

PARENTING INTENTIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIALIZATION,
SITUATION AND IDENTITY FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE
PARENTING INTENTIONS OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

By

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to determine socialization, situational, and identity factors which distinguish university women based on their parenting intentions. The specific factors examined were: birth order, size of family of origin, ethnicity, knowing a voluntarily childfree woman, religion and religiosity, educational and occupational aspirations, self-esteem, and gender-role identity.

Three groups of 34 women, ages 18 to 26, were randomly selected from 381 respondents to surveys sent to 1,000 women in 2 University of British Columbia residences. Respondents were assigned to 1 of the 3 groups based on their parenting intentions. The "childfree" group consisted of women who definitely intended to never have children (N = 10), and women who probably intended to never have children (N = 24). The other two groups consisted of women who were probably intending to have children ("probably yes"), and definitely intending to have children ("definitely yes"). The surveys consisted of a questionnaire to determine demographic information as well as the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory, and the Bem Sex Role Inventory to determine gender-role identity. Protected F tests and chi-square analyses were conducted on the data.

At the $p \leq .05$ level of significance no association was found between respondent's parenting intentions and whether they knew a voluntarily childfree woman, their birth order, or their ethnicity. A statistically significant difference was not found between the three parenting intentions groups in family size, educational aspirations, status of occupational aspirations, or self-esteem. A statistically significant association was found between parenting intentions and whether an occupation was male or female dominated: "childfree" women more frequently aspired to a male dominated occupation, "probably yes" women aspired to male and female occupations at expected frequencies, and "definitely yes" women more often aspired to female dominated occupations. An association was found to exist between gender-role identity and parenting intentions at $p \leq .01$. "Childfree" women more frequently had masculine gender-role identities than "definitely yes" women, who more often had feminine and androgynous gender-role identities. An association was found between religion and parenting intentions at $p \leq .05$: "childfree" women were less likely to be affiliated with a religion than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women. A statistically significant difference was found between the three parenting intentions groups at $p \leq .05$ on religiosity. The "childfree" group was found to have lower religiosity than both the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups. The research findings appear to indicate that university women who intend to remain

childfree are in some ways less traditional than women who intend to have children.

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CHAPTER ONE

Statement of the Problem

Fertility decision-making has become a central concern in the lives of contemporary women. Advances in contraceptive technology have offered women greater control over their reproductive decision-making (Potts, 1980; Whelan, 1980). Greater acceptance of alternative lifestyles and changes in social attitudes have encouraged many women to aspire to higher educational and occupational levels (Daniluk, 1982). Young women today often have the benefit of good training and education, and an expanding range of professional opportunities (Wilk, 1986). The women's movement has generated a freedom which allows and encourages many women to strive for individual autonomy and achievement (Burgwyn, 1981). Contemplation and election of life style alternatives have become a reality of our time (Movius, 1976). Many women today have come to think of motherhood as an option; like so many of the rapidly changing social and sexual mores of this era, motherhood, once virtually a mandate, has become a matter of choice (Faux, 1984).

Women today have experienced the social, personal, and economic advantages of the childfree lifestyle, and yet are strongly influenced by traditional socialization experiences which place considerable emphasis upon the joys and fulfillments of the motherhood role (Daniluk, 1982). Young women are still being socialized to pursue the maternal

role, but they are also encouraged to develop instrumental traits that facilitate pursuit of non-traditional goals (Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985). There is a need for an understanding of the impact this juxtaposition of traditional social norms with technological and social change is having on the fertility decisions of young women today.

Most cultures have a belief in pronatalism embedded within their moral and economic structures (Burgwyn, 1981; Veevers, 1980). Parenthood tends to be prescribed as a moral imperative for people to be socially acceptable. Pronatalism is a philosophic view that parenthood is the only normal outcome of adulthood: the ultimate affirmation of life itself (Burgwyn, 1981; Veevers, 1980). Pronatalist philosophies stress the advantages of having children while ignoring or minimizing the attendant disadvantages (Veevers, 1980). Historically, women have made their reproductive choices within the context of the cultural mandate of pronatalism (Faux, 1984).

In western culture, the rigid separation of work and family was a by-product of the industrial revolution which made it cost effective to separate domestic and commercial enterprises (Wilk, 1986). The dichotomy between "productive labor" and "reproductive labor", the so called split between instrumental and expressive functions, was not necessarily based on inherent psychological antagonisms, but rather on malleable social arrangements (Gerson, 1985). Women began

to be idealized and bound to the home by what was seen as their nurturant, supportive, and passive nature (Wilk, 1986). Educated and socialized within this model, many women internalized this sex-stereotyped role as natural and inevitable (Wilk, 1986).

During the depression decade of the 1930s spinsterhood and delayed marriage were common, and lifetime childlessness rose to close to 20 percent (Burgwyn, 1981). Birth levels remained low during World War II, but after the war an atmosphere of economic confidence, patriotism, and traditionalism created an extraordinarily family-centred, pronatalist swing (Burgwyn, 1981). The 1950s was a record era for early marriages, high birth rates, and the lowest recorded incidence of childlessness (Burgwyn, 1981). Women devoted themselves to their homes and children in a way that no preceding generation of women had done, and motherhood became a full time occupation (Faux, 1984). This generation of women, dedicated to the role of wife and mother, was the primary female role model for the subsequent generation of younger women (Whelan, 1980).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, economic and social changes began to occur which had a powerful impact on the beliefs, values, and goals of those who were growing up during this time of transition (Daniluk 1982; Veevers, 1980; Whelan, 1980). The economy was not as strong as that of the 1950s, and ideals gave way to a new reality which included the burgeoning cost of raising children (Burgwyn, 1981).

High divorce statistics and overpopulation were a sobering part of this new reality (Burgwyn, 1981; Ehrlich, 1968). A greater number of women entered the work force, both from choice and necessity (Burgwyn, 1981). Women began aspiring to higher educational and occupational levels. The women's movement, a fundamental tenet of which has been the exercise of autonomy, promoted a desire in women for greater independence and self-sufficiency (Burgwyn, 1981). The widespread use of the birth control pill in combination with the interest in women's rights and equality created an opportunity for women to become fully aware that they could choose whether or not they wanted to be mothers, and then to act on that choice (Faux, 1984). With these historical changes came a concurrent increase in the incidence of voluntary childlessness from 1 percent in 1955 to 11 percent in 1980 (Wilk, 1986).

Women today have options they did not have twenty years ago but, for many women, with so many choices comes ambivalence towards a maternal role. The decision of whether or not to have children is a predominant issue in the lives of many women of childbearing age today (Faux, 1984). These women are struggling with difficult, often painful choices when faced with the demands and rewards of the profuse number of roles available. Women are being faced with conflicting expectations that often require them to choose among a number of desired goals and options (Gerson, 1985). Inherent in life is the reality that any

life choice requires relinquishing another, but the new social message for women appears to ignore this reality. The new female idealized self is often unrealizable, creating a gap between what one should be and what one is (Yalom, 1990). It is particularly difficult for women to build strong bases in both the domestic and public spheres, and decisions in one sphere often limit the range of options in another (Gerson, 1985). Trade-offs are built in whether a woman opts for work, motherhood, or a combination of both roles (Gerson, 1985). As women look for models against which to measure their plans for work, relationships, and children, they find there are few social precedents for their experience. Many women report feeling cut off from any generational continuity, from any consensually validated social time clock (Wilk, 1986). The experience of their parents does not always provide an acceptable guide and, rejecting that prototype, many women find themselves burdened with the unknown consequences of new decisions regarding relationships, personal ambitions, and childrearing.

For young, college educated women today, parenthood desires may conflict with career aspirations as they experience a sense of accomplishment and upward movement towards a career goal (Gerson, 1985). Female college undergraduates are exposed to feminist attitudes and have a broad array of career options open to them (Gerson, 1980). In 1980, while 11 percent of 18 to 24 year old American women reportedly expected to have no children, it is estimated that 17

percent of college educated women in that age group expected to have no children (Gerson, Alpert & Richardson, 1984). Because they are a segment of the population likely to be confronted with the issues surrounding contemporary parenthood planning, young female university students will be the focus of this study. Little work has been done on the independent parenthood desires and intentions of young single college women, some of whom may choose to marry only if they want to have children (Gerson, 1986).

The present researcher will undertake an exploration of the normative, situational and personal characteristics associated with particular parenting intentions of young university women. The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of what factors are related to the motivation of young university educated women today to become parents or not. A limitation of the research is that voluntary childlessness is relatively infrequent in the population, restricting the number of subjects available for study.

According to Veevers (1974) three quarters of all people who choose childlessness do so through a series of postponements. For the remainder of childfree individuals, the parenting choice process begins much earlier, sometimes even in early adolescence (Burgwyn, 1981; Veevers, 1974). Research suggests that there is a predisposition to childlessness among some young, unmarried people (Cooper, Cumber & Hartner 1978; Gerson, 1980; Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985; Thoen, 1977). These people, primarily women, are referred

to in the literature as "early articulators" because they not only feel but also clearly express their childfree preference (Houseknecht, 1979, Veivers, 1974). The fertility choices of early articulators are perhaps more clearly linked to factors relevant to the individual than are those of "postponers", who may have had their decision influenced by external life events. According to interviews by Veivers (1980), early articulators feel that not wanting children is an immutable characteristic of themselves; they see themselves as non-parents from an early age and they make their decision to forgo parenthood independently of the attitudes of their spouses. Studies which focus on reproductive decisions after the fact may be influenced by retrospective perceptions and a woman's current life situation (Veivers, 1980). The sample for the present study is young, unmarried women who have expressed their intentions to remain childfree or to become parents. By comparing young women based on their a priori reproductive intentions it will be possible to discover distinguishing characteristics which are closely linked with original attributes which may lie at the root of individual reproductive preferences.

Fertility decision-making is a dynamic, multistage process and a variety of decision related variables exist along a continuum from desires and intentions to decisions, and finally behaviors (Beckman, 1982). Parenthood desires and intentions indicate individual level attitudinal variables, while decisions and behaviors tend to indicate a couple

based process (Beckman, 1982). People's attitudes and intentions toward parenthood may be separate from their actual behavior, but their intentions seem to have an effect on their behavior; parity intentions appear to be predictive of outcome (Crawford & Boyer, 1985; Gormly, Gormly & Weiss, 1987). According to Hendershot and Placek (1981) the average number of expected births predicts the average number of lifetime births with an accuracy ranging from 90 to 100 percent. A limitation of the present study is that young women have not experienced living with their decision and therefore it is impossible to predict whether their parenting preferences will lead them to make reproductive choices which they will experience as satisfying.

Today the possibilities for women are more diverse than at any time in the past and women are more able to shape their lives as individuals. Appropriate choices can create a lifestyle tailored to individual needs and talents, offering more opportunities for well-being (Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers, 1983). Each woman must decide what is possible and what is best for her and not accept uncritically the mandates of society or any collective voice (Yalom, 1990). The more a woman chooses the roles and activities that suit her individual values, needs and desires, the more she may increase her life satisfaction (Baruch et al., 1983). Women need to make informed decisions and they need to know about other women who have made similar choices (Baruch et al., 1983). Parenthood is a highly demanding and rewarding role

and women today need to make informed parenting decisions. Part of this decision-making process should be an awareness of the underlying factors which distinguish women with differing parenting intentions. Knowing the normative, situational, and identity characteristics which are associated with reproductive preferences may provide a starting point for women exploring which roles are most suited to their individual predilections. Because the study of parenting intentions is a relatively new area of social enquiry, the research is limited to being exploratory in nature.

Social scientists have become interested in uncovering the antecedent conditions or "causes" which account for and allow the prediction of variations in childbearing intentions among North American women (Gerson, 1980; Stolka & Barnett, 1969; Veevers, 1980). The motivations involved in fertility intentions and decisions are complex and obscure and in many cases becoming a parent may not be a conscious decision at all, but rather a consequence of circumstances (Veevers, 1974). To the extent that parenthood is deliberately planned, a multiplicity of motives at different levels of awareness may be involved (Veevers, 1974). Parenthood preferences may be rational and/or emotional, and the complex interplay between these factors often forms the basis for the choices which an individual makes (Janis & Mann, 1977). Very little is known about the specific elements of the childbearing decision-making process; no framework exists to guide people dealing with this dilemma (Wilk, 1986).

Knowing which underlying characteristics are relevant to parenting preferences can help focus and guide reproductive decision-making.

Fertility decision-making appears to be influenced by demographic, developmental, biological, psychological, and socio-psychological factors which may serve to increase or decrease the desirability of specific options, thus motivating individuals to exercise their freedom to choose in a direction which they believe will warrant the greatest personal gains (Beckman, 1977; Townes, Beach, Campbell, & Martin, 1977). Individuals seem to make parenting choices based on a complex interplay of their socialization experiences and a balancing of the personal costs and benefits of their alternatives (Beckman, 1982).

Traditionally, normative influences had an enormous impact on a woman's parenting choices; it was natural and expected for "wife" and "mother" to be a woman's primary roles. Today, with increasing options for women, social exchange and personal preferences assume a place in parenting decisions (Beckman, 1982). There is a need to further develop an understanding of the factors that are most relevant to parenthood intentions.

To make informed fertility choices, women need to be aware of the impact socialization experiences and cultural norms may be having on their intentions. Some research has indicated that socialization experiences in an individual's family of origin, including birth order and family size, are

associated with subsequent reproductive choices: people from small families and people who are first born are more often childfree than others (Hendershot, 1969; Ory, 1978; Veevers, 1980). Religion has been found to be a factor distinguishing people based on their parenting intentions, voluntarily childfree people being less religious than people who have children (Ory, 1978; Ramu, 1986; Toomey, 1977; Veevers, 1980).

There is a need for individuals making reproductive decisions to understand how specific situational and identity factors may affect the desirability of the options they are exploring. There is some evidence in the research literature to suggest that women who are voluntarily childfree tend to have higher educational attainments than their counterparts (Bram, 1984; Ory, 1978; Veevers, 1980).

Similarly, childfree women have been found in some studies to have higher occupational attainments (Bram, 1984; Toomey, 1977; Veevers, 1980). Some identity factors have emerged out of the research as distinguishing people based on their parenting intentions, including self-esteem and gender-role identity. Childfree women have been found to frequently have masculine or androgynous gender-role identities and to less frequently have feminine gender-role identities than women who prefer the parental role (Cohen, 1984; Gerson, 1980; Teicholz, 1977). There is some evidence in the research that childfree women have higher self-esteem than women who desire children (Burman & de Anda, 1986; Gerson,

1986). The purpose of this study is to enhance knowledge about which normative, situational and identity factors are associated with women's parenting intentions. Understanding motherhood motivation may be facilitative in the conceptualization of female sex-role issues and the grasping of new patterns in family formation.

Young women today face a unique challenge in choosing a lifestyle congruent with their beliefs, values, interests, and goals, and which will bring them personal satisfaction and fulfillment (Bombardieri, 1981; Daniluk, 1982; Veevers, 1980; Whelan, 1980). Decisions have to be made and issues dealt with that rarely had to be grappled with before. Changes and developments in values and attitudes in the last several decades have allowed variant lifestyles to become more acceptable (Barnett & MacDonald, 1986). Today's women have been raised with traditional values and sex-role stereotypes and yet have also been exposed to emerging cultural values and lifestyles which may conflict with traditional orientations (Daniluk, 1982). Informed parenting choices involve careful consideration of a woman's values, abilities, interests, and needs and may require the assistance of others in the form of advice, information, and support (Cammaert and Larson, 1979). Research is needed on the factors associated with parenthood desires and intentions of young women today so that people in the helping professions may be able to provide informed support.

Young women are faced with choosing among a confusing array of options. Making informed reproductive choices includes understanding the characteristics of women who express preferences for specific options. In the present study the researcher will attempt to identify some specific socialization experiences, educational and occupational plans, and identity factors which are related to differences in reproductive intentions and desires of single, female university students. Enhancing the body of knowledge about the factors associated with parenting intentions can contribute to an understanding of the parenthood decision-making process. The specific factors under examination will include religion, ethnic background, family of origin (birth order and family size), educational and occupational aspirations, knowing a voluntarily childfree woman, gender-role identity, and self-esteem; factors which reportedly distinguish between women with differing parenting intentions.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of what factors are related to the motivation of young university educated women today to become parents or not. Little work has been done on the independent parenthood desires and intentions of young single college women, some of whose parenthood desires and intentions may conflict with their career aspirations as they experience a sense of

accomplishment and upward movement towards a career goal (Gerson, 1985).

The purpose of the present study is to enhance the body of knowledge regarding the underlying factors associated with the parenting intentions of young women today. Knowledge about which normative, situational and identity factors are associated with women's parenting intentions may be useful in assisting individuals who are experiencing difficulty with reproductive decision-making (Daniluk, 1982).

The present research will serve the purpose of providing information with which to begin constructing a framework for parenthood decision-making by providing information about what kinds of factors distinguish women based on their parenting intentions. Understanding motherhood motivation may be facilitative in the conceptualization of female sex-role issues and the grasping of new patterns in family formation. This understanding can aid in the planning of effective interventions for counselling women who are making fertility decisions (Gerson, 1980). The goal of the present study is to search for what differentiates between individual's reproductive preferences by examining the broader social, situational, and intrapsychic contexts out of which parenthood intentions emerge in order to provide information for women considering whether or not they want to be mothers.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

Parenthood decision-making, and the major components and factors involved in this process, is a relatively recent area of social enquiry. In this chapter literature and research relevant to the present study are discussed and compared. The chapter is organized into three sections discussing the relationship of socialization, situation, and identity to parenting intentions.

The first section focuses on how the socialization process serves to influence the lifestyle choices individuals make. In this segment studies which explore the relationship of cultural factors, religion and ethnicity in particular, to reproductive choices are discussed. Literature and research are also included that explore the impact that socialization experiences in the family of origin may have on parenting intentions. In particular, studies that have shown birth order and family size to be related to future childbearing decisions are reviewed.

The second section delineates how situational factors may impact parenting choices. Issues surrounding employment and motherhood are discussed, and cost-benefits models of

decision-making are presented. Research exploring the relationship between situational factors, education and occupation in particular, and reproductive choices is reviewed. The final section examines the research and literature relevant to the proposal that identity structures, self-esteem and gender-role identity in particular, are associated with the choice to have children or not.

Parenthood decision-making appears to involve a complex interaction of socialization, reason and emotion. Neither theoretical models nor empirical evidence have yet provided a satisfactory understanding of exactly how these factors interact. Although no clear pattern is yet in evidence, most of the researchers have found a variety of factors to be significantly associated with parenting intentions. Studies that have demonstrated the significance of a combination of factors will be discussed throughout the review in appropriate sections, in order to compare and contrast the various findings and the conclusions that have been drawn.

Socialization Factors

According to some social scientists attitudes towards childbearing are in part determined by cultural norms (Haas, 1974; Veevers, 1980). Haas (1974) has proposed that the socialization process may be sufficiently effective to cause most people to accept without question the virtues and values of children. Socialization models of fertility behavior

suggest that reproductive intentions and decisions are the outcome of a process of socialization toward particular values influencing behavior (Fox, Fox & Frohardt-Lane, 1982). Models of socialization emphasize imitation, modeling, identification, and sanction contingent learning as the major processes through which people come to incorporate the values and beliefs of others (Fox et al.) The question becomes how and from what sources are fertility related values transmitted (Fox et al.).

Pronatalism is any attitude or policy that exalts motherhood and encourages parenthood for all (Burgwyn, 1981). In our pronatalist society, the notion that it is normal, necessary, and natural for individuals to bear children prevails (Veevers, 1980). Femininity has traditionally been connected with bearing and caring for children (Veevers, 1980) and pronatalism involves the basic idea that a woman's role should involve maternity (Barnett & Macdonald, 1986). The parenthood choice is between a socially acceptable and a socially unacceptable alternative. The consequences of accepting either choice, and the impact of societal pressures and sanctions regarding both options, may be important considerations influencing reproductive decisions (Daniluk, 1982). Social and cultural organizations such as religions, ethnic groups, and families may reinforce varying degrees of pronatalism. Within this context individuals make their reproductive choices.

Religion.

Association with and participation in a religious community involves a person in a social context in which specific sexual and fertility values and orientations are articulated (Fox et al, 1982). Pronatalist tenets are embedded within religious doctrines. The words of God cited in Genesis are to "be fruitful and multiply." Roman Catholicism is among the most pronatalist of faiths with its view that the sole purpose of sexual intercourse is procreation (Burgwyn, 1981). A strict interpretation of both Catholic and Jewish law would require annulment or divorce in cases of intentional childlessness (Burgwyn, 1981). Many religious doctrines espouse the belief that procreation is a necessary criterion for marital fulfillment (Daniluk, 1982; Harris, Durkin & Flores, 1979; Pohlman, 1969). Through the moral pressures imposed by religious tenets, parenthood becomes a duty, and childlessness becomes a form of aberration (Campbell, 1985). Voluntarily childless people tend to be non-religious in comparison to people with children (Burman & de Anda, 1986; Feldman, 1981; Ory, 1978; Ramu, 1986; Toomey, 1977; Veevers, 1980), suggesting that religion has an impact on reproductive choices.

Veevers (1980) was among the first to take an interest in the subject of voluntary childlessness. Her 1980 book entitled Childless by Choice is a summary of in depth interviews with 156 voluntarily childfree persons over a time period beginning in 1972. The age range of the respondents

varied considerably from 23 to 78, with a mean age of 35. The people interviewed were found to be generally similar on several demographic and socio-psychological traits. Child-free individuals were found to be similar in their families of origin: this will be discussed in detail in a later section. Childfree individuals were above average in their educational and occupational attainments, and had high self-esteem. One characteristic that particularly served to distinguish childfree individuals from the general population was that they tended to be non-religious. Three-quarters reported that they had no religion. Even among those persons who claimed a nominal affiliation the level of religiosity was exceedingly low, as measured by ritual involvement, by private belief, or simply by level of interest. Veevers' findings must be viewed as very tentative and exploratory. No comparison group was used and the interview format was open-ended and unstructured. Her work served to lay the groundwork from which further, more structured research could take place.

Toomey (1977) conducted an exploratory-descriptive study of 981 college women to measure the amount of intended voluntary childlessness within the group, and to identify variables which discriminated between women who intended and did not intend to have children. She found that 11 percent of the 981 women reportedly did not intend to bear children. From the original sample, 63 women who did not intend to become mothers and 175 women who intended to have children

were further compared on 53 demographic and attitudinal variables. Data were analyzed using both univariate and multivariate procedures. Findings indicated that women who did not intend to have children differed significantly from those who did in that they had more egalitarian attitudes about the role of wife and were more likely to consider themselves feminists. Consistent with the findings of Veevers (1980), Toomey's (1977) results indicated that women choosing childlessness had higher educational and occupational levels and desired work excellence. However, the two groups of women did not differ in the size and structure of their families of origin, or in their estimations of self-competence and self-evaluation. The group of women intending no children was significantly less likely than the other group to be affiliated with an organized religion, and was significantly less likely to have been reared in the Catholic tradition.

Ory (1978) used a semi-structured questionnaire to compare 27 voluntarily childless couples and 54 voluntary parents on a wide range of normative, sociodemographic, and psycho-social variables. Like the individuals in Veevers' (1980) and Toomey's (1977) studies, childfree individuals were much more likely to be currently employed and highly educated than parents. Like Veevers (1980), Ory found the two groups distinct in their families of origin (these findings will be discussed in more detail in later sections). Ory found that religious attitudes and behaviors distin-

guished individuals with different reproductive choices ($p \leq .05$). Childfree individuals were significantly more likely to consider themselves non-religious and were significantly less likely to attend religious services than parents. In addition, non-parents were significantly more likely to declare themselves as atheists or agnostics. Ory suggested that the findings that nonparents held significantly fewer traditional religious attitudes and engaged in fewer religious behaviors than parents reflected a rejection of religions whose doctrines are characterized by pronatalism. Ory did not report that possible interaction effects between the variables measured were accounted for in the analysis of data, calling into question the validity of these findings.

Ramu (1986) conducted research on the relationship between demographic factors and fertility choices. Fifty childfree couples and 58 parental couples returned mailed questionnaires. Significant age differences found between the groups were controlled for in the analysis. Ramu found that two variables, education (discussed in a later section) and religiosity were significant in distinguishing between the two groups. A significant association was found between low religiosity and deliberate childlessness. Childfree individuals were much more likely to be agnostic: 45.6 percent compared to 8.2 percent of the parent group. Twenty-five percent of parental couples reported religion to have a strong influence in their lives compared to 3.5 percent of the childfree couples.

The findings of these studies were consistent in that religion had a strong negative correlation with voluntary childlessness. Religion has been emerging throughout the research as a factor that quite consistently distinguishes between people based on their parenting intentions, suggesting that religion has a powerful influence on fertility decision-making.

Ethnicity.

Cultural background variables may be expected to have an impact on fertility through the transmission of fertility related values (Fox et al., 1982). Few studies of voluntary childlessness have examined ethnic differences (Boyd, 1989).

Hoffman (1987) analyzed data from the "Cross National Values of Children Study" a survey conducted in 1975 in which 1,000 to 3,000 women under age 40, and one quarter of their husbands from each of eight countries were interviewed regarding the psychological satisfactions children are perceived as providing for their parents. A secondary purpose of the study was to determine the relationship between the values of children to parents, and fertility attitudes and behavior. The researcher found that the three most common needs children satisfied, in descending order, were (1) economic utility, (2) the need for primary ties and affection or love, and (3) the need for fun and stimulation. For Turkey, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, the most common value of children was economic utility. This value was much less frequent in the United States. Primary ties

and affection was the value most commonly expressed by individuals in the United States. Stimulation and fun was the value most common in Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore. According to Hoffman (1987) the economic value of children was most often linked to greater fertility desires, and was particularly salient in countries where there was no official provision for care of the aged and disabled.

The data from the Cross-national Values of Children Survey was also used in an earlier study by Hoffman and Manis (1979) to examine fertility motivations among ethnic groups within the United States. Significant differences were found in that the desired family size of black respondents was greater than for whites, even when controlling for education. Economic-utilitarian values were mentioned significantly more often by black parents than white parents ($p \leq .001$). Based on the findings of these studies, Hoffman (1987) proposed that children may satisfy certain basic needs for parents and these needs may vary depending on cultural values and social structures.

Fox et al. (1982) attempted to support the socialization model of fertility decisions with a research project interviewing girls aged 14 to 16 as well as their mothers, with particular emphasis on family of origin variables. Two dependent variables were chosen for the study: the preferred age of the teenage girls for initiation of childbearing, and the total number of children desired. Demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral information was obtained from 449

girls and their mothers, 56 percent of whom were black and 44 percent white. A large number of characteristics were analyzed from six general categories: family characteristics, mother's attitudes, mother-daughter relationship, daughter's current situation, daughter's sexual profile, and daughter's attitudes. For each independent variable set, three stepwise multiple regression analyses were run, one for the total sample and one for each of the races separately. For the dependant variable relevant to the present study, intended number of children, three of the six sets of independent variables were statistically significant: family characteristics, mother's attitudes, and daughter's attitudes. Only two variable sets emerged as significant predictors of family size intentions among black daughters: daughter's sexual profile and daughter's attitudes. By way of contrast, for white daughters the family characteristics set and the mother's attitudes set each accounted for over 8 percent of the variance in family size attitudes. Fox et al. did not indicate in what way the independent variables were significant, making it difficult to gain a clear understanding of how socialization factors impact fertility intentions. The researchers concluded that there was evidence that the process of fertility socialization operated differently by race since different predictor variables were significant for blacks and whites.

The findings of the three studies on ethnicity suggest that ethnic differences do have a relationship to parity.

None of the studies however were directly concerned with zero parity preferences, which are significantly different from simply desiring low parity. Ethnicity is not a factor considered in most studies which focus on childfree people. Most of the research is conducted on Caucasian individuals, but this may be as much a matter of bias in sample selection as a reflection of actual population distributions.

More research is needed to determine if cultural norms and values are transmitted through the socialization process and the impact of these in determining parenting intentions. Religion and possibly ethnicity appear to be influential in fertility decisions. In the present study, the researcher will attempt to determine more fully the nature of the relationship between religion, ethnicity, and parenting intentions.

Family of Origin.

Some theorists have proposed that the wish to avoid or adopt the parenthood role may be traced back to childhood and adolescence (Campbell, 1985; Houseknecht, 1979; Veevers, 1980). How individuals come to acquire the meanings that inform their reproductive behavior is a process that may begin in childhood, influenced by the form and nature of family life (Campbell, 1985). Early childhood experiences encourage children to internalize values and motivations (Gerson, 1985), and to anticipate playing future adult roles (Campbell). Campbell has theorized that it is within the

family of origin that socialization for parenthood begins, and individuals who reject or accept parenthood do so on the basis of their childhood experience and observation of family life. The family of origin is the primary context of socialization of the young child and continues to be significant in later years as well (Fox et al., 1982).

Veevers' (1980) research on 156 voluntarily childfree individuals found that half of the subjects interviewed were first borns. Through interviews, Veevers found that many of the women had experienced the "little mother syndrome," where they had to care for younger siblings. Veevers also reported that a much higher proportion of the childfree couples interviewed were only children, as compared with the general population. Some of these only children spoke of child-care anxiety arising from their inexperience with children. Preliminary interviews conducted by Veevers call for more structured research to support or contest her findings.

Ory's (1978) research using semistructured questionnaires to compare 27 childfree couples with 54 parents found that the two groups were distinguished by their early background experiences with respect to family position, child-care responsibility, and their mothers' work histories and attitudes towards their parenting role. Although first borns were over-represented in both populations, there were significantly more only children among non-parents and far fewer last-borns. The mothers of non-parent females tended

to be more involved in working outside the home. In addition, childfree women (excluding only children) were significantly more likely to have had some child-care responsibilities as children than women who were parents.

Toomey's (1977) comparison of 63 women who did not intend to become mothers with 175 women who did intend to have children did not substantiate the research of Veevers (1980) or Ory (1978). The two groups in Toomey's (1977) study did not differ in size and structure of family of origin, nor did they differ in birth order. The differences in these findings might be accounted for by the fact that Toomey's research focused on early articulators whereas Veevers' and Ory's research concentrated on women who had experienced living with their reproductive choices. Possibly different factors influence reproductive decisions at intentional and behavioral stages.

Hendershot (1969) hypothesized that children acquire norms in their families of origin which later influence their own family planning decisions in such a way as to cause them to recapitulate similar demographic structures. This recapitulation is believed to be affected by the perceptions the individual holds as to the success of the family in fulfilling its functions. If the individual was satisfied with the performance of their family they may be more likely to retain its norms. A sample of 389 freshmen women were asked their preferred family size. Responses were grouped into small (0-2), medium (3-4) and large (5 or more)

family size preferences. A strong positive correlation ($p < .01$) was found between the size of a subject's family of origin and their preferred family size. Controlling for perceptions of "solidarity" in subjects' families of origin did not eliminate the association found, but the association was progressively greater between family sizes for each higher level of family solidarity. Because this study was conducted many years ago it may no longer be as significant for the present cohort of young women. Hendershot (1969) did not directly explore the childfree option, but the findings support the hypothesis that women from small families are subjected to different normative influences than women from large ones, and that this has an effect on parity.

Some of the above studies indicate a tendency for women to forgo parenting if they were from small families of origin or if they were eldest children. Researchers have suggested that women who were eldest children and were burdened with the care of younger siblings are more likely to forego having children (Burgwyn, 1981; Faux, 1984; Ory, 1978; Veever, 1980). According to Burgwyn (1981), though secure and competent in child care, these women know the drudgery involved, offsetting the joyful picture presented by pronatalism (Burgwyn, 1981). Some women in the position of eldest child may have perceptions that their childhood responsibilities limited their choices and personal freedom and growth (Faux, 1984). The responsibility of caring for younger siblings may contribute to a non-romantic image of childrearing

and a consequent disinclination toward the parental role (Campbell, 1985).

Researchers have speculated that only children may be disproportionately represented in the voluntarily childfree population because they are unaccustomed to babies and feel trepidation in dealing with the unknown (Burgwyn, 1981; Veevers, 1980). One child families do not represent cultural norms of the "family ideal", and growing up in this situation may facilitate questioning the inevitability and desirability of those norms (Campbell, 1985). One of the ways to transmit intergenerational fertility values is through parental fertility behavior; the objective evidence of parental actions speaks for itself (Fox et al, 1982). In other words, parents who limit the number of children they produce may transmit to their offspring through their behavior the idea that limiting reproduction is a positive value.

Although first borns and women from small families seem to choose childlessness more often than others, there is not enough research to provide a clear pattern of the effects of childhood family constellations on parenting attitudes. Researchers have suggested that these patterns emerge out of normative influences and satisfaction with experiences in childhood (Hendershot, 1969; Lichtman, 1976). More research is needed to clarify if these socialization factors do in fact have an effect on parenting intentions.

Situational Factors

As women gain more control over their fertility, and as more options become available to them, parenthood decision-making may take place on an individual level rather than as a result of socialization experiences (Beckman, 1977, 1982; Gerson, 1986; Townes et al, 1977; White & Kim, 1987). According to some theorists rational-instrumental models of decision-making are becoming more valid in fertility decision-making than models that emphasize moral-traditional or normative influences (Beckman, 1977; Gerson, 1986; Sweet, 1982). Under the 1950s baby-boom fertility pattern marriage could almost be equated with parenthood since, for most couples, reproduction usually began immediately after marriage (Sweet, 1982). Today, reproduction may be becoming a matter to be considered in something approximating cost-benefits terms, rather than simply a concomitant of marriage (Sweet, 1982).

Theorists who adhere to rationalistic models of fertility decision-making propose that several variables influence the desire to have a child. These include the value of children and alternative sources of the value, as well as costs or degree of sacrifice involved in having a child. Barriers and facilitators are those variables that make it more difficult or easy to realize the value, such as economic depression or prosperity, or availability of help

(Gormly et al., 1987; Haas, 1974; Hoffman, 1974). The "Subjective Expected Utility" (SEU) model of fertility decision-making proposed by Campbell et al. (1982) regards reproduction as an outgrowth of a rational decision-making process. From this perspective an individual's subjective perceptions of the gains and losses associated with parenthood leads them to maximize these gains and/or minimize these losses. The decision may be based on both an individual's situation and on their identity structures which affect how they subjectively interpret their situation. What is needed is a systematic assessment of the factors in an individual's situation and identity that weigh most heavily upon reproductive decisions (Campbell et al., 1982).

Employment and motherhood may be thought of as two competing roles, each with rewards and costs of varying intensities. Women may choose their amount of interaction in each of the situations depending on their personal reward-cost outcomes (Beckman, 1977). Empirically, women's labor force participation has been shown to be negatively associated with childbearing (White & Kim, 1987; Ritchey & Stokes, 1974; Sweet, 1982;). This may occur because working provides a rewarding alternative to childbearing, or because work demands a commitment that makes high parity very difficult (Epenshade, 1977). The conventional career expectation is built on the assumption that in order to pursue a serious career, one must be single minded about that work (Wilk, 1986). Conflicts may arise for women when they are consid-

ering whether a fledgling career and professional identity can be maintained along with maternal commitments (Wilk, 1986). For many women today, work and family decisions are inextricably linked; choices in one sphere depend on opportunities, incentives, and constraints imposed by the other (Gerson, 1986).

Some younger women, particularly those who are well-educated, may be coming to define work in the same ways men have always done. For these women work is a means not only to earn money, but also to gain prestige, esteem or worth, and independence and autonomy (Baruch et al, 1983; Gerson, 1985; Scanzioni & Scanzioni, 1976). Burgwyn (1981) has delineated some of the issues women face when combining a career and motherhood. A career tends to become more complicated and demand greater responsibility and expertise as it evolves. It often requires a long term personal commitment and is an integral part of a person's life (Burgwyn, 1981). It is too simplistic to say that some careers mesh well with parenthood and others don't; the situation depends on personal energy levels, husband wife relations, and many other factors. But unquestionably certain professions pose special problems for women, particularly careers, such as medicine and law, in which unpredictability and long hours are a way of life (Burgwyn). Highly prestigious and promising careers which are likely to include a lot of upward mobility demand a commitment that does not always allow time for a baby. Burgwyn has suggested that stepping off the

ladder in a rewarding and advancing field can precipitate a loss of place along with the possibility of never regaining it, particularly in executive and technical jobs. According to Burgwyn, childfree women have an advantage in that without the responsibility of child care they can stay late at work, socialize after hours, take on extra training and responsibility, and realize the limits of their capabilities in the work sphere. The present study will explore the possibility that women choosing such careers with high prestige and promise are more likely than their peers to be intending to forgo parenthood.

An issue of possible relevance to parenting intentions is female dominated versus male dominated career choice. Faux (1984) has suggested that for many years women who trained for careers did so with an eye on how their career choices would accommodate motherhood. Women who hoped to become mothers gravitated toward nursing, teaching, or library work, because the work was thought to offer "practice" for motherhood, and because the hours accommodated children. Gerson (1985) has proposed that these patterns have not changed substantially, despite the massive movement of women into the work force. In our society the labour market is segmented by sex, with most women relegated to a set of jobs that offer low wages, prestige, and advancement opportunities compared with those awarded men, and this segregation spans the class structure from service and clerical positions to the professions. According to Gerson a woman's

defining role is still a domestic one; work ties remain tenuous and family responsibilities still take precedence.

Gerson, like Faux, has suggested that the kinds of paid labour that women do are usually extensions of domestic caretaking duties. It has often been argued that sex differences in career choice largely reflect the choices women make to work at jobs that pay less but allow them to combine work and motherhood (Waite, Haggstrom & Kanouse 1986).

"Scholars of sex differentials in attainment in the labor market have long looked to the division of labor in the family--especially childbearing and rearing--as one source of these differentials" (Waite et al., p.43). The present study will explore the possibility of a relationship between parenthood choice and female or male dominated career choices.

Campbell (1985) conducted a study of voluntarily child-free couples contacted through a family planning clinic in Scotland. The study consisted of unstructured interviews of seventy intentionally childfree couples. Campbell reported that the women she interviewed, though from a higher status and better educated section of the community, appeared content to limit their ambitions to traditionally feminine occupations and work as secretaries, clerks, nurses, and school teachers. Unfortunately, Campbell did not provide specific numbers in each occupation to substantiate her claim, instead dividing the women into broad occupational categories of professional, intermediate, and manual occupa-

tions. Further much more rigorous research is needed support or negate Campbell's proposal that childfree women choose traditionally female dominated occupations.

Barnett and MacDonald (1986) conducted research on a sample of 334 members of the National Alliance of Optional Parenthood (NAOP) an organization of voluntarily childfree people. In addition to demographic information, respondents were asked to complete the Work Values Inventory (WVI), an instrument developed to assess the goals which individuals seek in their jobs and as a result of their jobs. The researchers did not use a comparison group, instead relying on a 1968 standardization sample of grade twelve students for the WVI, and "national averages" for the demographic comparisons. The validity of this study may be questioned because of the possibility of cohort and age effects. The findings of this study were similar to those of Campbell (1985).

NAOP members were more oriented toward work which permits freedom of action and thought, and which involves a variety of tasks. These childfree individuals de-emphasized work which yields prestige, money, material goods, and security. Their occupational levels were not as high as their education would permit them to be. The NAOP members exceeded the general population in education and income, but in education more than income, indicating an economic de-emphasis.

In contrast to the studies discussed above by Campbell (1985) and Barnett and MacDonald (1986), in research conducted by Veevers (1980) on voluntarily childfree people

half of the women were committed to a demanding profession. At a time when the average woman earned approximately sixty percent of what a man would earn in a similar position, the voluntarily childfree couples in Veevers study shared almost equal earnings, with women earning on average forty-five percent of their combined incomes. The women interviewed said that childlessness was a critical factor in facilitating their career involvement. According to Veevers, these women were ambitious and had a high degree of commitment to their work.

Bram (1984) conducted research to determine if voluntarily childfree women were less traditional in their sex-role orientation as determined by their behavior, attitudes and self image. Thirty voluntarily childfree women, 29 women who were currently childfree but planning to have children in the future, and 24 parents were asked closed and open-ended questions regarding their sex-role orientations. The childfree women were significantly different from both the delaying and parental women on the behavioral variable of achievement, as measured by educational and occupational status. The childfree women were significantly more likely than the delays or parents to have attained a professional or doctoral degree or to have some graduate school training ($p \leq .001$). The childfree women were significantly more likely to be in professional than nonprofessional occupations ($p \leq .02$). In addition, the childfree subjects were more likely to be in occupations that were traditionally

male dominated ($p \leq .001$). Bram's findings are similar to Veevers's (1980) findings but different from Campbell's (1985) and Barnett and MacDonald's (1986) findings. One possible explanation for these differences may be the research methods used to measure educational and occupational attainments.

The study by Ramu (1986) discussed previously compared 58 couples with children and 50 couples who were voluntarily childfree. In an analysis of data controlling for sex, Ramu found no significant educational and occupational differences between husbands and no differences between wives on occupational levels. Differences between childfree women and mothers in educational qualifications showed childfree women to be significantly more highly educated than mothers. The study did not trace the educational development of respondents through life-cycle phases; the decision to remain childless may have led some women to pursue education, but for others commitment to educational success may have resulted in a decision to be childfree. Ramu proposed that for the childfree, a commitment to children is replaced by a commitment to educational advancement and occupational success. As a suggestion for future research Ramu proposed that the reproductive intentions and the educational and occupational choices of individuals be compared at an earlier stage in the life-cycle to better determine the relationship between these variables.

Houseknecht (1978) conducted a research project to determine the factors associated with the childbearing intentions of college undergraduates. Using interviews and questionnaires, a sample of 27 voluntarily childfree women who were early articulators was compared with a sample of 27 women intending to have children who were similar in religion, marital status, and ethnicity. Houseknecht's findings indicated that childfree women were significantly more likely to come from mother dominated families and to have developed a psychological distance from their families during adolescence. Childfree women were characterized as being achievement oriented and autonomous, as measured by the Omnibus Personality Inventory. Differences in marriage intentions were found between the two groups in that childfree women were significantly more likely to overtly reject or were uncertain about the notion of marriage. Further significant differences were found in that only 30 percent of the childfree women mentioned familial roles as an important life goal, as compared to 74 percent of the intentional parents. Childfree women were significantly more concerned with achievement in vocational than in personal spheres (70% compared to 26% of the child-intending women).

An important finding in Houseknecht's (1978) study was that the majority of individuals who desired no children had some degree of reference group support for their childfree decision. Houseknecht proposed that social support for the childfree option is very important in that it helps to alle-

viate the effects of pressures and negative sanctions levied by pronatalism. Those who approve of or model childlessness may enable individuals to retain a positive identity by means of supportive identification. The present study will further explore Houseknecht's findings by attempting to determine if childfree women are more likely to know another woman who is voluntarily childfree. Evidence of reference group support in the form of older childfree women may support Houseknecht's proposal that supportive identification plays a role in parenting intentions.

Houseknecht (1978) attempted to construct a model from her research findings which proposed that the two family of origin factors she found to be significant, mother-dominated families and subject's psychological distance from their families, produce an achievement orientation and an independence that are operationalized as awareness and acceptance of alternative roles to wife and mother. This predisposition, accompanied by a belief that the advantages of the childfree role outweigh the disadvantages, and by reference group support, is believed to lead to acceptance of the childfree option. Houseknecht did not perform statistical tests of this model on the data from her research, therefore it is purely theoretical. Though interesting, patterns throughout the research are not yet clear or consistent enough to support this model.

Jensen, Christensen, and Wilson (1985) investigated whether young women's motivations for parenting versus work

were influenced by the perceived rewards and costs of the two roles. Respondents included 83 female undergraduate students aged 18 to 23. Role choice was determined using a seven point scale on which subjects rated themselves from 1: desiring to be a parent and not work outside the home to 7: desiring to not be a parent and work full time. Likert-type scales were used to determine the perceived rewards and costs of the parenting and work roles. Using a sequence of multiple regression analyses, it was found that the reward-cost perceptions of parenting and work were predictors of the two motivational options. An important finding was that the preference for a full-time career and not to be a parent resulted not from perceptions of work, but from perceptions of parenting, which were seen as both costly and unrewarding. For both role preferences the perception of parenting was more important than the perception of work. Jensen et al. and Houseknecht (1978) both include early articulators, unlike all the other studies which are retrospective in nature. Retrospective studies make it difficult to determine if career commitment was a facilitator, or simply a result of the childfree option. Although both Houseknecht and Jensen et al. found vocational concerns to be significant factors, Jensen et al. found the respondent's perception of parenting to be more important in determining their parenting intentions. More research is needed at the early stages of the childbearing decision process to determine the role of educational and occupational factors.

Beckman (1977) conducted a study to determine if women differ in their perceptions of the rewards and costs of parenthood and alternative roles. One hundred and twenty-three women were divided into six equally sized subgroups based on their work status (professional and nonprofessional) and parity (no children, small families, and large families). Beckman (1977) did not indicate whether the childfree women were committed to permanent childlessness, but all the subjects were in their late childbearing years. The six groups were compared using an interview schedule including questions about satisfactions and costs of parenthood and employment, as well as employment, educational, and demographic data. Findings indicated that the professional women associated higher general costs with parenthood than did nonprofessional women and they also associated higher rewards with employment. Professional women were more likely to be Jewish than the nonprofessional women, and although they did not differ significantly by race, more blacks were included in the nonprofessional sample. The author suggested that, although beyond the scope of the study, these sociodemographic factors may have causal effects on group differences in motivation for parenthood. Beckman's research revealed that the perceived consequences of a desire for children, as compared to the consequences of alternative roles, were found to be influential in subject's fertility intentions and actual behavior concerning birth planning practices. Beckman's (1977) research, while not en-

tirely explaining the decision-making process, suggests that a social-exchange approach could be valuable in the explanation of fertility intentions and behavior.

Motives emerge out of situations and perhaps no one situation will invariably produce meanings to motivate avoidance or acceptance of parenthood (Campbell, 1985). To understand childlessness, however, it is necessary to attempt to identify situations that provide individuals with the opportunity to consider roles other than parenthood (Campbell, 1985). There are some indications in the research that a relationship does exist between fertility decisions and career and educational choices. The research to date seems to indicate that women who choose to be childfree tend to be oriented to a work focus more than a familial sphere of interest. Throughout the studies childfree women consistently present a profile of being highly educated, and some studies have indicated that childfree women are more often involved in highly skilled and professional careers than women who are parents. Much of the empirical work taking the approach that women with a greater work commitment are more likely to restrict their fertility has taken a rather questionable circular approach by basing conclusions on the amount of prior work experience subjects have (Sweet, 1982). If work commitment or career orientation are invoked as operative in the work-fertility relationship, they need to be measured prior to, and independent of, the work experience (Sweet, 1982). More research is needed to determine

if education and occupation are factors predisposing women to voluntary childlessness, or if they are a consequence of not having children.

For many women, motherhood is still a primary source of identification and fulfillment. Today, women increasingly have other resources through which they can develop a strong identity (Faux, 1984). Childbearing and labor force participation are not mutually exclusive roles for women. Nevertheless, working and a career may be seen as alternatives to childbearing for women who are comparing choices for investment and reward (White & Kim, 1987). If women make rational decisions about the extent to which they invest in their own skills, then those who expect to concentrate their activities primarily or exclusively on home and family may make relatively few investments in their own job skills. Those who expect non-familial roles may more often acquire knowledge and training useful in the job market (Waite et al. 1986). For some women, trade-offs between career objectives and family considerations may occur when they first begin to think about their adult futures (Waite et al, 1986). The present study will explore the possibility that women who plan to have children are more likely than those who do not to invest less in their educational and occupational pursuits, and are more likely to take a traditionally female occupation. If a difference exists this may indicate that young women's reproductive intentions involve a cost-benefits decision-making process.

Identity Structures

Social scientists have considered the possibility that the personal characteristics of the individual are relevant to procreative desires. Gerson (1986) has postulated that possibly, as greater role choices become available to women, the decision to become a parent emerges from complex identity structures, rather than from more external and sociologically based variables. Hoffman and Levant (1985) have suggested that motherhood is such a powerful mandate that to opt out requires a strong set of personal values which validate such a non-traditional choice. Postulations about the relationship between psychological variables and parenting choices have led to some preliminary research exploring these relationships.

Some social scientists have theorized that women who are voluntarily childless are emotionally and mentally abnormal (Deutsch, 1944; Erikson, 1964; Freud, 1961). Freud (1961) and traditional Freudian psychoanalysts adhere to the belief that motherhood is essential to the healthy feminine psyche. In describing the development of the female child Freud (1961) states

She gives up her wish for a penis and puts in place of it a wish for a child: and with that purpose in view she takes her father as a love object. Her mother becomes the object of her jealousy. The girl has turned into a little woman (p. 256).

Deutsch (1944) suggested that women are by nature passive and masochistic, and that pregnancy fulfills the deepest and most powerful female need: those without that need have a "masculinity complex." Erikson (1964) proposed that there are eight progressive stages of development and the crisis of each stage must be successfully resolved for "normal" human development. Failure to reproduce foils the seventh stage of "generativity", the establishment and guidance of the next generation. According to Erikson (1964) "The woman who does not fulfill her innate need to fill her "inner space", or uterus, with embryonic tissue is likely to be frustrated or neurotic" (p.590).

Recent research has not substantiated such proposals that voluntarily childfree women are neurotic, immature, or otherwise psychologically abnormal (Burgwyn, 1981; Callan, 1987; Campbell, 1985; Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985; Ruch, 1985; Veevers, 1980). There are indications, however, that women with variant parenting intentions can be distinguished on several psychological variables. High self-esteem and a non-traditional gender-role identity are two traits that, in some studies, seem to differentiate voluntarily childfree women from their counterparts (Burman & de Anda, 1986; Gerson, 1986; Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985; Veevers, 1980).

Gender-role identity

Greenglass and Borovilos (1985) have suggested that personality factors, particularly those associated with tra-

ditional gender roles, should be examined in exploring women's parenthood intentions. According to gender role ideology, different personality traits are assigned to males and females in accordance with their socially prescribed gender role (Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985). Gender role refers to the total range of behaviors that label the degree to which one is masculine, feminine, or undecided (Wilk, 1986). One's gender-role identity is defined as the degree to which a person endorses feminine and masculine characteristics as self-descriptive (Bem, 1974). The traditional feminine gender-role includes expressive traits, mothering and caring for others, nurturance, passivity, dependence and sensitivity. The traditional male role encourages achievement in instrumental goals, power, dominance, and independence (Greenglass & Borovilos, 1985).

Social scientists no longer consider masculinity and femininity to be opposite ends of a bipolar dimension, but rather they are seen as two independent dimensions (Bem, 1974). A man or woman can be both aggressive and nurturant, or have neither of these characteristics. The concept of psychological androgyny implies flexibility of sex-roles, because people who fit this description have a variety of both masculine and feminine traits. Because androgynous individuals do not have sex-role images to maintain, they can engage in whatever behavior seems most effective, regardless of whether it is stereotyped as appropriate for either males or females (Bem, 1974; Schaffer, 1980). People who do not

conform to traditional gender-roles are perhaps freer to engage in non-traditional behavior.

Sweet (1982) and Kupinsky (1977) have proposed that a modern or traditional sex-role orientation is causally related to both work and fertility and produces the association between the two behaviors. Kupinsky has hypothesized that the more modern, instrumental and individualistic a woman's sex-role orientation, the more likely she is to perceive the economic and psychological benefits of working as greater than the economic and psychological benefits of bearing and rearing children, and thus to be more strongly committed to her worker role and to restrict her family size. Conversely, the more traditional, family-centered a woman's sex-role orientation, the more likely she is to perceive the economic and psychological benefits of childbearing and rearing as greater than the benefits of working.

Watkinson (1984) studied the role of psychological androgyny, locus of control, and marital satisfaction in individuals who were voluntarily childless. A correlational survey was conducted with a total of 90 individuals: fifteen married couples in three groups who were voluntarily childless, intended parenting, and parenting were administered the Bem Sex-role Inventory (BSRI, Bem 1974), as well as a measure of marital satisfaction and locus of control. No significant relationship was found between voluntary childlessness and scores on the BSRI. Significant differences were found in that voluntarily childless females were more

often internal in their locus of control, and the voluntarily childless men and women were found to have a higher marital satisfaction than those who intended parenting or were parenting. The findings of this study need to be interpreted with caution because the sample groups consisted of both males and females. In determining gender-role identity, sex differences are likely to obscure any other differences. The females and males were compared separately and, when broken down into these smaller groups, the numbers may have been too small to be a representative sample.

Cohen (1984) attempted to identify some of the personality and family background variables that distinguish women who state an intention not to parent from those who do intend to mother. Subjects were students in an introductory psychology course: 34 women who were very certain they intended to parent and 26 women who were moderately or very certain they intended not to parent. Perceptions of parents were measured using the Parent Behavior Form, and findings suggested that childfree women were less identified with their mothers and saw their mothers as less warm than women who intended to parent. Sex-role identity was measured using the Bem Sex-role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Unlike Watkinson (1984), Cohen (1984) found that the women who intended to remain childfree were more likely to have a masculine sex-role identity and were lower in femininity than the women who intended to be mothers. Cohen's (1984) findings support Kupinsky's (1977) proposal that the more

instrumental and the less traditional a woman's sex-role orientation, the more likely she is to limit her family size.

Teicholz (1977) undertook a search for psychological correlates of voluntary childlessness in married women. Three clusters of personality traits were measured pertaining to social adjustment, mental health, and sexual identity. Two groups of married women aged 23 to 38 from similar educational and socioeconomic backgrounds were compared. Thirty-eight women who had decided to never have children were compared to 32 who were planning to have their first child within a two year period. The study found no significant differences between the two groups of women on any of the scales of the California Psychological Inventory or on the Franck Drawing Completion test. The measure on which the two groups differed significantly was the Bem Sex-role Inventory. The voluntarily childless group was more likely to score in the androgynous category, the masculine sex-typed category, or the undifferentiated category; the women planning to have children were more likely to score in the feminine sex-typed category. These results, like Cohen's (1984), suggest that there is a relationship between voluntary childlessness and a non-traditional gender-role in women.

Gerson (1980) conducted a multivariate exploration of motivations for parenthood in 184 unmarried, childless, female college undergraduates. The Index of Parenthood

Motivation (IPM, Gerson, 1980) was developed by the researcher to assess the most important aspects of the wish to parent. Reliability data for the measure was found to be .85. The validity of the measure was limited, raising the question as to whether parenthood motivation was being effectively measured, however the IPM was found to have significant discriminant validity for known groups including adoption seekers and members of the National Organization of Non-Parents (Gerson, 1986). Birth order was not found to be significantly related to parenthood motivation, contrasting Veevers (1980) and Ory's (1978) findings, and supporting Toomey's (1977) findings. Gerson (1980) did find however, that women from large families (3 or more siblings) expressed more desire for children than women from smaller families. Religious affiliation was not related to parenthood motivation, in contrast to all the other studies discussed in which religion was a variable. Gerson's (1980) findings indicated that positive memories of early childhood maternal love, antifeminist sympathy and traditional feminine sex-role identification were the primary unique variables accounting for expressed desire for children. Sex-role identity was measured by the Bem Sex-role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Instead of measuring Androgyny by the usual means of a median computation, the score was computed by the product of the Masculinity and Femininity scores, with the separate Masculine and Feminine components partialled out

for the purpose of regression analysis. This methodology limits comparisons between studies.

Though the four studies above used the same measure of sex-role identity, conflicting results were found in that Cohen (1984), Teicholz (1977) and Gerson (1980) found significance where Watkinson (1984) did not. The three studies that did find significant differences showed different relationships between gender-role identity and parenting intentions and choices. Gender-role identity seems to be related to parenting choices, but the exact nature of the relationship is not yet obvious. More research is needed to gain a clearer picture of the relationship between sex-role identity and parenting intentions.

In general, research seems to indicate that women opting out of parenthood are not characterized by stereotypically feminine traits (Gerson, 1980; Hoffman, 1975; Veevers, 1980; Waite et al., 1986). In this study the relationship between gender-role identity and parenting intentions will be further explored by examining the gender-role identities of college women with differing parenting intentions.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem can be defined as the evaluation which people make and customarily maintain with regard to themselves. It expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which individuals believe themselves to be capable, significant, successful,

and worthy (Coopersmith, 1967). Self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes individuals hold towards themselves (Coopersmith). According to Coopersmith self-esteem is associated with personal satisfaction and effective functioning. Persons with high self-esteem are generally happier and more effective in meeting environmental demands than persons with low self-esteem (Coopersmith). People with low self-esteem are generally less capable of resisting pressures to conform than people with high self-esteem, who appear to maintain a fairly consistent positive image of their capabilities and distinctions as individuals (Coopersmith). Coopersmith proposed a relationship between self-esteem and conformity based on the assumption that people with negative self-attitudes place different values on social participation, possibly needing to seek social approval and status to obtain a favorable self-evaluation. Persons who regard themselves negatively may be inclined to be passive in adapting to environmental demands and pressures, while those who place a higher value upon themselves will adopt a more active and assertive position (Coopersmith). This viewpoint may have implications for the present research inquiry, suggesting that women with high self-esteem may be better equipped to step outside the socially approved role of motherhood.

According to Gergen (1971), when there is a dissonance between the role an individual chooses to accept and her at-

titudes towards appropriate women's roles, there is a resultant lowering of self-esteem. Baruch et al. (1983) have suggested that when women feel they are defying the dictates of society, they often feel self-doubt and suffer from a threatened loss of self-esteem. "We are affected by what others expect of us, and when we are not doing what society expects of us, we feel threatened." (Baruch et al. 1983, p.40). From this perspective, rather than self-esteem affecting conformity, conformity pressures affect self-esteem. If this is the case, then women who feel they are different for not wanting children may have low self-esteem. Conformity pressures could be seen as having an impact at the intentional as well as the behavioral level of parenthood decision-making because self-esteem is a self-evaluative judgement and young women who desire childlessness might feel self doubt in response to societal attitudes.

Burman and de Anda (1986) compared 30 intentionally childless individuals with 46 parents who had exerted an equal amount of control over their family size: that is the parents had planned the number, timing, and spacing of their children. The sample consisted of slightly more women than men in both groups. The two groups were markedly similar with regard to their families of origin with the exception that more childless individuals came from single parent families, conflicting with the findings of Ory's (1978) and Veevers's (1980) research. A significant difference in religiosity was found between the two groups: fifty-three

percent of the childless versus 13 percent of the parents were not practicing members of an organized religion. This finding confirms the results of most of the other studies discussed that childfree individuals are less likely to have strong religious affiliations. Two personality characteristics differentiated between the groups: the childless subjects had significantly higher self-esteem on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, and they were significantly lower in conformity than the parents. The researchers suggested these personality differences might be connected to the willingness of childfree individuals to make a choice that is frequently considered to be deviant. In the analysis of the data the sex of the participants was not controlled for, limiting the possibility of generalizing and comparing the results.

Feldman (1981) conducted a comparative study of 42 intentionally parental couples and 37 intentionally childless couples on a variety of factors. Feldman did not discuss the statistical treatment of the data in detail, making it difficult to assess the validity of differences that were claimed to be significant. The two groups were found to differ significantly in religious orientation; the parental couples were more likely Protestant or Catholic, and the childless couples were more likely to have no religious affiliation. Feldman found no significant differences in the educational or occupational status of the husbands, but the childfree wives were more likely to be employed and had

higher levels of education ($p \leq .01$). A non-standardized series of questions designed by the researcher was used to determine sex-role attitudes, and on this measure women intending parenthood were more likely to have traditional attitudes towards women ($p \leq .001$). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess self-esteem. No significant difference was found between the two groups for either men or women in levels of self-esteem suggesting that reproductive choices are not associated with self-esteem.

Gerson (1986) conducted a study similar to her 1980 study using older subjects (mean age 28) instead of college students, and subjects of both sexes (113 women and 75 men). The Index of Parenthood Motivation discussed previously was used in this study to measure parenthood motivation. Results were analyzed for females and males separately by multiple regression, with a hierarchical ordering of sets of independent variables. The results of this study replicated Gerson's (1980) previous findings that for women, psychological factors accounted for greater variance in parenthood motivation than did demographic variables. In contrast, for men demographic variables alone accounted for differences in motivation. Gerson (1986) suggested that this finding is a recent trend and a manifestation of greater sex-role related choices for women. The decision of whether to become a parent may no longer come solely from external and sociologically based variables, but from a complex structure of per-

sonality and identity. Three variables were found to significantly distinguish between women based on their parenthood motivations: (1) narcissism was negatively related to parenthood motivation, which Gerson (1986) notes is a reverse of the notion that women might want a child for narcissistic reasons. (2) memories of father's love were positively related to motivation for parenthood, a reversal of Gerson's 1984 study. (3) women with strong motivations for parenthood had low self-esteem as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). The significant differences in self-esteem scores found between the two groups of women in this study contrast with the findings of Feldman's (1981) study where no differences were found using the same measure. This contrast might possibly have been a result of a difference between the measurement of parenthood motivation and actual reproductive behavior. Another possible explanation for the contrast may be that Feldman's study included insufficient numbers of women for accurate generalizations. The relationship between low self-esteem and high parenthood motivation found in Gerson's study seems to indicate a different explanation than the possibility, proposed by Burman and de Anda (1986), that women need to have high self-esteem to maintain a childfree lifestyle. Gerson suggested that women with difficulties in self-concept may still look to motherhood as compensation for their deficiencies in an effort to restore self-worth through serving the needs of others.

The studies by Burman and de Anda (1986) and Gerson (1986), tend to support Coopersmith's (1967) proposal that self-esteem is related to conformity in that individuals with high self-esteem step outside the socially approved role of parenthood more often than those with low self-esteem. The findings of all three studies discussed have different implications for the relationship of self-esteem to parenting choices. Burman and de Anda (1986) determined that childfree women have higher self-esteem, whereas Feldman (1981) found no significant difference, and Gerson (1986) found women highly motivated for parenthood had low self-esteem. More research is needed to understand the relationship between parenting intentions and self-esteem.

Research results are beginning to tentatively illuminate some of the factors associated with childbearing intentions. Socialization factors, particularly religion, seem to be associated with parenting intentions. Some, though not all, of the studies have found that childfree women are non-religious, from smaller families, and more often first born than women opting for parenthood. Ethnicity is a socialization factor that has the possibility of affecting parenting intentions but research is very sparse in this area. Situational factors are emerging out of the research as important in the parenthood choice process. In some studies childfree women appear to aspire to higher occupational and educational goals than women with children. Some

of the research has indicated that gender-role identity and self-esteem are identity structures that distinguish between people with varying parenting intentions. Several studies have shown that voluntarily childfree women have non-traditional gender-role identities and high self-esteem in comparison to women who intend to adopt or have adopted the parenting role. An important finding by Houseknecht (1978) that has not received further attention in the research, was that the majority of individuals who desired no children had some degree of reference group support for their decision. These findings cannot yet be considered conclusive. No single factor has consistently been significant in all studies, and a finding in one study is not always replicated in similar studies. In most of the research sample sizes are small and selection procedures non-random, limiting the generalizability of the results. Clearly all the facts are not in; more research is needed to enhance the body of knowledge about which factors are relevant to parenting intentions.

Little research has been done on the parenting intentions of young women. Choosing a cohort of young women as the focus of the present study has a twofold purpose. The first is to explore whether social changes and new peer group have resulted in new factors becoming relevant to parenting intentions. Gerson (1980), and Cohen (1984) compared college women with differing parenting intentions and motivations for parenthood. The findings of these two studies seem to indicate that early articulators of the childfree

option are oriented towards a more non-traditional gender-role than young women desiring children, possibly suggesting that younger women are beginning to make their parenthood choices on a more individual level. The second reason for choosing to study younger women is to permit an exploration of parenting intentions before these preferences are complicated by other intervening variables, or distorted by a retrospective viewpoint. Studies of early articulators by Toomey (1977) and Houseknecht (1978) indicate that childfree women desire achievement in vocational spheres more often than young women desiring parenthood. Although these two studies are not current, they do suggest that situational factors are significant to young women's parenting intentions. The present researcher will attempt to determine whether young women's parenting intentions are associated with their educational and occupational plans. If women are found to differ at the intentional level of reproductive decision-making, this may suggest that educational and occupational factors have an a priori impact on parenting intentions and are not simply the result of a particular lifestyle.

In the past parenthood was prescribed for all married couples, despite their preferences and personal compatibility for the role. However, with the growing number of appealing and fulfilling role options becoming available, particularly for women, individuals need to carefully assess their options and select roles which will bring them the

greatest degree of satisfaction. When making reproductive decisions, individuals need to understand how the socialization process may serve to influence parenting intentions, and have factual information about situational factors and identity factors which may be salient to their decision. The present researcher will attempt to illuminate the psychosocial and situational factors associated with parenthood options that may be important considerations for women making reproductive decisions. Based on a review of the literature, several factors appear to be emerging as significant in distinguishing women based on their parenting choices. Birth order and size of family of origin, religion, ethnicity, supportive identification, education, occupation, self-esteem, and gender-role identity are some of the factors that appear to play a role in parenting intentions and behaviors.

There is a need to have knowledge of the characteristics which differentiate between individuals who intend to have children and those who voluntarily intend not to have children. If we can learn about the possible relationship between socialization, situational, and identity factors and reproductive intentions, we will be providing information which may, in time, enhance reproductive decision-making ease and may facilitate satisfaction with reproductive choices. Based on a review of the relevant literature, the following hypotheses were generated:

Hypotheses

Problem Statement

What are the similarities and differences between women who definitely intend to have children ("definitely yes"), women who probably intend to have children ("probably yes"), and women who probably or definitely intend to never have children ("childfree") on the following factors: birth order, size of family of origin, ethnicity, religion, education plans, occupation plans, self-esteem, gender-role identity, and knowing a voluntarily childfree woman.

Hypothesis One

H₀: There will not be a significant association between the parenting intentions variable (the "definitely yes", the "probably yes", and the "childfree" groups) and the birth order variable (eldest, middle, youngest, and only children).

H₁: There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between the two variables parenting intentions and birth order. "Childfree" respondents will be more often first born or only children than respondents in the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" categories.

Hypothesis Two

H₀: There will be no significant difference between the three parenting intentions groups ("childfree",

"probably yes" and "definitely yes"), in the mean number of siblings in subject's families of origin.

H₁: The "Childfree" group will have a significantly lower mean number of siblings than the "probably yes" group and the "definitely yes" group.

Hypothesis Three

H₀: There will not be a significant association between the parenthood intentions of participants ("childfree", "probably yes" or "definitely yes") and the type of religion they practice (Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, none, or other).

H₁: There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between parenting intentions and type of religion practiced. "Childfree" participants will be less often affiliated with a religious denomination than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" participants.

Hypothesis Four

H₀: There will be no significant difference between the mean scores of the "childfree", the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups on the religiosity variable (very religious, somewhat religious, or not at all religious).

H₁: The "childfree" group will be found to have a significantly lower mean religiosity score than the "probably yes" group and the "definitely yes" group.

Hypothesis Five

H₀: There will be not be a significant association found between the ethnicity variable (visible minorities versus majority culture), and the parenting intentions variable.

H₁: There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between the ethnicity variable and the parenting intentions variable. "Childfree" respondents will be less likely to have ethnic origins from a visible minority than "probably yes" respondents and "definitely yes" respondents.

Hypothesis Six

H₀: There will be no significant difference in the educational aspirations (two years of university, Bachelor's degree, or graduate school) of participants based on their parenthood intentions.

H₁: The "Childfree" group will have significantly higher educational aspirations than the "probably yes" group and the "definitely yes" group.

Hypothesis Seven

- H_0 : There will be no significant difference between the three parenting intentions groups in their occupational aspirations scores, as measured by the TSEI2.
- H_1 : The "childfree" group will have a significantly higher mean score on occupational aspirations than the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups.

Hypothesis Eight

- H_0 : An association will not be found between the gender dominance of participants' occupational aspirations (male dominated or female dominated career choice) and their parenthood intentions.
- H_1 : There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between male or female dominated career choice and parenthood intentions. Childfree women will be planning to enter occupations that are male dominated at higher frequencies than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" participants.

Hypothesis Nine

- H_0 : There will be no significant difference in the mean self-esteem scores of the three parenting intentions groups as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory.

H₁: The "childfree" group will have higher mean self-esteem scores than the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups.

Hypothesis Ten

H₀: There will be no association between the gender-role identity of respondents, as measured by the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, and their parenthood intentions.

H₁: There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between the parenthood intentions variable and the gender-role identity variable. The participants who intend to remain childfree will more frequently have masculine or androgynous gender-role identities in comparison to "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women, who will more often have feminine gender-role identities.

Hypothesis Eleven

H₀: An association will not be found between the parenting intentions variable and whether respondents know a voluntarily childfree woman.

H₁: There will be a significant probability that an association will exist between the parenting intentions variable and the variable of knowing a voluntarily child-free woman. "Childfree" women will more often know a

voluntarily childfree woman than "probably yes" women and "definitely yes" women.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Subjects

Because the central focus of the present study was parenthood intentions, subject selection was limited to women who were young, single, and not making their parenting choices because of fertility problems. An age range of 18 to 26 was chosen in order to solicit as many responses as possible, while at the same time limiting the possibility of cohort effects. The assumption was made that by the age of eighteen women have generally begun to think about their future parenthood plans. Parental status may have an effect on future parenthood intentions, therefore only subjects who had not yet experienced parenthood were included as part of the sample.

Married women were not included in the study because of the impact marriage can have on the parenthood decision-making process. As Beckman (1977) has suggested, marriage can involve a couple-based decision-making process, rather than simply individual desires and intentions. Subjects who were anticipating never having children because of fertility problems were not included in the analysis because issues surrounding infertility would influence parenting intentions and were beyond the scope of this study.

The subjects for the present study consisted of 381 single female residence students at the University of

British Columbia. The sample was derived from a total of 391 respondents to surveys which were distributed to 1,000 women in two university campus residences. Ten of the surveys were not included in the analysis. One respondent did not fit the age requirements. In the remaining 9 surveys important data were missing: one respondent did not indicate her age and the remaining surveys were missing 2 or more responses on the variables, making the surveys unsuitable for analysis.

Large sample characteristics.

The average age of the respondents was 20.5 years. Thirty-five percent of the women were single and unattached, 30 percent were single but involved with someone, and 35 percent were in a steady relationship or engaged. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents intended to marry in the future, 10 percent were unsure of their marriage plans, and 3 percent intended to never marry (see appendix A).

Most of the women had given some thought to how many children they wanted. Only 2 percent had given almost no thought, 7 percent had given very little thought, 58 percent had given some thought, 25 percent had given very much thought, and 9 percent had given a great deal of thought to how many children they wanted.

Respondent's parenting intentions were distributed such that 8.9 percent of the subjects indicated they either definitely or probably did not intend to have children. Only 7.3 percent were unsure whether they intended to have chil-

dren or not. One quarter of the women (25.2%) answered that they probably did intend to have children in the future. The majority of respondents, 58.5 percent, indicated that they definitely did intend to have children.

Respondents were asked to indicate how eagerly they anticipated having children on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (more than anything). The mean answer selected was 4, with 8 percent choosing "1"; 11 percent choosing "2"; 27 percent circling "3"; 42 percent circling "4"; and 11 percent choosing "5".

Of the women who indicated the age at which they would like to have their first child, the average age was 27.5, with a range from 20 to 40. The average number of children (not including those who answered "zero") was 2.4, with a range from 1 to 5.

Approximately one quarter (27 %) of the women indicated that they personally knew one or more voluntarily childfree women, and 73 percent indicated that they did not.

As expected of this select population, respondents had high educational aspirations. Only 0.5 percent planned to attain two years of university or less. Most of the women indicated that they intended to attain a Bachelor's or Master's degree. Thirty-seven percent indicated they planned for a Bachelor's degree, and 34 percent indicated a Master's degree. Doctorate degrees were aspired to by 7 percent of respondents, 19 percent planned to attain a pro-

fessional degree, and 2 percent did not fit in any of the categories.

The subjects in the sample had a wide range of occupational aspirations, the most frequent of which was teaching below the college level (19%). "Manager, administrator" was a relatively frequent choice (11%), as were "registered nurse, dietician" (9%) and "lawyer" (8%). The most infrequent choices were "architect" (0.5%), "computer specialist" (0.5%), and "sales worker" (0.8%). The occupational scores on the socioeconomic measure, the TSEI2, ranged from a low of 41 to a high of 89. The mean score for the occupations was 65.7 and the median 59.9, with a standard deviation of 15.8. The women in the sample were somewhat more likely to choose an occupation that is male dominated (according to Canadian Census data) than female dominated. Male dominated occupations were aspired to by 56 percent of the women, and female dominated occupations were aspired to by 44 percent.

Respondent's religious orientations were found to be distributed with 23 percent being Catholic; 0.3 percent being Jewish; 25 percent being Protestant, and 14 percent belonging to other religious denominations. Thirty-seven percent of the subjects indicated that they did not belong to any religion. When asked to indicate how religious they were, 8 percent of the subjects indicated that they were very religious. The majority of the subjects indicated that they were somewhat religious (43%) or not at all religious (48%).

The predominant ethnic background of the sample was Northern European (62%). The breakdown by ethnicity for the remainder of the subjects was: 12 percent Eastern European, 9 percent Southern European, 6 percent Chinese, 2 percent East Indian, 2 percent Japanese, 0.5 percent Vietnamese, and .3 percent Filipino. Respondents who chose the "other" category were distinguished, for the purpose of analysis, as being either a member of the majority culture (4%) or of a visible minority (2%). Eighty-eight percent of the subjects had an ethnic background from the majority culture and 12 percent of the subjects had a visible minority ethnic cultural background.

Forty-four percent of the respondents were first born children, 15 percent were middle children, and 37 percent were youngest children. Only 4 percent of the sample were only children. Of those respondents with siblings, 44 percent had one sibling, 33 percent had two siblings, 11 percent had three siblings, 5 percent had four siblings, and 4 percent had five or more siblings.

Sub sample characteristics.

Because a sample was drawn from the total population sample to provide equal n groups for the purpose of analysis, the characteristics of the small sample will be discussed here. The small sample consisted of 102 subjects from three equal sized groups.

The group of 34 "childfree" women consisted of 10 women who indicated that they definitely did not intend to have children and 24 women who indicated that they probably did not intend to have children. Combining these respondents was necessary in order to provide a large enough sample size to conduct meaningful statistical analyses. A limitation imposed by combining women who probably and definitely intend to remain childfree is that differences between these two types of parenting intentions may be obscured. However, according to Veevers (1980) the majority of individuals who remain childfree do so through a series of postponements, suggesting that women who early on articulate that they probably will not have children may very well maintain their childfree status.

Two random samples consisting of 34 "probably yes" women and 34 "definitely yes" women were drawn from the large sample. The average age of the women in the small sample was 20.7 years. Forty-three percent of the sample were single, 24 percent were involved with someone, and 33 percent were in a steady relationship or engaged. Many of the subjects, 78 percent, intended to marry. Five percent did not intend to marry, and 17 percent were unsure regarding their marriage plans (see Appendix A). As shown in Appendix A, the sub sample is similar to, and appears to be representative of the large sample.

Fifty percent of the small sample had given some thought to how many children they wanted. Only 3 percent

had given almost no thought, 11 percent had given very little thought, 25 percent had given very much thought, and 12 percent had given a great deal of thought to how many children they wanted. On the five point scale of how eagerly subjects anticipated having children, 25 percent of the small sample indicated "1" that they did not at all anticipate having children. In order of ascending anticipation, 18 percent indicated "2", 25 percent indicated "3", 29 percent indicated "4", and only 4 percent indicated "5", that they anticipated having children more than anything.

Eighty of the respondents in the small sample answered the question "If you do intend to have children, at what age would you like to have your first child?" Of these, the median age was 28, with a range from 24 to 40. The mean number of children these subjects indicated they would like to have was 2.2, with a range from 1 to 5.

Thirty-four percent of the small sample indicated that they knew a voluntarily childfree woman no longer capable of bearing a child. Sixty-six percent of respondents indicated that they did not know a childfree woman.

Thirty-five percent of the small sample intended to complete their Bachelor's degrees, 36 percent their Master's, and 8 percent their Doctorate. Twenty percent of the sample indicated that they planned to attain a professional degree. Of these, 56 percent intended to attain a law degree, 30 percent a medical degree, and the remaining

choices included two veterinary degrees, and one architecture degree. One respondent who indicated the "other" category for their occupational aspirations planned to attain a degree as a foreign aid worker.

The occupation most frequently aspired to in the small sample was a lawyer (13 percent). This was followed by manager/ administrator and teacher (except college and university), both occurring at a frequency of 12 percent. Seven percent of respondents indicated that they aspired to be a physician or dentist, and an additional seven percent indicated that they aspired to be a writer, artist, or entertainer. Six percent indicated life and physical scientist as their occupation goal. An additional six percent indicated their occupation goal as a teacher in a college or university. Five percent of respondents fell into the occupation category of social scientist. The remaining occupations were chosen with a frequency of less than 4 percent. Sixty-six percent of the women chose occupations that were male dominated in the general population, and 34 percent of the subjects aspired to occupations which were female dominated.

Forty percent of respondents indicated "none" as their religion. The remainder of the sample included 22 percent Catholic, 23 percent Protestant, and 16 percent other. In the "other" category, 63 percent were from religions with a Christian background: four respondents were Anglican, 3 were United, 1 was a Christian, 1 was Greek Orthodox, 1 was a

Born Again Christian, and 1 was a Lutheran. In addition, 1 respondent was of the Sikh religion, 1 was Shintoist, and 2 were Hindu. Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated that they were not at all religious. Thirty-eight percent were somewhat religious and 8 percent were very religious.

Eighty-five percent of the small sample were from an ethnic background within the majority culture. Fifteen percent were from minority culture ethnic backgrounds. Sixty-five percent of the respondents were Northern European, 9 percent were Eastern European, and 8 percent were Southern European. Of the remainder, 7 percent were Chinese, 2 percent were East Indian, 3 percent were Japanese, and 1 percent Vietnamese. In the "other" category, respondents indicated that they were American, Canadian, or North American, except for one respondent who was of a Hispanic background.

Thirty-nine percent of respondents from the small sample were first born, 22 percent were middle children, 36 percent were youngest, and 3 percent were only children. The average number of siblings in respondent's families of origin was 1.8, with a range of 0 to 6.

Instrumentation

The Personal Data Sheet.

The Personal Data Sheet (Appendix B), a compilation of questions designed by the researcher, was used to determine the respondent's age, marital status and marriage inten-

tions, parental status, fertility, and the age and number of children they intended to have. The Personal Data Sheet was also used to determine the respondent's parenting intentions, as well as the following variables: (1) educational aspirations (2) occupational aspirations, (3) religion and religiosity (4) ethnicity (5) birth order (6) family size and (7) whether or not the respondent knew a voluntarily childfree woman.

Question 4 "how much thought have you given to how many children you want?" was derived from Kirchner and Seaver's (1977) book on developing measures of parenthood motivation, as were the two questions on birth order and family size. Question 6 "How eagerly do you anticipate having children?" was derived from Gerson's (1986) questionnaire on parenthood motivation. These questions were designed to facilitate comparisons between studies, as well as to provide an understanding of the relationship between thought, anticipation and intention in regard to parenthood decision-making.

TSEI2

The occupation variable was scored using the TSEI2 (Total Socio-economic Index 2), an index of occupational status constructed by Stevens and Featherman (1981). The scale is an updated version of the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Duncan, 1961). Stevens and Featherman revised Duncan's scale to coincide more closely with modern educational and income characteristics, and to provide a scale based on the characteristics of the total labour

force. Duncan constructed the original scale using only the male labour force. Computations for the TSEI2 were made based on full census records from the 1970 American census. Unlike Duncan, who used only 45 occupational classifications, Stevens and Featherman based their analysis on 426 occupation titles from the 1970 U.S. census occupational classification. The TSEI2 was constructed using an exact replication of Duncan's (1961) method of computation. The socioeconomic scores are the predicted scores from a regression equation linking occupational prestige to education and income levels. The measure of occupational prestige was constructed based on an estimate of the proportion of "good" and "excellent" ratings of occupation titles. The relationship between the percentage of "good" and "excellent" ratings was obtained from several measures of prestige for the 45 occupations for which the measures existed, and then estimated for all the 1970 occupational titles using a regression equation. The educational measure for the TSEI2 was determined based on the percentage of men and women in each occupation category with one or more years of college. The occupational measure was determined using the percentage of men and women with incomes of \$10,000 or more in each occupation category.

The TSEI2 was constructed simultaneously with several other scales in which Stevens and Featherman (1981) used variations in the measures of prestige, occupation, and education. These scales and the original scale (Duncan, 1961)

were so similar in their ranking of occupations that correlations among them approached unity (Stevens and Featherman). An apparent increase in the importance of education as a determinant of the social evaluation of occupations since 1961 was determined to be due to the biases of the earlier sample (Stevens and Featherman). A comparison between the TSEI2 and the MSEI2, an identically constructed scale based exclusively on the male population, showed that the range and variability of occupation standing were similar. A major difference was found between the TSEI2 and the MSEI2 in the standing accorded to sales work, an area in which women were heavily clustered. Although the authors recommended the MSEI2 as the most discerning measure of the ranks of occupations and their relative social distances, they recommended the TSEI2 as more accurate in scoring the occupations dominated by women, in which few male incumbents might provide an erroneous estimate of the occupation's relative standing. Also, in other occupations, the male based estimator misses the impact of women's education and income characteristics on the occupation's place in the status hierarchy (Stevens and Featherman, 1981). The TSEI2 was chosen for the present study because it is more desirable for the assessment of the occupational aspirations of women.

The scale characteristics of the TSEI2 are a range from a low score of 13.88 to a high score of 90.45, with a standard deviation of 22.73. For the present study, 15 general categories were chosen that were determined by the re-

searcher to be common occupational choices for university educated individuals. An "other" category, with a request to specify the occupation was included. For each of the 15 categories, scores were determined by averaging all of the occupation scores on the TSE12 within each of the general categories (Appendix C). For example, "Teacher, except college and university" was derived by averaging the scores for (1) adult education teachers, (2) elementary school teachers, (3) secondary school teachers, (4) teachers not elsewhere classified. The averaging of individual scores within each general category provided a general occupation score suitable to the present study. Measuring occupational aspirations, rather than assessing a particular occupation already attained, required an average score capturing all the possibilities within a general occupational goal.

In addition to distinguishing occupational choice based on the TSE12 prestige, educational and income characteristics, occupational aspirations were distinguished based on whether they are male or female dominated occupations. This was accomplished using data from the Canadian census. Census data was used to determine which gender had the largest number of individuals within each occupation category. If a larger number of males than females were listed, then the occupation was labelled "male dominated". If a larger number of females than males was listed, then the occupation was labelled "female dominated" (Appendix C).

Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Gender-role identity was determined using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974) a test instrument used for the independent assessment of psychological femininity and masculinity. The construction of the BSRI is based on two theoretical assumptions. First that North American culture has clustered heterogeneous attributes into two mutually exclusive categories, each category considered both more characteristic of, and more desirable for, females or males (Bem, 1974). These cultural expectations and prescriptions are well known by almost all members of the culture. Second, individuals vary in the extent to which they use these culturally defined idealized standards of femininity and masculinity to determine their own personality and behavior (Bem, 1981). Sex-typed individuals are highly attuned to these definitions and are motivated to keep their behavior consistent with them by selecting behaviors and attributes that enhance the socially accepted image and by avoiding behaviors which violate this image. In contrast, androgynous individuals are less attuned to these cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity and are less likely to regulate their behavior in accordance with them (Bem, 1981). "The BSRI is thus based on a theory about both the cognitive processing and the motivational dynamics of sex-typed and androgynous individuals" (Bem, 1981,p.10).

The function of the BSRI is to identify sex-typed individuals and thereby enable testing the hypothesis that sex-

typed individuals have a greater readiness than non-sex-typed individuals to engage in gender specific behavior (Bem, 1981). Femininity and masculinity are defined as the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive (Bem, 1974). Historically and cross culturally, masculinity and femininity seem to have represented two complementary domains of positive traits and behaviors (Bem, 1973). Masculinity has been associated with an instrumental, cognitive orientation and a focus on getting the job done. Femininity has been associated with an expressive orientation, and an affective concern for the welfare of others (Bem, 1973). The BSRI has been chosen for the present research because it enables testing the hypothesis that women who choose motherhood, a role associated with femininity, have a more feminine gender-role identity, whereas women who opt out of motherhood are more likely to have a masculine gender-role identity.

The BSRI separately assesses psychological femininity and masculinity; the two scores are logically independent and the structure of the test is such that they are free to vary independently (Bem, 1973). Masculinity and femininity are assumed to be continuous traits; an individual can have both masculine and feminine characteristics. For example a woman or man can be both aggressive and nurturing, or have neither of these characteristics (Bem, 1974).

The BSRI also identifies "androgynous" individuals. Androgynous individuals incorporate both masculine and femi-

nine traits. They can be both assertive and yielding, both instrumental and expressive, depending on the situational appropriateness of the various behaviors (Bem, 1974).

Androgyny implies flexibility of sex-roles and the ability to change behavior in different situations. Bem (1975) hypothesized that, because they have no sex-role images to maintain, androgynous individuals can engage in whatever behavior seems most effective, regardless of whether it is stereotyped as appropriate for either females or males. Androgynous individuals are assumed to have a wider range of capabilities and, depending on what the specific situation requires, can show assertiveness or warmth and can be equally effective in both situations (Bem, 1975). These assumptions about androgyny have important implications for the present study. Possibly women who are androgynous are more likely to step outside the traditional feminine role in terms of parenthood choices because they have a broad spectrum of behaviors and attributes to choose from.

The BSRI consists of 60 items; 20 are traditionally feminine characteristics, 20 are traditionally masculine, and 20 are neutral. Subjects indicate on a 7 point Likert scale how well each of the 60 personality characteristics describes them. To score the test, items for the Masculinity and Femininity scales respectively are summed, and divided by the number of items rated. Scores are classified on the basis of a median split. Subjects are classified as feminine if they have high Femininity scores and low

Masculinity scores. They are classified as masculine if they have high Masculinity scores and low Femininity scores. If both Masculinity and Femininity scores are high and approximately equal, respondents are rated as androgynous. If both scores are low, they are rated as undifferentiated. Bem (1981) has recommended that when working with a sample containing one sex only, the median from the normative sample be used, rather than the sample's own median. For the present research, medians of 4.90 for Femininity and 4.95 for Masculinity were used, as calculated from the normative sample. Although the median split method of scoring the BSRI does not provide a continuous score it has been used for the present analysis rather than the original scoring method. This is because the original scoring method, which provides a continuous score by subtracting Masculinity from Femininity, has been found to obscure a potentially important distinction between those individuals who score high on both Femininity and Masculinity and those who score low on both (Bem, 1981).

The construction of the scales for the BSRI was accomplished using 100 Stanford undergraduates who were asked to rate the desirability of 400 personality characteristics either "for a man" or "for a woman" on a 7 point scale. A personality characteristic qualified as masculine if it was independently judged by both males and females to be significantly more desirable for a man than for a woman ($p \leq .05$). Twenty characteristics that satisfied these criteria were

chosen for the Masculinity scale, and 20 characteristics were selected for the Femininity scale by the same process. In addition to the 40 items constituting the Femininity and Masculinity scales, 20 items were selected to serve as filler items. Originally the items were selected because they were judged to be no more desirable for one sex than for the other, however more recent ratings have indicated that the neutrality of these items cannot be considered a reliable finding, limiting their use as a measure of desirability response set (Bem, 1981).

Psychometric analyses of the BSRI was based on two samples of subjects, both consisting of undergraduate students at Stanford University. The first sample consisted of 279 females and 444 males who filled out the BSRI in 1973. The second included 340 females and 476 males who wrote the BSRI in 1978. In order to estimate the internal consistency of the BSRI, coefficient alphas were computed separately for males and females in both samples for the Masculinity and Femininity scores. The results showed the scores to be highly reliable. In the 1973 sample on the Femininity scale an Alpha of .75 was found for women and Alpha of .78 for men; for the Masculinity scale, Alpha was .87 for women and .86 for men. In the 1978 sample the results were: for Femininity, an Alpha of .78 for women and .78 for men; for Masculinity an Alpha of .86 for women and .87 for men. The Masculinity and Femininity scores were found to be empirically as well as logically independent (average r_{c} = $-.03$).

Test-retest reliability was determined by administering the BSRI for a second time to 28 females and 28 males from the 1973 Stanford sample, four weeks after the first administration. The scores proved to be highly reliable, with an average reliability of $r = .93$, and with the lowest test-retest reliability occurring for males describing themselves on the masculine items ($r = .76$).

Bem (1981) based content validity for the BSRI on whether it could discriminate between those individuals who restrict their behavior in accordance with sex stereotypes and those who do not. In a series of studies on instrumental and expressive functioning, only androgynous individuals consistently displayed high levels of behavior in both domains, whereas non-androgynous individuals were frequently low in one or the other of the two domains (Bem, 1981). A growing body of research by other investigators has supported the validity of the BSRI by establishing conceptually relevant behavioral correlates (Bem, 1981).

The relationship between gender-role identity and parenthood intentions is important to explore, because motherhood is very much a part of the socially prescribed traditional feminine gender role. The BSRI is a useful instrument to help explore this relationship because it is a widely used instrument for the measure of gender-role identity with respectable reliability and validity. Because it has been used in several studies exploring parenting

choices, using the BSRI will facilitate comparisons between the results of the present study and other similar studies.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES, Rosenberg, 1965). This scale was designed as a measure of global self esteem along a favorable to unfavorable dimension. In designing the self-esteem scale, Rosenberg (1965) defined self-esteem:

When we speak of high self-esteem...we shall simply mean that the individual respects himself (sic), considers himself worthy, he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse, he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection but, on the contrary, recognizes his limitations and expects to grow and improve (p. 31).

Low self-esteem implies self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, or self-contempt. The self picture is disagreeable, and the individual wishes it were otherwise (Rosenberg, 1965).

The RSES consists of 10 items of the Likert type which asks respondents to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the statements (Appendix D). Each statement openly and directly deals with an aspect of self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). A high score indicates high self-esteem, and a low score indicates low self-esteem, with each question receiving equal weight.

The normative sample for the RSES consisted of 5,024 high school juniors and seniors from 10 randomly selected public high schools in New York. For some of the validation work a sample of 50 young adult normal volunteers was used from the clinical center of the National Institute of Health. Reliability and homogeneity for the RSES were determined using the Guttman procedure. The reproducibility of the scale was 92 percent and its scalability was 72 percent. In addition, the RSES showed a test-retest reliability of .85 for a group of students retested after two weeks (Rosenberg, 1965).

Determining the validity of self-esteem measurements has presented a difficult problem because self esteem results from evaluations of the self as an "object", yet in some of its aspects this object is only available for scrutiny by the subject (Crandall, 1973). In the absence of suitable external validating criteria, validity can be determined by examining results from studies in which responses on the self-esteem instrument successfully predict group differences on other relevant variables, (Crandall, 1973).

Several attempts were made by Rosenberg (1965) to determine the validity of the RSES. (1) The young adults from the National Institute of Mental Health sample filled out the RSES and were independently rated by ward nurses on Leary Scales. A significant association was obtained between self-esteem scores and depression, as judged by the

nurses. (2) In the larger survey (N=5,024), a significant correlation was found between self-esteem and depressive affect. Eighty percent of the subjects with the lowest self-esteem scores were highly depressed, compared with 4 percent of the subjects with the highest self-esteem scores. Sixty-nine percent of the subjects with the lowest self-esteem scores manifested symptoms of anxiety, compared with 19 percent of the subjects with the highest self-esteem scores.

(3) In the same sample of 5,024 a significant correlation was found between low self-esteem and a number of psychosomatic symptoms. (4) Rosenberg (1965) proposed that people with low self-esteem hold a low sociometric status in a group, that is they are likely to be described as commanding less respect than others, and to feel that others have little respect for them (Rosenberg, 1965). In a study involving 272 high school seniors there was a significant association between self-esteem and choice as a class leader.

Forty-seven percent of those with the highest self-esteem scores were chosen, compared with 15 percent of those with the lowest self-esteem scores. When respondents were asked their opinion of what others think of them, 38 percent of those with the highest self-esteem scores, compared with 8 percent of those with the lowest said "very well"

(Rosenberg, 1965). Scores on the RSES correspond significantly with objective and subjective assessments of personal satisfaction and effective functioning, indicating that it

is an appropriate instrument for the measurement of self-esteem.

The convergent validity of the RSES was examined by Silber and Tippet (1965). A study of 44 college students measured two traits: global self-esteem and stability of self-concept. Four different methods were used to measure the two traits: the RSES; the Kelley Repertory Test; a self-ideal discrepancy test; the Heath self-image questionnaire, dealing with self and social-ideal discrepancy; and a psychiatrist's rating. The RSES showed convergent validity with measures of the same concept using different methods. The correlations of the RSES to the self-ideal discrepancy score was $r = .67$; to the self-image questionnaire, $r = .83$; and to the psychiatrist's rating $r = .56$. Other evidence of convergent validity is Crandall's (1973) finding that the correlation of the RSES and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory was .60.

This scale appears to have been carefully constructed, and its use by Rosenberg indicates that it can make theoretically meaningful discriminations between groups of adolescents....Preliminary analysis of Rosenberg's items included in adult surveys by the Survey Research Center suggests that they are quite all right for this purpose....Where a short and general index of self-

esteem is required, this scale is recommended (Crandall, 1973, p.99).

The RSES has been chosen for the present study because it appears to be a satisfactory and straightforward measure of global self-esteem. Because it has been used in other studies of parenting intentions, using the RSES will facilitate comparisons between the results of the present study and other studies.

Procedures

One thousand female students in three student residences were given a package in their assigned mailboxes containing the following: a letter of introduction (Appendix E), 2 copies of a consent form (Appendix F), a personal data sheet (Appendix B), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (Appendix D), and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Students were asked to complete the surveys and return them to a locked ballot box at the front desk in their residence area. Two weeks after delivering the survey, a reminder notice (Appendix G) was sent out asking students to return their surveys, whether completed or not, to the front desk of their residence area. Students were informed that by returning the surveys they would be eligible to win a dinner for two and a Belgian chocolate Easter bunny. The surveys were picked up from the ballot boxes daily. All parts of each completed survey were coded with a serial number, and

the ethics release form was removed and kept separately to ensure confidentiality.

The instruments were scored, and the results were recorded. For the purpose of statistical analysis, all educational aspiration categories at the Masters level and above were collapsed into a single category in order to create an interval variable with no overlap in educational qualifications. Although this procedure may have obscured differences among respondents, it allowed more powerful statistical procedures by providing an interval rather than a categorical variable.

Some respondents chose more than one category when asked to indicate their educational and occupational aspirations. When more than one response was circled the highest score was chosen for analysis, rather than averaging the responses. This method of scoring was necessary because the education and occupation by sex variables were not continuous and were therefore not conducive to averaging of scores. Selection of the higher response for analysis was congruent with the definition of "aspiration" as "a strong desire for high achievement or the realization of an ideal" (Webster, 1984).

Statistical analysis

Because the research question was a search for similarities and differences between women who do and those who do not intend to have children, statistical analysis was lim-

ited to women who had some degree of certainty regarding their parenting intentions: women who were unsure whether they were going to have children or not were not included in the analysis. As in the general population, in the present sample the number of childfree women were few. In order to have a large enough sample size to conduct meaningful statistical analysis, it was necessary to combine women who definitely did not ($N=10$) and women who probably did not intend to have children ($N=24$). To avoid violating critical statistical assumptions the analyses were conducted on groups of equal size. A random sample of thirty-four was drawn from each of the two larger groups: women who probably intended to have children and women who definitely intended to have children. Multivariate analysis of variance was used to ensure that the random sample was representative of the original sample.

Descriptive statistics were used to describe the population sample. A correlational analysis was conducted on the sample to search for correlations between continuous measures. A chi-square test was used to test the equivalency of the three groups on marriage intentions and current marital status.

Chi-square tests were used to test for associations between the variable parenting intentions, and the categorical variables in the hypotheses: birth order, religious category, ethnicity, female or male dominated occupation, gender-role identity, and knowing a voluntarily childfree

woman. Lambdas were used to test the strength and direction of the associations.

A MANOVA followed by protected univariate F tests were conducted to test for relationships between the variable parenting intentions and each continuous variable: family size, religiosity, educational aspirations, status of occupational aspirations, and self-esteem. A further analysis of significant F tests was conducted in the form of Tukey procedures in order to further understand the significance found.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

In the present chapter, the results of statistical analyses performed on the data will be presented. Data obtained from the "childfree" group and random samples drawn from the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups were utilized in the analyses. Hypotheses were accepted or rejected at the $p \leq .05$ level of significance.

In order to obtain three groups of equal size, two random samples of 34 subjects were drawn from the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" groups respectively. A Hotelling's T test was used to determine whether the random samples were representative of the total sample on the continuous variables. $F(5,475) = .55$, $p = .73$, indicated that the random samples did not significantly differ from the total sample (see Appendix H).

The characteristics of the population sample were examined before analyses were conducted on the variables of interest. A strong positive correlation was found between parenting intentions and anticipation of parenthood ($r = .88$, $p = .000$), indicating that as subjects' anticipation of having children increased, so did their intentions to have children. Zero correlation was found between how much

thought subjects had given to how many children they wanted and their parenting intentions ($r = .000$).

A moderate positive correlation ($r = .497$, $p = .000$) was found between educational aspirations and occupational aspirations as measured by TSEI2 scores. A positive correlation of this nature is to be expected because of the similar nature of these two variables.

A moderate positive correlation was found between BSRI "Masculinity" raw scores and RSEI self-esteem scores ($r = .48$, $p = .000$). A very small correlation was found between the BSRI "Femininity" raw scores and the self-esteem scores ($r = .15$).

A chi-square analysis of the three parenting intentions groups by the marriage intentions produced a significance level of $p \leq .0001$, indicating a significant probability of an association between parenting intentions and marriage intentions (see table 1). All of the "definitely yes" women intended to marry in the future. In contrast, only one half of the "childfree" women intended to marry, 36 percent remained unsure and 12 percent did not intend to marry. Most of the "probably yes" women (82 percent) intended to marry, 15 percent, however were unsure and 3 percent (one respondent) did not intend to marry. The Goodman-Kruskal lambda statistic revealed a 24 percent proportional reduction in error with parenting intentions dependent.

Table 1
Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Marriage
Intentions

		MARRIAGE INTENTIONS			ROW TOTAL
INTENT	COUNT EXPECTED VALUE	Yes	No	Unsure	
	-----+	-----+	-----+	-----+	
Childfree*	17	4	12	33	
	25.7	1.7	5.7	33.3%	
	-----+	-----+	-----+	-----+	
Probably Yes	27	1	5	33	
	25.7	1.7	5.7	33.3%	
	-----+	-----+	-----+	-----+	
Definitely Yes	33	0	0	33	
	25.7	1.7	5.7	33.3%	
	-----+	-----+	-----+	-----+	
COLUMN TOTAL	77	5	17	99	
	77.8%	5.1%	17.2%	100.0%	
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN. EXPECTED FREQ.	
23.11444	4	0.0001		1.667	

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
 Probably No Children N = 24

A chi-square analysis of the three parenting intentions groups by present relationship status did not reveal an association between the two variables (see table 2). This finding suggests that the association found between marriage intentions and parenting intentions was not reflected in the present relationship status of respondents. Although "childfree" respondents were less frequently expecting to marry than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" respondents, they were not less likely to be presently involved with someone. Subjects were single and unattached, single but involved with someone, or in a steady relationship or engaged, irrespective of their parenting intentions.

An ANOVA was performed to compare the mean age of the three parenting intentions groups. A significant difference was not found to distinguish the three groups based on age $F(2,99) = .539, p = .588$.

A MANOVA was performed to test the hypotheses regarding the continuous variables education, occupation level, religiosity, number of siblings, and self-esteem. Wilk's Lambda on all of the variables combined indicated a significant difference between the three intention groups at a $p \leq .005$ level of significance (see table 3).

Table 2

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Relationship Status.

		RELATIONSHIP STATUS			
INTENT	COUNT EXP VAL				ROW TOTAL
		Single	Involved	Steady ^a	
Childfree*	18 14.7	8 8.0	8 11.3	34 33.3%	
Probably Yes	13 14.7	10 8.0	11 11.3	34 33.3%	
Definitely Yes	13 14.7	6 8.0	15 11.3	34 33.3%	
COLUMN	44	24	34	102	
TOTAL	43.1%	23.5%	33.3%	100.0%	
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN E.F.	
4.31283	4	0.3653		8.000	

^a In a steady relationship or engaged.

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
Probably No Children N = 24

Table 3

Manova of Parenting Intentions Groups on all Continuous Variables (Education, Occupation, Religiosity, Siblings, and Self Esteem).

Multivariate Tests of Significance (S = 2, M = 1 , N = 46)					
Test Name	Value	F ^a	DF ^b	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.25436	2.76854	10.00	190.00	.003*
Hotellings	.29369	2.73128	10.00	186.00	.004*
Wilks ^c	.76106	2.75002	10.00	188.00	.003*

^a Approximate F

^b Hypothetical Degrees of Freedom

^c F statistic for WILK'S Lambda is exact.

* $p \leq .005$

The MANOVA was followed with protected univariate F tests to examine differences between the three parenting intentions groups and each continuous variable (see table 4). Religiosity was found to be significant ($p = .018$) in differentiating between the groups based on parenting intentions. None of the other variables were found to significantly differentiate the groups, although self-esteem ($p = .057$), number of siblings ($p = .061$) and occupational aspirations ($p = .070$) approached significance. On the basis of these results hypothesis two, proposing that "childfree" participants would have significantly fewer siblings in their families of origin than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women, was rejected. Hypothesis six, proposing that "childfree" women would have significantly higher educational aspirations than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women was also rejected. Hypothesis seven, proposing that "childfree" women would score significantly higher on the socioeconomic status of their occupational aspirations than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women, was rejected. Hypothesis nine, proposing that the "childfree" participants would have higher self-esteem scores than the "probably yes" and "definitely yes" participants, was also rejected. For all four of the above hypotheses the null hypotheses were accepted.

Table 4

Protected Univariate F-tests of Parenting Intentions With
All Continuous Variables.

Variable	Hypoth. MS	Error MS	F	Sig. of F
EDUCATION	.33460	.22958	1.45744	.238
OCCUPATION	670.13251	245.53069	2.72932	.070
RELIGIOSITY	1.60809	.38605	4.16544	.018*
SIBLINGS	3.54703	1.23515	2.87174	.061
SELF-ESTEEM	105.5093	35.72976	2.95298	.057

Univariate F-tests with (2,98) D. F.

* $p \leq .05$

A Tukey procedure was used in order to further understand the differences between the three intention groups on the Religiosity variable. With a possible low score of 1 (very religious) and a possible high score of 3 (not at all religious), the "childfree" group scored a mean of 2.7. Both the "definitely yes" group, with a mean of 2.3 and the "probably yes" group, also with a mean of 2.3, were significantly different from the "childfree" groups at a $p \leq .05$ level of significance. On the basis of this analysis hypothesis four, proposing that the "childfree" group would be significantly less religious than the "probably yes" and the "definitely yes" groups, was accepted and the null hypothesis rejected.

An examination of the means of the self-esteem scores, the number of siblings, and the occupation scores of the intent groups provides some understanding of how differences between the groups approached significance (see Appendix I). The self-esteem scores ranged from a possible low score of 10 to a possible high score of 40. The "childfree" group had the lowest self-esteem scores with a mean of 29.6 and a standard deviation of 7.3. The "probably yes" group had a mean score of 32.3 and a standard deviation of 4.5. The "definitely yes" group had the highest mean score, 32.9, with a standard deviation of 5.6. Although the findings were not significant, the self-esteem scores approached significance in the opposite direction predicted by

hypothesis nine, which proposed that the "childfree" group would have a significantly higher mean score than the other two parenting intentions groups. An examination of the mean number of siblings and the mean occupation scores of the three groups indicates that the variables approached significance in a manner that was not relevant to the research question. The "probably yes" group had a higher mean number of siblings than both the "childfree" and the "definitely yes" groups. Similarly, on the occupation variable, the "childfree" group's mean score fell between the "definitely yes" and "probably yes" groups.

Chi-square analyses were used to test the hypotheses predicting associations between the intent groups and the categorical variables of birth order, type of religion, ethnicity, occupation gender, gender-role identity, and knowing a childfree woman. Goodman-Kruskal's lambdas were used to further test for the strength and the direction of the associations found.

A significant chi-square was not found for birth order (see table 5). An association was not found between parenting intentions and birth order, therefore hypothesis one was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted.

A significant chi-square ($p \leq .05$) was found for intent by religious category, indicating a significant probability of an association between parenting intentions and type of religion (see table 6). The "definitely yes" women fell

Table 5

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Birth Order.

BIRTH ORDER					
COUNT EXPECTED VAL					ROW TOTAL
INTENT	Eldest	Middle	Youngest	Only	
Childfree*	14 13.3	7 7.3	13 12.3	0 1.0	34 33.3%
Probably Yes	14 13.3	6 7.3	13 12.3	1 1.0	34 33.3%
Definitely Yes	12 13.3	9 7.3	11 12.3	2 1.0	34 33.3%
COLUMN	40	22	37	3	102
TOTAL	39.2%	21.6%	36.3%	2.9%	100.0%
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN EXPECTED	
3.05258	6	0.8022		1.000	
* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10 Probably No Children N = 24					

into the "protestant" category at a higher than expected frequency (35 percent) and "childfree" women fell into the "none" category at a higher than expected frequency (56 percent). An additional source of the association appears to be the frequency with which "probably yes" women fell into the "other" religious category (26 percent). Because the association arose from sources congruent with those hypothesized, that is "childfree" women were less likely to be affiliated with a particular religion than the other groups, hypothesis three was accepted and the null hypothesis was rejected. The Goodman-Kruskal's lambda statistic indicated a 22 percent reduction in error with parenting intentions dependent, and no reduction in error with religion dependent, indicating that religion is the more important component in the dependency.

A significant chi-square was not found to exist between the parenting intentions variable and the variable of ethnicity (see table 7). Hypothesis five, proposing that "childfree" women would less frequently have visible minority ethnic origins than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women, was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted.

Table 6

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Religious Category.

RELIGIOUS CATEGORY					
COUNT EXPECTED VAL.					ROW TOTAL
	Catholic	Protest.	None	Other	
INTENT					
Childfree*	8 7.3	5 7.7	19 13.7	2 5.3	34 33.3
Probably Yes	9 7.3	6 7.7	10 13.7	9 5.3	34 33.3%
Definitely Yes	5 7.3	12 7.7	12 13.7	5 5.3	34 33.3%
COLUMN	22	23	41	16	102
TOTAL	21.6%	22.5%	40.2%	15.7%	100.0%
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN EXPECTED	
12.81424	6	0.0461		5.333	
* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10 Probably No Children N = 24					

Table 7

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Ethnic/Cultural Background.

		ETHNICITY		
INTENT	COUNT EXPECTED VAL	Majority Culture	Minority Culture	ROW TOTAL
	-----+	-----+	-----+	
Childfree*	30 29.0	4 5.0	34 33.3%	
Probably Yes	28 29.0	6 5.0	34 33.3%	
Definitely Yes	29 29.0	5 5.0	34 33.3%	
	COLUMN TOTAL	87 85.3%	15 14.7%	102 100.0%
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN. EXPECTED	
0.46897	2	0.7910	5.000	

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
Probably No Children N = 24

A significant chi-square ($p \leq .005$) indicated a significant probability of an association between parenting intentions and gender dominance of occupational choice (see table 8). The entire population sample was distributed such that 66 percent of the respondents aspired to male dominated occupations and 34 percent aspired to female occupations. "Probably yes" women largely conformed to the expected frequencies, with 65 percent aspiring to male dominated occupations and 35 percent to female dominated occupations. The association between parenting intentions and occupation gender appeared to be accounted for by a contrast between the occupational aspirations of "definitely yes" women and "childfree" women. Forty-seven percent of the "definitely yes" women, a lower than expected frequency, aspired to male dominated occupations, and a higher than expected frequency, 53 percent, aspired to female dominated occupations. "Childfree" women on the other hand were nearly six times as likely to aspire to a male dominated occupation (85 percent) than to a female dominated one (15 percent). This finding conforms to the proposal in hypothesis eight that "childfree" women would aspire to occupations that are male dominated more often than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women. Goodman-Kruskal's lambda indicated a 19 percent proportional reduction in error with parenting intentions dependent, and only a 5 percent reduction in error with gender of occupation dependent, indicating that occupation

Table 8

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Gender Dominance
of Occupational Aspirations.

GENDER OF OCCUPATION				
INTENT	COUNT			ROW
	EXPECTED VAL.			TOTAL
		Male	Female	
Childfree*	29	5	34	
	22.3	11.7	33.3%	
Probably	22	12	34	
Yes	22.3	11.7	33.3%	
Definitely	16	18	34	
Yes	22.3	11.7	33.3%	
COLUMN	67	35	102	
TOTAL	65.7%	34.3%	100.0%	
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN EXPECTED
11.04818	2	0.0040		11.667

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
 Probably No Children N = 24

helps to predict intent more than intent helps to predict occupation choice. The lambda of .191 was the lowest reduction of error found for the four significant categorical variables, indicating that this association was the weakest of the four.

A significant chi square ($p \leq .0001$) indicated a significant probability that there was an association between parenting intentions and gender-role identity. The association between the two variables seems to be attributable to several principal sources (see table 9). As hypothesized, "childfree" women fell into the "Feminine" category of the BSRI less often (only 15 percent) than the other two parenting intentions groups. The "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women fell into the "Feminine" category of the BSRI at higher frequencies, with 41 percent of the "probably yes" group and 44 percent of the "definitely yes" group having feminine gender-role identities. The association between gender-role identity and parenting intentions also seems to be attributable to differences in the frequency with which participants scored in the "Masculine" gender-role category. As hypothesized, "childfree" women fell into the "Masculine" category with a much higher frequency (53 percent) than the other two parenting intentions groups. "Probably yes" women scored in the "Masculine" category at an approximately expected frequency (23 percent), and the "definitely yes" women fell into the

Table 9

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Gender-role
identity.

COUNT EXPECTED VAL	GENDER-ROLE IDENTITY				ROW TOTAL
	Undiff.	Masc.	Fem.	Androg.	
INTENT					
Childfree*	8 5.0	18 10.0	5 11.3	3 7.7	34 33.3%
Probably Yes	5 5.0	8 10.0	14 11.3	7 7.7	34 33.3%
Definitely Yes	2 5.0	4 10.0	15 11.3	13 7.7	34 33.3%
COLUMN	15	30	34	23	102
TOTAL	14.7%	29.4%	33.3%	22.5%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN EXPECTED
25.96163	6	0.0002	5.000

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
Probably No Children N = 24

"Masculine" category with a very low frequency (12 percent). Contrary to the proposal in hypothesis ten that "childfree" women would be more likely to be androgynous than the other two groups, "definitely yes" women were found to be androgynous at a higher frequency (38 percent) than either the "probably yes" group (21 percent), or the "childfree" group which was unexpectedly found to have only 9 percent in the "Androgynous" category. Although an association was found to exist between parenting intentions and the variable of gender-role identity the source of the association was not entirely as predicted. Hypothesis ten proposed that "childfree" women would more often have masculine or androgynous gender-role identities, and "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women would more often have feminine gender-role identities. Although hypothesis ten was supported by the finding that "childfree" women more frequently had masculine gender-role identities and "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women more frequently had feminine gender-identities, the hypothesis was not supported by the finding that "definitely yes" women more frequently scored in the "Androgynous" category than the "childfree" women. On the basis of these findings, hypothesis ten was rejected, but the null hypothesis was not accepted.

Goodman-Kruskal's lambda indicated a 29 percent reduction in error with parenting intention dependent and a 19 percent reduction in error with gender-role identity

dependent. The lambda of .294 was the highest reduction in error found, suggesting that the association between gender-role identity and parenting intentions was the strongest of all the categorical variables.

A chi square analysis of the variables parenting intentions and knowing a voluntarily childfree woman was not found to be significant, indicating that there was not an association between these two variables (see table 10). On the basis of this finding, hypothesis eleven, proposing that the "childfree" women would more frequently know a voluntarily childfree woman than the "probably yes" and the "definitely yes" women, was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted.

Table 10

Crosstabulation of Parenting Intentions by Knowing a
Voluntarily Childfree Woman.

		KNOW CHILDFREE WOMAN		
INTENT	COUNT EXPECTED VAL			ROW TOTAL
		Do Know	Don't Know	
Childfree*	11 11.4	23 22.6	34 33.7%	
Probably Yes	10 11.1	23 21.9	33 32.7%	
Definitely Yes	13 11.4	21 22.6	34 33.7%	
COLUMN	34	67	101	
TOTAL	33.7%	66.3%	100.0%	
CHI SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE		MIN EXPECTED
0.51126	2	0.7744		11.109

* Childfree: Definitely No Children N = 10
 Probably No Children N = 24

Conclusion

In conclusion, the statistical analyses indicate an association between parenting intentions and several of the variables examined. A significant difference was found to distinguish the mean religiosity scores of the respondents based on their parenting intentions, with the "childfree" respondents scoring significantly lower in religiosity than both the "probably yes" and the "definitely yes" respondents. Similarly, the association found between the type of religion practiced and parenting intentions may be accounted for by "childfree" respondents categorizing themselves more frequently as having no religion than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" respondents. An association was found between parenting intentions and choice of a female or male dominated occupation, with "childfree" women more frequently choosing male dominated occupations and "definitely yes" women more frequently choosing female dominated occupations. Although an association was found between parenting intentions and gender-role identity only part of the association was as hypothesized. "Childfree" women were more frequently classified as having masculine gender-role identities than the other groups, however contrary to expectations, "definitely yes" women fell into the "Androgynous" category with greater frequency than "childfree" women who scored in the "Androgynous" category at a low frequency. Religion and

religiosity, gender predominance of occupational aspirations, and gender-role identity were the variables found to be associated with parenting intentions.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

This chapter includes a restatement of the purpose of the research, and a summary and discussion of the results. The findings are discussed in view of applications for counselling women in reproductive decision-making. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications for further research.

Restatement of the Purpose

Today the opportunities for women are more diverse than at any time in the past and women can create lifestyles tailored to their individual needs, interests and values, offering more opportunities for well-being (Baruch et al., 1983). Motherhood has largely become a matter of choice and the decision of whether or not to have children is an issue many women of childbearing age today face. The demands and rewards of the profuse number of roles available impose the need for women to make informed decisions; their decision may be aided by knowledge about other women who are making similar choices.

Little research has been conducted examining the independent parenthood intentions of young, single women, some

of whom may choose to marry only if they want to have children. Research on parenthood decision-making can be enhanced by information about the characteristics which serve to distinguish these women based on their parenting intentions. Retrospective inquiries are limited because individuals tend to develop reasons for their choice retroactively to support their decisions (Faux, 1984; Veevers, 1980).

Differences between women may arise from the consequences of a chosen lifestyle rather than the original characteristics that led them to make their reproductive choices.

A search for what inclines individuals towards one reproductive preference or another yields such nebulous concepts as love, fun and freedom (Burgwyn, 1981; Veevers, 1980). Very little is known about the specific elements of the childbearing decision: insufficient baseline data exists to guide parenthood decision-making (Wilk, 1986).

Motherhood is a great responsibility and the choice, once, made is irreversible. Women today who are faced with the difficult decision of whether or not to bear children need concrete information in order to make an informed choice which is likely to provide the greatest degree of personal satisfaction. By examining the broader social, situational, and intrapsychic contexts out of which parenthood intentions emerge, a deeper understanding of reproductive behavior and experience might be achieved. To understand fertility related behavior, knowledge is required regarding the social, situational, and intrapsychic variables associated

with reproductive intentions. Ultimately, research on parenting intentions may offer a key to understanding and resolving the decision that many women confront: whether or not they want to be mothers.

Summary and Discussion of Results

An examination of the characteristics of the sample indicated that the three parenting intentions groups, "childfree", "probably yes" and "definitely yes", did not significantly differ in age or how much thought they had given to how many children they wanted. The parenting intentions groups did significantly differ based on their marriage intentions. Women who definitely intended to have children also intended to marry. In contrast, women who did not intend to have children were more frequently unsure of their marriage plans, or in some cases did not intend to marry. Women who intended to probably have children fell between these two extremes. This finding indicates an association between an intention to reproduce and an intention to marry. Further research is needed to fully understand this connection, however one logical explanation would be a desire for legitimization of children through marriage.

Despite the differences among the parenting intentions groups regarding marriage intentions, an association was not found to exist between present relationship status and parenting intentions. This may indicate that women who intend to remain childfree are no less likely to be involved in a

relationship, but that possibly they reject the traditional institution of marriage.

Socialization factors.

Hypothesis one, proposing that "childfree" women would be more often first or last born than "probably yes" or "definitely yes" women was not substantiated. In fact, the three groups exhibited very similar distributions of birth order, with almost identical numbers falling into first, middle, last, or only child categories. This finding contrasts with Veevers' (1980) and Ory's (1978) findings and is consistent with Toomey's (1977) finding. The discrepancy among findings may be because of the nature of the subjects. Veevers' and Ory's subjects were individuals who had experienced living with their parenting choices, whereas the present study and Toomey's study consisted exclusively of subjects who were articulating their parenting intentions early. Perhaps birth order has a different association to fertility behavior depending on whether the decision was reached through a series of postponements or through early articulation. Alternatively, the discrepancy among findings could be related to the fact that birth order is mitigated by other factors such as an individual's perceptions and experiences of her position in the family.

Hypothesis two, proposing that "childfree" subjects would come from significantly smaller families of origin than "probably yes" or "definitely yes" women, was rejected. Hendershot's (1969) proposal that norms acquired in families

of origin influence individual's family planning decisions, causing them to recapitulate similar demographic structures, was not substantiated by the present research. The non-significant findings of the present study may have been related to the homogeneous characteristics of the sample. The mean number of siblings of the respondents was 1.8, and 91 percent of the sample had three or fewer siblings. A more heterogeneous sample in terms of size of family of origin may be needed to fully understand the connection between family of origin size and parenting intentions.

These findings suggest that, contrary to what Campbell (1985), Gerson (1985) and Veevers (1980) have proposed, socialization experience in women's families of origin in terms of birth order and family size do not appear to inform their reproductive behavior. Possibly the contribution these factors may make to parenting intentions are mitigated by intervening variables such as child-care responsibility or individual perceptions of family life. These results must be interpreted with caution due to the characteristics of the sample and the preliminary nature of the research. Possibly a more diverse sample would reveal women from larger families exhibiting different fertility intentions than those from smaller families. In depth interviews may begin to yield more specific information about how family of origin experiences influence parenting intentions.

Hypothesis three, proposing that an association exists between type of religious affiliation and parenting inten-

tions, was substantiated by the research. As hypothesized, "childfree" women more frequently fell into the "none" category, whereas "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women were more frequently affiliated with a religion. No particular religion was found to be associated with intent; the association arose from Catholic, Protestant, and the "other" category uniformly being associated with "probably yes" and "definitely yes" respondents, suggesting that affiliation with any religion may have an impact on parenting intentions.

In addition, hypothesis four proposing that the "childfree" group would score significantly lower in religiosity than the "definitely yes" and "probably yes" groups was accepted. The significant association between parenting intentions and religion parallels the findings of many previous researchers (Ory, 1978; Ramu, 1986; Toomey, 1977; Veevers, 1980). The findings of the present research suggests that the parenting intentions of the present cohort of young women are still influenced by religious affiliations. These results substantiate the claim by Burgwyn (1981), Campbell (1985) and Veevers (1980) that pronatalist tenets embedded in religious doctrines influence reproductive intentions and behaviors. Fertility related values appear to be conveyed through religious affiliations, affecting the parenting intentions in the present cohort of young women.

Hypothesis five, postulating an association between ethnic background and parenting intentions such that

"childfree" respondents are less frequently members of a visible minority group than "probably yes" or "definitely yes" respondents, was rejected. Ethnic background was not found to be associated with parenting intentions. This finding is contrary to the results of research by Hoffman and Manis (1979) and Fox et al. (1982). One possible explanation for this discrepancy may be because the present research focused exclusively on zero parity; low parity is very distinct from zero parity. Because most of the previous research on reproductive choice which included voluntary childlessness focused almost exclusively on women from majority culture backgrounds (Beckman, 1977; Gerson, 1980, 1986; Ramu, 1985; Thoen, 1977; Veevers, 1980) this finding provides a preliminary understanding of the relationship between ethnic origin and parenting intentions. The present research presents a precursory indication that socialization in a visible minority culture, with its attendant reproductive values, does not have a differential effect on parenting intentions than socialization in the majority culture. Conceivably the socialization process is quite different but ethnic origin is mediated by other factors.

A limitation of this research finding is that the researcher did not distinguish between first, second, or third generation descendents. Possibly young women who are born and raised within the majority culture are less influenced by their cultural origins than women who immi-

grate. Further research is needed to more fully understand the relationship between ethnicity and reproductive intentions.

The majority of respondents were not acquainted with a voluntarily childfree woman no longer capable of having a child. Thirty-four percent did know a childfree woman, while 66 percent did not. This is probably a reflection of the relative infrequency of voluntary childlessness in the population and also because the population sample was from a much younger cohort than women past their childbearing years. Statistical analysis showed that there was no association between parenting intentions and knowing a childfree woman. Hypothesis eleven was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted. These preliminary findings would seem to indicate that having a childfree role model is not associated with an intention to remain childfree. In contrast, Houseknecht's (1978) findings showed that intending to remain childfree does appear to be associated with reference group support, however she did not indicate that women who intended to parent lacked such social contact. It is conceivable that in both studies having a role model had some impact on the intention to be childfree, but that women who intended to parent had experienced similar contacts without the same impact. A shortcoming of the present research is that the relationship between the older childfree women and the respondents was not determined. Important distinctions may have been obscured by lack of information about whether

the older women were in fact seen as role models by respondents, or whether they were perceived as unsatisfied with their childfree status.

The research findings suggest that religious affiliation is the only socialization factor directly associated with parenting intentions. The form and nature of family life in terms of birth order and number of siblings did not appear to influence the parenting intentions of the present cohort of young university women. Similarly, majority and minority cultural backgrounds did not serve to distinguish between these women based on their parenting intentions, nor did reference group support in terms of knowing a childfree woman. The present research findings support the proposal of Fox et al. (1982) that association with and participation in a religious community involves a person in a social context in which specific fertility values and orientations may be articulated, with a resultant impact on reproductive intentions.

Situational factors.

Hypothesis six, proposing that "childfree" women would be significantly more likely to intend to complete higher educational degrees than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" women, was rejected. No significant difference was found between the mean levels of educational aspirations for the three parenting intentions groups. These results are in contrast to research which has indicated that childfree women are more highly educated than the general population

(Bram, 1984; Houseknecht, 1978; Ramu, 1985; Veevers, 1980). The discrepancy between the present research findings and those cited may be because the present subjects were being compared at an earlier stage in the life cycle. As Ramu (1985) has proposed, for the childfree a commitment to children may be replaced over time by a commitment to educational advancement. Educational aspirations may not be a factor in the initial stages of reproductive decision-making, but instead become significant later as women postpone their childbearing. These findings must be interpreted in view of the select nature of the sample. None of the respondents aspired to less than a Bachelors degree and only 35 percent aspired to less than a Master's degree.

No significant difference was found between the mean occupational aspirations scores of the three parenting intentions groups. Hypothesis seven was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted. The contrast between these findings and research which indicates that childfree women are more often involved in highly skilled and professional careers than women who are parents (Bram, 1984; Veevers, 1980) may be because reproductive intentions and occupational aspirations are being compared at an earlier stage in the life cycle. This may indicate that differences in occupational attainment between childfree women and women who are parents may be a result of circumstances rather than an initial preference. Perhaps women who forgo childrearing attain

higher occupational attainments because they are free from childcare responsibilities (Ramu, 1985; Veevers, 1980).

Alternatively, the present research findings may support the proposal by Barnett and MacDonald (1986) that childfree individuals do not make occupational choices based on opportunities for prestige and money. Again the findings must be interpreted with caution because of the nature of the sample. Most of the respondents aspired to professional or managerial occupations which score highly in the TSEI2 index. In addition, the women who intended to have children on average planned to limit the number of children they would have to 2, and to bear their children around age 27, possibly with the intention of allowing themselves greater freedom to pursue a career.

Hypothesis eight, proposing that an association would exist between parenting intentions and whether occupational aspirations were female or male dominated, was accepted. While "probably yes" women's occupational choices were male or female dominated at expected frequencies, "childfree" women aspired to male dominated occupations at higher than expected frequencies, and "definitely yes" women aspired to female dominated occupations at higher than expected frequencies. These findings are in contrast to Campbell's (1985) findings that childfree women interviewed were satisfied staying in traditionally feminine occupations. The findings in the present research support the proposal by Faux (1984) that women who hope to become mothers gravitate

towards traditionally feminine occupations. Further research is needed to determine whether the career aspirations of these women are, as suggested by Faux, influenced by a compatibility with their parenting intentions. Possibly some women who intend to parent actively make their career choices based on how well the work accommodates motherhood. Another possible explanation for the findings is that women who intend to parent value traditional female roles more than women who intend to remain childfree.

The results appear to indicate that women who do not intend to become parents gravitate towards male dominated occupations. Perhaps the parenting intentions of these young women are, as Burgwyn (1981) suggests, related to the career advantages available to them, such as working irregular hours and taking on extra responsibility and training free from the responsibilities of child care. Perhaps the difference between the parenting intentions groups is not so much a reflection of a costs-benefits decision-making process as a reflection of different values, with "childfree" women rejecting traditionally feminine occupations in preference for non-traditional, male dominated careers.

The question arises as to why "childfree" women were more likely to aspire to a male dominated occupation and yet scored no higher on the TSEI2 index than the women who intended to have children. Male dominated occupations on the whole tend to score higher on a socioeconomic and prestige index than female dominated occupations. One

explanation for why this fact is not reflected in the research findings is that "childfree" women were not distinguishable from other women because they chose male dominated careers such as law and medicine but because they chose careers as writers, artists, and entertainers (see Appendix C). Perhaps childfree women more frequently make non-traditionally female career choices but, as Barnett and MacDonald (1986) suggest, they are not doing so because they value work which offers prestige or high wages.

The research findings indicate that the fertility intentions of young university women are associated with occupation plans in terms of aspiring to a male or female dominated occupation. The findings may be a reflections of a costs-benefits decision-making process such as a decision to choose traditionally feminine occupations that more easily accommodate children. Perhaps the findings are an expression of a valuation of occupations which involve traditionally feminine activities like care giving, such as teaching (see Appendix A). Women who intend to remain childfree, while more frequently aspiring to male dominated occupations, do not aspire to careers with higher socioeconomic status than women who intend to have children. Possibly childfree women's fertility choices express a valuation of career aspirations that focus on independence and autonomy more than status.

Identity factors.

No significant difference was found between the three parenting intentions groups on their self-esteem scores. Hypothesis nine, proposing that "childfree" participants would have higher self-esteem than "probably yes" and "definitely yes" participants was rejected. Although no association between self-esteem and parenting intentions was found, the results of the analysis showed that differences between the mean self-esteem scores approached significance in the opposite direction to that proposed in the hypothesis. The mean self-esteem scores were lower for the "childfree" group than for the "probably yes" and definitely yes" groups.

The findings of the present research support the research findings of Feldman (1981) that no significant differences exist in self esteem between women with differing parenting choices. The present research findings contrast with the findings of Burman and de Anda (1986), Gerson (1986) and Veevers (1980), which report that childfree women have higher self-esteem than women who choose to have children. Possibly differences in findings may be because earlier studies were conducted on older women who had experienced living with their parenting choices. Perhaps differences in self-esteem emerge at later stages of life out of the consequences of living with a chosen life-style.

Although differences in mean self-esteem scores did not reach significance, the question of why the scores ap-

proached significance in the opposite direction to that hypothesized merits enquiry. One possible explanation for why a lower mean score was found for the "childfree" group may be that some women's low self-esteem may affect their parenting intentions, perhaps by making them feel incapable or unworthy of assuming the role of a parent.

An alternative explanation for why "childfree" subjects had lower self-esteem scores may be, as Baruch et al. (1983) suggest, that stepping outside of socially prescribed roles can result in lowered self-esteem. Young women intending to forgo parenthood may see themselves as inadequately living up to their prescribed role in the eyes of others. Lowered self-esteem may therefore result because an individual's conception of herself is partially determined by other people's reactions to her; the development of a sense of self always involves other people (Cooley, 1902; Wells, 1976). Self-evaluation emerges within a social frame of reference (Ziller, 1969) and women who intend to remain childfree do so within a pronatalist society which values the motherhood role. This explanation is limited by the fact that these young women are unlikely to have yet felt a great deal of direct social disapproval for their parenting intentions. This kind of connection between parenting intentions and self-esteem would be a subtle and indirect one and rather difficult to ascertain. Further research is needed to explore whether self-esteem is consistently and reliably a factor associated with the parenting intentions of young

college women, and if such a connection is found to exist, research is needed to attempt to understand the relationship between self-esteem and parenting intentions.

The findings must be viewed with the understanding that the self-esteem scores of the respondents were in general high, with an average score of 31.6 out of a possible low score of 10 and a high score of 40. The parenting intentions group with the lowest mean self-esteem had an average score of 29.6, indicating that the self-esteem of the "childfree" group was on the whole quite positive. It has been suggested in the literature that a moderately high level of self-esteem is preferable to both very high and very low self-esteem because a middle ground represents a reasonable and realistic amount of self-appraisal and self-acceptance (Wells, 1976). Viewed in this light, the findings indicate that there is no adverse association between parenting intentions and self-esteem.

An association was found to exist between gender-role identity and parenting intentions. The association appears to arise, as proposed in hypothesis ten, from the "childfree" group having a "Masculine" gender-role identity at a higher than expected frequency and a "Feminine" gender-role identity at a lower than expected frequency. The hypothesis was also supported in that the "definitely yes" group fell into the "Feminine" category at a slightly higher than expected frequency. Hypothesis ten was not supported because the association between parenting intentions and

gender-role identity also appeared to be partly attributable to the "childfree" group falling into the "Androgynous" category at a much lower than expected frequency, while the "definitely yes" group fell into this category at a higher than expected frequency.

The results of the present study indicate an association between gender-role identity and parenting intentions partially explained by the unexpected finding that "definitely yes" women were androgynous at a higher than expected frequency, while "childfree" women were androgynous at a lower than expected frequency. These findings contrast with the findings of Teicholz (1977) reporting that child-free women were more likely to have an androgynous gender-role identity than women who had children, which Teicholz proposed indicated a flexibility of sex roles, an ability to step outside of the socially prescribed role of motherhood. What seems to be reflected in the present results is that some women who are definitely intending to parent embrace both feminine and masculine characteristics. Possibly the characteristics of the population sample of university students helps to explain the findings because young women who plan to educate themselves and combine a career and motherhood are likely to exhibit a flexibility of sex-roles.

The findings of the present researcher, like Cohen (1984), Teicholz (1977) and Gerson (1980), indicate that "childfree" women more frequently have masculine gender-role identities than women who intend to parent, who more

frequently have feminine gender-role identities. Perhaps women who embrace culturally defined traits of femininity as part of their identity more often intend to parent because motherhood is a role which is closely connected with traditionally expressive feminine characteristics such as nurturing, affection, tenderness and warmth. The findings support Kupinsky's (1977) proposal that the more traditional a woman's gender-role orientation, the more likely she is to perceive childbearing and rearing as having benefits. As in the findings of other research studies (Gerson, 1980: Hoffman, 1975; Veevers, 1980, Waite et al., 1986) women who do not intend to parent are not characterized as identifying themselves with stereotypically feminine traits. These women appear to reject femininity and embrace more instrumental characteristics associated with a masculine gender-role. This distinction between the parenting intentions groups supports the proposal that people who do not conform to traditional gender roles are more likely to engage in non-traditional behavior (Kupinsky, 1977). The "childfree" participants seem to not simply combine masculine and feminine traits, so much as to reject culturally defined notions of femininity as self-descriptive. In terms of gender-role identity, "childfree" women are very non-traditional. Perhaps the motherhood mandate is so powerful that the women who are likely to intend to forgo parenthood are those who not only embrace masculine traits but also reject traditionally prescribed feminine traits as part of their identity.

In conclusion, parenting intentions appear to be associated with a combination of particular socialization, situation, and identity factors; factors from each of these areas appear to be relevant. Religion is a socialization factor associated with parenting intentions, possibly because of pronatalist tenets embedded in religious doctrines.

Career aspirations appear to be associated with parenting intentions, not in terms of socioeconomic status, but in view of whether a profession is male or female dominated. Perhaps these findings can be accounted for by the values which the women embrace. Possibly, as Barnett and MacDonald (1986) propose, childfree women eschew careers which offer economic returns, prestige, and security, and prefer careers which offer independence and freedom of action. Perhaps the women who definitely intend to parent value careers which are traditionally feminine. An additional possibility is that women who definitely intend to have children are engaging in a costs-benefits decision-making process, choosing female dominated careers that tend to accommodate children well. Further exploration is needed to determine the exact nature of the relationship between career aspirations and parenting intentions in young university women. The findings suggest that the differences in career choice do not just emerge out of the circumstances imposed by a chosen lifestyle: apparently parenting intentions are associated with career aspirations at an early stage of adult life.

Identity structures appear to be associated with parenting intentions in terms of gender-role identity, perhaps suggesting that young women who reject motherhood also tend to reject traditionally feminine characteristics as self descriptive. Young women who intend to parent on the other hand tend to embrace a female gender-role identity, or to adopt masculine traits as self descriptive without rejecting feminine ones.

The findings of the present study serve to suggest that young university women who intend to have children are more traditional in their marriage intentions, religious affiliations, career aspirations, and their gender-role identities than those women who intend to forgo parenthood. As society experiences changes in women's roles, the women who intend to step outside of the traditionally prescribed role of motherhood seem to be less traditional in many ways than young women who intend to parent. Motherhood has always been an expected and familiar role for women, and perhaps the women who are most likely to experiment with an alternative lifestyle are those who do not conform to tradition.

Implications For Counselling

Although parenthood may be rewarding in many cases, counsellors must not automatically assume that having children necessarily maximizes the life opportunities of all individuals.

The general social policy of professional therapists has been to advocate parenthood to almost all patients under almost all conditions. A more appropriate social policy would be for marriage counselors and other advisors to be sensitized to the possibility that for some clients, the parenthood experience may be permanently disruptive (Veevers, 1980 p. 169).

The results of the present research appear to indicate that women in counselling should be encouraged to make their childbearing decisions for reasons pertaining to their intrinsic characteristics and not solely because parenthood is a socially prescribed role.

Informed reproductive decision-making is extremely important because parenthood is an irrevocable decision affecting several lives. Women may benefit from having information and a high degree of self-awareness when assessing their desire and aptitude for parenthood prior to accepting or rejecting this role. With the growing number of appealing and fulfilling role options becoming available to women there is a need for women to carefully assess their options. Women need to select roles which will bring them the greatest degree of satisfaction and fulfillment (Baruch et al., 1983). Decisions about parenthood appear to be highly complex and there may be a need for professionals to provide assistance and support (Faux, 1984; Veevers, 1980; Whelan, 1980). The present research findings indicate that parenthood preferences are associated with a combination of

several socialization, situational and identity factors. Women making parenting decisions may benefit from knowing how their socialization may serve to influence their lifestyle choices. They may require factual information about the relationship between career and motherhood choices. They may also benefit from knowledge about identity factors which may be related to their reproductive intentions.

Women contemplating whether or not to have children may need to examine the social and cultural pressures on them to become mothers (Bombadeiri, 1981; Faux, 1984; Veevers, 1980; Whelan, 1980). Women in counselling, in exploring the consequences of accepting either choice, may need to assess the impact of societal pressures and sanctions regarding both options. The present research is consistent with most of the other research findings in suggesting that religious affiliation is a socialization factor which significantly distinguishes between women who do intend to have children and those who do not (Burman & de Anda, 1986; Feldman, 1981; Ory, 1978; Ramu, 1986; Toomey, 1977; Veevers, 1980). Women need to be aware of the pronatalist tenets within many religious doctrines. Part of the counselling process should include encouraging women to explore and understand any associations between their religious affiliations and their parenthood choices. It may be necessary to provide counselling for women attempting to resolve conflicts between their religious values and their lifestyle preferences.

Women making reproductive decisions may need to think about the role their careers will play, as well as the role motherhood will play in their lives. The findings of the present research indicate that young women's parenting intentions differ based on whether they aspire to a male or female dominated profession. This finding may suggest that parenthood and career choices include a costs-benefits decision-making process. The finding may also be indicative of differing values. The role of the counsellor in helping women explore their role options is to assist women in carefully assessing their options and choosing roles that suit their individual needs and desires (Baruch et al., 1983; Campbell, 1985; Veevers; 1980). This process will require assisting women to separate their individual needs and values from socially imposed roles; helping them to gain a clear idea of their own perceived personal costs and benefits regarding their parenting choices and their career choices. Women should be encouraged to consider the realistic limitations imposed when attempting to combine career and motherhood roles.

The present research findings indicate that young women with differing parenting intentions may be distinguished based on their gender-role identities. Women who intend to remain childfree tend to have masculine gender-role identities, and women who definitely intend to parent tend to have feminine or androgynous gender-role identities. These findings present the possibility of counselling situations where

women who embrace traditionally feminine characteristics as self-descriptive may feel a sense of conflict if they reject parenthood. Conversely, women who choose parenthood yet embrace traditionally male characteristics may experience a sense of conflict. The present research seems to indicate that an exploration of gender-role identity has a place in understanding and seeking resolutions to reproductive decision-making.

The present research findings appear to suggest that women who intend to remain childfree may be described as generally less traditional in their marriage and career plans, their religious affiliations, and their gender-role identities than women who intend to parent. This information should not imply a prescription of parenthood for traditional women and childlessness for non-traditional women. The implication for counselling that these findings suggest is that women considering reproductive options may want to examine the traditionalism of their values and explore any potential conflicts between their traditional and non-traditional values.

The information generated by the present research is not restricted to counselling women who are making parenthood decisions. Women may need assistance identifying and resolving conflicts after their parenting choice has been made. They may benefit from information and support regarding associations between the reproductive decisions they have made and significant socialization, situational, and

identity factors (Faux, 1984; Movius, 1976; Housekencht, 1978; Veevers, 1980). For example, childfree women may benefit from information regarding pronatalist tenets that may be a source of conflict between their religious values and their reproductive choice. Women who have chosen parenthood may benefit from counselling if they begin to experience conflict between their career choice and motherhood. Counsellors can provide information and support to women (and their partners) both before and after their reproductive decisions have been made.

The findings of the present research by no means offer a simple solution to the problems surrounding reproductive choices. Rather information is offered with which to begin developing and structuring effective counselling strategies. Knowledge about the normative, situational, and personal characteristics associated with preferences for one parenting role or another may be useful in assisting individuals who are experiencing difficulty. Although the information gathered from research on parenting intentions is not yet sufficient to provide knowledge about whether a woman will be guaranteed satisfaction with a particular role, it can be used to structure guidance programs and perhaps help to focus on the salient issues in reproductive decision-making.

Limitations of the Study

Voluntary childlessness is relatively infrequent in the population, restricting the number of subjects available for study. This fact imposed certain limitations on the present

study by making it necessary to combine women who definitely did not intend to have children ($N = 10$) with women who probably did not intend to have children ($N = 24$). This procedure provided a large enough sample size to conduct meaningful statistical analysis, but it may have obscured differences between women who were more and less certain of their intention not to have children. This procedure is supported by information regarding the nature of voluntary childlessness. According to Veevers (1980) three-quarters of women who choose this socially deviant role do so through a series of postponements. This fact presents the possibility that women who articulate early on that they probably will not have children are likely to continue to postpone motherhood indefinitely.

Another limitation of the study is that parenting intentions are not entirely predictive of eventual reproductive behavior. Factors which are associated to parenting intentions may be different from factors which are associated to satisfaction with a chosen parenting role. Despite this limitation, it is useful to undertake research of this nature in order to find out which original, *a priori* factors are associated with parenting preferences, as distinct from factors which may distinguish women simply as a result of living with a chosen role.

The homogeneity of the population sample is a limitation of the study. Factors that may serve to distinguish women based on their parenting intentions in a

more heterogeneous sample may possibly have been obscured because the subjects in the present study were a select group. University women are by definition highly educated, and on the whole aspire to occupations with high socioeconomic status and prestige. In addition, the subject's families of origin tended to be quite small. Despite the fact that the characteristics of the sample restrict the generalizability of the results, research which focuses on the parenting intentions of university women is important. Female university students have a broad array of career options open to them and, as they experience upward movement towards career goals, they are a segment of the population likely to be confronted with the issues surrounding contemporary parenthood planning (Gerson, 1980).

Implications for Further Research

The study of parenting intentions provides a potential source of hypotheses about the reasons why people become parents or not, and the effects their chosen roles may have on their life adjustments. Such knowledge may provide clues for future social change efforts where the emphasis is on increasing awareness of alternative roles and tolerance for individual differences (Houseknecht, 1978).

Further research is needed to gain a more precise understanding of how parenting intentions are associated with marital, religious, career, and gender-role identity factors. An adjunct to the present body of quantitative data may be to conduct qualitative research involving in depth

interviews which focus on the factors significantly associated with parenting intentions. Women may be encouraged to examine and explain why they do or do not wish to marry. Interviews may be conducted to determine the role of religion in reproductive intentions, such as whether women who intend to parent are more likely to endorse pronatalist tenets of religious doctrines than women who eschew parenthood. An attempt may be made to further understand the relationship between career aspirations and parenting intentions. Women entering into male or female dominated careers may be asked what specific characteristics of their chosen profession appeal to them and whether they are aware of any connections between their career choice and their parenting intentions. Further research is needed to more fully understand the relationship between gender-role identity and parenting intentions. This knowledge may contribute to determining how the parenthood role may support or conflict with traditionally masculine or feminine traits which individuals embrace as self descriptive.

Both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies are needed to enhance social scientists' understanding of parenting intentions. Cross-sectional studies will elicit more information about reproductive intentions across a wider range of the social spectrum. Differences which may be obscured by homogeneity of such factors as age, family of origin, social status, and education may be identified through utilizing a more heterogeneous sample. Longitudinal studies

are needed to gain information about the relationship between parenting intentions and reproductive behavior. More importantly, longitudinal studies are needed to determine the life satisfaction of women who have chosen to have children or not, and which socialization, situational, and identity factors are more often associated with women's satisfaction with their reproductive choices.

The present study, and other similar studies, may serve to provide the groundwork for research on the development of a "reproductive decision-making test" for helping people make parenthood choices. Research of this nature may serve to identify potential sources of conflict or compatibility between parenthood choices and other personal characteristics. The more we learn about the complex motivations and reasons for parenting intentions, positive and negative, overt and hidden, the better we will be able to understand one of the most important decisions of a lifetime.

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APPENDIX A

LARGE AND SMALL SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

	<u>Large Sample</u>		<u>Small Sample</u>	
	N=381		N=102	
Age	Mean	20.5	Mean	20.7
Marriage Intentions	Yes	87.9%	Yes	77.8%
	No	2.5%	No	5.1%
	Unsure	9.6%	Unsure	17.1%
Parenting Age	Mean	27.5	Mean	28.0
	Range	20-40	Range	24-40
Number of Children	Mean	2.4	Mean	2.2
	Range	1-5	Range	1-5
Know Childfree Woman	Yes	27.2%	Yes	33.7%
	No	72.8%	No	66.3%
Education	3yrs	.5%	3yrs	0.0%
	B.A.	37.0%	B.A.	35.3%
	M.A.	33.9%	M.A.	36.3%
	Ph.D.	7.3%	Ph.D.	7.8%
	Professional Degree	19.4%	Prof. Degree	19.6%
	Other	1.8%	Other	1.0%
Occupation (TSEI2)	Mean	65.7	Mean	67.8
	Range	41-89	Range	41-89
Occupation by Sex	Male	56.2%	Male	65.7%
	Female	43.8%	Female	34.3%
Religion	Catholic	23.2%	Cath.	21.6%
	Jewish	0.3%	Jewish	0.0%
	Protestant	25.3%	Prot.	22.5%
	None	36.9%	None	40.2%
	Other	14.2%	Other	15.7%
Religiosity	Very	8.4%	Very	7.9%
	Somewhat	43.4%	Some	38.6%
	Not at all	48.2%	Not	53.5%
Ethnicity	Majority	87.7%	Major.	85.3%
	Minority	12.3%	Minor.	14.7%
Birth Order	First	43.8%	First	39.2%
	Middle	14.7%	Middle	21.6%
	Youngest	37.3%	Young.	36.3%
	Only	4.2%	Only	2.9%
Siblings	Mean	1.8%	Mean	1.8%

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Please circle (or write in) the most appropriate choice for
you at this point in your life:

1. What is your present age? ____.*
2. What is your marital status? (circle one?)
 - Single and unattached.....1
 - Single but involved with someone.....2
 - In a steady relationship or engaged.....3
 - Married.....4*
 - Separated or divorced.....5

-If you are presently single, do you intend to marry in
the future? (circle one):

yes no unsure

3. Are you already a parent? (circle one): yes* no

(*Note: If you are not 18-26, if you are married, or if you
are already a parent, you are NOT eligible for this study
and do not need to complete this questionnaire.)

4. How much thought have you given to how many children you
want? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5
almost	very	some	very	a great
none	little	thought	much	deal

5. Circle the number that most closely corresponds with
your parenthood intentions:

I definitely <u>do not</u> want children in the future.....	1
I probably <u>do not</u> want to have children.....	2
I am <u>unsure</u> if I want children or not.....	3
I probably <u>do</u> want to have children.....	4
I definitely <u>do</u> want to have children.....	5

6. How eagerly do you anticipate having children on a scale
from 1 (not at all) to 5 (more than anything)?

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				more than anything

7. If you do intend to have children, at what age would you like to have your first child? _____. How many children would you like to have?_____.
8. If you do not intend to have children, is infertility a factor affecting your decision? (circle one)
- yes no
9. Do you personally know any voluntarily childfree women who are no longer capable of bearing a child?
- yes no
10. What is the highest level of education you plan to attain? (circle one)
- High school diploma.....1
- Two years of university.....2
- Bachelor's degree.....3
- Master's degree.....4
- Doctorate.....5
- Professional degree (MD, DDS, etc).....6
- Other (specify) _____.... 7
11. Please circle the category that best describes your occupational aspirations:
- Accountant.....01
- Architect.....02
- Computer specialist.....03
- Engineer.....04
- Lawyer.....05
- Librarian.....06
- Life and physical scientist.....07
- Manager, administrator.....08
- Physician, dentist.....09
- Registered nurse, dietician.....10
- Sales worker.....11
- Social scientist.....12
- Teacher; college and university.....13
- Teacher; except college or university.14

- Writer, artist, entertainer.....15
 Other (specify)_____16
12. What is your religion, if any? (circle one)
- Catholic.....1
 - Jewish.....2
 - Protestant.....3
 - None.....4
 - Other (specify).....5
 - other_____
13. How religious do you consider yourself to be?
- Very religious.....1
 - Somewhat religious.....2
 - Not at all religious....3
14. What is the predominant ethnic/cultural background of your ancestors? (If more than one applies, choose the one with which you most identify.)
- Chinese.....1
 - Eastern European.....2
 - East Indian.....3
 - Filipino.....4
 - Japanese.....5
 - Northern European.....6
 - Southern European.....7
 - Vietnamese.....8
 - Other (specify)_____9
15. In your family, what is your birth order?
1. eldest 2. middle 3. youngest 4. only child
16. How many brothers and sisters do you have?_____.

Thankyou very much for filling out this questionnaire! Now please fill out the two personal profile measures.

APPENDIX D

ROSENBERG SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

Answer the following questions by circling the number which best represents how you feel.

Strongly disagree.....1
 Disagree.....2
 Agree.....3
 Strongly agree.....4

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself....1 2 3 4
2. At times I think I am no good at all.....1 2 3 4
3. I feel that I have a number of good
 qualities.....1 2 3 4
4. I am able to do things as well as
 most people.....1 2 3 4
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of....1 2 3 4
6. I certainly feel useless at times.....1 2 3 4
7. I feel that I am a person of worth,
 at least on an equal plane with others.....1 2 3 4
8. I wish I could have more respect for
 myself.....1 2 3 4
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel
 that I am a failure.....1 2 3 4
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.. 1 2 3 4

APPENDIX E

INTRODUCTION LETTER

Hello, my name is Kim Burton, and I am a Counselling Psychology Masters student at UBC. I am conducting a study on the parenting intentions of young women today. I am collecting information about recent trends in fertility decision-making and attempting to identify factors associated with women's parenthood intentions. Your participation can contribute to an understanding of the parenting issues women today are facing.

The factors I am exploring are: birth order and family size, religion and ethnicity, educational and occupational aspirations, as well as self-esteem and gender identity. To be eligible for participation in this study you must be eighteen to twenty-six years old, unmarried, and attending university. I will be happy to inform you of the results of this survey.

Instructions

The survey will take you approximately 15 minutes to complete. To ensure confidentiality, the forms will be coded with a serial number, and the consent form will be removed and kept separately from the other forms. DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THE FORMS. Answer all the questions as best you can. WHEN YOU ARE DONE, DROP OFF THE SURVEY AT THE FRONT DESK OF YOUR RESIDENCE AREA IN THE LOCKED BOX PROVIDED.

Yours truly,

Kim Burton

APPENDIX G:

REMINDER NOTICE

This is a note to remind students who are interested in participating in the study on parenting intentions to fill out and return the survey forms you received. If you have already returned your completed survey to the box at the residence desk please disregard this notice. If you are not planning to participate in this study please return the blank survey to the residence desk.

thankyou
Kim Burton

APPENDIX H

MANOVA AND UNIVARIATE F TESTS COMPARING EQUAL N RANDOM
SAMPLE WITH ENTIRE SAMPLE

Multivariate Tests of Significance

(S = 1, M = 1 1/2, N = 236 1/2)

Test Name	Value	Exact F	Hypoth. DF	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.00581	.55525	5.00	475.00	.734
Hotellings	.00584	.55525	5.00	475.00	.734
Wilks	.99419	.55525	5.00	475.00	.734

Note.. F statistics are exact.

EFFECT .. GROUP (CONT.)

Univariate F-tests with (1,479) D. F.

Variable	Hypoth. MS	Error MS	F	Sig. of F.
EDUCATION	.01087	1.37715	.00789	.929
OCCUPATION	396.49600	251.99181	1.57345	.210
RELIGIOSITY	.26913	.40928	.65758	.418
SIBLINGS	.00060	1.50317	.00040	.984
SELFESTEEM	17.51174	27.35174	.64024	.424

APPENDIX I

VARIABLE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Variable .. EDUCATION

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>95 percent Conf. Interval</u>	
CHILDFREE	3.706	.462	34	3.545	3.867
PROB.YES	3.697	.467	33	3.531	3.862
DEF. YES	3.529	.507	34	3.353	3.706
TOTAL	3.644	.481	101	3.549	3.739

Variable .. OCCUPATION LEVEL (TSEI2)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>95 percent Conf.Interval</u>	
CH.FREE	68.935	16.349	34	63.231	74.640
PROB.YES	71.945	15.333	33	66.508	77.382
DEF.YES	63.158	15.294	34	57.822	68.495
TOTAL	67.974	15.938	101	64.827	71.120

Variable .. RELIGIOSITY

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>95 percent Conf.Interval</u>	
CH.FREE	2.706	.462	34	2.545	2.867
PROB.YES	2.333	.645	33	2.104	2.562
DEF.YES	2.324	.727	34	2.070	2.577
TOTAL	2.455	.641	101	2.329	2.582

Variable .. SIBLING NUMBER

Group	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	95 percent Conf.Interv.	
CH.FREE	1.647	.812	34	1.364	1.930
PRO.YES	2.212	1.474	33	1.690	2.735
DEF.YES	1.647	.950	34	1.316	1.978
TOTAL	1.832	1.132	101	1.608	2.055

Variable .. SELF-ESTEEM

Group	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	95 percent Conf.Interval	
CH.FREE	29.588	7.386	34	27.011	32.165
PRO.YES	32.273	4.543	33	30.662	33.884
DEF.YES	32.912	6.093	34	30.952	34.871
TOTAL	31.584	6.093	101	30.381	32.787
