower probability of education in combination with an increase in the probability experiencing first formal employment. Where in Pathway 1 this transition between the Married and the Married Parent role configurations is likely to have been completed by the majority by the mid-20s, this transition does not happen in Pathway 3 until early 30s. It is likely that individuals in this pathway also prefer to postpone parenthood until further education has been completed, and that individuals characterized by Pathway 3 might then be likely to engage in higher education. Moreover, in comparison to those characterized by Pathway 2, individuals in this pathway does not postpone all conventional social roles associated with family formation, rather they do engage in marriage at a greater rate much earlier on but defer the transition to parenthood. Pathway 3 distinguishes only about one in twenty (0.0614) women, whereas this figure is nearly one in five (0.1747) among men.

Pathway 4 – Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage. The fourth family life pathway also begins with a very high probability of being in the Dependent role configuration for both women and men (0.9451 and 0.9706 respectively) at age 16, yet this high probability decreases rapidly among women and by age 18 it is reduced to 0.4301. This effective transition out of the parental home and out of school is parallel to an increase in the probability of being in the Independent role configuration that peaks at age 20 with a probability of 0.5781 remaining relatively stable at this during the early 20s. Between age 23 and age 24 there is a crossover between the

Independent role configuration and the role configuration of Cohabiting Parent (~0.4050), which then become the dominant configuration of social roles for the remainder of the window of observation. The rapid increase in Cohabiting Parent reaches its maximum at age 30 (0.9927) followed by a slight decreasing trend (to 0.8761). This decrease is in turn complimented by a slight increase in the Married Parent role configuration (0.0065 to 0.1239). Additionally, a low probability of experiencing the Married role configuration just before the women in this pathway enter their 20s and until about age 24 (~0.1000) exists, as well as experiencing the Married Parent role configuration during the first part of their 20s and throughout their mid-20s (~0.1100). This low probability also suggests that only a limited amount of the cohabitation associated with the dominant Cohabiting Parent role configuration from the mid-20s and onwards is likely to be post-marital cohabitation.

[FIGURE 7 AND 8 ABOUT HERE]

Among the male population the involvement in the Dependent role configuration also decreases during the adolescent years but do extend into the early 20s. Just as among the women, this decrease is accompanied by a fast increase in the likelihood of the Independent role configuration, and a crossover with the Dependent role configuration occur just before age 20 (0.4702). The Independent configuration of social roles peaks at age 22 (0.6394), and throughout the early- and mid-20s this probability remains relatively stable. In comparison to women, men in this pathway experience the Cohabiting Parent role configuration to become dominant somewhat later; between age 25 and age 26 a crossover (~0.5100) between the Independent role configuration and the Cohabiting Parent role configuration occur. The probability of being in the

Cohabiting Parent role configuration continues to increase to it reach its maximum at age 30 (0.9621) and then, just as observed among the women, a slight decrease occur (to 0.8752) attended by a slight increase in the probability of being in the Married Parent role configuration (0.0005 to 0.1248).

As mention above cohabitation in the Nordic setting may in many respects be characterized as being outwardly indistinguishable from traditional marriages. This predominantly prevails when childbearing takes place within cohabitation. However the internal mechanism at play might still be varied. As discussed by Kiernan (2001), it is likely that when childbearing takes place within a cohabiting relationship in a society still largely dominated by childbearing within marriage, the meaning attached to the act of cohabitation by the couple is that of it being an alternative to marriage. For cohabitation to be a marriage alternative corresponds to it being a very conscious choice in opposition to the conventional marriage. Thus, individuals characterized by this pathway may possibly be a select group that attaches great and continued importance to new and more modern family values and norms. Among the female population Pathway 3 can be seen to typify 14 percent (0.1404), and 11 percent (0.1130) among the male population.

Pathway 5 – Delayed Traditional. The fifth latent family life pathway once more involves high involvement in the Dependent life pathway during adolescence. Among women, as this high involvement decreases, the average likelihood of being in the Independent role configuration increases correspondingly and peaks as the most dominant role configuration at age 20 with a probability of 0.5782. Also the Married role configuration begin to increase in the early adolescence years but at a slower rate, at age 23 there is a crossover between this role

configuration and the Independent set of social roles (0.4939), and the Married role configuration reaches its maximum at age 26 (0.8282). Towards the end of the 20s a final crossover occurs, namely between the decreasing probability of being in the Married role configuration and the increasing probability of being in the Married Parent role configuration (~0.5000), and by age 32 nearly all women (0.9813) in this pathway are characterized by the Married Parent role configuration.

[FIGURE 9 AND 10 ABOUT HERE]

In comparison to women, men's high involvement in the Dependent role configuration again decreases at a somewhat slower rate and extends into the early 20s. Similarly to the women, men's probability of being in the Independent role configuration and in the married role configuration increases from late adolescence and onward. The likelihood of being in the Independent role configuration peaks at a probability of 0.3491 at age 22, whereas the probability of being in the Married set of social role continues to increase and reaches its maximum at age 25 with a probability of 0.8559. As we move towards the end of the 20s the Married role configuration is replaced as the most prevalent role configuration by the Married Parent configuration. By age 31 and until the end of the window of observation virtually all men typified by this pathway are in the Married Parent role configuration.

In many respects Pathway 5 reminds of the traditional model of family life transitions present in Pathway 1; leaving the parental home, experience first formal employment, transitioning into marriage, and within a couple of years of marriage becoming a parent. Yet, in comparison to the first pathway, the probability of being in the Independent role configuration is

relatively more pronounced in this pathway for both women and men. The presence of this period characterized by independence from parental residence, high or moderate probability of singlehood or cohabitation, moderate likelihood of schooling or training, and high probability of formal labor market debut during late adolescence and young adult years seem to signify a postponement of - rather than a change in – the traditional family life pathway.

Specifically regarding cohabitation, individuals in this pathway are likely to spend a significant amount of time during late adolescence and early 20s being in the Independent role configuration. Recalling that among the women the Independent role configuration holds a higher level of involvement in cohabitation (0.1828) than among men (0.0827), this does include the possibility of being in cohabitation. In speculation it is likely that for Danish women and men who do engage in cohabitation during this period, cohabitation may operate as a “prelude to marriage”. That is, cohabitation becomes a testing ground for a romantic union (see e.g. Heuveline and Timberlake 2004) or a “light” version of marriage (see. e.g. Blom 1994). Also Thornton (1988) stress that cohabitation possibly operate well as a transitional state for a relative large fraction of people during adolescence and the early 20s (Thornton 1988:506). Among the female population 16 percent (0.1565) is described by Pathway 5 and among the male population this figure is 27 percent (0.2671).

Pathway 6 – Early Traditional. Among the women I identify one additional prevalent latent family life pathway for which no equivalent is present in the male population. In this sixth pathway, a high probability of being in the Dependent role configuration at age 16 also exists, yet, this probability is slightly lower (0.8984) than observed in any of the previously discussed pathways. In turn, already at age 16 a low probability (0.0879) of being in the Married role

configuration is present, which increases quite rapidly and arrive at its maximum probability (0.5139) already at age 19. The Married Parent role configuration also emerge at a relatively early age and display an even greater increase, thus, by age 22 and onwards the likelihood of having engaged in all social roles associated with conventional family transitions is very high (0.9320).

[FIGURE 11 ABOUT HERE]

This pathway mirror the traditional path to completion of family life transitions as prevalent in Pathway 1, yet this pathway is distinctive the very early completion of all the core family transitions. Already by age 20 the Married Parent role configuration becomes dominant. Relative to the other observed pathways, women in this pathway probably have limited further education and tend to prioritize family life. However, the short period and only moderate prevalence of the Married role configuration, in combination with the dominant prevalence of Married Parent role configuration early on, could also signify that some of the women in this pathway experienced a quick transition to married parenthood as the result of an unplanned pregnancy. To experience nearly all traditional family roles to be acquired already by age 22 characterize just about one in four (0.2427) of all the women in the sampled population.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined the transitions between multiple family related social roles over the life course within the context of typological pathways in general, and the position of cohabitation within these transitions in particular. More specifically, the interplay between social roles in

relation to leaving the parental home, union status, parenthood status, and work was reviewed in order to explore the social roles Danish women and men born in 1954 simultaneously occupy and how the a various configurations of these multiple social roles form distinct family life pathways through adolescence, young adulthood and adult life.

The results presented in this paper suggest that women and men born in 1954 can be distinguished by 5 distinct configurations of family related social roles, and that no one of these five role configurations are dominated by one role alone. Though the role configurations among women and men were surprisingly alike in their nature, their prevalence did vary. In comparison to men, women had an overall higher probability of experiencing the Married Parent role configuration, and an overall lower probability of experiencing the Dependent role configuration, and to some degree the Independent role configuration.

This paper also addressed how the identified role configurations form distinct family life pathways over the life course. In total, six distinctive family life pathways were observed among women and five among men. As with the role configurations, the family life pathways were also similar for women and men in their nature but less so in their prevalence. The Extended Independence, the Deferred Parenthood, and the Delayed Traditional pathways were more prevalent among the male population, whereas the Early Traditional and Traditional pathways were more prevalent among the female population. This difference is likely to imply that different age norms exist between the two sexes with regard to completion of family transitions suggesting that men, in comparison to women, generally form committed romantic relationships and become parents later at a later age. In addition, evidence suggests that this cohort of Danes is in favor of completing their educational pursuits before beginning childbearing.

With regard to the location of cohabitation within the broader structure of the life course, it was hypothesized that among Danish women and men born in 1954 the experience of being a cohabiting partner constituted an autonomous role as a part of one or more roles configuration. Cohabitation was identified as playing a dominating role within two of the five identified role configurations among both women and men, namely the Independent role configuration and the Cohabiting Parent role configuration. As the role configurations were linked over time as family life pathways in order to observe the timing and sequencing of family life related transitions, it became evident that several distinct meanings are likely to be attached to cohabitation in the Danish setting.

It was also hypothesized that cohabitation would play a prevailing part in one or more of the established family life pathways of this cohort of Danish women and men. Indeed this is the case; though marriage remains a dominant factor in the majority of the identified family life pathways, cohabitation play a significant part in several pathways too. That is, within the family life pathways observed as Extended Independence, Cohabitation as a Marriage Alternative, and Delayed Traditional, a significant amount of the person-years are estimated as likely to take place in a cohabiting union. Beginning with the Extended Independence pathway, my findings entail a pattern indicating cohabitation as an alternative to being single as suggested by Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel (1990). The family life pathway labeled Cohabitation as an Alternative to Marriage include a high probability of experiencing parenthood within a cohabiting union as opposed to within marriage. Kiernan (2001) stress that when childbearing takes place within cohabitation in a society where parenthood transition within marriage is still normative, cohabitation may very well function as an alternative to marriage. Thus, cohabitation is likely among these pioneering Danish individuals to be a conscious choice in opposition to some of the

conventional norms and social values attached to married life. Finally, Cohabitation is likely to also yield a considerable presence within the Delayed Traditional family life pathway, especially among women. In speculation my results may suggest that in this pathway the meaning of cohabitation is likely to be best described as a prelude to marriage. Taken together I conclude that to be a cohabiting partner, just as other family related social roles, are a significant ingredient in a dynamic family formation process that unfold over the life course.

The findings presented in this paper further imply that the entrance of cohabitation into family life pathways has not resulted in a devaluation of marriage in the Danish context, rather marriage remains a popular institution for this 1954 cohort. Instead what my findings suggest is that a liberating question of flavor has entered the scene as cohabitation likely developed as a prelude to marriage as well as a functional equivalent to both being married or to being single for a significant amount of Danish women and men. Cohabitation is likely to be a consensual contract just as marriage; however the contract among cohabiters may be of a more social and private character.

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TABLES AND FIGURES**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Women and Men Age 16 to 35. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.**

N	Women 1174	Men 1098
	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Ever left the parental home	100	99
Ever experienced cohabitation	55	56
Ever experienced marriage	89	81
Ever experienced parenthood	94	88
Ever experienced additional educational attainment	81	86
Ever experienced formal employment lasting at least 6 months	99	100
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Age left parental home	19	20
Age first union	21	23
Age first child	25	28
Age first work	19	19

Table 2: Conditional Probabilities for Latent Role Configurations for Women Age 16 to 35. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

	Role configuration 1	Role configuration 2	Role configuration 3	Role configuration 4	Role configuration 5	Overall loading
Size	0.1542	0.1675	0.1779	0.4142	0.0862	
Indicators						
Left parental home						
No	<u>0.8308</u>	0.0038	0.0007	0.0004	0.0147	0.1303
Yes	0.1692	<u>0.9962</u>	<u>0.9993</u>	<u>0.9996</u>	<u>0.9853</u>	0.8697
Union status						
Single	<u>0.9934</u>	<u>0.6053</u>	0.1122	0.0353	0.3223	0.3169
Cohabit	0.0004	0.3881	0.0000	0.0000	<u>0.6634</u>	0.1223
Married	0.0062	0.0066	<u>0.8878</u>	<u>0.9647</u>	0.0143	0.5608
Has become a parent						
No	<u>0.9961</u>	<u>0.9999</u>	<u>0.9999</u>	0.0000	0.0020	0.4992
Yes	0.0039	0.0001	0.0001	<u>1.0000</u>	<u>0.9980</u>	0.5008
Doing school/education/training						
No	<u>0.7877</u>	<u>0.6774</u>	<u>0.7272</u>	<u>0.9291</u>	<u>0.9046</u>	0.8271
Yes	0.2123	0.3226	0.2728	0.0709	0.0954	0.1729
Experienced employment						
No	<u>0.6677</u>	0.1879	0.1131	0.0441	0.0354	0.1759
Yes	0.3323	<u>0.8121</u>	<u>0.8869</u>	<u>0.9559</u>	<u>0.9646</u>	0.8241
LABEL	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Married Parent</i>	<i>Cohabiting Parent</i>	

Highest propensity within indicator underlined.

Note: The shown propensities are not age specified. Age specified propensities are available upon request.

Table 3: Conditional Probabilities for Latent Role Configurations for Men Age 16 to 35. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

	Role configuration 1	Role configuration 2	Role configuration 3	Role configuration 4	Role configuration 5	
Size	0.2552	0.2111	0.1891	0.2807	0.0639	
Indicators						Overall loading
Left parental home						
No	<u>0.7570</u>	0.0473	0.0057	0.0041	0.0057	0.2058
Yes	0.2430	<u>0.9527</u>	<u>0.9943</u>	<u>0.9959</u>	<u>0.9943</u>	0.7942
Union status						
Single	<u>0.9968</u>	<u>0.6073</u>	0.1287	0.0261	0.2175	0.4282
Cohabit	0.0006	0.3926	0.0000	0.0000	<u>0.7823</u>	0.1330
Married	0.0025	0.0001	<u>0.8713</u>	<u>0.9738</u>	0.0002	0.4388
Has become a parent						
No	<u>0.9968</u>	<u>1.0000</u>	<u>0.9964</u>	0.0000	0.0013	0.6541
Yes	0.0032	0.0000	0.0036	<u>1.0000</u>	<u>0.9987</u>	0.3459
Doing school/education/training						
No	<u>0.5949</u>	<u>0.7576</u>	<u>0.7478</u>	<u>0.9186</u>	<u>0.9079</u>	0.7690
Yes	0.4051	0.2424	0.2522	0.0814	0.0921	0.2310
Experienced employment						
No	0.4852	0.1004	0.0818	0.0152	0.0375	0.1672
Yes	<u>0.5148</u>	<u>0.8996</u>	<u>0.9182</u>	<u>0.9848</u>	<u>0.9625</u>	0.8328
LABEL	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Married Parent</i>	<i>Cohabiting Parent</i>	

Highest propensity within indicator underlined.

Note: The shown propensities are not age specified. Age specified propensities are available upon request.

Table 4: Conditional Probabilities for Pathways for Women Age 16 to 35. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

	Pathway 1	Pathway 2	Pathway 3	Pathway 4	Pathway 5	Pathway 6	
Size	0.2804	0.1185	0.0614	0.1404	0.1565	0.2427	
Role configuration 1	0.1668	0.1823	0.2460	0.1344	0.1827	0.0959	ROLE CONFIGURATION LABEL <i>Dependent</i>
Role configuration 2	0.0388	0.7084	0.0964	0.2202	0.1828	0.0297	<i>Independent</i>
Role configuration 3	0.2140	0.0596	0.6426	0.0356	0.2862	0.0891	<i>Married</i>
Role configuration 4	0.5801	0.0346	0.0149	0.0636	0.3415	0.7584	<i>Married parent</i>
Role configuration 5	0.0003	0.0152	0.0000	0.5463	0.0068	0.0269	<i>Cohabiting parent</i>
PATHWAY LABEL	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Extended Independence</i>	<i>Deferred Parenthood</i>	<i>Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage</i>	<i>Delayed Traditional</i>	<i>Early Traditional</i>	

Table 5: Conditional Probabilities for Pathways for Men Age 16 to 35. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

	Pathway 1	Pathway 2	Pathway 3	Pathway 4	Pathway 5	
Size	0.2536	0.1916	0.1747	0.1130	0.2671	
Role configuration 1	0.1955	0.2739	0.3239	0.1974	0.2782	ROLE CONFIGURATION LABEL <i>Dependent</i>
Role configuration 2	0.0178	0.6785	0.1381	0.2686	0.0827	<i>Independent</i>
Role configuration 3	0.1568	0.0325	0.4411	0.0040	0.2458	<i>Married</i>
Role configuration 4	0.6200	0.0032	0.0945	0.0244	0.3877	<i>Married parent</i>
Role configuration 5	0.0100	0.0119	0.0025	0.5057	0.0056	<i>Cohabiting parent</i>
PATHWAY LABEL	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Extended Independence</i>	<i>Deferred Parenthood</i>	<i>Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage</i>	<i>Delayed Traditional</i>	

Figure 1: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 1 “Traditional”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.2804



Figure 2: Men . Latent Family Life Pathway 1 “Traditional”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

Probability in Sampled Male Population = 0.2536



Figure 3: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 2 “Extended Independence”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.1185



Figure 4: Men . Latent Family Life Pathway 2 “Extended Independence”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Male Population = 0.1916

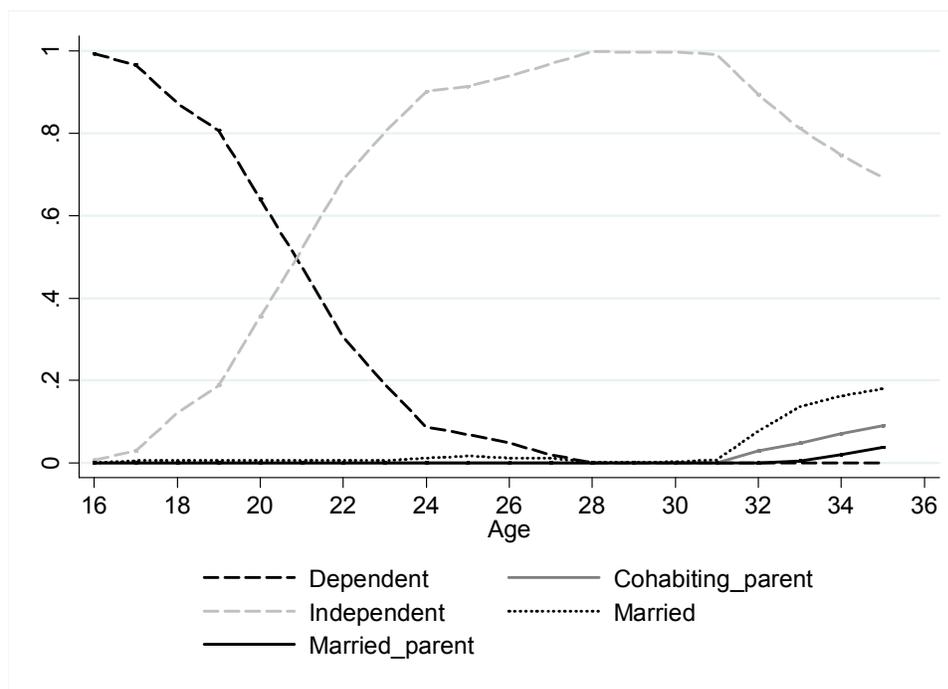


Figure 5: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 3 “Deferred Parenthood”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.0614



Figure 6: Men . Latent Family Life Pathway 3 “Deferred Parenthood”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Male Population = 0.1747



Figure 7: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 4 “Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.1404



Figure 8: Men . Latent Family Life Pathway 4 “Cohabitation as Alternative to Marriage”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Male Population = 0.1130

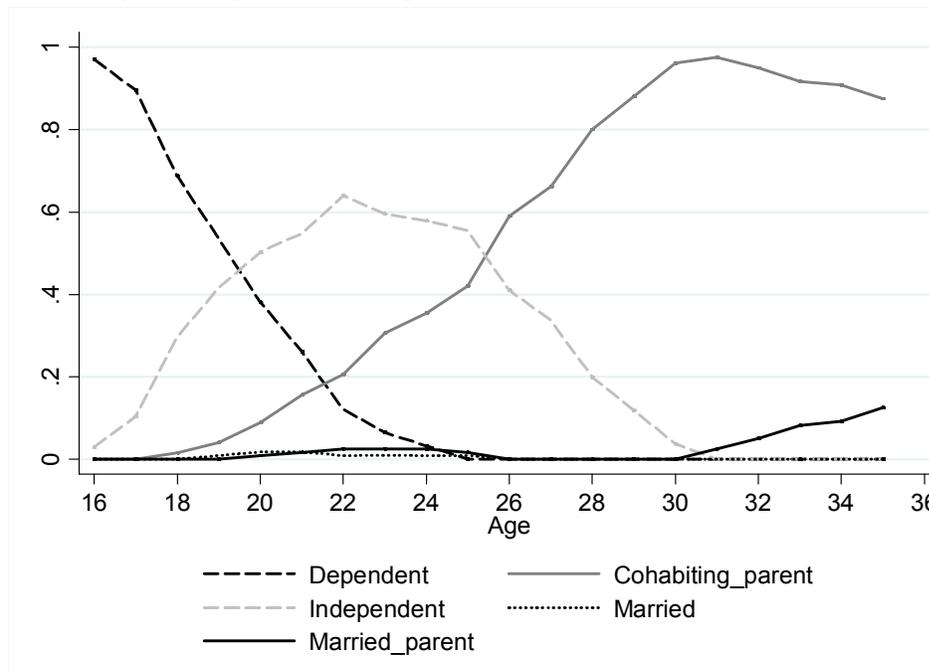


Figure 9: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 5 “Delayed Traditional”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.1565



Figure 10: Men . Latent Family Life Pathway 5 “Delayed Traditional”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
 Probability in Sampled Male Population = 0.2671

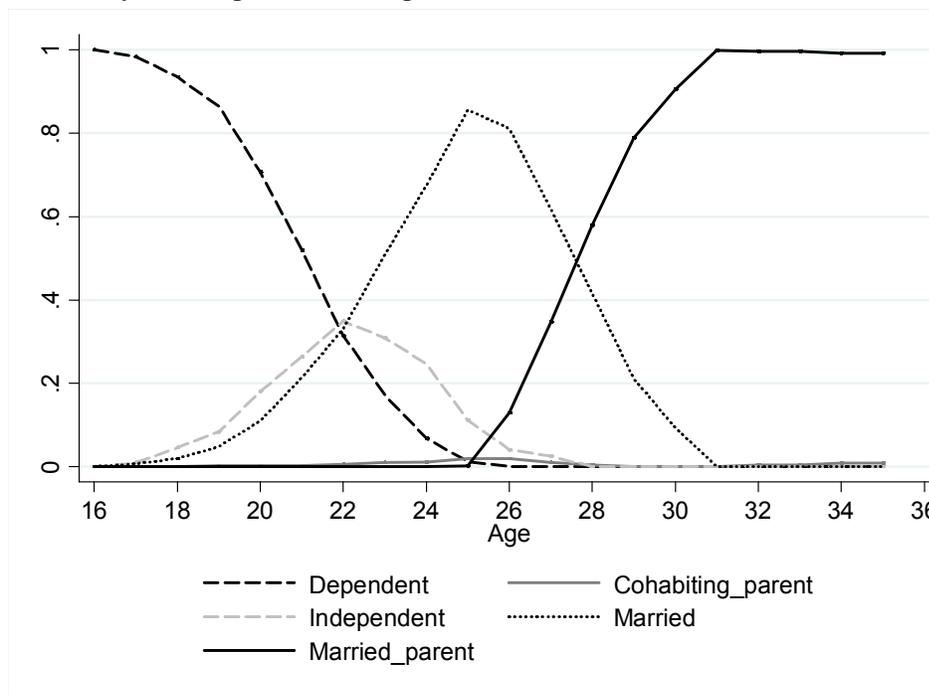


Figure 11: Women . Latent Family Life Pathway 6 “Early Traditional”. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.
Probability in Sampled Female Population = 0.2427



APPENDIX

Figure A: Share of Births outside Marriage per 1000 Live births. Full Danish Population 1901 to 2009. Statistics Denmark

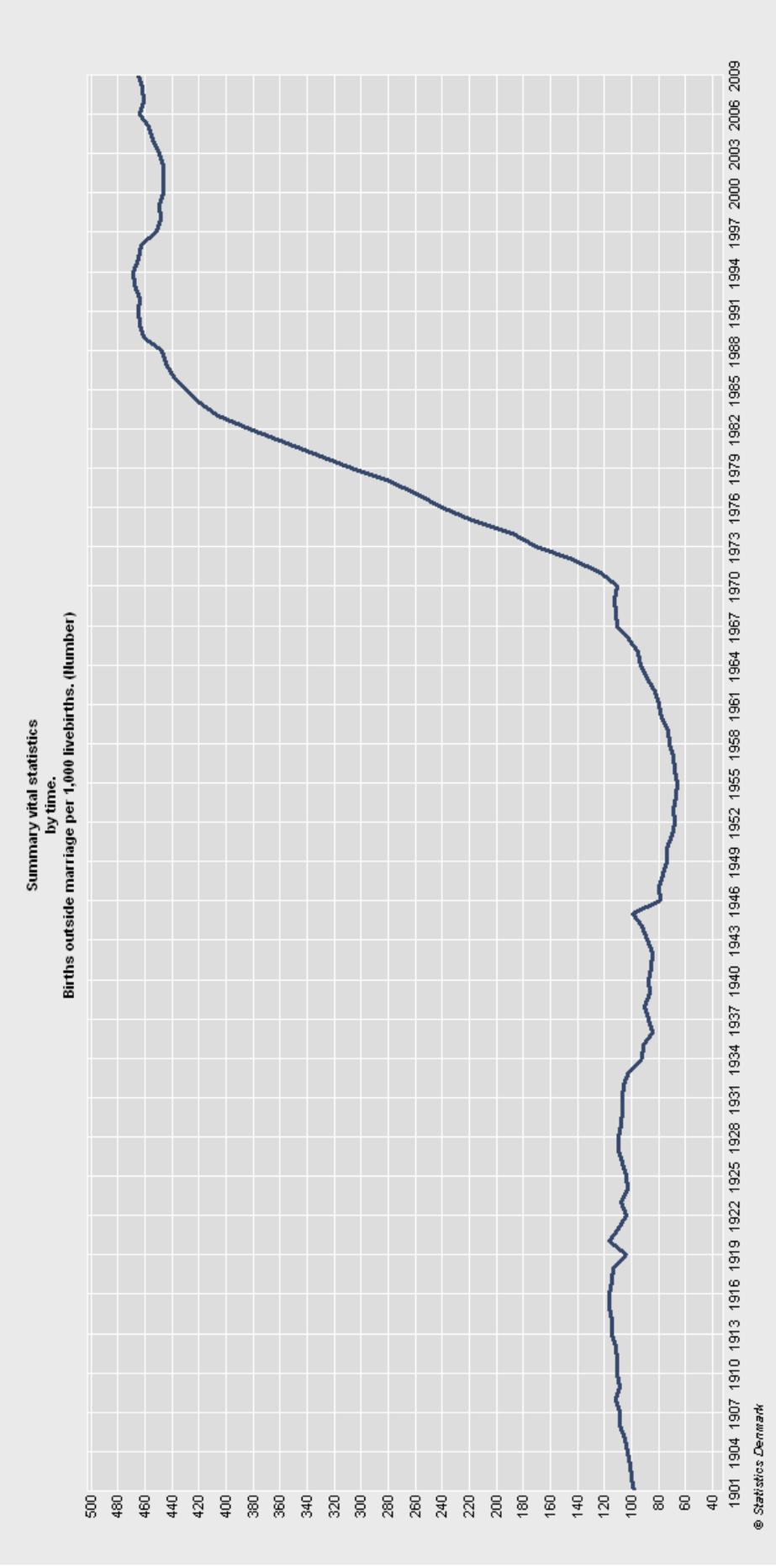


Figure B: Distribution of the four most common family types that have one single child less than one year of age, Full Danish population 1986 to 2010. Generated from Statistics Denmark, Statbank Table FAM111N.

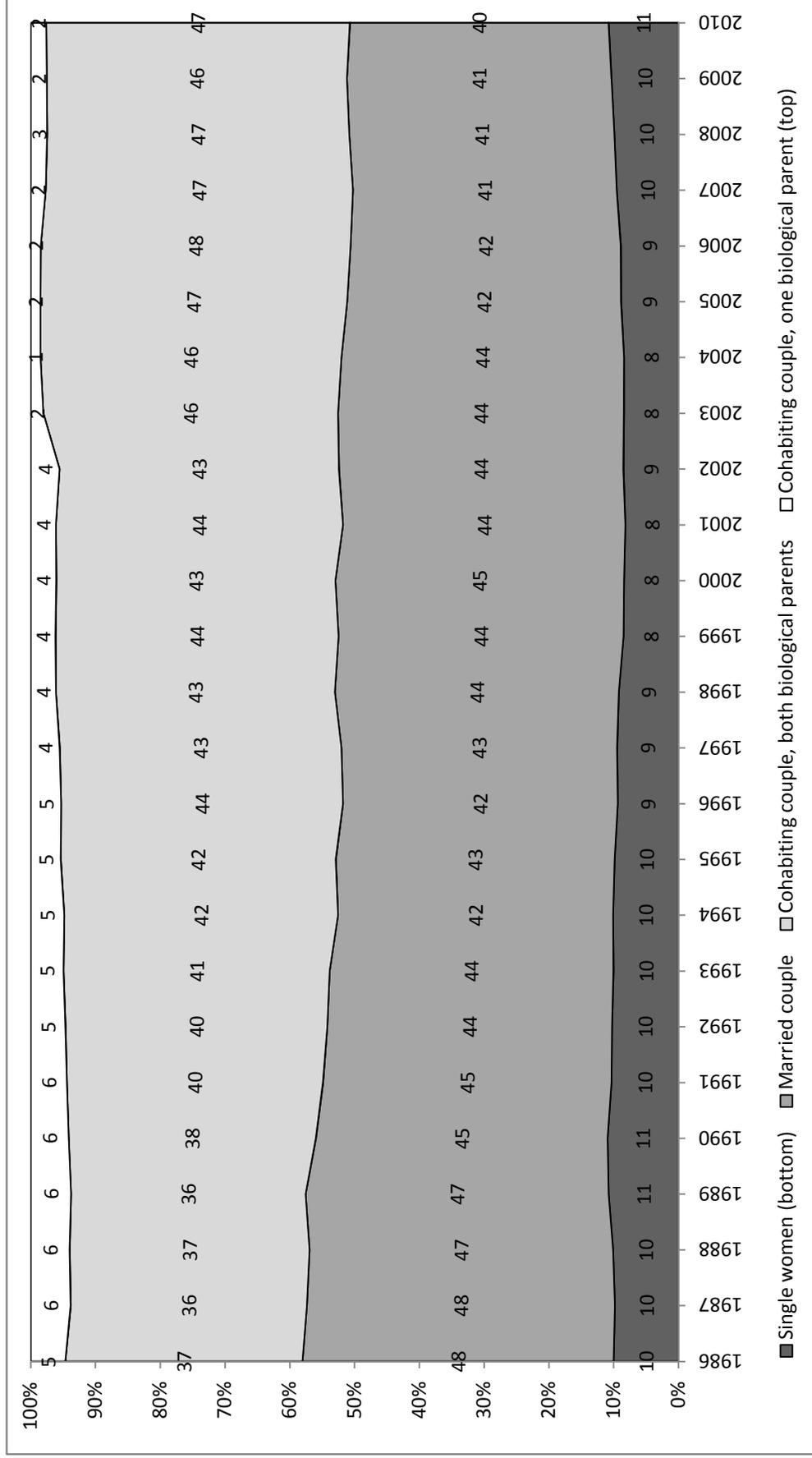


Table A: Model Selection for Second order Latent Class Cluster Analysis. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Women Age 16 to 35. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

Role configurations	Pathways	LL	BIC(LL)	#Parameters	Classification error	1 percent range (BIC)
1	1	-34441.33	68938.88	6	0.0000	
2	1	-26153.96	52607.77	32	0.0350	
3	1	-24050.78	48645.07	58	0.0745	
4	1	-23762.03	48311.19	84	0.1038	
5	1	-23488.30	<u>48007.38</u>	110	0.1047	
6	1	-23398.86	48072.13	136	0.0585	
1	2	-34441.33	68948.25	7	0.0000	
2	2	-25081.74	50660.14	53	0.0346	
3	2	-21846.23	44620.16	99	0.0153	
4	2	-21449.97	44258.69	145	0.0679	
5	2	-21023.94	43837.70	191	0.0967	
6	2	-20709.39	43639.66	237	0.1158	
7	2	-20454.81	<u>43561.54</u>	283	0.1014	
8	2	-20362.94	43808.86	329	0.1434	
1	3	-34441.33	68957.62	8	0.0000	
2	3	-24556.22	49805.88	74	0.0240	
3	3	-21083.54	43478.99	140	0.0154	
4	3	-20351.98	42634.34	206	0.0252	
5	3	-19895.63	42340.11	272	0.0537	
6	3	-19538.75	42244.81	338	0.0897	
7	3	-19216.21	<u>42218.20</u>	404	0.1045	
8	3	-19085.10	42574.47	470	0.1000	
1	4	-34441.33	68966.99	9	0.0000	
2	4	-24262.63	49415.47	95	0.0004	
3	4	-20696.05	43088.20	181	0.0147	
4	4	-19717.60	41937.20	267	0.0213	
5	4	-19161.24	<u>41630.35</u>	353	0.0247	
6	4	-18784.39	41682.54	439	0.0459	
1	5	-34441.33	68976.36	10	0.0000	
2	5	-24075.83	49238.67	116	0.0004	
3	5	-20502.64	43085.59	222	0.0149	
4	5	-19398.40	41870.42	328	0.0223	
5	5	-18661.09	<u>41389.08●</u>	434	0.0224	41802.97
6	5	-18294.80	41649.80	540	0.0447	
1	6	-34441.33	68985.73	11	0.0000	
2	6	-23983.74	49251.26	137	0.0003	
3	6	-20384.28	43233.08	263	0.0136	
4	6	-19149.80	41944.82	389	0.0185	
5	6	-18317.06	<u>41460.06●●</u>	515	0.0211	
6	6	-17955.51	41917.67	641	0.0426	

● Lowest BIC estimate.

●● Chosen best fitting model based on i) the BIC estimate being within a 1 percent range of lowest BIC, ii) the model categories being clearly distinct from one another, and iii) having the least classification error among models within the 1 percent range.

Table B: Model Selection for Second order Latent Class Cluster Analysis. Multiple Imputed Dataset #1. Men Age 16 to 35. Danish Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

Role configurations	Pathways	LL	BIC(LL)	#Parameters	Classification error	1 percent range (BIC)
1	1	-34067.85	68191.51	6	0.0000	
2	1	-25469.32	51236.36	32	0.0401	
3	1	-23998.06	48535.74	58	0.0971	
4	1	-23427.05	47635.62	84	0.0918	
5	1	-23070.29	47164.00	110	0.1097	
6	1	-22956.55	<u>47178.43</u>	136	0.1049	
7	1	-22855.16	47217.55	162	0.1188	
1	2	-34067.85	68200.82	7	0.0000	
2	2	-24484.66	49462.43	53	0.0350	
3	2	-21952.74	44826.56	99	0.0317	
4	2	-21204.77	43758.59	145	0.0570	
5	2	-20799.48	43375.98	191	0.0815	
6	2	-20546.14	43297.30	237	0.1013	
7	2	-20293.67	<u>43220.31</u>	283	0.1112	
8	2	-20118.51	43297.97	329	0.1198	
1	3	-34067.85	68210.12	8	0.0000	
2	3	-23971.21	48630.91	74	0.0230	
3	3	-21281.18	43864.90	140	0.0315	
4	3	-20516.47	42949.54	206	0.0542	
5	3	-19830.05	42190.75	272	0.0653	
6	3	-19415.51	<u>41975.71</u>	338	0.0845	
7	3	-19132.45	42023.65	404	0.0997	
1	4	-34067.85	68219.43	9	0.0000	
2	4	-23755.81	48395.48	95	0.0189	
3	4	-20910.45	43504.88	181	0.0249	
4	4	-20079.87	42643.85	267	0.0364	
5	4	-19290.48	41865.20	353	0.0591	
6	4	-18683.93	<u>41452.24</u>	439	0.0477	
7	4	-18434.73	41753.98	525	0.0809	
1	5	-34067.85	68228.73	10	0.0000	
2	5	-23649.83	48378.90	116	0.0162	
3	5	-20652.40	43370.26	222	0.0241	
4	5	-19773.96	42599.58	328	0.0292	
5	5	-18889.40	41816.66●●	434	0.0393	
6	5	-18205.57	<u>41435.21●</u>	540	0.0504	41849.56
7	5	-17796.13	41602.53	646	0.0522	
1	6	-34067.85	68238.03	11	0.0000	
2	6	-23596.12	48466.87	137	0.0149	
3	6	-20512.10	43471.11	263	0.0235	
4	6	-19556.13	42731.45	389	0.0417	
5	6	-18640.74	42072.96	515	0.0333	
6	6	-17830.52	41624.81	641	0.0450	
7	6	-17330.45	41796.94	767	0.0532	

● Lowest BIC estimate.

●● Chosen best fitting model based on i) the BIC estimate being within a 1 percent range of lowest BIC, ii) the model categories being clearly distinct from one another, and iii) having the least classification error among models within the 1 percent range.