

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING FERTILITY

XV. FERTILITY PLANNING AND FERTILITY RATES BY ADHERENCE TO TRADITIONS¹

RONALD FREEDMAN AND P. K. WHELPTON

THIS is a report on an investigation of the hypothesis: "The greater the adherence to traditions, the lower the proportion of families practicing contraception effectively and the larger the planned families." The common-sense basis for this hypothesis is that persons who adhere to traditional ideas in general will also adhere to traditional ideas about fertility planning and family size. Presumably, the traditional ideas about fertility are that family size should not be planned and that large families are desirable.²

A more fundamental approach to the hypothesis treats adherence to tradition as a negative index of rationalism. An increase in rational behavior frequently is suggested as an explanation for the increasing use of contraceptives and the decreasing size of family in modern times. The rational person is conceived to be one whose behavior is guided by a careful calculation of alternative courses of behavior rather than by unquestioning adherence to traditional ideas. Therefore, he will plan the size of his family, and the size of family planned will be small under modern conditions. These ideas have been developed more fully in previous papers in which religious participation and the tendency for general planning also have been considered as indices of rational behavior.³ In each case

¹ This is the fifteenth 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.

² However, an argument may be made that these particular ideas are not traditional, since there is evidence of a considerable, if crude, practice of family limitation throughout history. Cf.: Himes, Norman E.: *A MEDICAL HISTORY OF CONTRACEPTION*. Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1936.

³ Freedman, Ronald and Whelpton, P. K.: *Social and Psychological Factors* (Continued on page 62)

a slight relationship was found with the fertility variables, but much of the relationship was found to be subsumed under the relationship with socio-economic status.

The operational definition of traditional ideas poses a special problem. The concept utilized in this study is that such ideas are those which were the generally accepted social norms in the past but have been under challenge recently. This emphasizes the *content* of the idea. The group of social scientists who originally designed this study selected a group of statements as "traditional" in content. Essentially, the measure of traditionalism used here is the degree of agreement with these statements.

An alternative concept might emphasize the manner in which the belief is held rather than its content alone. It would involve not only the fact that the idea was generally accepted in the past but also that the persons now holding the belief accepted it on faith from the groups to which they belonged. It is based on the theory that traditional ideas have a non-rational character. This alternative concept of traditionalism will be further developed in a later discussion of the significance of the findings.

THE DATA

A summary description of the group covered by this study has been given in an earlier report of this series.⁴ The present report deals with the "inflated" sample of 1444 "relatively fecund" couples constructed from the 860 couples of this type that were interviewed.⁵ The four categories of fertility planning

Affecting Fertility, x. Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Religious Interest and Denomination. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July, 1950, xxviii, No. 3, pp. 294-343. (Reprint pp. 417-466), and xii. Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by General Planning. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, April, 1951, xxix, No. 2, pp. 218-243 (Reprint pp. 549-574).

⁴ See Kiser, Clyde V. and Whelpton, P. K.: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, ix. Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Socio-Economic Status. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, April, 1949, xxviii, No. 2, p. 192 (Reprint p. 363).

⁵ In applying chi-square tests of significance, the procedure followed has been to test each distribution on the assumption that the proportional entries in each cell are correct but that the numbers in each cell should be proportionately deflated to yield a total of 860 cases—the size of the sample actually interviewed. Since the in-

(Continued on page 63)

used in this study have also been described in previous articles of this series.⁶

The data relating specifically to adherence to traditional ideas may be divided into three types:

A. The attitudes of husbands and wives toward seven traditional ideas about children, the working mother, the relative status of husband and wife, and divorce.

B. The attitudes of husbands and wives toward five traditional ideas about "double-standards" of behavior for women and men. These attitudes partly define the respondent's conception of the proper status of women.

C. A rating by the interviewer of the extent to which the husband and wife hold traditional attitudes.

The wording of the questions referred to in A and B is given in Appendix 1. (The wording of the alternative answer-categories for these questions is given in the stubs of Tables 2 and 3.)

Summary Traditionalism Indices for the wife, the husband,

flation ratio was not the same for every part of the sample, an argument may be made for deflating the sample to 635 cases to correspond with the highest inflation ratio. This would permit a more rigorous significance test than has been used in this study.

⁶ In general, the detailed pregnancy and contraceptive histories, including data on outcome of pregnancies and attitudes toward each pregnancy, constitute the criteria for the classification by planning status. The categories used, in descending degree of success in planning family size, are described below.

Number and Spacing Planned. The 403 couples in this group exhibit the most complete planning of fertility in that they had no pregnancies that were not deliberately planned by stopping contraception in order to conceive. The group consists of two major subdivisions: (a) 121 couples practicing contraception regularly and continuously and having no pregnancy, and (b) 282 couples whose every pregnancy was deliberately planned by interrupting contraception in order to conceive.

Number Planned. This group of 205 couples consists mainly of those whose last pregnancy was deliberately planned by stopping contraception in order to conceive but who had one or more previous pregnancies under other circumstances. Because of this, the couples are regarded as having planned the number but not the spacing of their pregnancies.

For couples not classified as "number and spacing planned" or as "number planned" the attitudes of husband and wife to each pregnancy constituted the bases for classification.

Quasi-Planned. This group includes 454 couples who did not deliberately plan the last pregnancy in the manner described above but who either wanted the last pregnancy or wanted another pregnancy.

Excess Fertility. This group is composed of 382 couples classified as least successful in planning size of family because they neither wanted the last pregnancy nor another. Kiser, C. V. and Whelpton, P. K. *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11 (Reprint pp. 381-382).

and the couple were constructed by adding the codes for all of the individual items, with the exception of the interviewer's rating. Since the code for each of the twelve items may vary in value from 1 to 9, the Traditionalism Indices for husband and wife range theoretically from 12 to 108. The Traditionalism Index for the couple is simply the sum of the Indices for husband and wife, and therefore, could range from 24 to 216. The actual range of scores is 22 to 102 for wives, 16 to 98 for husbands, and 38 to 190 for couples. Although high or low scores indicate the relative presence or absence of traditional attitudes, the indices clearly do not constitute rational scales in any rigorous sense. They are used as rough indices of the overall position of the respondents with respect to a series of items believed to relate to traditionalism.

The relationship between the Traditionalism Indices for wife and husband (shown in Table 1) is marked but not so high as

Table 1. Relationship of the traditionalism index of the wife and the traditionalism index of the husband.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF WIFE	TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF HUSBAND				
	Total	Under 40	40-59	60-79	80 and Over
	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ^a BY TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF HUSBAND				
TOTAL	100	8.0	42.0	40.6	9.4
Under 40	100	21.6	39.2	33.8	5.4
40-59	100	13.2	44.4	35.4	7.1
60-79	100	5.2	42.2	42.8	9.9
80 and Over	100	3.8	38.3	44.8	13.0
	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ^a BY TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF WIFE				
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100
Under 40	5.1	13.8	4.8	4.3	2.9
40-59	28.4	46.6	30.0	24.7	21.3
60-79	48.4	31.0	48.7	51.0	50.7
80 and Over	18.1	8.6	16.5	20.0	25.0

^a Numerical bases for the percentages are contained in Appendix 2, Table 15.

to preclude an independent relationship of the two indices to fertility and fertility planning status.

According to the data in Table 1 the wives were somewhat more "traditional" than the husbands. Nine per cent of the husbands as compared with eighteen per cent of the wives are in the most "traditional" category. On the other hand, eight per cent of the husbands and five per cent of the wives are in the most "non-traditional" category. These differences are not exceptionally large in view of the nature of the indices. There is conflicting evidence in previous studies of the relationship between sex and conservatism or traditionalism in attitudes. The nature of sex-differences in traditionalism or conservatism varies with such factors as the time, the issue, and the social setting. However, most studies which establish a definite difference find women to be more conservative.⁷

As Appendix 3, Table 17 shows, on the basis of data for the wife, the Interviewer's Rating correlates rather closely to the Traditionalism Index. Since the rating was made at the close of the interview, it represents an informal summation of the impressions gained from many parts of the interview. This places the rating under suspicion of a "halo" effect, since it may be reflecting the interviewer's reaction to such variables as the socio-economic status of the respondent or the number of live births in his family. As indicated in Appendix 3, controlling for socio-economic status or number of live births, diminishes but does not eliminate the relationship between the Interviewer's Rating and the Traditionalism Index.

The Relationship Between Traditionalism and Fertility Planning. There is a small negative relationship between traditionalism, as measured in this study, and the planning of fertility. However, this relationship is statistically significant only for the traditionalism of wives. These summary statements are documented in detail in the following discussion.

⁷ Cf., Murphy, Gardner; Murphy, Lois B.; and Newcomb, Theodore M.: *EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*. New York: Harpers, 1938; Kerr, W. A.: Correlates of Politico-Economic Liberalism-Conservatism, *The Journal of Social Psychology*. Aug., 1944, 20, pp. 61-77.

Table 2. Percentage distribution¹ by fertility-planning status for couples with specified attitudes to traditional ideas.

ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL IDEAS ²	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5
<i>Should Boys be Given More Freedom Than Girls?</i>										
Definitely No	100	23.8	12.4	36.1	27.7	100	23.9	12.3	34.0	29.8
Probably No	100	28.0	13.5	33.5	25.1	100	36.8	14.9	26.9	21.4
Doubtful	100	35.7	15.2	23.8	25.3	100	28.2	19.7	31.7	20.4
Probably Yes	100	27.5	14.1	31.8	26.6	100	27.8	12.6	30.0	29.6
Definitely Yes	100	20.4	27.8	22.2	29.6	100	24.1	12.0	36.8	27.1
<i>Is "Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child" a Good Rule?</i>										
Definitely No	100	27.3	14.5	30.8	27.4	100	29.8	13.6	28.5	28.1
Probably No	100	26.8	11.5	32.7	29.0	100	28.4	15.2	28.4	28.0
Doubtful	100	39.2	15.4	21.2	24.2	100	21.6	13.9	37.1	27.4
Probably Yes	100	16.3	15.0	47.8	20.9	100	32.5	12.6	36.9	18.0
Definitely Yes	100	26.4	14.9	31.7	27.0	100	24.5	17.2	30.7	27.6
<i>Should Mothers Do Paid Work?</i>										
Strongly Approve	100	38.4	6.8	21.9	32.9	100	28.6	10.7	32.1	28.6
Rather Approve	100	32.8	11.8	29.2	26.2	100	27.4	14.2	34.7	23.7
Doubtful	100	29.1	9.9	32.5	28.6	100	36.2	17.8	30.9	15.1
Rather Disapprove	100	23.0	17.3	33.1	26.6	100	33.4	14.6	28.7	23.3
Strongly Disapprove	100	27.4	16.0	32.4	24.2	100	22.7	13.5	31.9	31.9
<i>Should Men Have the Main Say?</i>										
Definitely No	100	30.9	15.4	25.7	27.9	100	35.8	13.3	16.7	34.2
Probably No	100	28.8	10.3	26.9	34.0	100	31.4	14.0	28.9	25.6
Doubtful	100	29.0	13.2	31.5	26.2	100	26.2	16.6	29.8	27.4
Probably Yes	100	23.3	15.0	36.0	25.7	100	25.9	12.2	37.6	24.4
Definitely Yes	100	35.7	16.1	26.1	22.1	100	31.3	15.7	26.5	26.5
<i>Do Children Keep Mar- riage From Breaking Up?</i>										
Very Little	100	46.8	6.4	27.7	19.1	100	66.0	4.0	16.0	14.0
Little	100	38.7	19.4	19.4	22.6	100	42.1	26.3	5.3	26.3
Some	100	43.2	13.7	23.5	19.7	100	31.2	17.2	29.7	21.9
Much	100	33.7	10.0	34.5	21.0	100	32.2	8.6	34.3	24.9
Very Much	100	21.8	15.5	32.8	29.9	100	24.4	15.4	32.2	28.0

ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL IDEAS	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
	<i>How Easy Should Divorce Be for the Childless?</i>									
Very Easy	100	24.4	10.9	34.2	30.6	100	24.7	15.0	32.0	28.3
Fairly Easy	100	32.2	13.3	28.0	26.5	100	24.0	14.7	24.4	36.9
Not Too Easy or Hard	100	27.2	13.1	33.7	26.0	100	30.3	14.5	30.3	25.0
Fairly Hard	100	29.8	16.6	29.4	24.2	100	28.1	12.3	37.0	22.6
Very Hard	100	25.8	18.5	28.7	27.0	100	29.5	14.8	33.3	22.4
<i>Encouraged to Have Last Child by Traditional Belief?</i>										
Very Little	100	26.2	13.9	28.3	31.6	100	21.3	16.5	31.3	30.9
Little	100	25.9	10.6	37.0	26.5	100	22.2	16.0	41.7	20.1
Some	100	22.3	17.6	35.0	25.1	100	27.7	12.2	32.8	27.4
Much	100	27.1	14.6	29.9	28.5	100	19.6	13.0	42.4	25.0
Very Much	100	18.6	16.4	37.0	23.0	100	26.4	16.1	26.7	30.8
<i>Interviewer's Rating on Traditional Attitudes:</i>										
Radically Departs From Tradition	100	21.4	25.0	25.0	28.6	100	34.3	28.5	14.3	22.9
Traditional in Few Attitudes	100	37.0	10.2	29.9	22.8	100	44.7	8.5	26.1	20.7
Considers Tradition Accepts Most Traditions	100	33.4	15.4	28.6	22.6	100	25.8	16.4	32.9	24.9
Very Traditional	100	23.8	14.2	35.5	26.5	100	24.4	11.4	34.5	29.7
	100	17.3	10.9	23.6	48.2	100	19.4	14.9	23.9	41.8

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 13 for numerical distributions.

² See Appendix 1 for exact wording of questions.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 contain data on the relationship between specific traditionalism items on the one hand and the planning of fertility on the other hand. For each of the individual items in Tables 2 and 3, a minimum test of the hypothesis is whether the category indicating extreme traditionalism has a higher percentage of "effective planners"⁸ than the category indicating

⁸ The term "effective planners" is used in this, as in preceding studies of the series, to refer to couples whose planning status was either "number and spacing planned" or "number planned." Whenever the term "effective planners" is used it will refer to all the couples in the two groups considered together and not to the two groups separately.

extreme non-traditionalism. This test is met by 10 of 13 items for responses of wife and 9 of 13 items for responses of husbands. The test may be made somewhat more rigorous by requiring that the extreme traditionalist category should also have a higher percentage in the "excess fertility" group than the extreme non-traditionalist category. With this additional qualification only 7 out of 13 comparisons for responses of wives and 6 of 13 responses of husbands are consistent with the hypothesis. At this level the data as a whole do not support the hypothesis very strongly.

Table 3. Percentage distribution¹ by fertility-planning status for couples with specified attitudes to "double standard" of behavior.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS: IS IT WORSE FOR A WOMAN THAN A MAN TO:	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Numbr and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5
<i>Lie?</i>										
No Worse	100	29.6	15.0	29.3	26.2	100	28.7	14.8	30.9	25.6
Somewhat Worse	100	27.0	10.5	35.4	27.0	100	20.6	9.3	35.5	34.6
Much Worse	100	19.2	14.5	39.0	27.3	100	24.7	11.1	34.6	29.6
<i>Swear?</i>										
No Worse	100	32.4	15.1	28.7	23.8	100	27.8	13.3	32.3	26.6
Somewhat Worse	100	32.5	11.1	29.8	26.6	100	28.8	15.2	31.9	24.1
Much Worse	100	24.3	15.3	33.1	27.3	100	27.4	14.3	30.3	28.0
<i>Drink?</i>										
No Worse	100	31.5	16.7	31.1	20.7	100	29.6	13.5	31.3	25.6
Somewhat Worse	100	33.2	14.5	27.2	25.1	100	30.0	13.8	34.4	21.8
Much Worse	100	23.8	13.0	33.7	29.5	100	23.3	15.7	29.1	31.9
<i>Smoke on the Street?</i>										
No Worse	100	38.5	16.1	20.7	24.7	100	26.5	14.4	37.5	21.6
Somewhat Worse	100	27.3	14.0	34.4	24.4	100	26.7	15.2	28.0	30.1
Much Worse	100	26.2	13.9	32.4	27.4	100	29.2	13.6	30.3	26.9
<i>Carry on With Other Sex?</i>										
No Worse	100	29.2	17.5	29.4	23.8	100	29.4	14.5	31.9	24.2
Somewhat Worse	100	30.5	14.6	26.0	28.9	100	26.3	14.6	30.0	29.2
Much Worse	100	26.1	11.6	35.0	27.4	100	24.9	13.1	31.1	30.3

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 14 for numerical distributions.

The cluster of 5 items relating to wives' attitudes to "double-standards" of behavior is more consistent with the hypothesis. For each of these 5 items, based on responses of wives, the most traditional categories have both a lower percentage of "effective planners" and a higher percentage of "excess fertility" couples than the most non-traditional category. This is true for only 3 of 5 items for responses of husbands.

The statistical significance of the over-all relationship with fertility planning of each item in Tables 2 and 3 was tested by the computation of chi square values which are shown in Appendix 4. They are statistically significant at the five per cent level for only 4 of the 13 items for responses of wives and only

Table 4. Percentage distribution¹ by fertility-planning status for couples with specified traditionalism index for wife, husband, and couple.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5
<i>Index For Wife:</i>					
Under 40	100	52.7	8.1	21.6	17.6
40-49	100	34.0	15.0	31.3	19.7
50-59	100	30.0	13.3	31.2	25.5
60-69	100	22.0	14.9	28.6	34.6
70-79	100	29.5	13.8	30.1	26.7
80-89	100	22.9	16.4	38.3	22.4
90 and Over	100	15.0	15.0	46.7	23.3
<i>Index For Husband:</i>					
Under 40	100	37.9	12.1	23.3	26.7
40-49	100	33.1	9.6	36.2	21.1
50-59	100	24.2	20.0	26.5	29.3
60-69	100	25.2	14.7	35.1	24.9
70-79	100	25.7	12.2	34.8	27.3
80-89	100	25.8	13.4	25.8	35.0
90 and Over	100	41.0	7.7	30.8	20.5
<i>Index For Couple:</i>					
Under 80	100	65.8	12.2	9.8	12.2
80-99	100	32.9	14.4	30.5	22.2
100-119	100	29.9	11.8	30.5	27.8
120-139	100	24.0	16.5	32.2	27.3
140-159	100	24.4	13.7	34.7	27.3
160 and Over	100	28.1	11.2	32.6	11.2

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 15 for numerical distributions.

2 of the 13 items for responses of husbands. One of the significant relationships for both husbands and wives is the interviewer's rating and fertility planning.

The Traditionalism Index for the wife is significantly related to fertility planning, as is shown in Table 4, although most of the individual component items considered in isolation are not. The chi-square value for the relationship is statistically significant at the .02 level, but the relationship is not large, for the contingency coefficient is only .20.

The relationship between the Traditionalism Index for the

Table 5. Percentage distribution by fertility-planning status and births per 100 couples for couples with specified traditionalism indices for wife and husband.

TRADITIONALISM INDICES FOR WIFE AND HUSBAND	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi- Planned	Excess Fertility
	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ¹				
ALL COUPLES	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5
<i>Husband's Index: Under 60</i>					
<i>Wife's Index: Under 60</i>	100	38.8	13.5	27.4	20.3
60-79	100	23.3	15.4	28.1	33.2
80 and Over	100	24.5	18.2	38.2	19.1
<i>Husband's Index: 60 and Over</i>					
<i>Wife's Index: Under 60</i>	100	29.1	12.3	33.0	25.6
60-79	100	28.0	13.3	30.4	28.3
80 and Over	100	18.5	14.6	41.7	25.2
	BIRTHS PER 100 COUPLES ¹				
ALL COUPLES	203	106	228	199	296
<i>Husband's Index: Under 60</i>					
<i>Wife's Index: Under 60</i>	172	96	224	175	279
60-79	205	94	208	203	283
80 and Over	230	126	255	224	352
<i>Husband's Index: 60 and Over</i>					
<i>Wife's Index: Under 60</i>	184	102	200	187	265
60-79	217	117	247	212	308
80 and Over	228	136	250	197	337

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 16 for number of couples on which percentages and birth rates are based.

husband and fertility planning is not statistically significant at the .05 level. Inspection of the data in Table 4 indicates that this relationship is considerably less consistent for the husband than for the wife.⁹

Table 5 (top section) shows the relationship between fertility planning status and categories based on cross classification of the Traditionalism Indices for husband and wife. The category in which both the husband and wife are least traditional has the highest percentage of "effective planners." The category in which both husband and wife are most traditional has the lowest percentage of "effective planners." The variations among the intermediate categories are not completely regular. With traditionalism of husband held constant, there is still some consistent variation of fertility planning status with traditionalism of wife. Within each sub-group of the husband's Traditionalism Index, the percentage of "effective planners" is greater for couples where the wife has a Traditionalism Index under 60 than those for which the Index is 80 or more. Again the intermediate categories are not consistent.

Another type of evidence for the present hypothesis is the ratings by couples of the "reasons" most important for having their last child.¹⁰ The "most important" reason given by 123 wives and 124 husbands was the "traditional belief that married couples ought to have children." Couples for whom either spouse gave this response had a lower percentage of "effective planners" and a higher percentage with "excess fertility" than all the couples replying. In a sense, the question from which these data are derived may be interpreted as asking whether the respondent thinks the hypothesis is valid for him. It would be interesting to know what "the traditional belief" meant to these couples, and particularly interesting to know if this is an

⁹ A separate Women's Status Index for the husband and for the wife was prepared by adding the "double-standard" items listed in Table 3. Neither index was found to be significantly related to fertility planning status.

¹⁰ These data have been presented in detail in Freedman, R. and Whelpton, P. K.: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, X. Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Religious Interest and Denomination*. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July, 1950, xxviii, No. 3, p. 308 (Reprint p. 430).

answer given by couples who do not have an explicit rational "reason." The importance attached to traditional belief is correlated closely with the Traditionalism Index of which it constitutes one element. The relationship is shown in Appendix Table 20.

Table 6. Percentage distribution by fertility-planning status for couples with specified traditionalism index for wife and specified socio-economic status.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF WIVES, BY INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS ¹	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					
	Total		Number and Spacing	Number Planned	Quasi- Planned	Excess Fertility
	Num- ber	Per Cent				
ALL COUPLES	1,444	100	27.9	14.2	31.4	26.5
<i>Index of Socio-Economic Status:</i> 0-19						
Traditionalism Index:						
Under 60	98	100	61.2	11.2	23.5	4.1
60-69	58	100	37.9	19.0	31.0	12.1
70 and Over	68	100	39.7	16.2	20.6	23.5
<i>Index of Socio-Economic Status:</i> 20-29						
Traditionalism Index:						
Under 60	105	100	41.9	19.0	25.7	13.3
60-69	52	100	19.2	25.0	34.6	21.2
70 and Over	86	100	47.7	14.0	34.9	3.5
<i>Index of Socio-Economic Status:</i> 30-39						
Traditionalism Index:						
Under 60	116	100	22.4	10.3	44.8	22.4
60-69	71	100	25.4	14.1	31.0	29.6
70 and Over	136	100	27.9	14.7	36.0	21.3
<i>Index of Socio-Economic Status:</i> 40-49						
Traditionalism Index:						
Under 60	118	100	27.1	9.3	28.0	35.6
60-69	114	100	19.3	10.5	26.3	43.9
70 and Over	171	100	19.9	12.9	39.8	27.5
<i>Index of Socio-Economic Status:</i> 50 and Over						
Traditionalism Index:						
Under 60	47	100	12.8	19.1	19.1	48.9
60-69	55	100	9.1	10.9	21.8	58.2
70 and Over	149	100	12.1	16.8	32.9	38.2

¹ An index of 0-19 indicates high socio-economic status, and an index of 50 and over indicates low socio-economic status.

To a considerable extent the relationship between the Traditionalism Index of wives and fertility planning is a function of socio-economic status.¹¹ This may be seen in Table 6 which shows the relationship within each of five socio-economic status groups. In two of the socio-economic groups (20 to 29 and 30 to 39), the direction of the relationship is inconsistent with the hypothesis. In the other three groups, comparisons of the percentage of "effective planners" in extreme traditionalism categories are consistent with the hypothesis. However, the relationship is marked and statistically significant (at the 5 per cent level) only in the highest socio-economic group (0-19). Overall, the relationship is markedly affected by socio-economic status. With control of this variable there is a relationship consistent with the hypothesis in only three socio-economic groupings, and a relationship great enough to be statistically significant in only one.

The Relationship Between Traditionalism and Fertility. There is a small relationship between traditionalism and fertility according to the data of this study. This relationship is somewhat more marked for the traditionalism of wives than of husbands. These statements apply both to the sample as a whole and to those couples classified as "effective planners."

Tables 7 and 8 show fertility rates (number of live births per 100 couples) in relation to each of the individual traditionalism items. A minimum criterion of consistency with the hypothesis for any specific item is that the most traditional category should have a higher fertility rate than the least traditional. In the sample as a whole this criterion is met by 10 of 13 items for responses of wives and 7 of 13 items for responses of husbands. For all of these items the fertility rates are available also within planning status categories. The number of items for which the comparisons of fertility rates for extreme traditional-

¹¹ For the purpose of this analysis the Index of Socio-Economic Status developed by Kiser and Whelpton (see *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 216; Reprint: pp. 385, 387) was used. This index is a simple summation of the ratings of couples on a 8, 9, or 10 point code for each of eight items. A low score on the Index indicates high socio-economic status and vice-versa.

Table 7. Births per 100 couples¹ by fertility-planning status, by traditional attitudes of husbands and wives.

ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL IDEAS	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	203	106	228	199	296	203	106	228	199	296
<i>Should Boys be Given More Freedom Than Girls?</i>										
Definitely No and Probably No	205	112	230	201	286	207	108	227	196	315
Doubtful	193	98	244	212	279	192	104	216	206	271
Probably Yes and Definitely Yes	207	104	218	191	318	205	106	238	199	289
<i>Is "Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child" a Good Rule?</i>										
Definitely No and Probably No	206	109	228	200	296	209	107	224	209	306
Doubtful	189	90	249	210	291	197	73	222	201	277
Probably Yes and Definitely Yes	206	122	213	194	297	195	122	241	180	282
<i>Should Mothers Do Paid Work?</i>										
Strongly or Rather Approve	183	95	234	182	275	184	88	203	206	249
Doubtful	224	119	250	212	334	182	93	211	191	339
Strongly or Rather Disapprove	207	110	224	203	295	211	114	237	199	302
<i>Should Men Have the Main Say?</i>										
Definitely No and Probably No	203	123	229	304	217	214	85	230	218	354
Doubtful	245	94	202	274	195	194	101	226	198	258
Probably Yes and Definitely Yes	229	106	189	302	202	204	118	230	196	298
<i>Do Children Keep Marriage From Breaking Up?</i>										
Very Little and Little	132	41	a	a	a	117	29	a	a	a
Some	155	68	200	186	277	165	72	191	182	254
Much and Very Much	215	124	236	202	300	211	120	232	201	300
<i>How Easy Should Divorce Be for the Childless?</i>										
Very Easy or Fairly Easy	208	101	222	221	296	215	115	233	223	296
Not Too Easy or Hard	200	110	219	188	299	198	103	214	205	295
Fairly Hard or Very Hard	203	107	241	196	292	197	104	237	193	296
<i>Encouraged to Have Last Child by Traditional Belief?</i>										
Very Little and Little	207	128	216	192	287	205	134	215	198	262
Some	209	138	219	198	276	207	133	247	185	290
Much and Very Much	233	140	254	212	317	237	135	244	214	344
<i>Interviewer's Rating on Traditional Attitudes:</i>										
Non-traditional ²	167	113	205	153	241	165	102	223	180	242
Considers Tradition	182	95	223	192	269	200	105	215	197	293
Traditional ³	224	117	236	211	318	225	108	262	209	315

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 13 for number of couples on which rates are based.

² Rates not computed for base less than 20.

³ Interviewer's rating of "radically departs from tradition" or "traditional in few attitudes."

⁴ Interviewer's rating of "accepts most traditions" and "very traditional."

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS: IS IT WORSE FOR A WOMAN THAN A MAN TO:	ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	203	106	228	199	296	203	106	228	199	296
<i>Lie?</i>										
No Worse	197	106	229	191	289	200	105	224	200	293
Somewhat Worse	210	105	248	219	289	215	118	250	195	234
Much Worse	226	115	204	213	342	235	120	300	200	346
<i>Swear?</i>										
No Worse	193	92	228	201	300	205	97	231	198	313
Somewhat Worse	193	112	229	184	287	201	107	236	206	235
Much Worse	210	109	228	205	299	202	115	221	196	287
<i>Drink?</i>										
No Worse	189	90	239	185	305	195	95	228	185	305
Somewhat Worse	180	108	211	181	255	196	116	238	204	267
Much Worse	220	115	233	212	311	221	118	221	218	301
<i>Smoke on the Street?</i>										
No Worse	182	94	225	208	270	213	110	256	192	348
Somewhat Worse	200	114	216	190	308	205	121	207	198	236
Much Worse	207	107	233	202	297	197	98	227	205	281
<i>Carry on With Other Sex?</i>										
No Worse	193	111	229	186	276	201	101	228	203	304
Somewhat Worse	185	85	230	166	286	204	122	248	192	268
Much Worse	216	112	226	217	312	207	113	212	195	298

Table 8. Births per 100 couples¹ by fertility-planning status, by attitudes of husbands and wives to "double standards of behavior."

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 14 for number of couples on which rates are based.

ism categories are consistent with the hypothesis are shown below:

	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS			
	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi- Planned	Excess Fertility
Wives	11	5	8	10
Husbands	10	8	6	5

Thus, 34 of 52 comparisons are consistent for wives and 29 of 52 comparisons are consistent for husbands. In both cases, the comparisons are most consistent among the couples who plan family size completely. This is the group most specifically involved in the hypothesis which states that "the greater the adherence to tradition . . . the larger the planned families."

Table 9 shows the relationship between the Traditionalism Indices and fertility rates. There is a marked and consistent relationship between the Traditionalism Index of the wife and the fertility of the couple, which persists within each of the four planning status categories. The relationship is less consistent for the Traditionalism Index of the husband—especially in the "Excess Fertility" group. However, the relationship is marked for husbands, too, among the "Number and Spacing Planned" families for whom the hypothesis is most pertinent.

Table 9. Births per 100 couples¹ by fertility-planning status, by traditionalism index for wife, husband, and couple.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	203	106	228	199	296
<i>Index for Wife:</i>					
Under 40	155	74	a	a	a
40-59	181	105	209	180	267
60-79	211	107	227	208	295
80 and Over	229	131	252	208	342
<i>Index for Husband:</i>					
Under 40	167	59	a	155	329
40-59	201	109	229	203	282
60-79	207	109	232	201	297
80 and Over	224	137	a	200	319
<i>Index for Couple:</i>					
Under 80	149	85	a	a	a
80-119	189	99	217	188	283
120-159	212	110	232	207	297
160 and Over	224	144	a	193	332

¹ See Appendix 2, Table 15 for number of couples on whom rates are based.

a Rates not computed for base less than 20.

If only couples with children are considered, the relationships shown in Table 9 between fertility and traditionalism are diminished but in no case reversed in direction. This is evident from Table 10 which is comparable to Table 9, except that childless couples are omitted from the tabulations.

Table 5 (lower section) shows that the relationship between fertility and the Traditionalism Index of the wife persists even when there is some control over the Traditionalism Index of the husband. The reverse statement is less true, for the relationship between fertility rates and the husband's Traditionalism Index is not so consistent within categories based on the Traditionalism Index for wife. Again there is evidence that fertility is more significantly related to the traditionalism of the wife than to the traditionalism of the husband.

For the "effective planners" a check was made to determine whether the relationship between the Traditionalism Indices

Table 10. Births per 100 couples with children, by fertility-planning status, by traditionalism index for wife, husband, and couple.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	224	155	233	201	296
<i>Index for Wife:</i>					
Under 40	195	121	a	a	a
40-59	209	168	216	186	269
60-79	229	149	232	208	295
80 and Over	240	167	252	208	342
<i>Index for Husband:</i>					
Under 40	220	144	a	168	329
40-59	219	154	229	203	282
60-79	225	151	245	203	297
80 and Over	241	175	a	200	327
<i>Index for Couple:</i>					
Under 80	191	128	a	a	a
80-119	216	161	224	190	283
120-159	228	150	235	209	298
160 and Over	237	180	a	193	332

a Rates not computed for base less than 20.

and Fertility was a function of socio-economic status. This was done by classifying the "effectively-planned" families into 5 socio-economic groups and then computing fertility rates for traditionalist and non-traditionalist groups within each socio-economic status sub-group. The results are shown in Table 11. The "traditionalist" wives had a higher fertility rate than the non-traditionalist wives in each of the four socio-economic sub-groups for which the size of the sample made comparisons possible. The traditionalist husbands had a higher fertility rate than the non-traditionalist in the 4 highest socio-economic sub-groups. Thus, there is an indication that for planned families there is a small direct relationship between traditionalism and fertility which does not appear to be a function of socio-economic status.

Table 11. Births per 100 couples and number of "effective-planners," by traditionalism index, by index of socio-economic status.

INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	TRADITIONALISM INDEX					
	For Wife		For Husband		For Couple	
	Under 60	60 and Over	Under 60	60 and Over	Under 60	60 and Over
	(Low)	(High)	(Low)	(High)	(Low)	(High)
	BIRTHS PER 100 COUPLES					
TOTAL	130	158	141	155	131	159
0-19 (High)	158	175	154	184	149	188
20-29	108	145	114	144	105	147
30-39	113	140	124	140	120	138
40-49	116	143	130	139	114	144
50 and Over (Low)	a	211	225	184	200	204
	NUMBER OF COUPLES					
TOTAL	231	377	322	286	252	356
0-19 (High)	71	71	84	58	81	61
20-29	64	76	76	64	64	76
30-39	38	86	67	57	45	79
40-49	43	90	63	70	42	91
50 and Over (Low)	15	54	32	37	20	49

^a Rates not computed for base less than 20.

The data in Table 12 permit an examination of this relationship for couples with children (omitting childless couples). These data indicate that omitting childless couples greatly reduces the fertility differences between traditionalist and non-traditionalist couples. The relationship remains consistent with the hypothesis in the three highest socio-economic groups. However, the relationship is reversed in direction in the "40-49" socio-economic group (for wife, husband, or couple index). In the "50 and over" socio-economic status group, the comparison is possible only for the husband's Traditionalism Index. In this case the relationship is not consistent with the hypothesis. Thus, among couples with children there is evidence of a consistent relationship between traditionalism and fertility only in the three highest socio-economic groups.

Table 12. Births per 100 couples with children and number of "effective-planners" with children, by traditionalism index, by index of socio-economic status.

INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	TRADITIONALISM INDEX					
	For Wife		For Husband		For Couple	
	Under 60	60 and Over	Under 60	60 and Over	Under 60	60 and Over
	(Low)	(High)	(Low)	(High)	(Low)	(High)
	BIRTHS PER 100 COUPLES					
TOTAL	180	192	191	191	182	191
0-19 (High)	193	197	177	223	183	209
20-29	164	183	193	196	163	184
30-39	159	185	177	178	164	185
40-49	178	172	186	164	192	168
50 and Over (Low)	a	233	257	213	a	227
	NUMBER OF COUPLES					
TOTAL	166	312	237	232	181	297
0-19 (High)	58	63	73	48	66	55
20-29	42	60	45	47	41	61
30-39	27	65	47	45	33	59
40-49	28	75	44	59	25	78
50 and Over (Low)	11	49	23	32	16	44

* Rates not computed for base less than 20.

Further evidence of a relationship between traditionalism and fertility is derived from the data on "reasons for having last child." Couples in which either husband or wife gave as a reason "the traditional belief that couples ought to have children" had a considerably higher fertility rate than the sample as a whole. While the fertility rate for all couples is 216, it is 260 for the cases in which wives gave the "tradition reason" and 246 for the cases in which husbands gave this "reason."¹²

It appears significant also that the fertility rates for couples for which the "reasons" of either husband or wife was "unknown" are higher than those for the whole sample.¹³ One interpretation of these "unknown" cases is that they represent people who have not explicitly rationalized their reasons for having a child, who are actuated by non-rational factors which may be related to a traditionalist view of life.

We have found some direct relationship between traditionalism and fertility, especially when the Traditionalism Indices are used and the comparisons are restricted to the "effectively planned" families. However, the independent influence of traditionalism on fertility within planning status categories should not be exaggerated. Theoretically, it should be possible to find that traditionalists among the "Number and Spacing Planned" families have more children than non-traditionalist families in the less completely planned categories. This is not the case. There is not a single instance in which the highest fertility rate for "Number and Spacing Planned" families, irrespective of traditionalist category, is not lower than the fertility rate of any traditional category in every other planning category. This is true whether the individual items or the Traditionalism Indices are considered. Further, it remains true, with

¹² The fertility rates for couples giving various other "reasons" are shown in Freedman and Whelpton, *op. cit.*, Table 14. The rate for "all couples" is for 1354 couples who had a live birth, and all childless couples with wife pregnant at the time of interview or those indicating intention to have a child in the future. If childless couples are omitted from the computations, the comparisons between all couples and those giving the "tradition reason" are essentially the same.

¹³ The fertility rate is 236 for the cases with "unknown" responses for husband and 278 for cases with "unknown" responses for wives, as compared with 216 for all couples.

only a single exception, even if the fertility rates are computed with childless couples omitted.

A Suggestion for Further Study. While this study has found some tendency for a relationship between traditionalism and fertility patterns, the relationship found is neither large nor always consistent. It is possible that a greater or different relationship could be found, if a somewhat different conception of traditionalism were used. In effect, traditionalism has been operationally defined in this study as adherence to ideas regarded as morally right in the past. It may be argued that a significant aspect of traditional belief is that the individual accepts it largely on faith from the groups to which he belongs. This may be true for relatively "modern" ideas. For example, many parents now reject the notion that "spare the rod and spoil the child" is a good rule. However, in many cases such rejection is not necessarily on rational grounds but simply reflects the norms in social groups to which parents belong. On the other hand, some parents who accept this idea do so after some rational consideration of alternatives. All this is to suggest that, possibly, the primary significance of traditionalism in directing behavior should be sought in the manner in which the belief is obtained and held in relation to group membership, rather than in the content of the belief itself. Many of the parents classified as "non-traditional" in the present study may hold to their "modern" beliefs in an unreflective manner as if they were sacred dogmas.¹⁴ They would be classified as "traditional" on the basis suggested above. If this conception of traditionalism is explored in later studies, it will involve observation of small groups rather than of individuals as the significant sampling units.

SUMMARY

There is a small negative relationship between traditionalism,

¹⁴ One of the other hypotheses to be investigated in the present series is that "conformity to group patterns affects the proportion of couples practicing contraception effectively and the size of planned families." This will involve a study of extent of similarity of contraceptive practice and size of family of the individual and other members of the groups to which he belongs. However, the data will not permit similar comparisons on ideas and values held by members of the groups.

as defined and measured in this study, and the planning of fertility. The relationship is greater for traditionalism of wives than for husbands. It is less clearly indicated in responses to any one of the traditionalism questions than in the Traditionalism Index which represents a rough summation of the replies to all of the individual questions. This relationship is largely a function of socio-economic status.

There is a direct relationship between traditionalism and fertility. This relationship is most consistent for extreme categories of traditionalism. When responses to individual questions are considered, the relationship is consistent only for couples who plan both the number and spacing of children. Again, the relationship to fertility is most pronounced and consistent when the measure used is the Traditionalism Index for the wife.

The relationship between traditionalism and fertility is far overshadowed by the relationship between planning and fertility. Nevertheless, among couples classified as "effective planners," the relationship between fertility and traditionalism (as measured by the Traditionalism Index) tends to persist within socio-economic groupings. The relationship is not a function of socio-economic status or of fertility planning status alone.

While the data give some support to both parts of the hypothesis, the relationships found should not be exaggerated. Not all of the evidence is in the same direction. For most items the comparisons are consistent with the hypothesis for the extreme traditionalism categories but not for the intermediate categories. Further the consistent differences are not large. In the last analysis, planned families tend to be small even if they are very traditional.

APPENDIX 1.

The Questions on Traditionalism

The wording of the questions asked in the study relevant to traditionalism is given below. The questions are listed under the number of the table in which they are first related to fertility.

Table 2:

Do you believe boys should be given more freedom than girls?

Is "spare the rod and spoil the child" a good rule for bringing up children?

Do you approve of a married woman with children holding a paid job outside the home, if satisfactory arrangements can be made for the care of the children?

How much do you think having children helps to keep a marriage from breaking up?

Do you think men should have the main say about important matters?

If there are no children in a family how easy should it be to get a divorce?

How much were you encouraged to have your last (to want a) child by the traditional belief that married couples ought to have children?

Table 3:

Is it worse for a woman to do certain things than for a man. for instance:

Lie?

Swear?

Drink?

Smoke on the street?

Carry on with the other sex?

APPENDIX 2

Table 13. Number of couples, by fertility-planning status, by attitudes to traditional ideas.

ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL IDEAS	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	1,444	408	205	454	382	1,444	403	205	454	382
<i>Should Boys Have More Freedom Than Girls?</i>										
Definitely No	404	96	50	146	112	326	78	40	111	97
Probably No	275	77	37	92	69	201	74	30	54	43
Doubtful	269	96	41	64	68	284	80	56	90	58
Probably Yes	440	121	62	140	117	500	139	63	150	148
Definitely Yes	54	11	15	12	16	133	32	16	49	36
<i>Is "Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child" a Good Rule?</i>										
Definitely No	634	173	92	195	174	580	173	79	165	163
Probably No	269	72	31	88	78	236	67	36	67	66
Doubtful	240	94	37	51	58	259	56	36	96	71
Probably Yes	153	25	23	73	32	206	67	26	76	37
Definitely Yes	148	39	22	47	40	163	40	28	50	45
<i>Should Mothers Do Paid Work?</i>										
Strongly Approve	73	28	5	16	24	56	16	6	18	16
Rather Approve	305	100	36	89	80	190	52	27	66	45
Doubtful	203	59	20	66	58	152	55	27	47	23
Rather Disapprove	462	106	80	153	123	404	135	59	116	94
Strongly Disapprove	401	110	64	130	97	639	145	86	204	204
<i>Should Men Have the Main Say?</i>										
Definitely No	136	42	21	35	38	120	43	16	20	41
Probably No	156	45	16	42	53	121	38	17	35	31
Doubtful	400	116	53	126	105	446	117	74	133	122
Probably Yes	553	129	83	199	142	591	153	72	222	144
Definitely Yes	199	71	32	52	44	166	52	26	44	44
<i>Do Children Keep Marriage From Breaking Up?</i>										
Very Little	47	22	3	13	9	50	33	2	8	7
Little	31	12	6	6	7	19	8	5	1	5
Some	183	79	25	43	36	128	40	22	38	28
Much	267	90	29	92	56	233	75	20	80	58
Very Much	916	200	142	300	274	1,014	247	156	327	284
<i>How Easy Should Divorce be for the Childless?</i>										
Very Easy	193	47	21	66	59	247	61	37	79	70
Fairly Easy	211	68	28	59	56	217	52	32	53	30
Not Too Easy or Hard	573	156	75	193	149	476	144	69	144	119
Fairly Hard	289	86	48	85	70	292	82	36	108	66
Very Hard	178	46	33	51	48	210	62	31	70	47

ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL IDEAS	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
<i>Encouraged to Have Last Child by Traditional Belief?</i>										
Very Little	389	102	54	110	123	460	98	76	144	142
Little	189	49	20	70	50	144	32	23	60	29
Some	323	72	57	113	81	296	82	36	97	81
Much	144	39	21	43	41	184	36	24	78	46
Very Much	311	58	51	115	87	273	72	44	73	84
<i>Interviewer's Rating on Tra- ditional Attitudes:</i>										
Radically Departs From Tradition	28	6	7	7	8	35	12	10	5	8
Traditional in Few Attitudes	127	47	13	38	29	188	84	16	49	39
Considers Tradition	500	187	77	143	113	699	180	115	230	174
Accepts Most Traditions	676	161	96	240	179	447	109	51	154	133
Very Traditional	110	19	12	26	53	67	13	10	16	23

Table 14. Number of couples by fertility-planning status, by attitudes to "double standards" of behavior.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS: IS IT WORSE FOR A WOMAN THAN A MAN TO:	ATTITUDES OF WIFE FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS					ATTITUDES OF HUSBAND FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	1,444	403	205	454	382	1,444	403	205	454	382
<i>Lie?</i>										
No Worse	1,035	306	155	303	271	1,256	361	186	388	321
Somewhat Worse	237	64	25	84	64	107	22	10	38	37
Much Worse	172	33	25	67	47	81	20	9	28	24
<i>Swear?</i>										
No Worse	265	86	40	76	63	511	142	68	165	136
Somewhat Worse	369	120	41	110	98	389	112	59	124	94
Much Worse	810	197	124	268	221	544	149	78	165	152
<i>Drink?</i>										
No Worse	305	96	51	95	63	661	196	89	207	169
Somewhat Worse	386	128	56	105	97	363	109	50	125	79
Much Worse	753	179	98	254	222	420	98	66	122	134
<i>Smoke on the Street?</i>										
No Worse	174	67	28	36	43	347	92	50	130	75
Somewhat Worse	308	84	43	106	75	382	102	58	107	115
Much Worse	962	252	134	312	264	715	209	97	217	192
<i>Carry on With Other Sex?</i>										
No Worse	513	150	90	151	122	899	264	130	287	218
Somewhat Worse	246	75	36	64	71	240	63	35	72	70
Much Worse	683	178	79	239	187	305	76	40	95	94

Table 15. Number of couples by fertility-planning status, by traditionalism index for wife, husband, and couple.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	1,444	403	205	454	382
<i>Index for Wife:</i>					
Under 40	74	39	6	16	13
40-49	147	50	22	46	29
50-59	263	79	35	82	67
60-69	350	77	52	100	121
70-79	349	103	48	105	93
80-89	201	46	33	77	45
90 and Over	60	9	9	28	14
<i>Index for Husband:</i>					
Under 40	116	44	14	27	31
40-49	251	83	24	91	53
50-59	355	86	71	94	104
60-69	333	84	49	117	83
70-79	253	65	31	88	69
80-89	97	25	13	25	34
90 and Over	39	16	3	12	8
<i>Index for Couple:</i>					
Under 80	41	27	5	4	5
80-99	167	55	24	51	37
100-119	338	101	40	103	94
120-139	538	129	89	173	147
140-159	271	66	37	94	74
160 and Over	89	25	10	29	25

Table 16. Number of couples, by fertility-planning status by traditionalism indices for wife and husband.

TRADITIONALISM INDICES FOR WIFE AND HUSBAND	FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS				
	Total	Number and Spacing Planned	Number Planned	Quasi-Planned	Excess Fertility
ALL COUPLES	1,444	403	205	454	382
<i>Husband's Index: Under 60</i>					
Wife's Index: Under 60	281	109	38	77	57
60-79	331	77	51	93	110
80 and Over	110	27	20	42	21
<i>Husband's Index: 60-79</i>					
Wife's Index: Under 60	170	47	20	59	44
60-79	299	80	43	98	78
80 and Over	117	22	17	48	30
<i>Husband's Index: 80 and Above</i>					
Wife's Index: Under 60	33	12	5	8	8
60-79	69	23	6	14	26
80 and Over	34	6	5	15	8

APPENDIX 3.

Check on "Halo" Effect of Two Variables on Interviewer's Index

Given the size of the sample on which Table 17 is based, it is necessary to combine categories in order to study the relationship between the Interviewer's Rating and the Traditionalism Index with Socio-Economic Status or number of live births held constant. For this purpose the Interviewer's Ratings were combined into three categories and the Traditionalism Index into two. The relationship under study is shown below in Table 18 for the entire sample and separately for subcategories of socio-economic status and number of live births.

Holding constant number of live births does not greatly affect the relationship between the Interviewer's Rating and the Traditionalism Index, except among the cases with two live births. This exception is important, since this is the largest single live-birth category. However, even in this case the difference between extreme categories is in the indicated direction. Comparisons in the "4 or above" category are not possible, because there are too few non-traditional cases. However, in the other three live-birth categories, the relationship is as marked as for the sample as a whole. Chi-square tests indicate that the relationship is significant at the five per cent level for the following live-birth categories: "none," "one," "three." Chi-square is not significant for the "two" live-birth category. Chi-square was not computed for the "4 or more" category, since there were too few "non-traditional" cases. In three of the four categories where comparison is possible the category intermediate on the Interviewer's Rating is also intermediate in the percentage having a high Traditionalism Index.

The relationship is maintained at about the same level within socio-economic groups as in the live-birth categories. On the basis of chi-square the relationship is statistically significant at the five per cent level in three categories (0-19, 30-39, 40-49). It is not significant in one case (20-29). Chi-square was not computed for the "50 and over" category, because there were too few non-traditional cases. In each socio-economic status category the difference in percentage having a high Traditionalism Index is greater for those rated traditionalist by the Interviewer's Rating than for those rated non-traditionalist. Also, in three of the four categories, the intermediate tradi-

tionism group on the Interviewer's Rating was also intermediate in the percentage having a high Traditionalism Index.

While cross-classification by Socio-Economic status or number of live births reduces the relationship between the Interviewer's Rating and the Traditionalism Index in particular categories, the evidence on the whole supports the use of the Interviewer's Rating as an additional measure of traditionalism. The rating is apparently not merely a reflection of socio-economic status or the number of live births.

Table 17. Percentage distribution by traditionalism index of wife for couples with specified interviewer's rating of wife on traditionalism.

INTERVIEWER'S RATING OF WIFE ON TRADITIONALISM	TRADITIONALISM INDEX FOR WIFE				
	Total	Under 40	40-59	60-79	80 and Over
ALL COUPLES	100	5.1	28.4	48.4	18.1
Radically Departs From Tradition	100	35.7	28.6	35.7	—
Traditional in Few Attitudes	100	14.9	45.7	32.2	7.1
Considers Tradition	100	4.8	29.8	49.6	13.8
Accepts Most Traditions	100	2.8	25.0	50.9	21.3
Very Traditional	100	1.8	23.6	39.1	35.6

Table 18. The relationship of the interviewer's rating on traditionalism for the wife to the traditionalism index of the wife, by the index of socio-economic status, and by number of live births.

INTERVIEWER'S RATING ON TRADITIONALISM FOR WIFE	TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF WIFE		
	Total	Under 60	60 and Over
TOTAL:	100	38.5	66.5
Non-Traditional ¹	100	61.3	38.7
Considers Tradition	100	34.6	65.4
Traditional ²	100	27.5	72.5
<i>Socio-Economic Status: 0-19</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	52.4	47.6
Considers Tradition	100	53.1	46.9
Traditional	100	28.6	71.4
<i>Socio-Economic Status: 20-29</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	60.5	39.5
Considers Tradition	100	39.6	60.4
Traditional	100	39.4	60.6
<i>Socio-Economic Status: 30-39</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	82.1	17.9
Considers Tradition	100	31.1	68.9
Traditional	100	31.7	68.3
<i>Socio-Economic Status: 40-49</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	60.0	40.0
Considers Tradition	100	25.4	74.6
Traditional	100	26.9	73.1
<i>Socio-Economic Status: 50 and Over</i>			
Non-Traditional	a	a	a
Considers Tradition	100	24.3	75.7
Traditional	100	15.6	84.4
<i>0 Live Births:</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	77.3	22.7
Considers Tradition	100	60.6	39.4
Traditional	100	27.7	72.3
<i>1 Live Birth:</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	68.5	31.5
Considers Tradition	100	26.9	73.1
Traditional	100	26.0	74.0
<i>2 Live Births:</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	43.4	56.6
Considers Tradition	100	32.8	67.2
Traditional	100	33.6	66.4
<i>3 Live Births:</i>			
Non-Traditional	100	81.2	18.8
Considers Tradition	100	35.1	64.9
Traditional	100	26.9	73.1
<i>4 or More Live Births:</i>			
Non-Traditional	a	a	a
Considers Tradition	100	31.2	68.8
Traditional	100	20.5	79.4

¹ Interviewer's rating of "radically departs from tradition" or "traditional in few attitudes."

² Interviewer's rating of "accepts most traditions" and "very traditional."

a Percentages not computed for base less than 20.

APPENDIX 4

Table 19. Level of significance of chi square values for relationship between (1) traditionalism items, and (2) index of socio-economic status, and fertility-planning status.

TRADITIONALISM ITEMS	INDEX OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS		FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Should Boys Have More Freedom Than Girls?	c	b	c	c
Is "Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child" a Good Rule?	c	a	b	c
Should Mothers do Paid Work?	c	a	c	c
Should Men Have the Main Say?	a	c	c	c
Do Children Keep Marriage From Breaking Up?	b	c	a	a
How Easy Should Divorce be for the Childless?	a	a	c	c
Encouraged to Have Last Child by Traditional Belief?	a	a	c	c
Interviewer's Rating on Traditional Attitudes	a	c	a	a
<i>Is It Worse for a Woman Than a Man To:</i>				
Lie?	a	a	c	c
Swear?	b	c	c	c
Drink?	a	a	b	c
Smoke on the Street?	c	b	c	c
Carry on With Other Sex?	a	b	c	c
Traditionalism Index	a	a	b	c

a = Chi square significant at .01 level.
b = Chi square significant at .05 level.
c = Chi square not significant at .05 level.

APPENDIX 5

Table 20. Percentage distribution by extent traditional belief encouraged wife to have last child for couples¹ with specified traditionalism index of wife.

TRADITIONALISM INDEX OF WIFE	EXTENT ENCOURAGED TO HAVE LAST CHILD BY TRADITIONAL BELIEF						
	Total		Very Little	Little	Some	Much	Very Much
	Number	Percentage					
ALL COUPLES	1,356	100	28.7	13.9	23.8	10.6	22.9
Under 40	65	100	67.7	7.7	23.1	1.5	—
40-49	134	100	48.5	20.1	9.0	8.2	14.2
50-59	239	100	35.6	17.2	27.6	7.1	12.6
60-69	338	100	32.8	9.8	29.3	12.7	15.4
70-79	328	100	17.7	17.4	25.0	12.5	27.4
80-89	196	100	12.2	12.2	20.4	11.9	42.3
90 and Over	56	100	3.6	3.6	14.3	12.5	66.1

¹ Includes all couples who had a live birth and all childless couples with wife pregnant at time of interview, or respondent indicating intention to have a child in the future.