

**WOUT ULTEE  
RADBOD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN  
THE NETHERLANDS**

**(UN)EMPLOYMENT MOBILITY AND PARTNER  
EFFECTS**

**LECTURE ON NOVEMBER 5, 2015  
FOR THE COURSE ON SOCIAL STRATIFICATION  
BY TOMAS KATRNAK  
AT MASARYK UNIVERSITY  
BRNO**

INEQUALITIES IN THE  
DISTRIBUTION OF  
RESOURCES AND LIFE  
CHANCES

ONE-MOMENT  
AND ONE-  
PERSON

OPENNESS / CLOSURE

PERCENT  
BELOW  
POVERTY  
LINE

QUINTILE  
SHARES

TWO-MOMENTS  
MOBILITY

WHO MARRIES  
WHOM? (CONNUBIUM)

WHO IS FRIENDS  
WITH WHOM?  
(CONVIVIUM)

ABSOLU  
TE  
MOBILIT  
Y RATES

RELATIV  
E  
MOBILIT  
Y

ABSOLUTE  
HETEROGA  
MY RATES

RELATIVE  
HETEROGA  
MY  
CHANCES

**WHAT TYPES OF RESOURCES, WHAT KIND OF  
LIFE CHANCES?**

**CUTTING DOWN ON ARBITRARINESS BY  
MAKING LISTS**

**THREE TYPES OF  
RESOURCES**

**MEANS OF COERCION  
MEANS OF PRODUCTION  
MEANS OF PERSUASION**

**THREE TYPES OF LIFE  
CHANCES**

**LONGEVITY (LIFE  
EXPECTANCY)  
STANDARD OF LIVING  
LIFE STYLE**

**AND NOW A STRATIFICATION  
RESEARCHER IS ABLE TO PLAY  
AROUND:**

**WHAT IS AT THIS OR THAT MOMENT  
IN THIS OR THAT TYPE OF SOCIETY**

**THE STRENGTH OF THE RELATION  
BETWEEN THIS OR THAT  
RESOURCE**

**WITH THIS OR THAT LIFE CHANCE?**

INEQUALITIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AND LIFE CHANCES

INCOME AS A

UNEMPLOYMENT AS A HANDICAP

EDUCATION AS A RESOURCE

HIGH BROW CULTURE AS A LIFESTYLE AND LIFE

DECILE SHARES

INCOME MOBILITY

DUAL EARNERS

UNEMPLOYMENT

BEING UNEMPLOYED, REMAINING

WHY DOES UNEMPLOYMENT COME IN

EDUCATIONAL HETEROGENEITY

PARTNER'S EDUCATION AS A RESOURCE IN FINDING A

OWN, PARTNER'S, PARENT'S EDUCATION

ABSOLUTE RATES OF EDUCATIONAL

RELATIVE CHANCES OF EDUCATIONAL



## **WHY TAKE UNEMPLOYMENT AS A HANDICAP?**

**THE CENTURY-OLD HYPOTHESIS OF INCREASING  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF ENGELS AND MARX IS OUT!**

**DUNCAN: IN USA IN 1962 NEGROES WITH LOW EDUCATION HAVE  
SAME (VERY LOW) JOB PRESTIGE AS WHITES WITH LOW  
EDUCATION**

**NO DISTRIMINATION AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION?!  
DUNCAN FORGOT THAT NEGROES WITH LOW EDUCATION WERE  
MORE LIKELY TO BE UNEMPLOYED THAN WHITES WITH LOW  
EDUCATION**

**IN THE NETHERLANDS IN 1983 UNEMPLOYMENT FOR MEN WAS  
NEAR 20% (IT NOW IS ABOUT 5 OR 6%)**

**AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS**

**THREE HYPOTHESES OF POLITICIANS ABOUT HIGH  
UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 1980s**

**RIGHT: HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DOES NOT MEAN  
NO MOBILITY FROM UNEMPLOYMENT TO  
EMPLOYMENT**

**CHRISTIAN CENTER: THE FAMILY IS A BUFFER  
AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT OF ONE ITS MEMBERS**

**LEFT: IF LITTLE MOBILITY **AND** FAMILY NO BUFFER,  
THE FORMATION OF AN UNDERCLASS**

**THE EXPRESSION UNDERCLASS BECAME KNOWN  
THROUGH THE GERMAN SOCIOLOGIST  
DAHRENDORF, WHO HAD BECOME A COMMISSIONER  
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**



**IN ADDITION, THE BRITISH SOCIOLOGIST  
GOLDTHORPE IN 1980 ARGUED AGAINST  
STUDYING OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE  
MOBILITY, AND IN FAVOR OF STUDYING  
CLASS MOBILITY**

**CLASSES WOULD DIFFER, AMONG OTHERS,  
IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES**

**YET NO PROPER EFFORT WAS MADE TO  
SHOW THIS AND EFFECTS OF PARENTAL  
UNEMPLOYMENT SPELLS ON LATER CLASS  
OF THEIR CHILDREN**



**OUR GRAPHS OF INTERCONNECTED STRATIFICATION QUESTIONS, LEADS US TO RAISE AT LEAST FOUR QUESTIONS GOING BEYOND THE USUAL QUESTION OF HOW HIGH THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS:**

**1A. HOW MUCH MOBILITY IS THERE BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT?**

**1B. AND AS A FOLLOW-UP: IS THERE LESS MOBILITY BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT WHEN THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS HIGHER?**

**2A. DOES UNEMPLOYMENT COME IN COUPLES?**

**2B. AND AS A FOLLOW-UP: WHY DOES UNEMPLOYMENT COME IN COUPLES? IS IT SIMPLY A BY-PRODUCT OF EDUCATIONAL HOMOGAMY AND THE POSITIVE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL**

**TO DETERMINE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES,  
MOST WESTERN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES IN THE 1980s  
CONDUCTED LABOUR FORCE SURVEYS  
NOW EUROSTAT DOES SO FOR ALL EU COUNTRIES  
THE SURVEYS SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS  
FOR EACH HOUSHOLD MEMBER THE MAIN ACTIVITY IS  
ASCERTAINED  
IF NOT RETIRED, NOT IN EDUCATION AND NOT A PAID JOB,  
THREE QUESTIONS:  
WANT TO WORK?  
AVAILABLE FOR WORK?  
LOOKING FOR WORK?**

**IF A PERSON IS NOT AT WORK, WANTS TO WORK, IS  
AVAILABLE FOR WORK AND LOOKING FOR WORK, THEN  
THIS PERSON IS COUNTED AS UNEMPLOYED**

**EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED PERSONS FORM  
LABOUR FORCE**

**THE OTHER PERSONS ARE COUNTED AS OUTSIDE THE  
LABOUR FORCE**

**UNEMPLOYED PERSONS ARE ASKED WHEN THEY LAST  
HELD A JOB: LESS THAN 3 MONTHS AGO, 3 TO LESS  
THAN 6, 6 TO LESS THAN 12, 12 OR MORE**

**EMPLOYED PERSONS ARE NOT ASKED SINCE WHEN  
THEY HAVE BEEN WORKING**

**SO, NO TABLE CAN BE MADE CROSS-  
CLASSIFYING LABOUR FORCE STATUS  
NOW (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED,  
OUTSIDE) AGAINST LABOUR FORCE  
STATUS THREE MONTHS AGO, 6  
MONTHS AGO, 12 MONTHS AGO**

**YET SUCH A TABLE MAY BE  
APPROXIMATED**

**TAKE THE DATA FOR, SAY, THE  
NETHERLANDS IN 2013**

**THE NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE  
LABOUR FORCE (EMPLOYED PLUS  
UNEMPLOYED) IS KNOWN**

**IT ALSO IS KNOWN HOW MANY PERSONS  
WERE UNEMPLOYED IN 2013**

**KNOWN TOO IS THE NUMBER OF  
PERSONS UNEMPLOYED IN 2014**

**FOR THE UNEMPLOYED PERSONS IN 2014  
IT IS KNOWN HOW MANY WERE AT LEAST  
UNEMPLOYED FOR A YEAR**

	EMPLOYED 2014	UNEMPLOYED 2014	TOTAL
EMPLOYED 2013	??	??	??
UNEMPLOYED 2013	??	KNOWN	KNOWN
TOTAL	??	KNOWN	KNOWN

**THIS MEANS THAT THE UNKNOWN FIGURES MAY BE COMPUTED BY SUBTRACTION**

**FOR THE FOUR INNER CELLS AN ODDS RATIO WAS COMPUTED**

**ODDS RATIO'S ARE INDEPENDENT OF MARGINAL FREQUENCIES**



construct a table for the ...

*Table 1. How to construct (un)employment mobility tables from periodic labor force survey or administrative data; (a) published data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, (b) cell frequencies obtained after subtraction and addition*

		October 1985		
		employed	unemployed	
em-	October	?	?	?
employed				
1984	unem-	?	699	7,989
	ployed			
		?	7,917	116,346

- 116,346: number of persons in the labor force in October 1984
- 7,989 : number of unemployed persons in October 1984
- 7,917 : number of unemployed persons in October 1985
- 699 : number of persons unemployed for more than a year in October 1985 (all numbers in 1,000's)

(b)		October 1985		
		employed	unemployed	
em- October employed		101,139	7,218	108,357
1984	unem- ployed	7,290	699	7,989
		108,429	7,917	116,346

**MY DATA RAN FROM THE EARLY  
1970s TO THE MID 1980s FOR**

<b>AUSTRALIA</b>	<b>IRELAND</b>
<b>AUSTRIA</b>	<b>ITALY</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>JAPAN</b>
<b>DENMARK</b>	<b>NETHERLANDS</b>
<b>CANADA</b>	<b>NORWAY</b>
<b>FINLAND</b>	<b>SWEDEN</b>
<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>UNITED KINGDOM</b>
<b>GERMANY</b>	<b>UNITED STATES</b>

**THE HYPOTHESIS WAS CONFIRMED:  
THE HIGHER THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, THE  
LESS MOBILITY BETWEEN EMPLOYED AND  
UNEMPLOYMENT AS MEASURED BY ODDD  
RATIO'S**

**WE FOUND COUNTRY DIFFERENCES IN MOBILITY  
BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

**AND WE TRIED TO EXPLAIN THESE DIFFERENCES BY  
LAWS MAKING IT EASY OR DIFFICULT TO LAY OFF  
PERSONS AND BY THE GENEROUSNESS OF  
UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT SCHEMES: MORE GENEROUS,  
LESS MOBILITY**

**FOR THESE SCHEMES WE USED DESCRIPTIONS FROM  
THE THINK TANK BASED IN PARIS CALLED OECD:  
ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND  
DEVELOPMENT**

**DID NOT WORK AS WELL AS WE WISHED, OECD DID NOT  
FULLY SUCCEED IN MAKING COMPARABLE  
DESCRIPTIONS**



**THE MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF LABOUR  
FORCE STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED  
STATES**

**IN THE EARLY 1980s ON THE COVER SAID:**

**RELATIONAL DATA**

**THAT MEANT THE LINKING OF RECORDS  
FOR PERSONS AND THEIR SPOUSE**

**SO THERE WERE TABLES WHICH CROSS-  
CLASSIFIED THE LABOUR MARKET  
STATUS OF HUSBANDS AGAINST THAT OF  
THEIR WIFE**

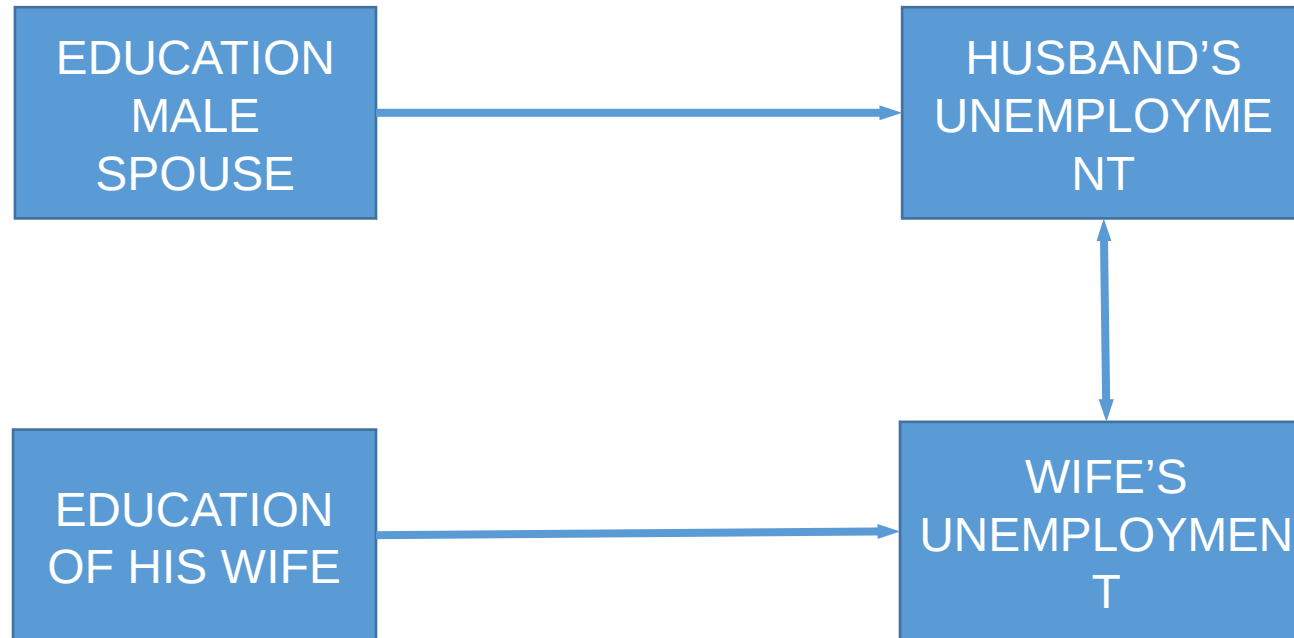
**THIS TABLE SHOWED THAT IS THE  
HUSBAND IS UNEMPLOYED HIS WIFE IS  
MORE LIKELY TO BE UNEMPLOYED TOO**

**THIS FINDING WAS NOT SURPRISING TO ME:**

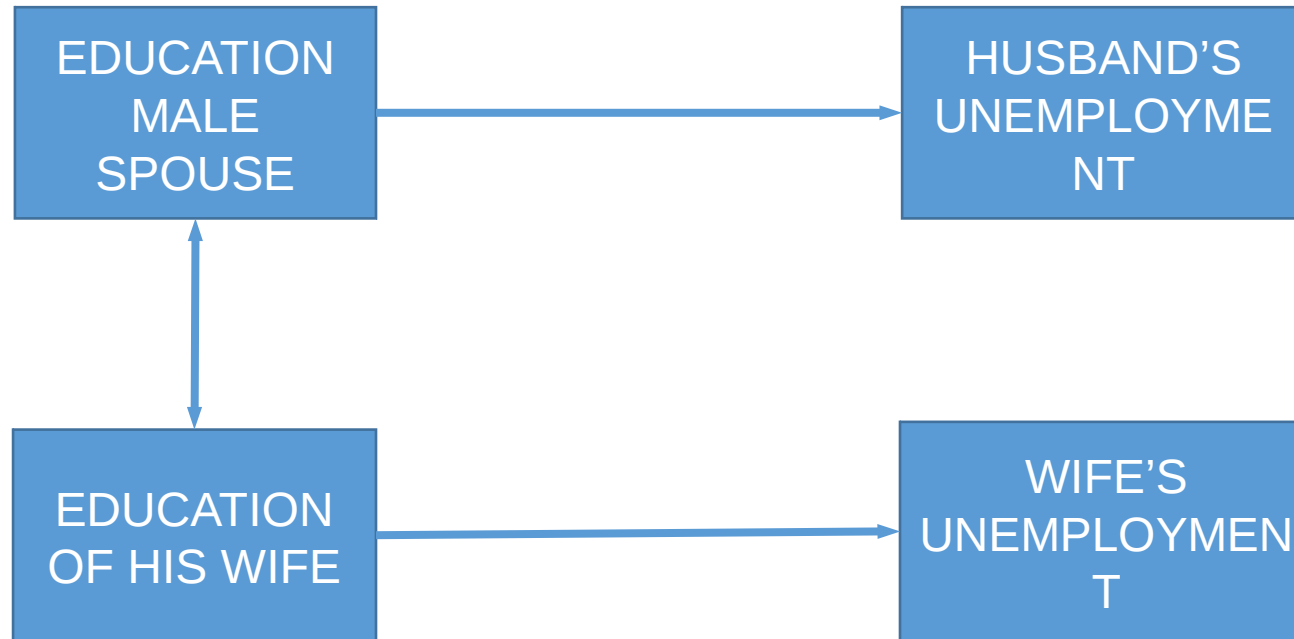
**THE STATISTICS SHOW THAT MORE  
EDUCATION MAKES FOR LOWER CHANCES  
OF UNEMPLOYMENT, FOR MEN BUT ALSO  
FOR WOMEN**

**AND IT IS KNOWN FROM PREVIOUS  
RESEARCH THAT THERE IS A LOT OF  
EDUCATIONAL HOMOGAMY**

**THIS IS WHAT WE CALLED THE BY-PRODUCT  
EXPLANATION**







**HOWEVER, THIS BY-PRODUCT EXPLANATION ONLY  
COULD ACCOUNT FOR A PART OF THE ASSOCIATION  
BETWEEN THE LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF  
SPOUSES**

**IN THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND THE  
NETHERLANDS**

**FOR THE USA WE GOT FOR FREE A TAPE OF A  
LABOUR FORCE SURVEY**

**ON THAT WE TESTED ANOTHER BY-PRODUCT  
EXPLANATION:**

**THE OLDER A PERSON, THE LOWER THE CHANCES  
OF UNEMPLOYMENT**

**AND SPOUSES DO NOT DIFFER A LOT IN AGE**

**WE HAD A SHARED RESTRICTIONS  
EXPLANATION TOO:**

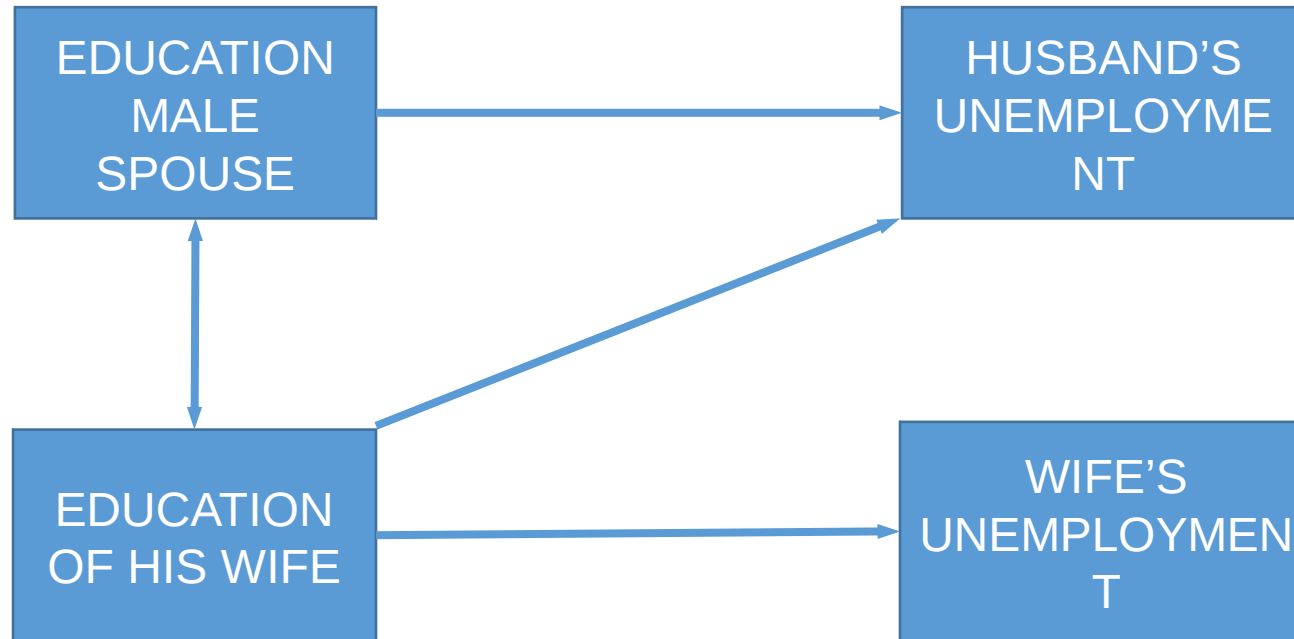
**MEN AND THEIR WIVES ARE PART  
OF THE SAME LOCAL LABOUR  
MARKET, WITH ITS OWN  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE**

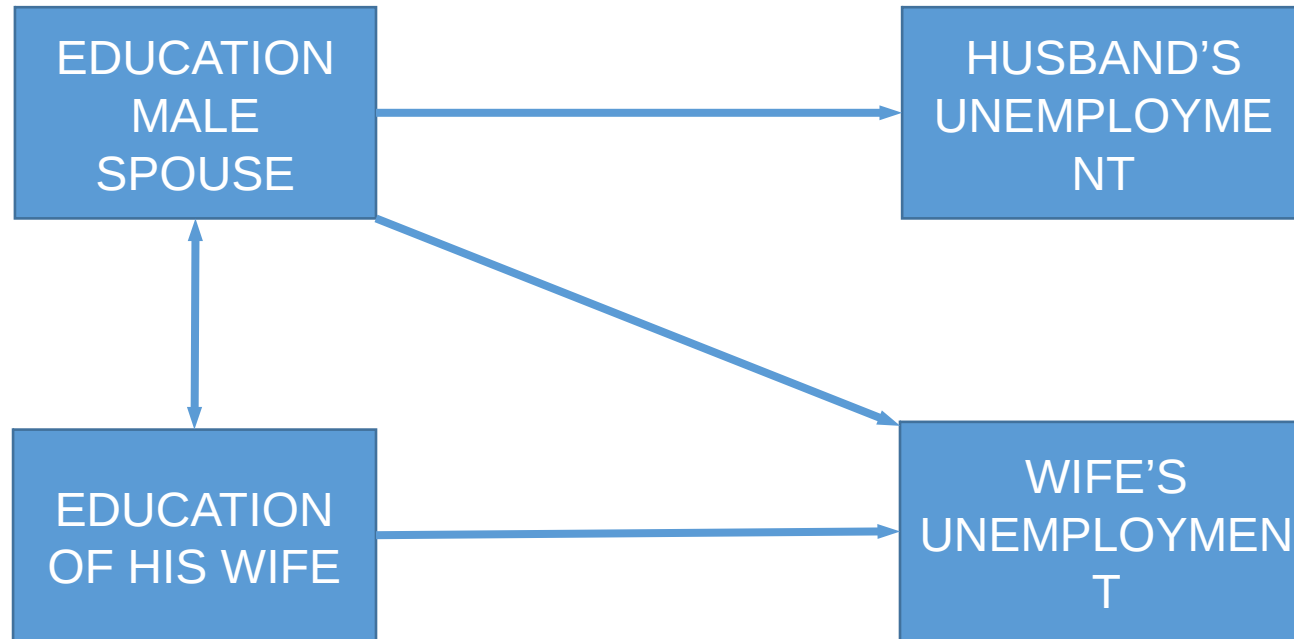
**BUT THE LOCAL UNEMPLOYMENT  
RATE DID NOT MAKE THE  
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE  
LABOUR FORCE STATES OF  
HUSBANDS AND WIVES  
DISAPPEAR EITHER**

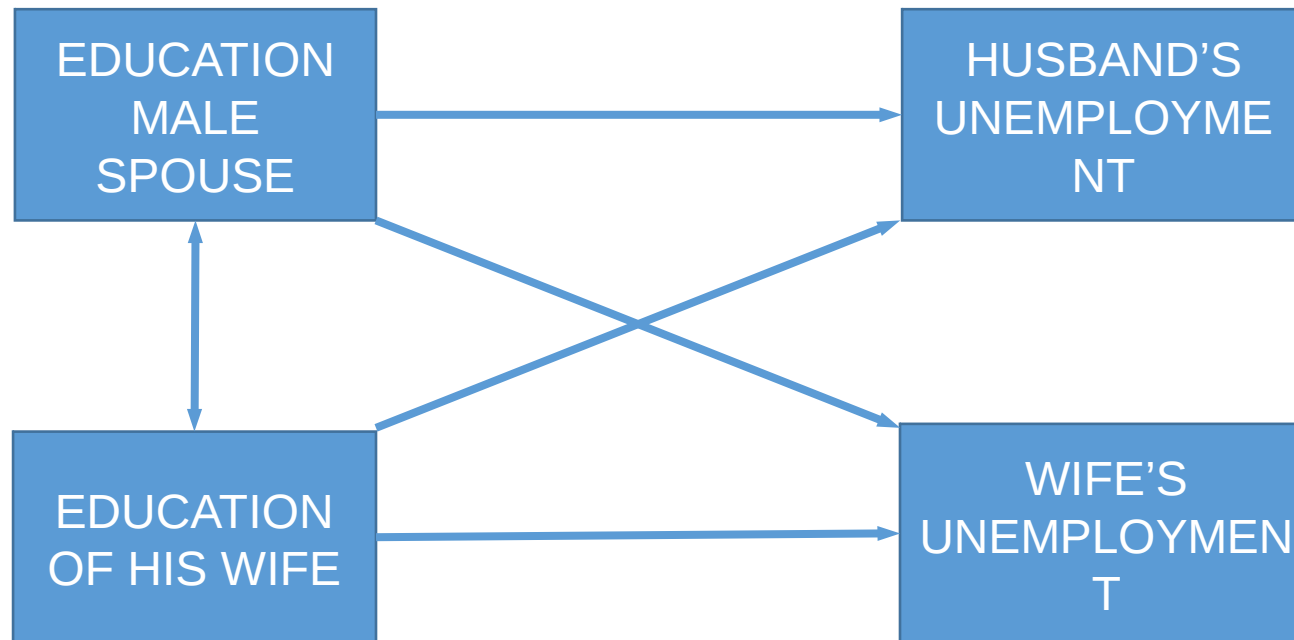


**BY ELIMINATION WE ARRIVED AT THE  
HYPOTHESIS THAT PARTNERS  
INFLUENCE ONE ANOTHER AS  
REGARDS LABOUR FORCE STATUS BY  
WAY OF THEIR EDUCATION**

**PARTNER EFFECTS**









**HOW DO YOU TEST FOR PARTNER  
EFFECTS?**

**WE NEEDED JOB-HISTORIES OF MEN  
AND THEIR WIVES**

**WE FOUND THEM IN A DUTCH DATA  
FILE FROM THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL  
AFFAIRS**

**AND WE COLLECTED LONGER JOB-  
HISTORIES IN ONE OF OUR OWN  
SURVEYS FOR BOTH HUSBAND AND  
WIFE**

**WHEN STARTING FROM EMPLOYED  
WOMEN, WE FOUND SOME INDICATION  
THAT HER OWN EDUCATION MADE FOR A  
LOWER CHANCE OF BECOMING  
UNEMPLOYED**

**AND THAT THIS CHANCE WAS DIMINISHED  
TOO BY HER HUSBAND'S EDUCATION**

**FOR UNEMPLOYED MEN, WE FOUND NO  
EFFECTS OF THE EDUCATION OF THEIR  
WIFE**

**FOR EMPLOYED MEN, WE FOUND NO  
EFFECT OF PARTNER'S EDUCATION EITHER**

**NOW TAKE WOMEN WHO ARE OUTSIDE THE  
LABOUR FORCE**

**IF THEY HAVE A HIGHER EDUCATION, ARE THEY  
MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BECOME EMPLOYED IN THE  
NEXT MONTH?**

**YES, AND INDEPENDENT OF THIS, THEY ARE MORE  
LIKELY TO BECOME EMPLOYED IF THEIR HUSBAND  
HAS A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

**WHAT IS MORE, INDEPENDENT OF THIS, THE WIFE  
IS MORE LIKELY TO REMAIN NONEMPLOYED IF HER  
HUSBAND HAS A HIGHER INCOME**

**SO, HERE THERE ARE OPPOSING PARTNER  
EFFECTS**



**THE IDEA OF LIFE STYLE AS ELABORATED  
BY PIERRE BOURDIEU IS QUITE MESSY, IT  
INCLUDES TOO MUCH**

**THE IDEA OF LIFE STYLE IS LESS MESSY AS  
INTRODUCED BY MAX WEBER**

**CLASS IS ABOUT WORK AND WORK  
RELATIONS**

**LIFE STYLE IS ABOUT HOW A PERSON'S  
LIVES**

**LIFE STYLE IS ABOUT WITH WHOM THIS  
PERSON SPENDS LEISURE**

**AND NEXT TO WHOM THIS PERSON SLEEPS**

## **EDUCATIONAL HOMOGAMY IN THE NETHERLANDS**

**A PERSON WITH A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION IS  
MORE LIKELY TO FIND A PARTNER WITH A HIGHER  
LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

**HOWEVER, WHETHER A PERSON COUPLES WITH A  
PERSON WITH A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

**ALSO DEPENDS UPON THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION IF  
THIS PERSON'S FATHER AND THIS PERSON'S MOTHER**

## **MORE ON LIFE STYLE**

**IN THEIR LEISURE TIME PEOPLE GO TO PUBLIC PLACES SUPPORTED BY GOVERNMENTAL MONEY: OPERA'S, CONCERTS ON OLD INSTRUMENTS, EXHIBITIONS OF OLD PAINTINGS, AND PLAYS BY LONG-DEAD WRITERS**

**ACCORDING TO BOURDIEU-LIKE HYPOTHESES, IN THESE PUBLIC PLACES PEOPLE SHOW OFF THEIR STATUS**

**ACCORDING TO OTHER HYPOTHESES, IT IS NOT STATUS BUT EDUCATION THAT MAKES FOR PEOPLE VISITING THESE PLACES,**

**THESE PLACES PRESENT COMPLEX INFORMATION**

**THE OLD FORMAT OF STUDIES IN CULTURAL PARTICIPATION**

**DO A SURVEY AND ASK HOW OFTEN PERSONS RIGHT NOW DO  
CERTAIN THINGS**

**AND ASK FOR CHARACTERISTICS LIKE EDUCATION, OCCUPATION  
AND INCOME**

**WHAT COMES OUT?**

**EDUCATION ALMOST ALWAYS HAS THE LARGEST EFFECT**

**BUT EVEN MORE EFFECT HAS A NON-STRATIFICATION FACTOR:**

**NUMBER OF YOUNG CHILDREN AT HOME**



**HOW TO EXPLAIN THE EFFECT OF EDUCATION?  
WHAT DOES THE DEEPER NEW QUESTION LOOK LIKE?**

**POSTULATE AN INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE IN THE NEAR  
SURROUNDING OF PERSONS**

**SO, NOT ONLY A PERSON'S EDUCATION HAS EFFECTS  
SO DOES THE EDUCATION OF THIS PERSON'S PARENTS  
AND SO DOES THE EDUCATION OF THIS PERSON'S PARTNER**

**FINDINGS FOR THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 1970s AND 1980s:**

**IF THE EFFECT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION IS PUT AT ONE,  
THE EFFECT OF PARTNER'S EDUCATION IS TWO  
THE EFFECT OF OWN EDUCATION IS THREE**

**HOW TO DEEPEN THE QUESTION AFTER  
HAVING SHOWN THE STRONG EFFECT OF  
PARTNER'S EDUCATION?**

**PEOPLE USUALLY DO IN THEIR LEISURE  
THINGS WITH OTHERS, ESPECIALLY THEIR  
PARTNER (AND CHILDREN)**

**SO, ASK IN A SURVEY NOT SIMPLY ABOUT  
CULTURAL PARTICIPATION**

**BUT ALSO ABOUT CULTURAL  
PARTICIPATION WITH YOUR PARTNER**

# EFFECTS IN THE NETHERLANDS OF EDUCATION ON CULTURE AROUND 2000

	<b>MEN</b>	<b>WOMEN</b>	<b>JOINT CULTURE</b>
<b>OWN</b>	<b>0.55</b>	<b>0.55</b>	<b>0.11</b>
<b>PARTNER</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.13</b>
<b>MOTHER</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.10 NS</b>	<b>0.04 NS</b>
<b>FATHER</b>	<b>0.07 NS</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.02 NS</b>
<b>N</b>	<b>2719</b>	<b>2719</b>	<b>809</b>



**HOW TO DEEPEN THE QUESTION AFTER  
HAVING SHOWN THE STRONG EFFECT OF  
PARTNER'S EDUCATION?**

**IS THIS REALLY A PARTNER EFFECT OR  
HAVE THE SPOUSES SELECTED ONE  
ANOTHER BECAUSE OF SIMILAR LEISURE  
INTERESTS?**

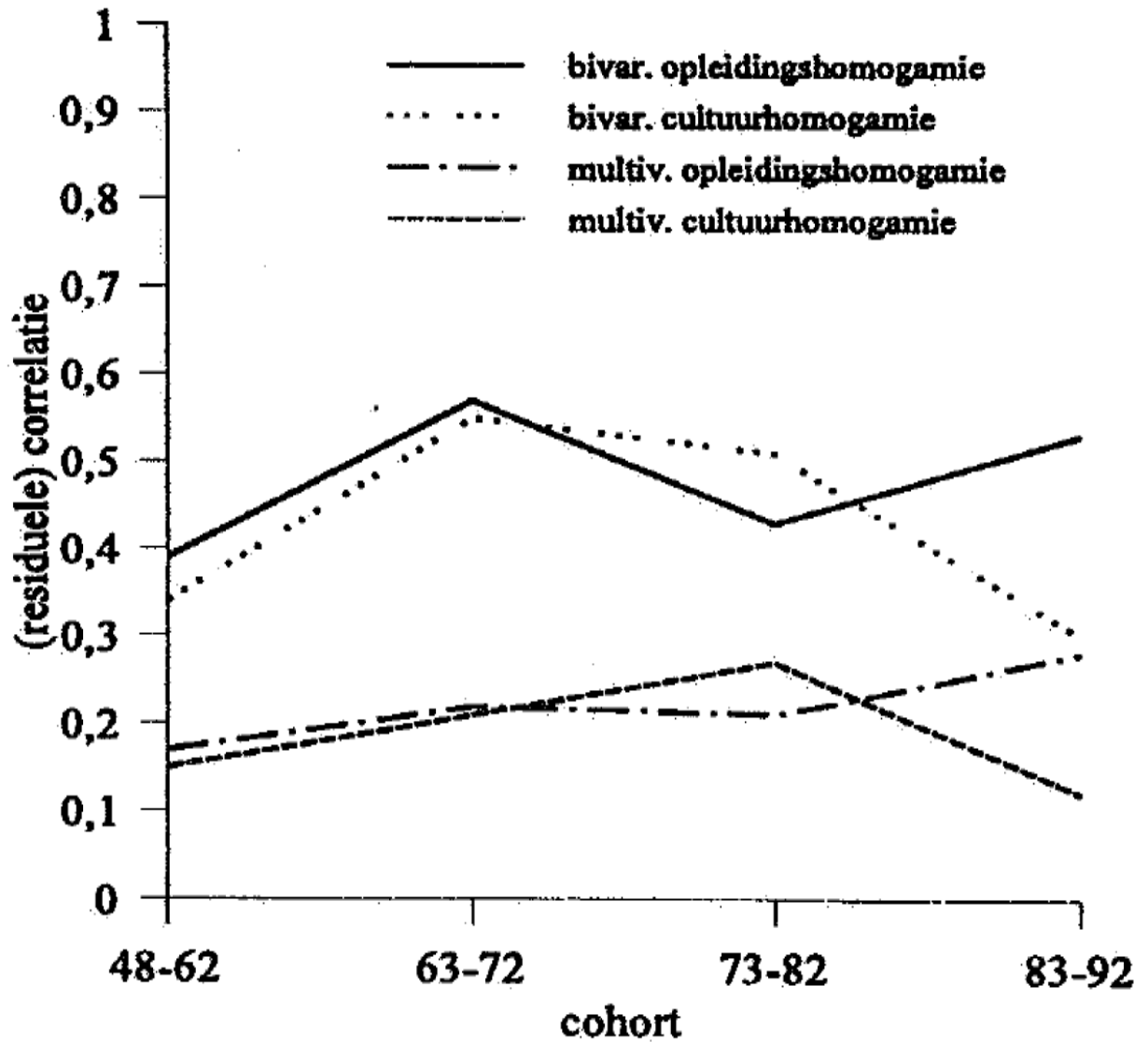
**WHO MARRIES WHOM:  
EDUCATION OR HIGH BROW CULTURE?**

**FRANCOIS DE SINGLY:  
AS A RESULT OF THE SHORTER WORK WEEK,  
LEISURE ACTIVITIES MORE IMPORTANT AS A  
CRITERION OF PARTNER CHOICE IN POST-  
INDUSTRIAL THAN IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES**

**WE FOLLOWED PIERRE BOURDIEU BY TAKING  
HIGH BROW CULTURE AS A FORM OF LEISURE  
HIGH BROW CULTURE WAS MEASURED FOR BOTH  
PARTNERS RETROSPECTIVELY AT AGE 20 YEARS**

**PERSONS TOLD ABOUT THEMSELVES, PARTNERS  
TOO**

**Figuur 1. Trends in de bivariate maten (nulde-orde correlaties) en multivariate maten (residuele correlaties) voor opleidings- en cultuurhomogamie; Nederland 1948-1992**



**BIVARIATE EDUCATIONAL  
HOMOLOGY**

**BIVARIATE CULTURAL HOMOLOGY**

**MULTIVARIATE EDUCATIONAL  
HOMOLOGY**

**MULTIVARIATE CULTURAL  
HOMOLOGY**

**CONCLUSION:**

**NO TRENDS AND BOTH FORMS  
OF HOMOLOGY EQUALLY  
IMPORTANT**





## **EXTRA 1**

**HOW TO DEEPEN THE QUESTION ABOUT  
YOUNG CHILDREN?**

**HAVING YOUNG CHILDREN REDUCES  
LEISURE TIME**

**AND PERSONS HAVE LESS LEISURE TIME  
TOO WHEN THEY ARE FULL-TIME  
EMPLOYED**

**AND EVEN LESS SO IF THEIR PARTNER IS  
FULL-TIME EMPLOYED**

**PARTICULARLY WHEN IT COMES TO JOINT  
CULTURAL ACITVITIES**

**ADDING OWN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT  
AND PARTNER'S FULL-TIME  
EMPLOYMENT**

**DID NOT ALWAYS YIELD THE EXPECTED  
RESULTS**

**PARTICULARLY NOT WHEN IT COMES TO  
JOINT CULTURAL ACTIVITIES**

**THAT WAS TIME RESTRICTIONS**

**I THINK PHYSICAL RESTRICTIONS LIKE  
BAD HEALTH ON GOING OUT AT NIGHT  
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED**



**ONLY A FEW PERSONS IN THEIR LEISURE ARE  
HIGH BROW**

**PEOPLE IN THEIR LEISURE SPORT**

**HIGHLY EDUCATED PERSONS SPORT MORE**

**OLDER PEOPLE SPORT LESS**

**OLDER PEOPLE SPORT LESS BECAUSE OF  
BAD HEALTH**

**BUT ALREADY QUITE YOUNG PERSONS DO  
LESS SPORT**

**ALL THIS IS CROSS-SECTIONAL RESEARCH**

**IN 2010 THE SPORTS MONITOR OF THE  
NETHERLANDS  
ASKED PEOPLE ABOUT THEIR SPORT  
CAREER  
WHICH SPORTS NOW (IN CLUB),  
WHICH SPORTS AT AGE 16 (IN CLUB)  
AGE STOPPING THESE SPORTS**

**AND ABOUT THE TIMING OF FOUR LIFE  
EVENTS:  
FINISHING EDUCATION  
LEAVING THE PARENTAL HOME  
STARTING TO LIVE WITH ANOTHER  
PERSON  
HAVING THE FIRST CHILD**

**FOR PERSONS AGED 18 TO 35 YEARS:**

**THE HIGHER A PERSON'S EDUCATION,  
THE MORE LIKELY THIS PERSON TO  
SPORT**

**ALL FOUR LIFE EVENTS LOWERED THE  
POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUING TO SPORT**

**HAVING THE FIRST CHILD DID NOT LOWER  
THE CHANCES OF CONTINUING FOR  
WOMEN**

**(BUT HOW HIGH WAS THIS CHANCE  
STILL?)**