

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING FERTILITY

VII. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, FERTILITY CONTROL, AND SIZE OF FAMILY¹

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IT is an obvious fact that, in our society, marriage provides an institutional framework for the process of biological reproduction. The importance of this function of marriage does not need to be stressed. However, it is almost equally obvious that the success or failure of a particular marriage is not, in general, judged directly in terms of reproductive performance. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the nature of the relationship between wife and husband and upon their attitudes toward this relationship. Thus, a couple is commonly called well adjusted and their marriage considered successful if wife and husband are happy and satisfied with their marriage.

How, then, is the marital adjustment of wives and husbands related to their reproductive performance? In the search for factors contributing to successful marital adjustment, several workers have touched upon this question. The two most comprehensive pieces of work in this field have been reported by Terman² and by Burgess and Cottrell.³ On the basis of information obtained from a group of California couples Terman concluded that, although in individual cases the presence of children might affect marital adjustment either favorably or unfavorably, it had little effect on the general level of marital

¹ This is the seventh of a series of reports on a study conducted by the Committee on Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, sponsored by the Milbank Memorial Fund with grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Committee consists of Lowell J. Reed, Chairman; Daniel Katz; E. Lowell Kelly; Clyde V. Kiser; Frank Lorimer; Frank W. Notestein; Frederick Osborn; S. A. Switzer; Warren S. Thompson; and P. K. Whelpton. The author is indebted to the members of the Committee for permission to use data collected in the study as well as for suggestions in carrying out the analysis. He is also indebted to the Milbank Memorial Fund for the fellowship which made the present paper possible.

² Terman, L. M.: *PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN MARITAL HAPPINESS*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1938.

³ Burgess, E. W. and Cottrell, L. S.: *PREDICTING SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN MARRIAGE*. New York, Prentice Hall Inc., 1939.

happiness. However, he did note that childless women past middle age were slightly less happy than the average, while husbands of the same age tended to be above the average in happiness.

Burgess and Cottrell, in their study of Illinois couples, found no difference in marital adjustment between couples with no children and couples with one child. Their two and three-child couples showed a marked decline in the proportion with good adjustment. A more significant relationship was found when the couples were grouped according to desire for children. In descending order of marital adjustment the groups were those with no children but some desired, those with one or more children which were desired, those with no children and none desired, those with one or more children which were not desired.

The results of these studies have suggested that, while the actual number of children may not be closely related to marital adjustment, the attitudes of the couple toward the number of children they have may be of importance in adjustment.

In the present paper, therefore, the reproductive performance of a series of couples is examined not only in terms of the size of the family but also in terms of the number of children desired by the couple and the extent and success of their efforts to control their fertility in accordance with their desire for children. The relationship of the marital adjustment of both wife and husband to these aspects of fertility is examined.

THE DATA

The data upon which the present analysis is based were collected in Indianapolis between April 15, 1941, and January 31, 1942, as part of the Study of the Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility.⁴ In order to obtain a relatively

⁴ For a detailed description of the Study, see the previous articles in this series, particularly the following two:

Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, Clyde V.: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. IV. Developing the Schedules, and Choosing the Type of Couples and the Area to be Studied.* The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, October, 1945, xxiii, No. 4, pp. 386-409. (Reprint, pp. 139-162.)

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homogeneous sample, representative of a large proportion of our urban population, the Study was restricted to couples with the following characteristics:

1. Wife and husband native white.
2. Wife and husband Protestant.
3. Couple married in 1927, 1928, or 1929.
4. Wife under 30 and husband under 40 at marriage.
5. Neither wife nor husband previously married.
6. Eight years or more of residence since marriage in a city of 25,000 or over.
7. Wife and husband at least elementary school graduates.

The couples analysed in this paper were further restricted by the elimination of those classified as "relatively sterile." The "relatively sterile" group included all couples who knew (or had good reason to believe) that they were sterile during a period of at least 24 consecutive months if the wife was never pregnant, or at least 36 consecutive months if the wife had up to three live births. No couples with four or more live births were classified as "relatively sterile."

On the basis of a preliminary household survey of Indianapolis, the number of cooperative "relatively fecund" couples meeting the requirements given above was found to be 1,444. Detailed information was obtained from a sample of 860 of these couples by means of three interviews with each couple. The first of these interviews served to enlist interest in the Study and to obtain a few simple facts about the family. During the second, the wife and husband independently filled out an extensive attitude questionnaire and the interviewer obtained additional background information. The final interview was devoted primarily to obtaining from the wife a complete history of pregnancies and contraceptive practices.

Since the 860 couples that were interviewed in detail were intentionally selected so as to include a disproportionately

Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, Clyde V.: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. V. The Sampling Plan, Selection, and the Representativeness of Couples in the Inflated Sample.* The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, January, 1946, xxiv, No. 1, pp. 49-93. (Reprint, pp. 163-208.)

large number of very small and very large families, it was necessary to make some adjustment in order to present a true picture of the distribution by size of family. This was accomplished by duplicating on a random basis the records of some of the couples within each size of family group. As a result of this procedure an inflated sample of 1,444 couples was obtained which, when tested on various items such as size of family, age, state of birth, education, etc., was found to be very similar to the universe of eligible couples located by means of the initial household survey. The figures presented here were based on this inflated sample of 1,444 couples obtained from the 860 couples interviewed.

SIZE OF FAMILY

Three measures of fertility are available in the reproductive histories of the couples. These are: (1) number of pregnancies, (2) number of live births, and (3) number of living children at the time of the Study. The concentration in small family sizes is apparent in Table 1. Two-child families accounted for more than a third of the couples, while only 9.8 per cent had four or more living children at the time of the Study.

It is obvious that pregnancies, live births and living children are closely related and that they may be expected to show similar associations with other variables. However, from the point of view of the couple, the number of living children is the most realistic measure of the size of their family. For this reason the discussion of factors related to family size will be given largely in terms of number of living children, although figures will also be presented for live births and pregnancies.

Table 1. Distribution of couples by number of pregnancies, number of live births and number of living children.

	PERCENTAGE OF COUPLES WITH:					AVERAGE PER COUPLE
	0	1	2	3	4 +	
Pregnancies	8.4	21.4	34.5	18.6	17.2	2.3
Live Births	9.3	25.3	37.4	16.2	11.8	2.0
Living Children	9.3	27.4	37.5	16.0	9.8	2.0

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Marital adjustment may be defined as the process of developing a mutually satisfactory relationship between wife and husband. Couples differ with respect to the type of relationship developed and in the extent to which this relationship is mutually satisfactory. From the viewpoint of the wife and husband, their adjustment is good if they find the marital relationship highly satisfactory, and poor if it is unsatisfactory. The present section deals with indications of good and poor adjustment defined in this manner. Later sections will examine different types of wife-husband relationship in deciding family problems.

The wives and husbands included in this Study gave independent answers to four questions designed to determine how satisfactory their marital relationships were. These questions and the distributions of replies are given below:

	<i>Percentage Distribution of Replies</i>	
	<i>Wife</i>	<i>Husband</i>
If you had your life to live over, do you think you would:		
Marry the same person?	95.0	92.6
Marry a different person?	2.9	1.9
Not marry at all?	2.1	5.5
	100.0	100.0
Everything considered how happy has your marriage been?		
Extremely unhappy	}	4.4
Decidedly less happy than average		
Somewhat less happy than average		
About average	27.0	26.5
Somewhat more happy than average	18.3	18.8
Decidedly more happy than average	21.5	24.0
Extremely happy	28.7	25.8
	99.9	100.0

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*Percentage
Distribution
of Replies
Wife Husband*

Everyone knows that even happily married couples often disagree about some things. How much do you and your husband (wife) disagree about:

A. Handling family finances?		
B. What to do in your spare time?		
C. Things a man should do around the home?		
D. Sexual relations?		
E. Ways of dealing with in-laws?		
Disagree very much	1.5	1.3
Much	1.6	1.9
Some	14.2	16.9
Little	16.0	19.6
Very little	66.6	60.3
	99.9	100.0

Few women (men) are completely satisfied with themselves or their husbands (wives). If you could make your husband (wife) over, how much would you want to change him (her) in the following ways:

A. Make him (her) more affectionate?		
B. Make him (her) less selfish?		
C. Make him more considerate (her more interested) in sex relations?		
D. Make him (her) less fault-finding?		
E. Make him (her) more truthful?		
Want very much	2.4	2.4
Much	3.3	2.5
Some	13.3	15.4
Little	13.6	14.9
Very little	67.5	64.8
	100.1	100.0

It should be noted that in the last two questions each of the

lettered parts was answered separately on the five point scale indicated, and the distribution given is for all parts combined.

In examining the replies to these questions, it is evident that the couples selected for inclusion in this Study were, on the whole, well adjusted. Ninety-five per cent of the wives and 92.6 per cent of the husbands stated that they would marry the same person if they had their lives to live over. Slightly more than 95 per cent of both wives and husbands rated their marital happiness as "average" or above. In reporting amount of disagreement and desire to improve the spouse, both wives and husbands checked the categories "little" and "very little" in about 80 per cent of the cases. Consequently, terms such as good and poor adjustment when applied to this group must be interpreted as comparative expressions distinguishing between degrees of good adjustment.

Three separate indices of adjustment were obtained from the last three of the questions listed above. In the case of the question concerning marital happiness the individuals were simply divided into two groups. Those describing their marriage as "extremely happy" or "decidedly more happy than average" were classified as "happy," while those checking a lower response on the happiness scale were classified as, comparatively, "unhappy."

In this manner each wife and each husband was identified as considering the marriage happy or unhappy. Each couple was then rated on the basis of mutual happiness of wife and husband. Those couples in which both wife and husband considered the marriage happy were classified as happy couples. If wife or husband or both considered the marriage unhappy the couple was rated as unhappy.

The distribution of wives, husbands, and couples according to this scheme is shown in Table 2. Among the wives 50.2 per cent were in the happy group, while 49.7 per cent of the husbands were happy. As a result of the positive association between marital happiness of wife and husband, 32.5 per cent of the couples were rated happy.

		HUSBAND		
		Happy	Unhappy	Total
WIFE	Happy	32.5	17.7	50.2
	Unhappy	17.2	32.5	49.7
	Total	49.7	50.2	99.9

Table 2. Per cent distribution of couples according to marital happiness of wife and husband.

The set of questions dealing with amount of disagreement about various items was used in making up the second index of adjustment. The five possible replies were assigned scores of 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, from "disagree very much" to "very little." Using this scale the replies to the five parts of the disagreement question were averaged for each individual. The individuals were then divided into two groups. Those with averages over 3.5 were classified as reporting "little" disagreement and those whose average was less than 3.5 were described as reporting, comparatively, "much" disagreement.

Following the method used in dealing with happiness the couple was rated as having little disagreement if both wife and husband fell in the little disagreement group. Couples in which wife or husband or both reported much disagreement were placed in the much disagreement group.

By a method exactly parallel to that used with the disagreement question the individuals and couples were rated as reporting "little" or "much" desire to improve the spouse. The distribution of wives, husbands, and couples in these groups of little and much disagreement and desire to improve the spouse

Table 3. Per cent distribution of couples according to disagreement reported by wife and husband.

		HUSBAND		
		Little	Much	Total
WIFE	Little	33.8	24.1	57.9
	Much	17.2	24.9	42.1
	Total	51.0	49.0	100.0

		HUSBAND		
		Little	Much	Total
WIFE	Little	33.0	23.8	56.8
	Much	20.8	22.4	43.2
	Total	53.8	46.2	100.0

Table 4. Per cent distribution of couples according to desire to improve the spouse reported by wife and husband.

is given in Tables 3 and 4. The little disagreement group included 57.9 per cent of the wives, 51.0 per cent of the husbands and 33.8 per cent of the couples. Little desire to improve the spouse was found among 56.8 per cent of the wives, 53.8 per cent of the husbands, and 33.0 per cent of the couples.

Table 5. Average size of family by adjustment groups.

	AVERAGE NUMBER OF:		
	Living Children	Live Births	Pregnancies
<i>Happiness of Marriage</i>			
Wife: Happy	1.82	1.90	2.12
Wife: Unhappy	2.08	2.16	2.44
Husband: Happy	1.79	1.87	2.09
Husband: Unhappy	2.11	2.19	2.47
Couple: Happy	1.77	1.84	2.06
Couple: Unhappy	2.04	2.12	2.39
<i>Amount of Disagreement</i>			
Wife: Little	1.85	1.93	2.15
Wife: Much	2.09	2.16	2.45
Husband: Little	1.87	1.94	2.19
Husband: Much	2.03	2.12	2.37
Couple: Little	1.75	1.83	2.03
Couple: Much	2.05	2.13	2.41
<i>Desire to Improve Spouse</i>			
Wife: Little	1.87	1.96	2.21
Wife: Much	2.05	2.12	2.37
Husband: Little	1.90	1.97	2.23
Husband: Much	2.01	2.09	2.34
Couple: Little	1.84	1.92	2.19
Couple: Much	2.00	2.08	2.32

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Among the couples included in this Study, marital adjustment showed an inverse relationship with family size. This was true for all three of the adjustment indices used for wives, husbands, and couples.

Table 5 shows the differences in average family size between the good and poor adjustment groups. The most extreme difference is found in comparing husbands on the basis of happiness of the marriage. The mean number of living children among the "happy" husbands was 1.79, while the "unhappy" husbands had an average of 2.11 living children. The smallest difference was observed in comparing husbands on the basis of desire to improve their wives. The average number of living children was 1.90 for husbands with "little" desire to improve their wives and 2.01 for husbands with "much" desire to improve their wives.

Table 6. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting happy marriage, by size of family.

SIZE OF FAMILY	PER CENT REPORTING HAPPY MARRIAGE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
<i>No. of Living Children</i>			
0	58.5	62.6	40.7
1	53.5	52.0	34.8
2	50.5	49.7	32.4
3	45.9	49.4	32.0
4+	39.7	32.6	19.9
<i>No. of Live Births</i>			
0	58.5	62.2	40.7
1	52.6	51.2	33.4
2	51.3	50.2	33.3
3	48.3	53.4	35.5
4+	38.2	30.6	17.6
<i>No. of Pregnancies</i>			
0	56.2	61.2	39.7
1	53.1	53.4	34.0
2	51.8	51.4	33.9
3	53.0	49.2	35.8
4+	37.9	37.1	21.0
TOTAL	50.2	49.7	32.5

In Tables 6, 7, 8, and Figure 1 the adjustment of various size of family groups is compared. Viewed in this direction, it is seen that, in general, the inverse relationship between adjustment and family size holds throughout the entire range of family size from zero to four or more children. Again, the most extreme difference is found in connection with the happiness of the husband. Among couples with no living children 62.6 per cent of the husbands fell in the "happy" group, but in the families with four or more living children the percentage of "happy" husbands dropped to 32.6.

In proceeding from small to large families, the decline in proportion "happy" is continuous for wife, husband, and couple. However, in the case of amount of disagreement and desire to improve the spouse, the replies of the wives of childless couples show a reversal of the general trend. Thus, the highest proportion of wives reporting "little" disagreement or "little" desire

Table 7. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little disagreement, by size of family.

SIZE OF FAMILY	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DISAGREEMENT		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
<i>No. of Living Children</i>			
0	60.0	54.8	42.2
1	66.2	52.5	39.1
2	56.4	52.1	32.9
3	52.4	51.5	29.9
4+	47.5	37.6	20.6
<i>No. of Live Births</i>			
0	60.0	54.8	42.2
1	66.0	52.9	38.9
2	56.7	52.0	33.1
3	53.4	54.3	32.5
4+	48.8	35.9	20.0
<i>No. of Pregnancies</i>			
0	56.2	54.5	40.5
1	67.0	52.1	39.5
2	60.0	53.2	36.6
3	51.9	52.6	30.2
4+	49.6	41.5	21.8
TOTAL	57.9	51.0	33.8

SIZE OF FAMILY	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DESIRE TO IMPROVE SPOUSE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
<i>No. of Living Children</i>			
0	54.1	60.0	35.6
1	62.9	54.0	35.9
2	57.7	53.2	33.1
3	50.2	55.4	30.1
4+	50.4	46.8	26.2
<i>No. of Live Births</i>			
0	54.1	60.0	35.6
1	62.7	54.3	35.9
2	56.9	52.4	31.9
3	55.1	60.3	36.3
4+	48.8	43.5	24.1
<i>No. of Pregnancies</i>			
0	50.4	58.7	31.4
1	62.5	54.4	35.9
2	59.0	51.6	32.7
3	54.8	60.1	35.8
4+	50.8	48.4	27.8
TOTAL	56.8	53.8	33.0

Table 8. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little desire to improve spouse, by size of family.

to improve their husbands is found in families with one child rather than in childless families.

Although the differences found are not large, the consistency of the results based on the three adjustment indices and the agreement between the replies of wives and husbands justify the statement that among these couples good marital adjustment is associated with small family size. An exception to this generalization should be noted in the case of wives with no children. These childless women showed a tendency toward lower adjustment than the wives with one child.

FERTILITY CONTROL

The basic fact which gives rise to the problem of controlling fertility, among the relatively fecund couples included in this Study, is the excess of potential over desired fertility. That is,

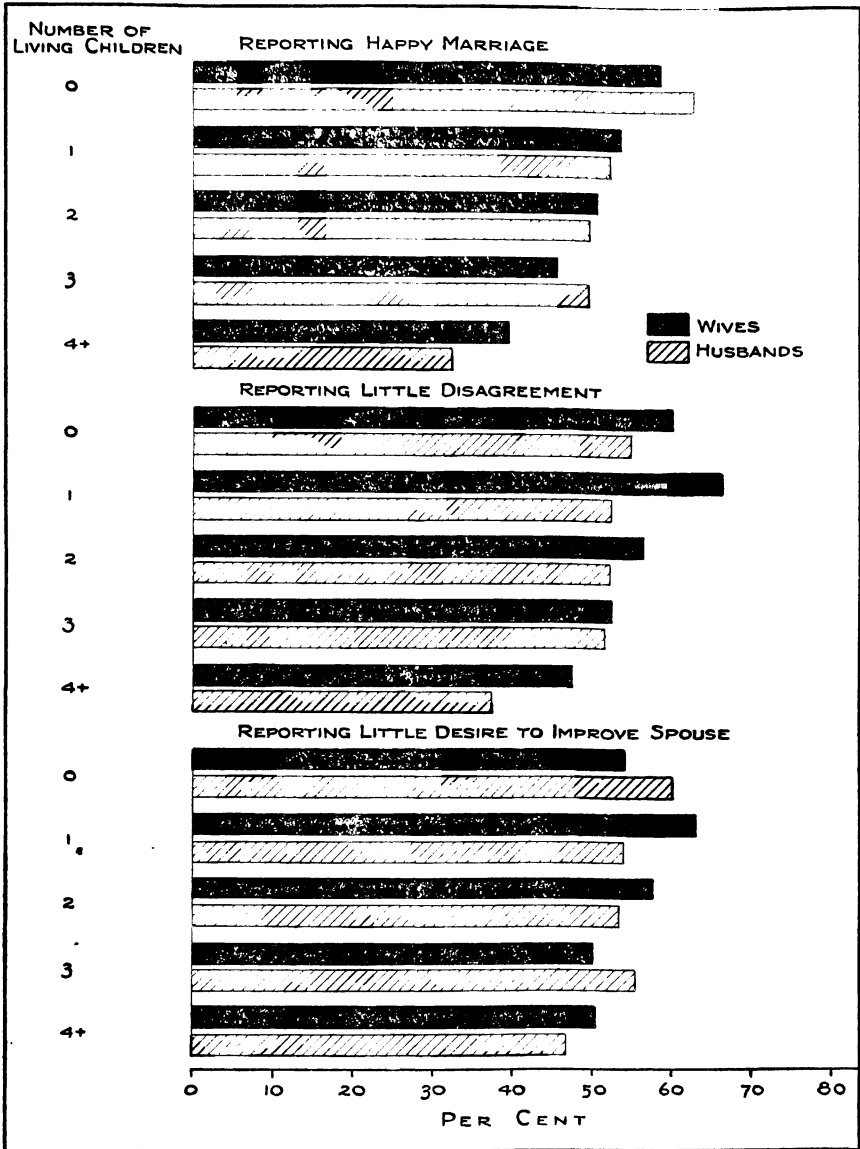


Fig. 1. Per cent of wives and husbands reporting happy marriage, little disagreement with spouse, and little desire to change spouse, by number of living children. (See Tables 6, 7, 8.)

unless a couple takes action to prevent conception, pregnancies will normally occur more rapidly and in greater number than the couple desires. Initial control of fertility must, therefore, take the form of prevention of unwanted pregnancies. The

process of preventing pregnancies will be called negative control of fertility.

The successful application of negative control is sufficient to prevent the family size from exceeding any desired number. However, if negative control is started before the desired size of family has been reached, it must be interrupted either accidentally or intentionally if the additional desired pregnancies are to occur. The term positive control will be applied to the process of intentionally interrupting negative control for the purpose of producing a pregnancy.

It is important to recognize the fact that positive control, thus defined, is not the mere failure or absence of negative control and does not follow as a necessary consequence of negative control. The planning and carrying out of a program of positive control is dependent upon, but distinct from, the planning and carrying out of negative control.

It is evident that the more completely and effectively negative control is applied by a couple, the more important positive control becomes in determining family size. Consequently, in analyzing the completed fertility of a couple it is necessary to examine the extent to which both negative and positive control were exercised.

In evaluating the extent to which negative control has been successfully exercised by a couple, it is useful to distinguish between two functions served by negative control. The first, in the sense of being generally more important from the viewpoint of the couple, is the prevention of pregnancies in excess of the number desired. The second function of negative control is that of making possible the desired spacing of pregnancies that are wanted. From the viewpoint of the couple, failure to space pregnancies is less serious than failure to control the total number. Consequently, the following three categories of success in applying negative control were defined.

1. Complete negative control. A couple has exercised complete negative control if no pregnancies occurred other than those

resulting from positive control, *i.e.*, both number and spacing of pregnancies have been controlled.

2. Adequate negative control. A couple has exercised adequate negative control if one or more pregnancies were not the result of positive control, but the total number of pregnancies did not exceed the number desired, *i.e.*, number but not spacing has been controlled.

3. Inadequate negative control. A couple has exercised inadequate negative control if the number of pregnancies exceeded the number desired, *i.e.*, the number was not controlled.

Since a couple cannot exercise positive control of fertility, as defined above, without also exercising negative control, the effectiveness of positive control can be compared satisfactorily only among couples exercising complete negative control. All pregnancies occurring in this group of couples were the result of positive control, and the extent to which positive control was exercised may be judged by a comparison of the actual number of pregnancies with the number of pregnancies desired. This comparison suggests the following three categories of success in applying positive control when negative control is complete.

1. Positive control absent. Positive control was absent if no pregnancies occurred.

2. Inadequate positive control. A couple has exercised inadequate positive control if the total number of pregnancies was less than the number desired.

3. Adequate positive control. A couple has exercised adequate positive control if the desired total number of pregnancies was obtained.

Material suitable for classifying fertility control was contained in the pregnancy and contraceptive records obtained from the wives in this Study. Pregnancies which, according to the wife's statement, occurred during periods when contraception had been stopped for the purpose of conceiving were considered the result of positive control and will be described as positively controlled or planned. Following the definition

stated previously, 403 couples, with all pregnancies planned or with no pregnancies, exercised complete negative control.

In distinguishing between adequate and inadequate negative control use was made of the wife's statements concerning the extent to which each pregnancy was desired by herself and by her husband. A pregnancy was considered to be wanted if the wife stated that it was wanted by both wife and husband either at the time it occurred or at some later time. Negative control was classified as adequate among 659 couples, whose last pregnancy was wanted in this sense or was positively controlled. The remaining 382 couples, whose last pregnancy was not wanted, exceeded the number of pregnancies desired and were placed in the inadequate negative control group. It should be noted that in distinguishing between adequate and inadequate negative control the few illegally aborted pregnancies were disregarded on the grounds that these pregnancies were, in one sense, prevented.

A further breakdown of the inadequate negative control group was made on the basis of the number of unwanted pregnancies. If the number of pregnancies after the last wanted by the wife plus the number after the last wanted by the husband was one, two, or three, the average of pregnancies unwanted by the wife and pregnancies unwanted by the husband was one-half, one, or one and one-half. Couples with these averages were placed in a group designated the "one-too-many" group. Couples with a larger average number of unwanted pregnancies were placed in a "two-plus-too-many" group. The study included 280 of the former type and 102 of the latter.

The adequate negative control group was also separated into two parts. Those couples whose last pregnancy was positively controlled or who were exercising positive control at the time of interview, as well as the few couples who had terminated all pregnancies or all pregnancies after the last planned pregnancy by illegal abortion, had definitely planned the number of their pregnancies. These couples, totaling 205, were placed in a "number-planned" group. The remainder of the adequate con-

rol group, 454 couples who wanted but did not plan the last pregnancy, were placed in a "quasi-planned" group.

In classifying the couples with complete negative control according to positive control, the 121 couples with no pregnancies obviously form the group among whom positive control was absent. Among the remaining couples in the complete negative control group, the distinction between adequate and inadequate positive control was based on independent replies of wife and husband to the question: "If you could begin your married life over again and the size of your family could be determined only by your liking for children, how many would you have?" Couples with a number of pregnancies (or live births, if live births exceeded pregnancies due to multiple births) smaller than the number of children desired by both wife and husband were placed in the inadequate positive control group. One hundred and seventy-two couples had exercised inadequate positive control according to this criterion. The remaining 110 couples with complete negative control were placed in the adequate positive control group.

It is of interest to note that in 102 of the 121 couples with no pregnancies both wife and husband expressed a desire for one or more children. From this it appears that absence of positive control represents, for the most part, failure to obtain the desired number of pregnancies, and is more closely related to inadequate than to adequate positive control.

The distribution of the couples in the fertility control groups described above is given in Table 9.⁵ It is apparent that these couples exercised a high degree of negative control over fertility. Nearly three-quarters of the group succeeded in preventing pregnancies in excess of the number desired, and 27.9 per cent

⁵ This grouping of the couples may be compared with the fertility planning classification presented in the article immediately preceding this one in the series, Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, Clyde V.: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*. VI. The Planning of Fertility. The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, January, 1947, xxv, No. 1, pp. 63-111. The "Complete Negative Control" and "Inadequate Negative Control" groups in the present article are identical respectively to the "Number and Spacing Planned" and "Excess Fertility" groups of the previous article. The terms "Number-planned," "Quasi-planned," "One-too-many," and "Two-plus-too-many" refer to the same couples in both articles.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT	
Complete Negative Control	27.9	
Positive Control: Absent		8.4
Inadequate		11.9
Adequate		7.6
Adequate Negative Control	45.6	
Number-Planned		14.2
Quasi-Planned		31.4
Inadequate Negative Control	26.5	
One-Too-Many		19.4
Two-Plus-Too-Many		7.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Table 9. Distribution of couples according to fertility control.

had no unplanned pregnancies. However, under the criteria used here, only a relatively small proportion, 7.6 per cent, who not only succeeded in preventing unplanned pregnancies but also planned the number desired, can be regarded as entirely successful in controlling fertility.

FERTILITY CONTROL AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Since the categories of fertility control were defined largely on the basis of a comparison of the actual number of pregnancies with the number desired by the couple, size of family may be expected to vary between fertility control groups. In general, success in negative control should tend to reduce family size while success in positive control should have the opposite effect.

Table 10 shows the variation in average family size according to fertility control group. Couples exercising complete negative control had an average of 1.04 living children. The average rose to 1.98 living children for couples with adequate negative control, and to 2.86 living children among couples whose negative control was inadequate.

The "number-planned" group had slightly larger families, on the average, than the "quasi-planned" group. This was due to the fact that one-child families were practically excluded from

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	AVERAGE NUMBER OF:		
	Living Children	Live Births	Pregnancies
Complete Negative Control	1.04	1.06	1.15
Positive Control: Absent	0	0	0
Inadequate	1.27	1.29	1.32
Adequate	1.81	1.88	2.15
Adequate Negative Control	1.98	2.08	2.32
Number-Planned	2.16	2.28	2.59
Quasi-Planned	1.91	1.99	2.20
Inadequate Negative Control	2.86	2.95	3.39
One-Too-Many	2.40	2.48	2.82
Two-Plus-Too-Many	4.11	4.25	4.96
TOTAL	1.95	2.03	2.28

Table 10. Average size of family by fertility control group.

the “number-planned” families by the requirement that they should have at least one planned and one unplanned pregnancy. With this minor exception, size of family decreased with increasing negative control.

Among the couples exercising complete negative control, those with positive control absent had no pregnancies by definition. Couples with inadequate positive control averaged 1.27 living children. Those couples exercising adequate positive control had an average of 1.81, a figure only slightly below that for the adequate negative control group. Thus, size of family increased with increasing positive control.

Table 11 gives the distribution of the 1,444 couples according to number of living children and fertility control group, and shows in more detail the association between these variables. It may be seen that over half of the families with three children and an even higher proportion of the larger families fell in the inadequate negative control group. On the other hand only 15 per cent of the couples with one child exercised inadequate negative control. The remaining one-child families were concentrated chiefly in the “quasi-planned” and inadequate positive control groups.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	NO. OF LIVING CHILDREN					
	0	1	2	3	4+	Total
Complete Negative Control	126	156	105	13	3	403
Positive Control: Absent	121	0	0	0	0	121
Inadequate	3	121	46	2	0	172
Adequate	2	35	59	11	3	110
Adequate Negative Control	8	182	332	98	39	659
Number-Planned	4	22	130	38	11	205
Quasi-Planned	4	160	202	60	28	454
Inadequate Negative Control	1	58	104	120	99	382
One-Too-Many	1	58	95	96	30	280
Two-Plus-Too-Many	0	0	9	24	69	102
TOTAL	135	396	541	231	141	1,444

Table 11. Distribution of couples by fertility control and number of living children.

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND FERTILITY CONTROL

The variation in marital adjustment of couples in different fertility control groups is shown in Tables 12, 13, 14, and Figures 2 and 3. The most obvious relationship demonstrated is the decline of adjustment with decreasing negative control. For example the proportion of couples reporting "happy" marriages was 45.2 per cent among couples with complete negative

Table 12. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting happy marriage, by fertility control group.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING HAPPY MARRIAGE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	60.3	62.5	45.2
Positive Control: Absent	56.2	61.2	39.7
Inadequate	62.2	61.1	45.4
Adequate	61.8	66.4	50.9
Adequate Negative Control	53.6	50.8	33.8
Number-Planned	62.4	51.7	39.5
Quasi-Planned	49.6	50.4	31.3
Inadequate Negative Control	34.0	34.6	17.0
One-Too-Many	35.4	36.4	17.9
Two-Plus-Too-Many	30.4	29.4	14.7
TOTAL	50.2	49.7	32.5

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DISAGREEMENT		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	62.0	53.8	38.2
Positive Control: Absent	56.2	54.6	40.5
Inadequate	57.0	43.0	25.0
Adequate	76.4	70.0	56.4
Adequate Negative Control	61.2	53.1	37.6
Number-Planned	63.9	54.2	40.4
Quasi-Planned	59.9	52.6	36.3
Inadequate Negative Control	47.9	44.2	22.5
One-Too-Many	50.0	46.8	24.3
Two-Plus-Too-Many	42.1	37.2	17.6
TOTAL	57.9	51.0	33.8

Table 13. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little disagreement, by fertility control group.

control of fertility, dropped to 33.8 per cent in the adequate negative control group, and dropped still further to 17.0 per cent in the inadequate negative control group. The subcategories of adequate and inadequate control show the same trend. Thus, "happy" marriages occurred in 39.5 per cent of the "number-planned" couples, 31.3 per cent of the "quasi-

Table 14. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little desire to improve spouse, by fertility control group.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DESIRE TO IMPROVE SPOUSE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	56.3	59.0	35.5
Positive Control: Absent	50.4	58.7	31.4
Inadequate	60.5	53.5	33.7
Adequate	56.4	68.2	42.7
Adequate Negative Control	60.6	57.2	37.3
Number-Planned	67.3	59.5	43.4
Quasi-Planned	57.5	56.2	34.6
Inadequate Negative Control	51.1	42.4	23.0
One-Too-Many	51.8	43.6	23.9
Two-Plus-Too-Many	49.0	39.2	20.6
TOTAL	56.8	53.8	33.0

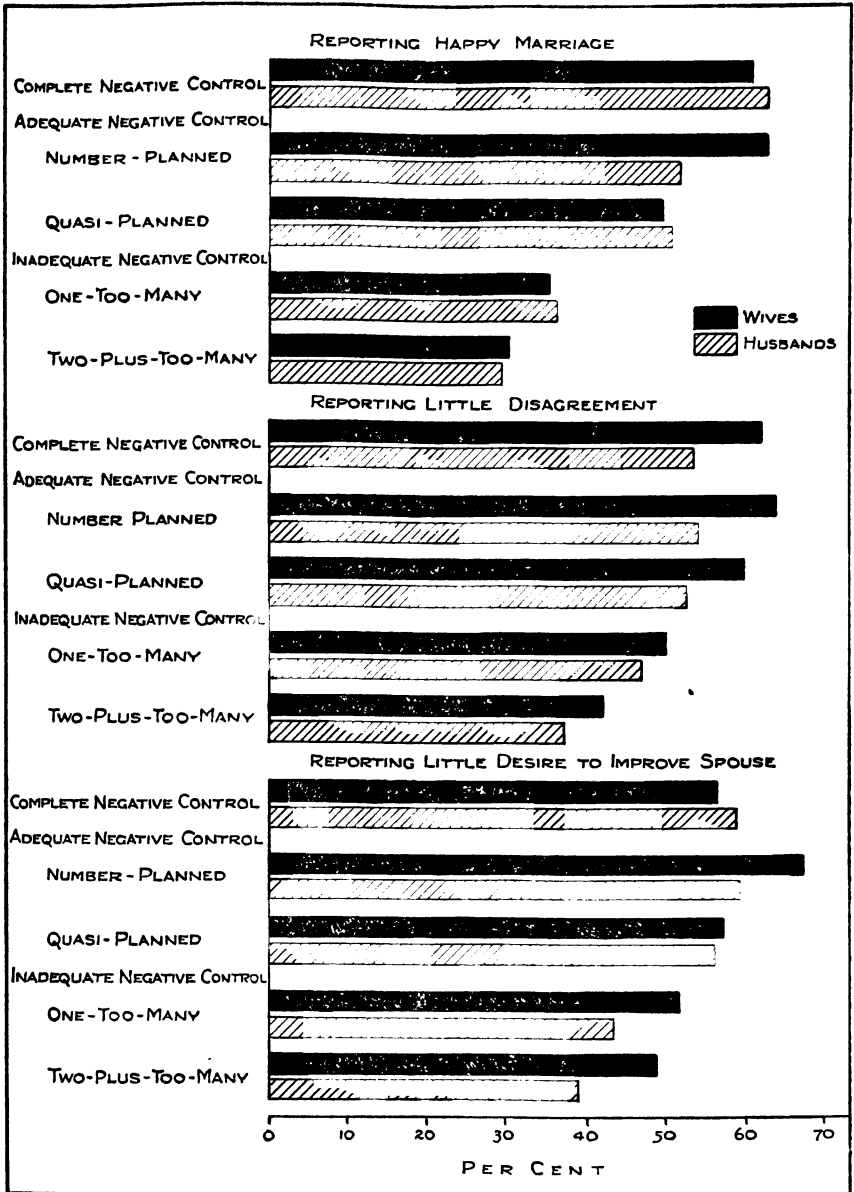


Fig. 2. Per cent of wives and husbands reporting happy marriage, little disagreement with spouse, and little desire to change spouse, by extent of negative control of fertility. (See Tables 12, 13, and 14.)

planned,” 17.9 per cent of the “one-too-many,” and 14.7 per cent of the “two-plus-too-many.”

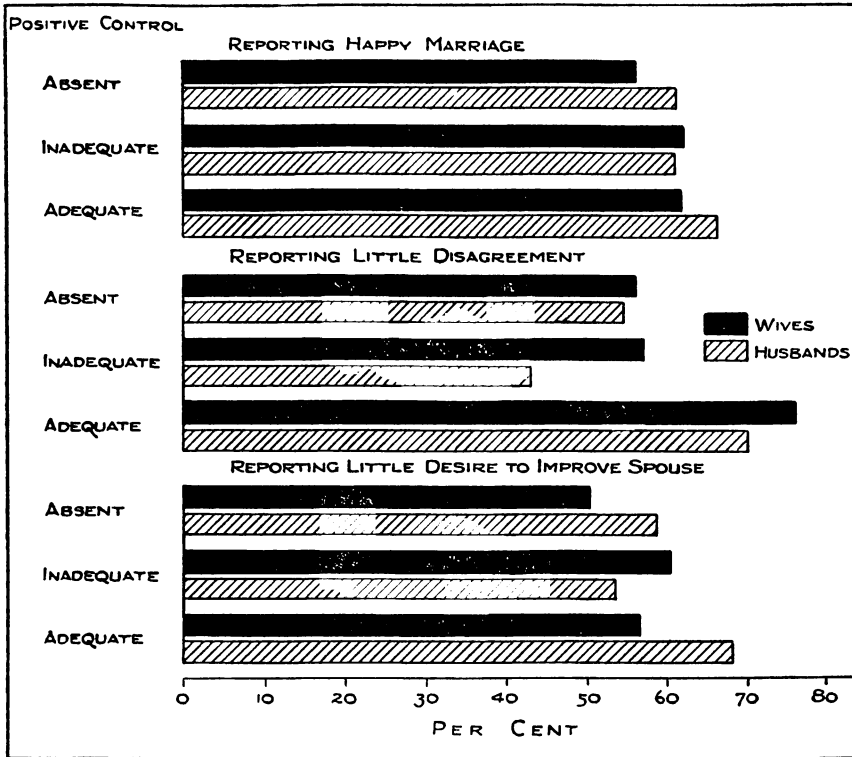


Fig. 3. Per cent of wives and husbands reporting happy marriage, little disagreement with spouse, and little desire to change spouse, by extent of positive control of fertility. Data restricted to "Complete Negative Control" couples. (See Tables 12, 13, and 14.)

In all three indices of adjustment, the replies of both wives and husbands showed a decrease in the proportion of well-adjusted individuals with decreasing effectiveness of negative control. However, on the basis of amount of disagreement and desire to improve the spouse, little difference was found between couples with complete and couples with adequate negative control. In fact, among couples with complete negative control, the wives reported greater desire to improve the spouse than did the wives in the adequate group.

Furthermore, when the adequate negative control group was subdivided, a tendency was found toward higher adjustment in the "number-planned" families than in those with complete negative control. This tendency is more marked among the

wives than among the husbands. For example, in the "number-planned" group, 67.3 per cent of the wives and 59.5 per cent of the husbands expressed "little" desire to improve the spouse, but among couples exercising complete negative control the proportion well adjusted by this criterion were 56.3 per cent of the wives and 59.0 per cent of the husbands.

These results may be summarized by saying that success in marital adjustment and success in negative control of fertility showed a positive association, except for the fact that among couples exercising complete negative control, the husbands and, to a greater extent, the wives reported lower adjustment than those in the "number-planned" group.

When the couples exercising complete negative control were examined on the basis of positive control, an increase in adjustment was found with increasing positive control. Thus, in Table 12 it may be seen that the proportion of couples with "happy" marriages was 39.7 per cent when positive control was absent, 45.4 per cent among couples exercising inadequate positive control, and 50.9 per cent in the group with adequate positive control.

Although this trend was not perfectly uniform throughout the indices used, the adjustment of the adequate positive control group exceeded that of the group in which positive control was absent on the basis of the rating of wives, husbands, and couples for all three adjustment indices. The adjustment of the adequate positive control group was higher than that of the inadequate positive control group in all cases except for the wives' reports of amount of disagreement and desire to improve their husbands.

In comparing the inadequate positive control group with the couples exercising no positive control, a consistent difference between wives and husbands was found in all three indices. The husbands tended to report higher adjustment when positive control was absent than when it was present but inadequate. On the other hand the wives tended to have higher adjustment when positive control was inadequate than when it was absent.

In general, on the basis of these data it appears that success in positive control of fertility, like success in negative control, is associated with good marital adjustment. On the basis of all three indices used, the highest proportion of well-adjusted husbands was found in the group that was most successful in both negative and positive control. The ratings of wives and couples showed maximum adjustment either in the group having greatest success in negative and positive control or in the "number-planned" group, which was also highly successful in negative control and had at least exercised positive control in the last pregnancy.

**MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, FERTILITY CONTROL, AND
SIZE OF FAMILY**

Because the fertility control groups have been shown to vary in average size of family, it is important to determine whether the observed relationship between marital adjustment and fertility control is independent of the size of family. For this reason, the couples with two living children were examined separately. This size of family was selected as the only one which occurred with sufficient frequency in the various fertility control groups to make comparisons possible.

The results, as shown in Tables 15, 16, and 17, are of the

Table 15. Families with two living children. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting happy marriage, by fertility control group.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING HAPPY MARRIAGE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	63.8	68.6	51.4
Positive Control: Inadequate	60.9	63.0	47.8
Adequate	66.1	72.9	54.2
Adequate Negative Control	50.9	49.4	31.9
Number-Planned	61.5	50.0	36.2
Quasi-Planned	44.1	49.0	29.2
Inadequate Negative Control	35.6	31.7	14.4
TOTAL	50.5	49.7	32.4

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DISAGREEMENT		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	62.9	58.1	41.9
Positive Control: Inadequate	52.2	39.1	19.6
Adequate	71.2	72.9	59.3
Adequate Negative Control	57.2	52.7	34.9
Number-Planned	69.2	60.0	43.8
Quasi-Planned	49.5	48.0	29.2
Inadequate Negative Control	47.1	44.2	17.3
TOTAL	56.4	52.1	32.9

Table 16. Families with two living children. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little disagreement, by fertility control group.

same type as those obtained from the group as a whole. Throughout these tables, the minimum proportion of well-adjusted wives, husbands, and couples was found in the group exercising inadequate negative control. With one exception, maximum adjustment was found among the couples whose negative control was complete and whose positive control was adequate. The exception occurred in the wives' reports of desire to improve the spouse, where the highest proportion with "little" desire to improve the husband was found in the "number-planned" group. In all cases the group exercising

Table 17. Families with two living children. Per cent of wives, husbands, and couples reporting little desire to improve spouse, by fertility control group.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	PER CENT REPORTING LITTLE DESIRE TO IMPROVE SPOUSE		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Complete Negative Control	61.9	61.9	41.0
Positive Control: Inadequate	60.9	54.4	32.6
Adequate	62.7	67.8	47.5
Adequate Negative Control	61.5	55.1	36.2
Number-Planned	73.8	60.8	46.2
Quasi-Planned	53.0	51.5	29.7
Inadequate Negative Control	42.3	38.5	15.4
TOTAL	57.7	53.2	33.1

adequate positive control showed better adjustment than the group with inadequate positive control.

Thus, among the two-child families, success in marital adjustment was positively associated with success in both negative and positive control of fertility. This suggests that the relationship observed between marital adjustment and fertility control is to some extent, if not completely, independent of the size of family.

It would also be of interest to ask the reverse question, *i.e.*, "Is the observed inverse relationship between size of family and marital adjustment independent of success in controlling fertility?"

A major difficulty in investigating this question lies in the fact that the fertility control categories that were established are not completely homogeneous with regard to success in controlling fertility. Thus, for example, among the "two-plus-too-many" group the four-child families may be expected to have had more unwanted pregnancies than the three-child families. At the other extreme, among the families with complete negative and inadequate positive control, the two-child families may

Table 18. Average number of living children by happiness of marriage and fertility control.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	HAPPINESS OF MARRIAGE					
	Wife		Husband		Couple	
	Happy	Unhappy	Happy	Unhappy	Happy	Unhappy
Complete Negative Control	1.06	1.00	1.05	1.01	1.12	.97
<i>Positive Control:</i>						
Inadequate	1.25	1.31	1.29	1.25	1.29	1.25
Adequate	1.82	1.79 ¹	1.79	1.84 ¹	1.84	1.78
Adequate Negative Control	1.96	2.01	1.95	2.02	1.97	1.99
Number-Planned	2.12	2.22	2.08	2.24	2.09	2.20
Quasi-Planned	1.88	1.93	1.90	1.92	1.91	1.90
Inadequate Negative Control	2.87	2.85	2.80	2.89	2.86	2.86

¹ Average based on 25 to 50 couples. All others based on more than 50 couples.

be expected to have come closer to the number of children desired by wife and husband than the one-child families.

These fertility control groups could be made more homogeneous by further subdivision. However, the comparatively small number of couples included in the Study makes any additional subdivision of the fertility control groups impractical.

Tables 18, 19, and 20 show the average number of living children for the well and poorly adjusted wives, husbands, and couples in the various fertility control groups. In the inadequate negative control group there was no consistent indication of either positive or negative association between adjustment and size of family.

Throughout the adequate negative control group and its two subcategories, the "number-planned" and "quasi-planned" groups, there was a consistent tendency for the better adjusted groups to have smaller families. As was pointed out above, however, within those groups smaller families may indicate more successful negative control of fertility.

In the complete negative control group a reversal of the general trend occurred. On the basis of all three indices of adjustment for wives, husbands, and couples there was a slight

Table 19. Average number of living children by amount of disagreement and fertility control.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	AMOUNT OF DISAGREEMENT					
	Wife		Husband		Couple	
	Little	Much	Little	Much	Little	Much
Complete Negative Control	1.06	1.00	1.05	1.03	1.10	1.00
<i>Positive Control:</i>						
Inadequate	1.23	1.32	1.27	1.28	1.26	1.28
Adequate	1.71	2.12 ¹	1.73	2.00 ¹	1.66	2.00 ¹
Adequate Negative Control	1.92	2.08	1.93	2.05	1.85	2.06
Number-Planned	2.13	2.20	2.14	2.17	2.13	2.17
Quasi-Planned	1.82	2.03	1.83	1.99	1.71	2.02
Inadequate Negative Control	2.77	2.94	2.82	2.89	2.77	2.89

¹ Average based on 25 to 50 couples. All others based on more than 50 couples.

tendency for better adjusted couples to have larger families. However, in the subgroups exercising inadequate and adequate positive control the usual inverse relationship between size of family and adjustment occurred on the basis of reports of disagreement and desire to improve the spouse, and the evidence was mixed on the basis of happiness of marriage.

Thus, in general, within the fertility control categories used here, size of family tended to show an inverse relationship with marital adjustment. An exception to this occurred in the group exercising complete negative control. However, this reversal of the general trend was due to the increase of both adjustment and family size with increasing positive control rather than to any direct association between family size and adjustment within the positive control groups.

DOMINANCE OF WIFE OR HUSBAND

In addition to distinguishing between good and poor marital adjustment, it is possible to speak of various types of adjustment. One basis for classifying types of adjustment is the relative importance of wife or husband in conducting the affairs of the family. In order to determine who was responsible for deci-

Table 20. Average number of living children by desire to improve spouse and fertility control.

FERTILITY CONTROL GROUP	DESIRE TO IMPROVE SPOUSE					
	Wife		Husband		Couple	
	Little	Much	Little	Much	Little	Much
Complete Negative Control	1.06	1.01	1.06	1.01	1.07	1.02
<i>Positive Control:</i>						
Inadequate	1.26	1.29	1.28	1.26	1.24	1.29
Adequate	1.77	1.85 ¹	1.79	1.86 ¹	1.72	1.87 ¹
Adequate Negative Control	1.90	2.11	1.97	2.00	1.89	2.04
Number-Planned	2.04	2.48	2.12	2.20	2.04	2.24
Quasi-Planned	1.83	2.01	1.89	1.92	1.80	1.96
Inadequate Negative Control	2.76	2.96	2.99	2.76	2.95	2.83

¹ Average based on 25 to 50 couples. All others based on more than 50 couples.

sions dealing with a variety of family problems, the wives and husbands in the Study were asked to reply to the following set of questions:

*Percentage
Distribution
of Replies
Wife Husband*

In some families many of the following things are decided by the husband, in other families by the wife, and in still others by the husband and wife together.

Who usually decides in your family:

- A. Whether or not you can afford new furniture?
- B. Which movies you see together?
- C. Where to go on the pleasure trips you take together?
- D. If you are both listening to the radio, which programs to hear?
- E. Which couples to keep as friends?
- F. Which house to rent or buy?

More often my husband (wife)	13.2	13.7
More often myself	9.8	9.4
Fifty-fifty	77.0	74.9
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	100.0	100.0

The distribution of replies given above represents the combined answers to all six questions. It is, however, characteristic of the replies to the separate questions, all of which showed a heavy concentration on the answer "fifty-fifty" and a tendency on the part of both wife and husband to attribute responsibility for decisions to the spouse rather than to themselves.

The high frequency of the statement that these family problems were decided on a fifty-fifty basis indicates either that dominance of wife or husband in deciding these family questions is quite rare, or that the couples were reluctant to recognize and report such dominance. It is possible that if the couples had been offered a choice of more than three answers,

fewer wives and husbands would have checked the "fifty-fifty" reply.

When the replies to these questions were tabulated against size of family and fertility control, no significant relationships were found. There was a slight tendency for the wives with no children to rate themselves more dominant than did the other wives. However, this probably indicates that the women with no children had more time and attention to devote to general family matters than did the wives who had children to attend to.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGATIVE CONTROL

Although the replies of these couples did not indicate any very clear relationship between dominance in general family matters and fertility or fertility control, results of more interest were obtained when attention was turned to the relative importance of wife and husband in dealing with the problem of controlling fertility.

To determine the role of wife and husband in preventing unwanted pregnancies, the wives and husbands were asked the following question:

Among couples where neither husband nor wife wants another child which should take the responsibility to see that pregnancy is avoided?

- usually the husband
- usually the wife
- one as much as the other

The distribution of the replies to this question is given in Table 21. Both wife and husband showed such a heavy tendency to assign the responsibility for negative control on a fifty-fifty basis that it is difficult to compare couples on this item. However, it was found useful to examine the following four groups of couples defined in terms of combinations of the replies of wife and husband:

1. Couples in which both wife and husband tended to assume the responsibility themselves. This group, designated "self" in

		HUSBAND'S REPLY			
		Wife	50/50	Husband	Total
WIFE'S REPLY	Wife	1.3	4.5	.4	6.2
	50/50	6.3	62.9	12.1	81.3
	Husband	1.3	8.8	2.4	12.5
	Total	8.9	76.2	14.9	100.0

Table 21. Who should be responsible for avoiding unwanted pregnancies? Per cent distribution of couples according to wives' and husbands' replies.

the table, included the following combinations of replies: (a) wife said "wife," husband said "husband"; (b) wife said "wife," husband said "one as much as the other"; (c) wife said "one as much as the other," husband said "husband."

2. Couples in which wife and husband agreed that the wife should be responsible or that the husband should be responsible, designated "wife or husband" in the table.

3. Couples in which wife and husband agreed that the responsibility should be taken by one as much as the other, designated "50/50" in the table.

4. Couples in which both wife and husband tended to assign the responsibility to the spouse. This group, designated "spouse" in the table, included the following combinations of replies: (a) wife said "husband," husband said "wife"; (b) wife said "one as much as the other," husband said "wife"; (c) wife said "husband," husband said "one as much as the other."

From Table 21 it may be seen that 17.0 per cent of all couples were included in the group in which wife and husband tended to assume the responsibility for avoiding unwanted pregnancies themselves, 3.7 per cent definitely assigned responsibility to the wife or to the husband, 62.9 per cent placed the responsibility equally on wife and husband, and in 16.4 per cent wife and husband tended to place the responsibility upon the spouse.

Table 22 shows the distribution of these combinations of wives' and husbands' replies for the various negative control categories. Among couples exercising complete negative control, 8.2 per cent assigned responsibility to either wife or husband, whereas only 1.3 per cent of the couples with inadequate

FERTILITY CONTROL	BOTH WIFE AND HUSBAND REPLY				
	Self	Wife or Husband	50/50	Spouse	Total
Complete Negative Control	19.1	8.2	59.6	13.2	100.1
Adequate Negative Control	18.2	2.3	65.3	14.3	100.1
Number-Planned	22.0	2.9	62.0	13.2	100.1
Quasi-Planned	16.5	2.0	66.7	14.8	100.0
Inadequate Negative Control	12.6	1.3	62.6	23.6	100.1
One-Too-Many	11.8	1.4	63.9	22.9	100.0
Two-Plus-Too-Many	14.7	1.0	58.8	25.5	100.0
TOTAL	17.0	3.7	62.9	16.4	100.0

Table 22. Who should be responsible for avoiding unwanted pregnancies? Per cent distribution of combined replies of wife and husband according to negative control of fertility.

negative control reported agreement of this type. The complete negative control group also had a larger proportion of couples in which both wife and husband assumed the responsibility themselves. On the other hand, among 23.6 per cent of the couples in the inadequate negative control group the wife and husband tended to pass the responsibility to the spouse, while wives and husbands rejected the responsibility in only 13.2 per cent of the complete negative control group.

When the replies of wives and husbands are examined separately in Table 23, the greatest contrast between the complete and inadequate negative control groups is found in the husband's willingness to assume the responsibility. Among couples exercising inadequate negative control 10.7 per cent of the husbands felt they should be responsible for avoiding unwanted pregnancies, while 21.6 per cent of the husbands in the complete negative control group felt that they should take the responsibility.

It appears from these results that success in negative control of fertility was associated with agreement of the couple that one spouse should be responsible for avoiding unwanted pregnancies, or with acceptance of the responsibility by both wife and husband. On the other hand, failure in negative control

was associated with the rejection of responsibility by both wife and husband. In this difference between couples which were successful or unsuccessful in negative control, the difference in the attitude of the husband was of more importance than that of the wife.

DOMINANCE IN POSITIVE CONTROL

Several questions which the couples answered give some information as to the relative importance of the spouses in exercising positive control of fertility. Among these were the following two hypothetical questions placed at some distance from each other in the attitude questionnaire:

If you wanted another child very much but your husband (wife) did not, would he (she) be willing to plan to have it?

Table 23. Who should be responsible for avoiding unwanted pregnancies? Per cent distribution of wives' and husbands' replies according to negative control of fertility.

FERTILITY CONTROL	WIFE'S REPLY			
	Wife	50/50	Husband	Total
Complete Negative Control	5.7	79.9	14.4	100.0
Adequate Negative Control	8.2	82.2	9.6	100.0
Number-Planned	10.2	79.5	10.2	99.9
Quasi-Planned	7.3	83.5	9.3	100.1
Inadequate Negative Control	3.1	81.2	15.7	100.0
One-Too-Many	2.5	82.1	15.4	100.0
Two-Plus-Too-Many	4.9	78.4	16.7	100.0
TOTAL	6.2	81.3	12.5	100.0
	HUSBAND'S REPLY			
	Wife	50/50	Husband	Total
Complete Negative Control	8.4	70.0	21.6	100.0
Adequate Negative Control	7.6	79.2	13.2	100.0
Number-Planned	5.9	77.6	16.6	100.1
Quasi-Planned	8.4	80.0	11.7	100.1
Inadequate Negative Control	11.5	77.7	10.7	99.9
One-Too-Many	11.8	77.5	10.7	100.0
Two-Plus-Too-Many	10.8	78.4	10.8	100.0
TOTAL	8.9	76.2	14.9	100.0

If your husband (wife) wanted another child very much but you did not, would you be willing to plan to have it?

Replies to both of these questions were made on a five point scale including the following possibilities: definitely no, probably no, doubtful, probably yes, definitely yes.

The wife's answers were compared to determine whether she considered herself or her husband more dominant in deciding whether they should have a child under the conditions of these questions. If the replies indicated that the wife felt she would be less willing than her husband to plan for a child wanted by the spouse, she was classified as considering herself dominant in making the decision. If the wife checked the same answer for both questions she was classified as considering that both she and her husband had equal influence. If the wife's replies indicated that she felt her husband would be less willing than she to plan for a child wanted by the spouse, she was classified as considering her husband dominant.

In a similar manner, the replies of the husband to these two questions were compared to obtain his judgment of the relative influence of his wife and himself in deciding about having a child. The distribution of these judgments of dominance in planning for children based on wives' and husbands' replies is given in Table 24.

It should be noted that this and related tables are limited to the couples exercising complete negative control of fertility. Since these were the couples that had exercised positive fertility

Table 24. Is wife or husband less willing to plan for a child desired by the spouse? Per cent distribution of couples with complete negative control of fertility according to wives' and husbands' replies.

		HUSBAND'S REPLY			
		Wife	50/50	Husband	Total
WIFE'S REPLY	Wife	12.9	8.4	4.7	26.0
	50/50	11.4	21.3	9.7	42.4
	Husband	5.5	18.4	7.7	31.6
	Total	29.8	48.1	22.1	100.0

control in the case of all pregnancies, the attitudes of such couples toward dominance in positive control are probably more realistic than those of couples having some or all of their pregnancies unplanned.

Following the method used in dealing with the question of responsibility for avoiding unwanted pregnancies, four groups of couples were identified according to combinations of the replies of wife and husband. These groups were:

1. Couples in which both wife and husband tended to consider themselves dominant in positive control, designated "self" in the table.
2. Couples in which wife and husband agreed that the wife was dominant or that the husband was dominant, designated "wife or husband."
3. Couples in which wife and husband agreed that neither was dominant, designated "50/50."
4. Couples in which both wife and husband tended to assign the responsibility to the spouse, designated "spouse."

The distribution of these combinations was tabulated for the three positive control categories and is shown in Table 25.

The proportion of couples in which both wife and husband rated themselves dominant in planning for children increased from 11.6 per cent among couples which failed to exercise positive control to 30.9 per cent among couples exercising adequate

Table 25. Is wife or husband less willing to plan for a child desired by the spouse? Per cent distribution of combined replies of wife and husband according to positive control of fertility.

FERTILITY CONTROL	BOTH WIFE AND HUSBAND REPLY				
	Self	Wife or Husband	50/50	Spouse	Total
<i>Positive Control:</i>					
Absent	11.6	19.8	19.0	49.6	100.0
Inadequate	25.6	19.2	23.8	31.4	100.0
Adequate	30.9	23.6	20.0	25.5	100.0
Total, Complete Negative Control	22.8	20.6	21.3	35.3	100.0

positive control. The proportion of couples in which wife and husband rated the spouse dominant showed a corresponding drop from 49.6 per cent in the group where positive control was absent to 25.5 per cent in the group with adequate positive control.

Separate distributions of the replies of wives and husbands are given for the positive control groups in Table 26. Both wives and husbands showed the same tendency to rate themselves more dominant and their spouses less so as success in positive control increased.

A second estimate of dominance in positive control of fertility was obtained from three questions dealing with the attitudes and plans of the couples at the time of the Study. Two of the questions, dealing with the attitudes of the couple toward having another child, were:

How much do you want another child sometime?

How much does your husband (wife) want another child sometime?

Answers to both of these were given in the following five categories: very much against it, rather objects, doesn't want but wouldn't object, rather wants, wants very much.

Another question, dealing with plans for a child, was:

Are you planning to have another child sometime?

Table 26. Is wife or husband less willing to plan for a child desired by the spouse? Per cent distribution of wives' and husbands' replies according to positive control of fertility.

FERTILITY CONTROL	WIFE'S REPLY				HUSBAND'S REPLY			
	Wife	50/50	Hus-band	Total	Wife	50/50	Hus-band	Total
<i>Positive Control:</i>								
Absent	19.8	37.2	43.0	100.0	34.7	50.4	14.9	100.0
Inadequate	25.0	47.7	27.3	100.0	28.5	45.9	25.6	100.0
Adequate	34.5	40.0	25.5	100.0	26.4	49.1	24.5	100.0
Total, Complete Negative Control	26.0	42.4	31.6	100.0	29.8	48.1	22.1	100.0

		HUSBAND'S REPLY			
		Wife	50/50	Husband	Total
WIFE'S REPLY	Wife	5.7	12.9	2.2	20.8
	50/50	16.4	26.6	8.2	51.2
	Husband	6.9	14.9	6.2	28.0
	Total	29.0	54.4	16.6	100.0

Table 27. Does plan for another child coincide more closely with desires of wife or husband? Per cent distribution of couples with complete negative control of fertility according to wives' and husbands' replies.

Replies to this question were given in five categories as follows: definitely yes, probably yes, doubtful, probably no, definitely no.

The replies of the wife to these three questions were compared to determine whether the reported desire of wife or husband fell closer to the plan for another child on the five point scale used. For example, if the wife stated that she rather wanted another child, that her husband was very much against it, and that they were probably not planning another child, the wife was classified as feeling that her husband's desires were dominant in their planning. (Table 27.)

Estimates of dominance in planning children were obtained in this manner from the replies of the wife and husband. As in the previous estimate of dominance in positive control the combinations of wives' and husbands' replies were tabulated for

Table 28. Does plan for another child coincide more closely with desires of wife or husband? Per cent distribution of combined replies of wife and husband according to positive control of fertility.

FERTILITY CONTROL	BOTH WIFE AND HUSBAND REPLY				
	Self	Wife or Husband	50/50	Spouse	Total
<i>Positive Control:</i>					
Absent	17.4	12.4	24.0	46.3	100.1
Inadequate	26.2	12.2	22.7	39.0	100.1
Adequate	25.5	10.9	35.5	28.2	100.1
Total, Complete Negative Control	23.3	11.9	26.6	38.2	100.0

FERTILITY CONTROL	WIFE'S REPLY				HUSBAND'S REPLY			
	Wife	50/50	Hus- band	Total	Wife	50/50	Hus- band	Total
<i>Positive Control:</i>								
Absent	19.0	48.8	32.2	100.0	33.9	55.4	10.7	100.0
Inadequate	25.0	44.2	30.8	100.0	30.2	51.2	18.6	100.0
Adequate	16.4	64.5	19.1	100.0	21.8	58.2	20.0	100.0
Total, Complete Negative Control	20.8	51.2	28.0	100.0	29.0	54.4	16.6	100.0

Table 29. Does plan for another child coincide more closely with desires of wife or husband? Per cent distribution of couples with complete negative control of fertility according to wives' and husbands' replies.

the three positive control groups. The results, as shown in Table 28, indicate the same tendency for success in positive control of fertility to be associated with the feeling on the part of both wife and husband that they themselves and not their mates are the dominant ones in deciding about having a child. The individual replies of wives and husbands, as shown in Table 29, showed the same type of relationship with positive control as the combined replies.

The final question dealing with the relative importance of wife and husband in deciding problems dealing with having a child was:

Among couples where the husband and wife do not agree about having another child which should usually make the final decision?

- certainly the wife
- probably the wife
- the one who wants it
- the one who doesn't want it
- probably the husband
- certainly the husband

In tabulating the results the two replies "the one who wants it" and "the one who doesn't want it" were combined in the group "wife or husband." The distribution of the replies of wives and husbands to this question is given in Table 30. It is

		HUSBAND'S REPLY					Total
		Cert. Wife	Prob. Wife	Wife or Husband	Prob. Husband	Cert. Husband	
WIFE'S REPLY	Cert. Wife	9.9	5.5	3.2	.7	0	19.3
	Prob. Wife	15.4	14.4	6.7	1.5	0	38.0
	Wife or Hus.	9.7	12.2	6.5	2.5	.2	31.1
	Prob. Hus.	2.0	2.2	2.5	1.5	1.0	9.2
	Cert. Hus.	2.0	0	0	.5	0	2.5
	Total	39.0	34.3	18.9	6.7	1.2	100.1

Table 30. Should wife or husband make the final decision about having another child? Per cent distribution of couples with complete negative control of fertility according to wives' and husbands' replies.

of interest to note that while in 45.2 per cent of the couples the wife and husband agreed that the wife either probably or certainly should make the final decision about having another child, only 3.0 per cent of the couples agreed that the husband should make the decision.

For the purpose of comparing the couples in different positive control groups, three types of combinations of wife's and husband's answers were used. If both gave the same reply, the couple was placed in a group labeled "same" in Table 31. The couples in this group fall on the diagonal running from the upper left to the lower right in Table 30. The cells above or to the right of this diagonal include couples in which the wife showed a greater tendency than the husband to assign the decision to the wife, and, similarly, the husband showed a greater tendency than the wife to assign the decision to the husband. Therefore, these couples were placed in a group labeled "self." Couples in cells below or to the left of the diagonal showed the opposite tendency and were placed in a group labeled "spouse."

It may be seen in Table 31 that the groups in which positive control was absent and inadequate did not differ greatly in the distribution of these combinations of replies of wife and husband. The adequate positive control group differed from the other two in containing a higher proportion of couples in which

FERTILITY CONTROL	WIFE AND HUSBAND REPLY			
	Self	Same	Spouse	Total
<i>Positive Control:</i>				
Absent	20.7	30.6	48.8	100.1
Inadequate	19.2	28.5	52.3	100.0
Adequate	25.5	40.0	34.5	100.0
Total, Complete Negative Control	21.3	32.3	46.5	100.1

Table 31. Should wife or husband make the final decision about having another child? Per cent distribution of combined replies of wife and husband according to positive control of fertility.

wife and husband gave the same reply, a higher proportion in which wife and husband tended to feel that they themselves should decide, and a lower proportion in which wife and husband tended to feel that the decision should be left up to the spouse.

The results obtained from all three of these indices of dominance in positive control of fertility indicate that success in positive control was associated with the tendency of both wife and husband to feel that they themselves were, or should be, chiefly responsible for deciding whether the couple should have a child. On the other hand, failure in positive control was associated with the tendency for both wife and husband to leave this decision to the spouse.

SUMMARY

Among the couples included in this analysis three broad relationships between marital adjustment and reproductive performance were found. Briefly stated, these were:

1. A decline in marital adjustment with increasing family size.
2. An increase in marital adjustment with increasing success in controlling fertility according to the desires of the couple.
3. An increase in success in controlling fertility with increasing willingness of both wife and husband to take responsibility for fertility control.

In interpreting these findings it is necessary to remember that the conclusions should certainly not be expected to hold

outside of a native white, Protestant, urban group such as the one studied. It is also important to remember that this analysis is based largely on attitudes of the wife and husband that may be expected to change with time. An attempt was made by age and duration of marriage restrictions to limit the study to couples with sufficient experience to have well-crystallized and realistic opinions on subjects such as the problems of family planning and marital happiness. A study of a young group looking forward to marriage and having a family or of an older group well past reproductive age might be expected to yield somewhat different results. Similarly, couples incapable of having children would probably exhibit attitudes differing somewhat from those of the relatively fecund couples included in the present sample.

From the point of view of population replacement, the inverse association between family size and marital adjustment is of particular interest. Although the relationship found was not large, the consistency of the three indices of adjustment and of the replies of wife and husband make it appear that the goal of raising a large family and the goal of having a happy marriage, while not incompatible, were not identical.

The finding of a positive association between success in marital adjustment and success in control of fertility throws some light on the lower adjustment of the couples with larger families, since the proportion of couples who failed to prevent unwanted pregnancies increases rapidly with increasing family size.

Thus, it appears that among these couples the major problem of family planning was the prevention of excess pregnancies and that success in solving this problem was associated with achieving a happy marriage.

However, among the couples that evidenced complete success in preventing unwanted pregnancies a second problem of fertility control arose. This was the problem of planning as many children as the couple wanted. Success in solving this also appeared associated with success in achieving a happy marriage.

Without more detailed study, probably involving observation of the course of marital adjustment and family planning throughout the married life of the couples, it is impossible to decide whether good marital adjustment contributed to the ability of the couple to plan and control their fertility, or success in controlling fertility increased their happiness and marital adjustment. It seems likely that both of these processes may take place and that the control of fertility according to the couple's desires and the development of good marital adjustment are mutually interdependent.

The findings that success in controlling fertility was associated with willingness of the wife and husband to accept responsibility for fertility control is similarly open to two interpretations. It is reasonable to believe that couples in which both wife and husband take an active interest in family planning are, because of that fact, more successful in obtaining the number of children they want than couples in which neither spouse feels responsible for family planning. However, it is possible that the statements of the couples concerning responsibility for family planning were colored to some extent by the success which had attended their attempts to control fertility. The wives and husbands may have been influenced in part by a willingness to accept responsibility for success more readily than responsibility for failure.

Although this discussion has been in terms of marital adjustment and fertility without reference to other variables, it is obvious that additional factors are present in the problem. High economic status, for example, has been shown in the past to be associated with low fertility. It is also associated to some extent with good marital adjustment and probably with success in controlling fertility. Thus, differences in economic status or some similar variable may account, in part, for the relationships found between marital adjustment, size of family, and fertility control. It is hoped that further analysis of the couples will throw some light on the influence of the economic and other factors.