

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING FERTILITY

XXVII. ATTITUDES TOWARD RESTRICTION OF PERSONAL FREEDOM IN RELATION TO FERTILITY PLANNING AND FERTILITY¹

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THE small family pattern as it has developed in Western society has been intimately connected with individualism—a high valuation of the individual *per se* and the demand for conditions in which his potentialities may be most fully developed. Within those segments of society where this pattern has most fully developed, the practice of contraception is widespread, and fertility differentials may be expected to correlate with ability to support children at desired standards and with the relative importance of family building in the individual's scheme of values. Several of the hypotheses of the Indianapolis Study fit into this general theoretical framework. Among them is Hypothesis 7, with which this paper deals. It may be assumed that by reason of their value hierarchies some people feel the need for a kind or a degree of personal freedom with which child care interferes. According to this hypothesis, such people are motivated to practice contraception more effectively and to plan smaller families than people whose value systems make less demand for such personal freedom. A more precise statement is: "The stronger the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, the higher the proportion of couples practicing contraception effectively and the smaller the planned family."

To test this hypothesis concerning motivation for fertility control and small families by using the data of the Indianapolis Study, it is necessary to assume (1) that "the feeling that chil-

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dren interfere with personal freedom" is so stable and basic a psychological factor that it persists relatively unchanged throughout varying experiences, including those of parenthood itself, and (2) that such "feeling . . ." can, at least in some rough measure, be discovered and measured in responses to questions of the type used.

This paper reports very briefly the findings for the hypothesis that a "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" motivates fertility control and small families. At first glance the data appear to refute the hypothesis. However, both theoretical considerations and the findings of the analysis suggest that, rather than actually refuting the hypothesis, the data are not adequate to test it. An alternative hypothesis, that such "feeling . . ." is the result of experience with children, is then proposed and used as the frame for a more detailed examination of the data on couples with children. Finally the data on 135 childless couples are examined for their bearing on both hypotheses.

THE DATA

As in most other reports in this series, the data pertain to the inflated sample of 1,444 "relatively fecund" couples. All of them were native-white, Protestant, with at least eight years of schooling; they married for the first time in 1927-1929 and were living with the same spouse when interviewed; wives were under thirty, and husbands under forty years of age at marriage; and they had spent most of their married life in a large city.²

The usual categories for success in fertility planning³ are employed. Childless couples are treated separately because they were asked attitude questions which were phrased differ-

² See Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, C. 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*, October, 1945, xxiii, No. 4, pp. 49-93 (Reprint pp. 163-207)

³ See Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, C. 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 (Reprint pp. 209-257).

ently and had meanings which differed from those asked of couples with children. Number of living children, rather than number of live births, is used as the measure of family size because it is more appropriate for the alternative hypothesis to which most of this paper is directed.

Items designed to determine the "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" all come from the printed questionnaires which were filled out by wife and husband separately at the interviewer's second visit. A set of five questions deals with felt restriction of specific activities due to the presence of children. For couples with children, they refer to actual feeling of restriction:

Since your first child was born, how much more time would you have liked to have for:

- a. Going to movies?
- b. Taking trips to visit friends, relatives, and interesting places?
- c. Going to clubs, lodges, meetings, dances, parties, etc.?
- d. Entertaining friends?
- e. Reading, resting, radio-listening, etc.?

(Five possible replies to each: "very much more time," "much," "some," "little," and "very little.")

For childless couples these questions refer to anticipated feeling:

Everyone knows that people who have children are not as free to come and go as they were before the children were born.

If you had children and could not spend as much time on the following things, how much would you mind:

- a. Going to fewer movies?
- b. Taking fewer trips to visit friends, relatives and interesting places?
- c. Going less often to clubs, lodges, meetings, dances, parties, etc.?
- d. Having less time for entertaining friends?
- e. Having less time for reading, resting, radio-listening, etc.?

(Five possible replies to each: "mind very much," "much," "some," "little," and "very little.")

Two more general questions were asked:

How much has it bothered you to be tied down by your children?

(For childless couples: How much would it bother you to be tied down by children?)

(Five possible responses ranging from "very much" to "very little.")

and, as one of a series:

How much has . . . not wanting to be tied down more by children . . . discouraged you and your husband [wife] from having more children?

(For childless couples, omit "more.")

(Five possible responses ranging from "discouraged very much" to "very little or not at all.")

Two items in a series trying to measure the possible effectiveness of various measures to alleviate the problems of parents are relevant:

How much would you have been encouraged to have more children. . . .

(For childless couples, omit "more.")

- a. If there were visiting nurses from the schools who would help take care of your children when they were sick in bed?
- b. If there were nurseries organized by the schools where mothers could leave their children when they wanted to go out during the day?

(Five possible responses for each, ranging from "encouraged very much" to "very little.")

As the final step in the interviewing of each couple, the interviewer rated wife and husband on a number of characteristics, one of which was "feeling that children restrict freedom." The alternatives she could check were:

Loss of freedom, if felt, of no consequence.

Loss of freedom felt, rarely bothersome.

Frequently bothered by feeling tied down.

Considerable feeling of restriction, sometimes rebels.

Feels tied down and rebellious most of the time.

For childless couples the interviewer was instructed to use her judgment as to how the spouses would feel if they had children.

In addition to the items above referring directly or indirectly to the existence of "feeling . . .," various kinds of information have possible usefulness in accounting for the degree of "feeling . . ." or in "factoring out" of it the influence of certain differential experiences. Each spouse estimated the actual frequency of certain activities:

Since your first child was born, how often have you gone:
(For childless couples: During most of your married life how often have you gone:)

- a. To movies?
- b. On trips to visit friends, relatives, and interesting places?
- c. To clubs, lodges, meetings, dances, parties, etc.?

(For each, five possible replies ranging from "very seldom" to "very often.")

Wives reported the amount of paid domestic help after the birth of the first child or, if childless, after marriage. Information about the wife's employment before and after marriage, her age at marriage, the pattern of family growth, and the summary index of socio-economic status is also available.

Indices of Attitudes. Since the attitude items failed to yield a unidimensional attitude scale⁴, items were combined in the usual manner by adding the response codes to get summary indices. The items about possible encouragement of fertility by the availability of visiting nurses and school nurseries were omitted from the summary indices because the direction of relationships with other items was the inverse of that presupposed by the response coding, indicating that these items were not measuring what had been intended. Matrices of contingency coefficients (*see* Table 1) and latent structure analysis relating to the remaining eight items supported the view that the five "more time wanted" items were on a somewhat differ-

⁴ For an account of attempts to use the methods of Guttman scalogram and Lazarsfeld latent structure analysis, *see* Riemer, R.: *Social Mobility and Mobility Aspiration in Relation to Fertility Planning and Fertility* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1953), Appendix A.

ATTITUDE ITEM	COEFFICIENT OF CONTINGENCY (DEGREES OF FREEDOM) ²						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
WIVES							
1. Discouraged . . . Avoid Being Tied Down	.385(6)	.311(9)	.260(8)	.237(9)	.168(8)	.183(9)	.251(9)
2. Bothered by Be- ing Tied Down		.359(6)	.354(6)	.314(6)	.329(6)	.312(6)	.308(6)
3. Interviewer Rating			.235(8)	.191(9)	.279(8)	.185(9)	.269(9)
<i>Wanted More Time For:</i>							
4. Movies				.570(9)	.506(8)	.450(9)	.403(9)
5. Trips					.555(9)	.551(9)	.423(9)
6. Clubs . . . Parties, etc.						.514(9)	.358(9)
7. Entertaining							
8. Reading . . . , etc.							.152(9)*
HUSBANDS							
1. Discouraged . . . Avoid Being Tied Down	.342(6)	.333(8)	.218(6)	.233(9)	.226(6)	.179(8)	.215(9)
2. Bothered By Be- ing Tied Down		.376(6)	.380(4)	.372(6)	.340(4)	.344(6)	.357(6)
3. Interviewer Rating			.230(6)	.238(9)	.213(6)	—	.179(9)
<i>Wanted More Time For:</i>							
4. Movies				.548(6)	.470(4)	.431(6)	.365(6)
5. Trips					.547(6)	.595(9)	.518(9)
6. Clubs . . . Parties, etc.						.502(6)	.417(6)
7. Entertaining							.543(9)
8. Reading . . . , etc.							

Table 1. Interrelationships among attitude items for all couples with children.¹

* $.02 < P(X^2) < .05$. All other $P(X^2) < .01$; in most cases $P(X^2) < .001$.

¹ $N = 1,301 - 1,309$. A few wives and husbands failed to respond to some items.

² $C = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}}$. C not computed where $P(X^2) > .05$. All chi-squares were reduced proportionately to the inflation of the sample. (The N in the formula for C is also reduced.) Because chi-square is so reduced, P values are only approximate. Although C values are not strictly comparable unless based on the same number of degrees of freedom (which are given in parentheses), the relative magnitudes of the C values are little affected by the varying upper limit for C. Corrections for the varying upper limit require assumptions not justified with these data.

ent dimension than the two more general items and the interviewer rating.⁵ Accordingly, two summary indices were formed which are referred to throughout this report as the summary

⁵ The item "bothered by being tied down by your children" appears from Table 1 to fit equally well with either group. It was placed with the smaller group primarily because of its general reference, i.e., to limit the other group to "more time wanted" items.

SUMMARY INDEX ¹	INDEX OF "FEELING . . ."				INDEX OF "MORE TIME WANTED"			
	Wives		Husbands		Wives		Husbands	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0-3 (Most)	26	2.0	27	2.1	76	5.8	20	1.5
4	83	6.3	59	4.5	98	7.5	49	3.7
5	110	8.4	81	6.2	287	21.9	188	14.4
→ 6	281	21.5	262	20.0	234	17.9	183	14.0
7	527	40.3	623	47.6	301	23.0	315	24.1
8	282	21.5	257	19.6	141	10.8	208	15.9
9 (Least)					172	13.1	346	26.4
Total	1,309	100.0	1,309	100.0	1,309	100.0	1,309	100.0
Total With Strong "Feeling . . ." or Wanting "Much More Time" (Codes 0-6)	500	38.2	429	32.8	695	53.1	440	33.6
	Couples				Couples			
	Number		Per Cent		Number		Per Cent	
Have Strong "Feeling . . ." or Want "Much More Time" (Both Wife's and Husband's Codes 0-6)	241		18.4		280		21.4	
→ Lack Strong "Feeling . . ." or Want "Little More Time" (Both Wife's and Husband's Codes 7-9)	621		47.4		454		34.7	
Mixed								
Wife 0-6, Husband 7-9	259		19.8		415		31.7	
Wife 7-9, Husband 0-6	188		14.4		160		12.2	
Total	1,309		100.0		1,309		100.0	

→ indicates dichotomy points.
¹ Maximum range for index of "feeling . . ." 0-8; for index of "more time wanted," 1-9.

Table 2. Distributions of couples with children on summary indices of "feeling . . ." and "more time wanted."

index of "feeling . . .," derived from three items, and the summary index of "more time wanted," derived from five items.⁶

⁶ For the index of "feeling . . ." for each spouse the sum of item scores could range from 3 to 27. This sum was multiplied by three and the first digit of the product taken as the index, giving the latter a possible range of 0 to 8. For the index of "more time wanted" for each spouse the sum of item scores could range from 5 to 45. This sum was multiplied by two and the first digit of the product taken as the index, giving the latter a possible range of 1 to 9. Indices for couples, used only in Tables 15 and 16 in the Appendix of this report, were obtained by summing the indices for wife and husband.

The two summary indices are moderately closely related to one another.⁷

In most of the analysis reported here, the exact index values were not used. Instead, the sample was dichotomized by classifying wives, husbands, and couples as having or not having strong "feeling . . ." and as wanting or not wanting much "more time." The distributions of wives, husbands, and couples on each index and the dichotomy point for each distribution are shown in Table 2.⁸

THE FEELING THAT CHILDREN INTERFERE WITH PERSONAL FREEDOM AS MOTIVATION FOR FERTILITY CONTROL AND SMALL FAMILIES AMONG COUPLES WITH CHILDREN

The first part of the hypothesis is: "The stronger the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, the higher the proportion of couples practicing contraception effectively." For couples with children summary indices of "feeling . . ." and of "more time wanted" are clearly related to degree of success in fertility planning,⁹ but the direction of the relationship is the reverse of that hypothesized. In general the proportion of couples who planned both number and spacing of their children decreases, and the proportion of couples with excess fertility increases, with greater strength of "feeling . . ." and with greater desire for "more time" for various activities.¹⁰ The pattern is clearer if the "number and spacing" and "number planned"

⁷ For all wives with children, the coefficient of contingency is .379, for husbands .393, with 16 degrees of freedom each, and for couples .489, based on 9 degrees of freedom.

⁸ The skewness of the item distributions (*see* Figures 1 and 2) forces a somewhat extreme dichotomous classification, especially for the index of "feeling . . ." E.g., two item scores of 7 (the next to least feeling of restriction) with the other score 9 (least feeling of restriction) yields an index of 6 [first digit of "69" from $3(7+7+9) = 69$] on the summary index of "feeling . . ." and a wife or a husband with this response pattern is thus classified as showing strong "feeling . . ." If both husband and wife show such minor evidence of feeling restricted, the couple is classified as having strong "feeling . . ." The categories are labelled 'having strong feeling . . . ' and "lacking strong 'feeling . . . ' only to have simple labels for contiguous segments of a continuum.

⁹ $P(X^2) < .001$ for wives, for husbands, and for couples for both indices. *C* varies from .218 to .254, based on 12 degrees of freedom, for spouses separately; *C* is .287, based on 21 and 30 degrees of freedom for the two indices, for couples. When the variables are dichotomized so that *d.f.* = 1, $P(X^2) < .02$ for all groups.

¹⁰ The detailed tables are given for reference in the Appendix, Tables 15 and 16.

DEGREE OF ATTITUDE	INDEX OF "FEELING . . . "			INDEX OF "MORE TIME WANTED"		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples	Wives	Husbands	Couples
PER CENT OF FAMILIES SUCCESSFULLY PLANNED ²						
Have Strong "Feeling . . . " or Want Much "More Time"	31.2	30.1	27.8	32.7	29.3	28.2
Lack Strong "Feeling . . . " or Want Little "More Time"	39.8	39.7	41.9	40.9	40.2	44.3
Mixed			33.8			34.4
AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN IN SUCCESSFULLY PLANNED ² FAMILIES						
Have Strong "Feeling . . . " or Want Much "More Time"	1.84	1.91	1.85	1.85	2.05	2.09
Lack Strong "Feeling . . . " or Want Little "More Time"	1.78	1.75	1.73	1.75	1.70	1.69
Mixed			1.89			1.80

Table 3. Success in fertility planning among families with children, and average number of living children in successfully planned families with children, by indices of "feeling . . . " and "more time wanted."¹

¹ For classification of indices, see Table 2. For numbers of cases, see Tables 2, 17, and 18.
² Successfully planned families are number and spacing planned and number planned, excluding childless couples.

groups are combined. There are a good many irregularities, but this general pattern holds for wives, for husbands, and for couples.¹¹ When summarized with the variables dichotomized, as in the upper part of Table 3, the relationship is without exception the reverse of that hypothesized.

The second part of the hypothesis is: "The stronger the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, . . . the smaller the planned family." For successfully planned families with children, chi-square tests show a significant association between number of living children and attitude only for husbands on the "more time wanted" index. But since this lack of statistical significance might be due in part to the small number of cases¹² and in part to the necessity of combining in one category all families with three or more children, rather than to the absence of association between attitude and planned family size, the data were examined further. Differences in family size by

¹¹ One irregularity tends to support the hypothesis—a tendency for the proportion of successful planners to be higher among wives, husbands, and couples with the strongest "feeling . . ." than among those in the next category.

¹² There are 478 successful planners with children in the inflated sample, of whom 251 are independent cases.

summary index values are small, but quite consistently contradict the hypothesis. The average number of living children among successful planners clearly tends to be larger among wives and husbands expressing strong "feeling . . ." or a desire for much "more time" than among those not expressing such attitudes. The relationship may be examined in detail in the Appendix (Tables 17 and 18). It is summarized with the variables dichotomized in the lower part of Table 3.

It is evident that the above data offer no support for the hypothesis that a feeling that children restrict personal freedom motivates couples to control fertility and plan small families. Consistent inversion of the expected relationships calls for explanation, however.

No one would seriously argue that people who feel strongly that children interfere with their personal freedom tend to be more careless in their use of contraception or would plan larger families than people not having such an attitude. Attention to the wording of the questions on which the attitude indices are based suggests that for couples with children these questions have little relevance to the motivation for fertility control. They refer rather to the experiences encountered in caring for children.¹³ For the deliberately childless couples, the questions asked are directly relevant and supply some evidence in support of the hypothesis. But the number of childless couples in the study is small, the time reference of their responses is indefinite, and their response frequencies cannot be compared directly with those of any other group. Accordingly, their usefulness for this purpose is severely limited.¹⁴

We conclude, therefore, that the data are inadequate to test the hypothesis originally formulated. The reasons may be summarized briefly. First, in the design of the Study it was assumed that the psychological factors which motivate fertility control

¹³ The item "How much has . . . not wanting to be tied down more by children . . . discouraged you and your husband [wife] from having more children?" is worded like a motivation question, but seems to have tapped the same experience dimension as the other items. *See* the item analysis in the next section.

¹⁴ Data on childless couples are analyzed in a separate section later in this report.

and small families are sufficiently basic and stable aspects of personality to be discoverable after a variety of experiences throughout twelve to fourteen years of married life. Formulated as a distinct and separate psychological factor, a "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" is neither sufficiently basic nor stable to meet this requirement. Such "feeling . . ." makes sense as a common but variable expression of a value hierarchy in which family building has low rank. Such a conception, however, would have called for a different series of questions. Second, the questions were so phrased that, whatever were the attitudes which conditioned fertility behavior in the twelve to fourteen preceding years, responses of couples with children tended to be made primarily in terms of their actual experience with child care.

THE FEELING THAT CHILDREN INTERFERE WITH PERSONAL FREEDOM AS THE PRODUCT OF EXPERIENCE IN FAMILY BUILDING AMONG COUPLES WITH CHILDREN

If the data are inadequate to test a hypothesis about motivation, they can be explored usefully in terms of variations in feelings of restriction among people whose experiences in family building have differed. Three main variables are used as indices of experiences in family building:

1. Success in fertility planning is taken as a specific kind of control over life conditions; lack of success in fertility planning is taken to indicate some degree of defeat and disappointment.¹⁵

2. Number of living children is taken as a rough measure of the burdens of child care, including the actual restriction of personal freedom.

3. The summary index of socio-economic status is used as a refinement for both of the above variables: it serves as a general index of control over life conditions, both past and present, and therefore reflects general conditions for modifying the burdens of child care. In addition, its strong relationship to fertility

¹⁵ This classification is not completely satisfactory since some "quasi-planned" families were quite successful in fertility control once they began to practice contraception, and in some of the "excess fertility" families only one spouse thought there were too many children.

planning and number of children and to factors hypothesized as affecting them¹⁶ makes its control desirable.

In order to have large enough numbers of cases to examine the effect of each factor while holding the other two constant, almost the entire analysis is presented with dichotomized¹⁷ or in the case of family size, trichotomized (1, 2, and 3 or more children) variables.¹⁸ The specific hypotheses proposed are:

A. The proportions of wives, husbands, and couples expressing a strong feeling that children interfere with personal freedom are higher; and

B. The proportions of wives, husbands, and couples expressing a desire for much more time for various activities are higher:

1. among those unsuccessful than among those successful in fertility planning;
2. among those with larger than among those with smaller families;
3. among those in the lower socio-economic group than among those in the higher group.

¹⁶ See Westoff, C. F., and Kiser, C. V.: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. xxi. An Empirical Re-Examination and Intercorrelation of Selected Hypothesis Factors. *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, October, 1953, xxxi, No. 4, pp. 421-435 (Reprint pp. 953-967). See also Borgatta, Edgar F., and Westoff, Charles F.: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. xxv. The Prediction of Total Fertility. *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, October, 1954, xxxii, No. 4, pp. 383-419 (Reprint pp. 1087-1123); xxvi. The Prediction of Planned Fertility. *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1955, xxxiii, No. 1, pp. 50-62. (Reprint pp. 1125-1137).

¹⁷ For dichotomy points for attitude indices, see Table 2. "Number and spacing planned" and "number planned" families are classed as successful in fertility planning, "quasi-planned" and "excess fertility" as unsuccessful. (Some of these "unsuccessful planners" did not practice contraception until after they had the number of children they desired, and were then successful in preventing further pregnancies.) High SES corresponds to 0-3, low SES to 4-6 on the summary index of socio-economic status. Note that "high" and "low" are only relative; the range of socio-economic status is severely restricted in this sample. For details of the construction of the SES index, see Kiser, C. V., and Whelpton, P. K.: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. ix. Fertility Planning and Fertility by Socio-Economic Status. *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, April, 1949, xxvii, No. 2.

¹⁸ Analysis with dichotomized variables is appropriate only if the underlying relationships are assumed to be rectilinear. Curvilinear relationships may escape detection entirely or be very attenuated. With only rough indices for success in fertility planning and for attitudes, an absolutely restricted range of socio-economic status, too few cases in part of the ranges for attitudes and number of children, and a relatively small sample, the assumption of rectilinear relationships is not a very serious additional handicap.

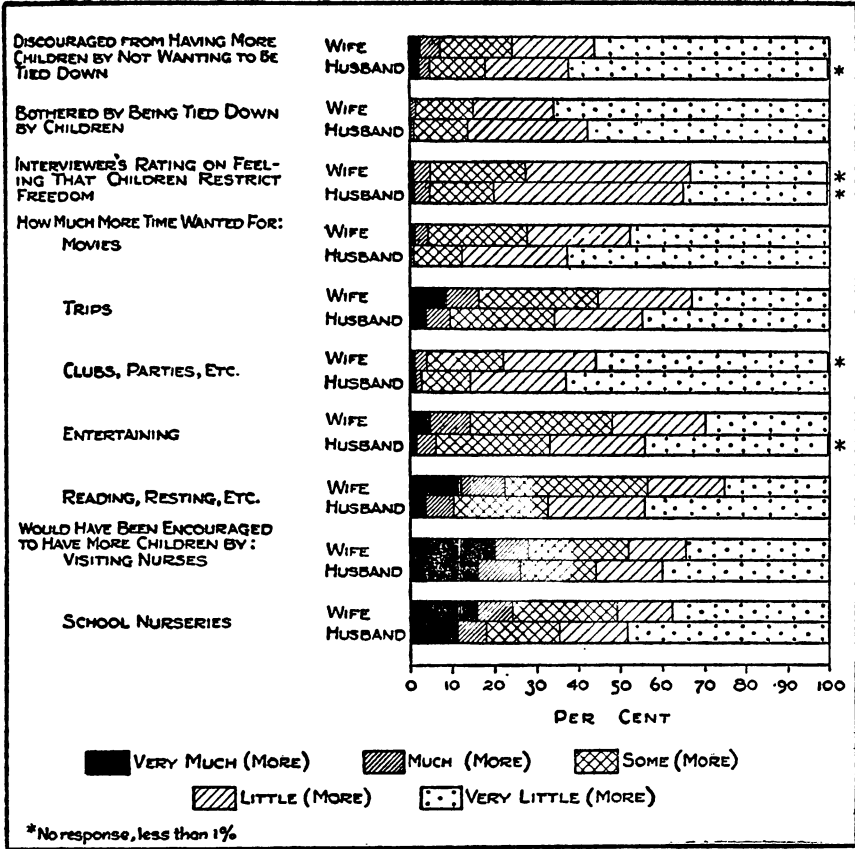


Fig. 1. Percentage distributions of responses of 1,309 wives and husbands with children to questions relating to "the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom."

In this section data on couples with children are considered. First, the total distributions of item responses are examined. Then success in planning fertility, number of children, and socio-economic status are successively examined for their effects on responses to particular items and on the summary indices of attitudes. Finally, additional factors which might have influenced the attitudes of wives are examined.

Total Distributions of Responses to Attitude Items. Figure 1 shows the percentage distributions of responses by wives and husbands with children to the ten questions relating to the "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom." The

three component items of the summary index of "feeling . . ." are given first, followed by the five component items of the summary index of "more time wanted," and finally the two items not used in the summary indices.

Figure 1 shows the highly skewed nature of all the distributions; relatively few persons gave responses indicating a high degree of feeling of restriction. This is especially true for the items about how much parents have actually been bothered by being tied down and how much time they would have liked for clubs, parties, etc. The greatest dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the restriction of the time available for reading and resting, and somewhat less for taking trips and entertaining friends. Figure 1 also shows that wives indicated more feeling of restriction than husbands on every item, and that the differences were greater on the same "more time" items which drew the more frequent responses of dissatisfaction from both spouses.

The last two items, concerning the extent to which parents would have been encouraged to have more children if visiting nurses and school nurseries had been available, are somewhat ambiguous. Comparatively large proportions said they would have been encouraged "much" and "very much," but the proportions responding in the middle categories "some" or "little" are comparatively small. *A priori* it is not clear whether the response which manifests a feeling of restriction by children ought to be "encouraged very much" (since the burden would be lightened by such facilities) or "very little" (since the day-to-day burden of child care would not be lightened very greatly by these facilities alone). The former was chosen because the relationship to success in fertility planning and size of family is then in the same direction as that of the other items, though not so strong.

Turning to the experience variables, Table 4 shows the degree of association between the attitude items and success in planning fertility, number of living children, and socio-economic status among all couples with children. None of the re-

relationships is very close. The desire for more time for clubs, parties, etc. is not related significantly to any of the experience variables, and encouragement by the availability of visiting nurses and of school nurseries is scarcely related to the fertility variables. Of the items composing the summary index of "feeling . . .," the only one significantly related to family size is the one about being bothered by being tied down, but all are related to socio-economic status. From the direction of the relationship (*see* Table 20 in the Appendix), it appears that "feeling . . ." in this general sense is associated with high status and unsuccessful planning rather than with the actual work of child care. On the other hand, all except one of the activities for which more time was desired are related to number of live births, and only one is significantly related to socio-economic status.

The Effect of Success in Fertility Planning on Attitudes.

Table 4. Degree of association between attitude items and success in fertility planning, number of live births, and socio-economic status, for all couples with children.¹

ATTITUDE ITEM	COEFFICIENT OF CONTINGENCY (DEGREES OF FREEDOM) ²					
	Success in Planning Fertility		Number of Live Births ³		Socio-Economic Status	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Discouraged . . . Avoid Being Tied Down	.150(9)	.168(9)	—	—	.165(12)	.183(12)
Bothered By Being Tied Down	.161(6)	.197(6)	.174(6)	.221(6)	.156(8)	—
Interviewer Rating	.177(9)	.181(9)	—	—	.169(12)	.165(12)
<i>Would Have Liked More Time For:</i>						
Movies	.190(9)	.148(6)	.218(9)	.206(6)	—	—
Trips	.217(12)	.182(12)	.201(12)	.179(12)	.212(16)	—
Clubs . . . Parties, etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Entertaining	.198(12)	.162(9)	.186(12)	.148(9)	—	—
Reading . . . etc.	.194(12)	.179(12)	.214(12)	.184(12)	—	—
<i>Would Have Been Encouraged By:</i>						
Visiting Nurses	—	—	.187(12)	—	.268(16)	.275(16)
School Nurseries	—	.178(12)	—	—	.212(16)	.250(16)

¹ N = 1,301-1,309. Some persons failed to respond to some items.

² See Table 1, footnote 2.

³ These coefficients were computed prior to the decision to use number of living children as the measure of family size. Since there were few post-natal deaths, there seems to be no reason to believe that the coefficients would be appreciably different if number of living children had been used.

Table 5. Effect of success in fertility planning on responses by wives and husbands with children, number of living children and socio-economic status held constant. Incidence of responses showing feeling of restriction expressed as index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	SOME, MUCH, OR VERY MUCH MORE TIME WANTED FOR:															
	DISCOURAGED . . . AVOID BEING TIED DOWN		BOTHERED BY BEING TIED DOWN		INTERVIEWER RATING		Movies		Trips		Clubs, Etc.		Entertaining		Reading, Etc.	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Proportion of All Wives or Husbands Giving Responses Showing Feeling of Restriction	.242	.179	.144	.138	.275	.198	.278	.125	.446	.342	.142	.222	.479	.330	.564	.326
Index Number For All Wives and Husbands	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1 Child—High SES	75	83	115	48	84	99	71	40	76	53	23*	67	72	60	69	71
Successful Planners	95	96	85	89	89	82	55	92	71	85	130	73	77	86	79	99
1 Child—Low SES	58	39	61	25	70	80	95	0*	106	46†	87	71	103†	75	87	48
Successful Planners	42	64	24	49	62	104	49	109	79	103	80	31	55	107	71	94
2 Children—High SES	134	80	131	47	104	92	86	62	90	95	119	145	105	98	112	78
Successful Planners	160	108	67	70	150	114	120	78	105	113	59	137	108	95	101	89
2 Children—Low SES	41*	55	34	62	47*	52	67†	39	75†	87	52	83	75	67	94	64*
Successful Planners	104	103	106	115	113	104	129	85	114	95	103	99	105	104	95	136
3 or More Children—High SES	124	126	191	181	55†	63†	90*	200	95†	154	123	90	120	129	111	100
Successful Planners	105	141	212	221	113	136	163	169	134	135	141	137	134	140	124	129
3 or More Children—Low SES	66	112	83	116	102	81	101	160	152	129	254*	54	92	133	121	160
Successful Planners	101	142	101	171	113	119	127	185	123	123	130	110	127	122	114	126

* $P(X^2) < .05$, i.e. difference significant at five per cent level.
† $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$, i.e. difference approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.
* Responses taken as showing a feeling of restriction were "some," "much," and "very much . . . bothered," "more time," etc. The proportions of all wives with children or of all husbands with children who gave such responses is taken as the base (i.e. as equal to 100) for each column. The proportion who responded similarly in each sub-group is shown as a percentage of this base proportion. The numbers of cases in each sub-group and the proportion who gave responses showing a feeling of restriction are given in the Appendix, Table 20.

Table 4 shows that success in fertility planning is significantly associated with all except one of the items composing the summary indices. Table 5 shows the effect of fertility planning success on the incidence of item responses which indicate a feeling of restriction, when both number of children and socio-economic status are held constant.¹⁹

A quick survey of Table 5 shows that few differences are significant, but in sixty-nine cases, or almost three-fourths of the ninety-six comparisons, responses showing a feeling of restriction occurred less frequently among successful fertility planners than among unsuccessful planners. Husbands seem slightly more likely than wives to conform to the hypothesized pattern. On the whole, exceptions to the pattern are well scattered and represent small differences, so that they may be regarded as chance variations. One set of exceptions, however, has a definite pattern. Among wives in the low socio-economic group with one child, successful planners have the higher incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction on every item. Another five instances of such reversal occur among wives in the high socio-economic group and among husbands with one child. Thus half of the total exceptions occur among one child families.

This reversal for one child families may be less destructive of the hypothesis than appears at first glance, for it may be due in important degree to self-selection and the manner of classifying couples as successful or unsuccessful fertility planners. All successful planners with one child deliberately planned at least one pregnancy and most of them deliberately chose not to have a second.²⁰ It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this group includes a rather high concentration of those

¹⁹ The items about encouragement by the availability of visiting nurses and school nurseries have been omitted because of their lack of correlation with fertility behavior.

²⁰ Planning categories were based on pregnancies. A very few of the "number planned" couples with one child had an unplanned first pregnancy ending in wastage, followed by a planned pregnancy and live birth. A very few other successful planners had more than one pregnancy but because of pregnancy wastage or death had only one child. Some wives with one child said they intended to have another child later.

whose experience with the first child was not what they had anticipated—perhaps because their freedom was more restricted than they had expected—and who were thus influenced against having more children. Unsuccessful planners with one child, on the other hand, include not only those cases in which the pregnancy occurred in spite of contraceptive measures but those in which contraception practice had not yet begun. Only about one-fourth of them (the excess fertility couples) claimed not to have wanted a live birth once the pregnancy was recognized, and all of them were successful in limiting the family to one child. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the “unsuccessful” planners with one child, being actually rather successful and including few who were disappointed in their expectations of parental freedom, would have a rather low incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction. Actually, both successful and unsuccessful planners with one child have a lower than average incidence of such responses (index below 100) on most items.

The summary indices of “feeling . . .” and “more time wanted,” as would be expected from the consistency of item responses, show the same pattern.²¹ When number of living children and socio-economic status are held constant, few of the differences between successful and unsuccessful fertility planners are statistically significant, but the direction of the relationship is clear. (*See* Table 6.)

The incidence of strong “feeling . . .” is lower among successful fertility planners than among unsuccessful planners, with one minor exception, in both high and low socio-economic groups with two or more children. Reversal of the relationship among one child families in both socio-economic groups may be attributed to self-selection by disappointment of expectations among successful planners with only one child, and to the classification as unsuccessful planners of couples who first began their contraceptive practice after having the one child they wanted. On

²¹ The statistical significance and direction of the total relationship were given in footnote 9 and Table 3 in connection with the hypothesis about motivation.

balance, therefore, the evidence appears to support hypothesis A(1).

The proportions of wives, husbands, and couples expressing a desire for "more time" for various activities are higher for unsuccessful than for successful planners, with two exceptions for wives (both high and low SES groups with one child) and two exceptions for husbands (high SES with two children and low SES with three or more children). For none of these exceptions are the differences statistically significant; two of them belong to the one child pattern noted above. With four-

Table 6. Effect of success in fertility planning on incidence of attitudes of couples with children, number of living children and socio-economic status held constant. Incidence of attitudes expressed in index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	HAVE STRONG "FEELING . . ."			WANT MUCH "MORE TIME"		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Proportion of All Couples With Strong "Feeling . . ."	.382	.328	.184	.531	.336	.214
Wanted Much "More Time" Index Number For All Couples	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>1 Child—High SES</i>						
Successful Planners	91	70	85	81	47	43
Unsuccessful Planners	82	66	50	77	80	54
<i>1 Child—Low SES</i>						
Successful Planners	74	70	48	92	52	41
Unsuccessful Planners	51	69	37	64	98	53
<i>2 Children—High SES</i>						
Successful Planners	104†	97	102†	94	101	91
Unsuccessful Planners	147	104	175	115	90	112
<i>2 Children—Low SES</i>						
Successful Planners	39*	56*	27*	77	70†	85
Unsuccessful Planners	118	127	115	106	126	124
<i>3 or More Children—High SES</i>						
Successful Planners	105	114	95	104†	119	128
Unsuccessful Planners	102	138	137	135	144	167
<i>3 or More Children—Low SES</i>						
Successful Planners	94	110	65	113	155	131
Unsuccessful Planners	116	134	128	122	127	143

* $P(X^2) < .05$, i.e. difference significant at five per cent level.

† $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$, i.e. difference approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.

¹ An attitude of strong "feeling . . ." or of wanting much "more time" is present for wife or husband if the summary index was coded 1-6, for the couples if the summary index was coded 1-6 for both wife and husband. The proportion of all wives with children, of all husbands with children, or of all couples with children who have the attitude is taken as the base (i.e. as equal to 100) for each column. The proportion which has the attitude in each sub-group is shown as a percentage of this base proportion. The number of cases and the proportion with the attitude in each sub-group are given in the Appendix Table 19.

Table 7. Effect of number of living children on responses by wives and husbands with children, success in fertility planning and socio-economic status held constant. Incidence of responses showing "feeling . . ." expressed as index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	SOME, MUCH, OR VERY MUCH MORE TIME WANTED FOR:															
	DISCOURAGED . . . AVOID BEING TIED DOWN		BOTHERED BY BEING TIED DOWN		INTERVIEWER RATING		Movies		Trips		Clubs, Etc.		Entertaining		Reading, Etc.	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Proportion of All Wives or Husbands Giving Responses Showing "Feeling . . ."																
Index Number For All Wives and Husbands Successful Planners—																
High SES																
1 Child	75	83	115	48	84	99	71	40	76	53*	67*	23*	72†	69*	71	48*
2 Children	134	80	131	47	104	92	86	62	90	95	145	119	105	112	78	64
3 or More Children	124	126	191	181	55	63	90	200	95	154	90	123	120	111	100	100
Low SES																
1 Child	58	39	61	25	70	80	95	0	106†	46†	71	87	103	87	71	48*
2 Children	41	55	34	62	47	52	67	39	75	87	83	52	75	94	64	64
3 or More Children	66	112	83	116	102	81	101	160	152	129	54	254	92	121	160	160
Unsuccessful Planners																
High SES																
1 Child	95†	96	85*	89*	89†	82	55*	92	71*	85	73†	130	77*	79*	99	99
2 Children	160	108	67	70	150	114	120	78	105	113	137	59	108	101	89	89
3 or More Children	105	141	212	221	113	136	163	169	134	135	137	141	134	124	129	129
Unsuccessful Planners																
Low SES																
1 Child	42†	64†	24†	49*	62	104	49*	109*	79†	103	31*	80	55*	71*	94	94
2 Children	104	103	106	115	113	104	129	85	114	95	99	103	105	95	136	136
3 or More Children	101	142	101	171	113	119	127	185	123	123	110	130	127	114	126	126

* $P(X^2) < .05$, i.e., relationship between attitude and number of living children is significant at the five per cent level.
† $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$, i.e., the relationship approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.
¹ See footnote 1 to Table 5.

teen of the eighteen possible comparisons being in the expected direction, hypothesis B(1) may also be tentatively accepted.

The Effect of Number of Children on Attitudes. Among all couples with children the relationships between number of live births and item responses are statistically significant for four of the five "more time wanted" items, but for only one ("bothered by being tied down") of the three items composing the "feeling . . ." index (see Table 4). However, both summary indices show significant association with number of living children.²² The relationship is also significant²³ among unsuccessful planners considered separately, but not among successful planners.

Table 7 shows the effect of number of children on item responses when success in fertility planning and socio-economic status are held constant. Again a clear pattern emerges in general support of the hypothesis that the feeling of restriction increases with number of children. In only four of sixty-four comparisons do wives or husbands with one child have a higher incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction than those with three or more children. Two of the exceptions are for interviewer ratings of successful planners in the high socio-economic group and may represent interviewer bias; two are for "more time wanted" for clubs and for entertaining by wives among successful planners in the low socio-economic group. In an additional twenty-seven instances the wives or husbands with two children are out of line; in nine instances they have a higher incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction than spouses with three or more children, and in eighteen instances a lower incidence than spouses with only one child. The last pattern is especially common among successful planners in the low socio-economic group and may be tentatively attrib-

²² $.01 < P(X^2) < .02$ for wives on index of "feeling . . .," $P(X^2) < .001$ for husbands on index of "feeling . . ." and for both wives and husbands on index of "more time wanted." C varies from .176 to .238, all based on 12 degrees of freedom. With attitudes dichotomized and number of children trichotomized, $P(X^2) < .01$ for wives on "feeling . . ." and $P(X^2) < .001$ for all other groups, including couples.

²³ $P(X^2) < .001$ for both indices.

uted to a concentration among one child families of those disappointed in their experience with the first child. These exceptions also fit with evidence scattered throughout reports on the Study that parents with two children tend to be better adjusted, on the whole, than those with fewer or with more children.

Table 8 shows the effect of number of living children on the summary indices when planning success and socio-economic status are held constant. Again the general pattern supports the hypotheses: The more children, the greater the incidence of a feeling of restriction.

For the incidence of much "more time wanted" the pattern is consistent and strong. Even among successful planners the one-child families, with one minor exception, felt least restricted

Table 8. Effect of number of living children on incidence of attitudes of couples with children, success in fertility planning and socio-economic status held constant. Incidence of attitudes expressed in index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	HAVE STRONG "FEELING . . ."			WANT MUCH "MORE TIME"		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Proportion of All Couples						
With Strong "Feeling . . ."						
Wanting Much "More Time"	.382	.328	.184	.531	.336	.214
Index Number For All Couples	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Successful Planners—High SES</i>						
1 Child	91	70	85	81	47	43
2 Children	104	97	102	94	101	91
3 or More Children	105	114	95	104	119	128
<i>Successful Planners—Low SES</i>						
1 Child	74	70	48	92	52†	41
2 Children	39	56	27	77	70	85
3 or More Children	94	110	65	113	155	131
<i>Unsuccessful Planners—High SES</i>						
1 Child	82*	66*	50*	77*	80*	54*
2 Children	147	104	175	115	90	112
3 or More Children	102	138	137	135	144	167
<i>Unsuccessful Planners—Low SES</i>						
1 Child	51*	69*	37*	64*	98	53*
2 Children	118	127	115	106	126	124
3 or More Children	116	134	128	122	127	143

* $P(X^2) < .05$, i.e. relationship between attitude and number of living children is significant at the five per cent level.

† $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$, i.e. the relationship approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.

¹ See footnote to Table 6.

and the families with three or more children most restricted.

However, for the incidence of the more general "feeling . . .," the pattern is not quite so consistent. Among successful planners in the low socio-economic group, the two-child families have the lowest incidences of strong "feeling. . ." If the reasoning offered earlier about self-selection among successful planners is correct, this "exception" may be explained. Among the successful planners with one child there are a number of persons whose actual experience of parenthood disappointed their expectations and who therefore stopped with one child, while those with two children are self-selected from persons with a happier correspondence between anticipated and actual experiences. Why this should be true of successful planners in the lower socio-economic group but not of those in the higher group is puzzling, but may be due to selective factors operating on the SES classification. For two prominent exceptions to the hypothesized pattern among unsuccessful planners—the high incidence of "feeling . . ." among wives and couples with two children in the high socio-economic group—no explanation presents itself.

It should be noted that all the groups with only one child have lower than average incidence of strong "feeling . . ." and of much "more time wanted," and that the highest or second highest incidence always occurs in families with three or more children. The index for families with three or more children is always higher than for families with one child, the excess varying from 10 to 113 percentage points.

That the feeling of being restricted in certain activities varies directly with number of children (hypothesis B(2)) can therefore be accepted as reasonably certain; the evidence that number of children influences the more general feeling of interference with personal freedom (hypothesis A(2)) is less consistent, but tends to support the hypothesis.

The Effect of Socio-Economic Status on Attitudes. As was noted earlier in Table 4, socio-economic status is significantly related to responses to the two general items and to interviewer

Table 9. Effect of socio-economic status on responses by wives and husbands with children, success in fertility planning and number of living children held constant. Incidence of responses showing "feeling . . ." expressed as index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	SOME, MUCH, OR VERY MUCH MORE TIME WANTED FOR:															
	DISCOURAGED . . . AVOID BEING TIED DOWN		BOTHERED BY BEING TIED DOWN		INTERVIEWER RATING		MOVIES		TRIPS		CLUBS, ETC.		ENTERTAINING		READING, ETC.	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Proportion of All Wives or Husbands Giving Responses Showing "Feeling . . ."	.242	.179	.144	.138	.275	.198	.278	.125	.446	.342	.222	.142	.479	.330	.564	.326
Index Number For All Wives and Husbands	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Successful Planners																
—1 Child																
High SES	75	83	115	48	84	99	71	40	76	53	67	23	72	60	69	71
Low SES	58	39	61	25	70	80	95	0	106	46	71	87	103	75	87	48
Successful Planners																
—2 Children																
High SES	134*	80	131†	47	104	92	86	62	90	95	145*	119	105	98	112	78
Low SES	41	55	34	62	47	52	67	39	75	87	83	52	75	67	94	64
Successful Planners																
—3 or More Children																
High SES	124	126	191	181	55	63	90	200	95†	154	90	123	120	129	111	100
Low SES	66	112	83	116	102	81	101	160	152	129	54	254	92	133	121	160
Unsuccessful Planners																
—1 Child																
High SES	95†	96	85	89	89	82	55	92	71	85	73	130	77	86	79	99
Low SES	42	64	24	49	62	104	49	109	79	103	31	80	55	107	71	94
Unsuccessful Planners																
—2 Children																
High SES	160†	108	67	70	150	114	120	78	105	113	137	59	108	95	101	89†
Low SES	104	103	106	115	113	104	129	85	114	95	99	103	105	104	95	136
Unsuccessful Planners																
—3 or More Children																
High SES	105	141	212*	221	113	136	163	169	134	135	137	141	134	140	124	129
Low SES	101	142	101	171	113	119	127	185	123	123	110	130	127	122	114	126

* P(X²) < .05, i.e. difference significant at five per cent level.
 † .05 < P(X²) < .10, i.e. difference approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.
 ‡ See footnote to Table 5.

ratings, but not to the "more time wanted" items. Table 9, which shows the direction of the relationship when planning success and number of children are constant, offers no support for the hypothesis that a feeling of restriction is associated with low socio-economic status. The differences between the two socio-economic groups in incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction are not significant.²⁴ Moreover, only one-third of them are in the direction hypothesized.

When the items are combined into summary indices, the findings are somewhat different, but offer no more support for the hypothesis. The index of "feeling . . ." is not significantly associated with socio-economic status among all couples with children.²⁵ When planning status and number of living children are held constant (*see* Table 10) the incidence of strong "feeling . . ." seems to be slightly greater in the high than in the low socio-economic group. This reversal of the predicted relationship is quite consistent among successful planners. Six of the nine comparisons among unsuccessful planners also contradict the hypothesis.

The index of "more time wanted" is significantly associated with socio-economic status when each is treated as a variable,²⁶ but when each is reduced to a dichotomy, the relationship becomes non-significant.²⁷ As can be seen in Table 10, no very evident pattern of association shows up when planning status and number of living children are held constant. Eight of the eighteen comparisons support and ten contradict hypothesis B(3), but none of the differences is significant at the five per cent level.

Hypotheses A(3) and B(3) therefore must be rejected. Such slight relationship as appears between indices of attitudes

²⁴ Only eight of ninety-six comparisons are significantly different at the ten per cent level.

²⁵ $.1 < P(X^2) < .2$ for wives, $.2 < P(X^2) < .3$ for husbands, 16 degrees of freedom respectively. Or, using dichotomized variables, $.1 < P(X^2) < .3$ with 1 degree of freedom respectively for wives, husbands, and couples.

²⁶ $.01 < P(X^2) < .02$, with 16 degrees of freedom, for wives and for husbands respectively.

²⁷ *See* footnote 18.

and socio-economic status is the reverse of that hypothesized. It may be that restriction of the range of socio-economic status in this sample is responsible for the relative lack of association, but this seems unlikely in view of the association between SES and the fertility variables. In any event, it is clear that for this sample either the summary index of socio-economic status is not a good measure of the relative burden of child care and degree of control over life conditions, or these latter variables are not related to the attitudes in question. The first alternative seems more reasonable, i.e. that socio-economic status as measured here is associated more closely with differences in

Table 10. Effect of socio-economic status on incidence of attitudes of couples with children, success in fertility planning and number of living children held constant. Incidence of attitudes expressed in index numbers.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	HAVE STRONG "FEELING . . ."			WANT MUCH "MORE TIME"		
	Wives	Husbands	Couples	Wives	Husbands	Couples
Proportion of All Couples With Strong "Feeling . . ."	.382	.328	.184	.531	.336	.214
Wanting Much "More Time"	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Successful Planners—1 Child</i>						
High SES	91	70	85	81	47	43
Low SES	74	70	48	92	52	41
<i>Successful Planners—2 Children</i>						
High SES	104*	97	102*	94	101	91
Low SES	39	56	27	77	70	85
<i>Successful Planners—3 or More Children</i>						
High SES	105	114	95	104	119	128
Low SES	94	110	65	113	155	131
<i>Unsuccessful Planners—1 Child</i>						
High SES	82	66	50	77	80	54
Low SES	51	69	37	64	98	53
<i>Unsuccessful Planners—2 Children</i>						
High SES	147	104	175†	115	90†	112
Low SES	118	127	115	106	126	124
<i>Unsuccessful Planners—3 or More Children</i>						
High SES	102	138	137	135	144	167
Low SES	116	134	128	122	127	143

* $P(X^2) < .05$, i.e. difference significant at five per cent level.

† $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$, i.e. difference approaches significance. These are reported because reduction of chi-square proportionate to inflation of the sample makes P values only approximate.

¹ See footnote to Table 6.

personal value systems and ways of life than with the degree of difficulty experienced in raising children and the attitudes deriving from such experience. According to this interpretation, the personal values associated with high socio-economic status tend to produce a feeling of restriction among couples with children which partially negates the effect of their fertility planning success and small family size in minimizing such feeling of restriction. Phrased somewhat differently, socio-economic status appears to reflect motivational factors more closely than it does child-rearing experience.

Additional Comparisons. Before proceeding to a consideration of certain other experience factors which may condition attitudes among wives, a few additional comparisons may be noted.

In the first place, the incidence of strong "feeling . . ." on the summary index is somewhat higher among all wives (38.2 per cent) than among all husbands (32.8 per cent)²⁸, and the incidence of much "more time wanted" is very much higher among all wives (53.1 per cent) than among all husbands (33.6 per cent). This is what would be expected from the distributions of responses to component items (*see* Figure 1) and, since wives have primary responsibility for child care, from the general hypothesis that these attitudes are the product of experience. When the comparisons are made within groups specific by planning status, number of children, and socio-economic status (*see* Table 19 in the Appendix for the proportions), it appears that the incidence of strong "feeling . . ." among wives exceeds that among husbands mainly in the high socio-economic groups, especially among the unsuccessful planners with one or two children.²⁹ The higher incidence of desire for much "more time" among wives than among husbands is common to all sub-groups.³⁰

²⁸ The difference is significant at the one per cent level.

²⁹ However, the difference is statistically significant only among unsuccessful planners with two children in the high socio-economic group.

³⁰ But the difference is not significant at the five per cent level among successful planners with three or more children, probably due to the small numbers of cases, and among three of the six groups of unsuccessful planners.

Examination of Tables 6 and 8 with a view to comparing strength and consistency of the relationships indicates a tendency for the relationships to be relatively strongest (the range of index numbers is greatest) and most consistent for couples, but the differences are not conspicuous. The relationship of attitudes to number of children is stronger and more consistent for husbands than for wives.

With regard to the discriminating power of the different questionnaire items, it can be seen from Tables 5, 7, and 9 that great variation between sub-groups in the relative incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction occurs on the item "bothered by being tied down" for both wives and husbands, and for husbands on the items "more time wanted" for movies and for clubs, parties, etc. On each of these items, index numbers for incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction range from 25 or less to 200 or more. They are the items on which the incidence of such responses among all wives and husbands is low. Small variations between sub-groups in the relative incidence of responses showing a feeling of restriction occur for wives on the items "more time wanted" for reading, resting,

Table 11. Association between summary indices of "feeling . . ." and "more time wanted" among couples with children.

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP	NUMBER OF CASES ¹	COEFFICIENT OF CONTINGENCY (DEGREES OF FREEDOM) ²		
		Wives	Husbands	Couples
<i>Successful Planners With:</i>				
1 Child	178	—	—	—
2 Children	235	—	.344(1)	.305(4)*
3 or More Children	65	.296(1)	.424(1)	³
<i>Unsuccessful Planners With:</i>				
1 Child	218	—	—	.363(3)
2 Children	306	.301(1)	.352(1)	.367(4)
3 or More Children	307	.250(1)	.228(1)	.272(4)

*.02 < P(X²) < .05. All other P(X²) < .01; in most cases P(X²) < .001.

¹ Reduction factors used to allow for inflation of sample: .47 for families with one child; .44 for families with two children; .91 for families with three or more children.

² See Table 1, footnote 2.

³ Too few cases of couples with both attitudes to test the association.

etc., for trips, and for entertaining, and for husbands on the item "more time wanted" for entertaining. On each of these items, index numbers have a range of 80 or less. They are among the items with high incidence or responses showing a feeling of restriction among all wives and husbands. In this sense of relative variation, the items with low total incidence may be considered the most discriminating. But it should be noted that they are also the items for which the distribution over the five responses is the most skewed.³¹

The degree to which the two summary indices are related to one another varies considerably (*see* Table 11), but interpretation of the variation is hazardous because of differences in the numbers of cases (and inflation ratios) and the varying upper limit of contingency coefficients. In general, however, it appears that among successful planners, especially among wives with less than three children, the indices are only slightly or not at all related to one another, whereas the relationship is closer among unsuccessful planners, especially among husbands and couples, and in the larger families. This suggests that for these latter groups the items tapped a more pervasive general attitude, while wives successful in planning very small families interpreted the items more specifically.

Other Factors of Possible Influence on the Wife's Attitudes. We have sought to establish the general hypothesis that the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom—at least such feeling as is measured by the attitude data available for this study—is the product of experience with child care and family building; i.e., difficulty and disappointment tend to foster dissatisfaction which is expressed as a feeling of restriction. So far, the data on success in fertility planning and number of children have tended to support the hypothesis. It may be tested further, however, with additional data on wives. Nine "factors" have been assembled, each with two or more degrees of "being tied down" or of "deprivation" of the wife. The nine

³¹ Since no unidimensional scale was obtained from the application of scalogram or latent structure analysis, the criteria for discriminating power of items provided by these techniques were inapplicable.

factors, with their alternatives listed from the most to the least "deprived" situation are:

1. Domestic help since marriage:
 - a. seldom or never any paid domestic help;
 - b. some help.³²
2. Pattern of family growth in the first four years after marriage, i.e. the rapidity with which the wife had her freedom curtailed by child care:
 - a. two or more live births within four years of marriage;
 - b. one live birth in this period;
 - c. no live birth in this period.
3. Marriage age and pattern of family growth, i.e. restriction of freedom at a young age plus early and/or extended child-bearing:
 - a. wife younger than 22 years at marriage, and either had two or more live births within four years of marriage, or had live births in both the first and third four year periods;
 - b. wife older than 22 years at marriage and/or had less restrictive pattern of family growth.
4. Employment after marriage due to economic pressure:
 - a. wife employed for a total of three years or more after marriage, some of it after the first four years and some of it full time work, because additional income was needed;
 - b. any other situation.
5. Combination of burdens:
 - a. early marriage and family growth plus employment after marriage through necessity (3a and 4a);
 - b. either early marriage and family growth, or employment after marriage through necessity (either 3a or 4a);
 - c. neither or these.
6. Occupation before marriage:
 - a. professional or proprietor-manager-official;
 - b. other occupation;
 - c. no occupation.

(The argument is that wives with high status work before marriage would feel more restricted and deprived by the

³² Unfortunately no information was obtained about unpaid help from friends or relatives as "baby sitters," probably one of the most important means of lessening parents' restriction.

burdens of child care after marriage than wives who had low status work or had not worked before marriage.)

7. Occupation after marriage:
 - a. none;
 - b. all occupations except professional or proprietor-manager-official;
 - c. professional or proprietor-manager-official.
(The argument is that outside work, especially high status work, reduces feelings of restriction by child care.)
8. Participation in activities outside home since first child was born:
 - a. "seldom" or "very seldom" went to movies, on trips, or to clubs, parties, etc.;
 - b. "seldom" or "very seldom" to any two of these three activities;
 - c. "seldom" or "very seldom" to any one of three activities;
 - d. "sometimes" or more often to all three activities.
9. Index of felt deprivation. A summary index constructed by comparing the reported frequency of participation in certain activities (going to movies, on trips, to clubs, parties, etc.) and the amount more time desired for each of them. The highest index of "felt deprivation" is that for wives who report having gone "seldom" or "very seldom" and wanting "much" or "very much" more time for all three activities. The lowest index is that for wives who report wanting little or no more time for any of the activities, regardless of reported frequency of participation. A trichotomy of the index was employed:
 - a. much;
 - b. some;
 - c. little.

Table 12 presents the data for examining the effect of each factor on the summary indices of attitudes among all wives with children. Four experience factors are significantly related to the incidence of desire for much "more time," and the direction of relationship is as expected. The proportion wanting much more time is higher among the wives who bore two or more children within four years of marriage, who married young

Table 12. Effect of selected experiences on incidence of strong "feeling . . ." and much "more time wanted" among wives with children.¹

DEGREE OF RESTRICTION OR DEPRIVATION FROM MOST TO LEAST ²	1. DOMESTIC HELP	2. PATTERN OF FAMILY GROWTH IN FIRST 4 YEARS	3. MARRIAGE AGE AND PATTERN OF FAMILY GROWTH	4. EMPLOYMENT AFTER MARRIAGE	5. COMBINATION OF (3) AND (4)	6. OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE	7. OCCUPATION AFTER MARRIAGE	8. PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES	9. INDEX OF FELT DEPRIVATION
		PERCENTAGE SHOWING STRONG "FEELING . . ."							
a	36.7	37.2	40.0	31.5†	26.6	44.1	38.1	46.9†	62.5*
b	41.6	40.6	37.2	39.9	39.2	37.1	36.9	38.6	41.4
c		34.2			48.5	40.0	48.9	33.1	29.2
d								41.3	
	PERCENTAGE WANTING MUCH "MORE TIME"								
a	53.5	61.5*	58.5*	53.5	65.6	58.2	54.5	79.3*	96.9*
b	52.1	49.7	50.1	53.0	54.8	52.4	51.6	62.6	84.4
c		50.5			50.3	53.0	58.5	53.6	23.9*
d								40.6	
	NUMBER OF CASES IN EACH CATEGORY (BASES FOR ABOVE PERCENTAGES)								
a	900	358	463	260	64	127	454	111	221
b	399	650	846	1,049	595	982	761	262	365
c		301			650	200	94	481	723
d	10							455	
TOTAL	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309	1,309

* $P(X^2) < .05$.
 † $.05 < P(X^2) < .10$. Because chi-square is reduced proportionately to the inflation of the sample, P values are only approximate.
 ‡ For dichotomy points on attitude indices see Table 2.
 § For exact meaning of each category, see text.
 ¶ Most of the wives in this 24 per cent contradict the principle on which the index of felt deprivation was constructed, i.e. they claim to have gone out "often" or "very often" for one or more of the activities, but they also said they wanted "much" or "very much" more time for the same activities. The index of "felt deprivation" is essentially the same as the index of "more time wanted."

and experienced either early heavy childbearing or prolonged childbearing, or who reported having participated little in activities outside the home, than among the wives whose experiences are classified as less restrictive. Neither lack of domestic help nor employment through economic necessity appear to have such an effect, however. Insofar as the level of employment has any effect—and it appears to be very slight—wives with professional or proprietor-manager-official positions, whether before (6a) or after (7c) marriage seem to be somewhat less satisfied with their activities than wives with more routine work or with no work.

The experience factors are even less closely related to the summary index of a more general "feeling. . ." Only one reaches the five per cent significance level. Two others approach significance, but wives employed after marriage through economic necessity have a lower incidence of "feeling . . ." than wives presumably less burdened. Perhaps employment was not really such a burden; perhaps it served to counter-balance any feeling of restriction by children. Wives reporting a high degree of participation in outside activities, as well as wives reporting a very low degree of participation, have a high incidence of "feeling. . ." The incidence of "feeling . . ." by occupation before and after marriage follows the same pattern as the incidence of "more time wanted": professional and proprietor-manager jobs are associated with more feeling of restriction by children. Such jobs, while in some respects permitting more freedom of time and movement than routine work, in other respects require more freedom since the work cannot be so easily confined to regular working hours. Perhaps they also foster a desire to be even more completely free.³³

Factor 5, which was intended to measure the effect of com-

³³ It is such fragmentary data as these last, together with the slight tendency among successful fertility planners with few children for responses showing a feeling of restriction to be associated with high socio-economic status, that tend to support the hypothesis about motivation for fertility control. Children inevitably interfere to some extent with the pattern of life desired by some people, and when and insofar as such people realize the fact, they try to control their fertility in order to avoid interference with the way of life they desire.

bined "burdens" of early marriage, early heavy or prolonged child care, and employment through economic necessity, points up the difficulty of interpreting the data. The greater the presumed "burdens" the more likely wives are to want much "more time," but the greater the presumed "burdens," the less likely they are to manifest the more more general "feeling. . . ." Perhaps for the few wives heavily "burdened" in this sense, the "more time wanted" index represents not so much dissatisfaction with a restricted activity program as an energetic desire for a forty-eight hour day to expand the whole business of living. That the indices of "feeling . . ." and of felt deprivation tend to go together for the total sample, however, is quite evident, for wives who report having gone out little and having wanted to go out more quite consciously tend to express a strong feeling of restriction in the general index.

An attempt was made to re-examine the relationships between attitude indices for wives and success in fertility planning, number of living children, and socio-economic status with each of these additional experience factors in turn held constant. Unfortunately, the relationships are not strong enough and the numbers of cases are too small for such detailed analysis to yield reliable results. In general, holding constant these experience factors made little or no difference; therefore the effect of fertility planning success and family size on the attitudes must be independent of these experiences. In special cases, where the effects were reinforced or reversed, explanations can be proposed, but they all involve *ad hoc* interpretations of the selective nature of the particular experiences and the differential meaning of the attitude questions for wives with different experiences.

No consistent relationship could be found between the attitude indices and six different indicators of social mobility.³⁴

These additional data, therefore, offer little further support to the general hypothesis that the attitudes expressed are the product of experience with family building and child care.

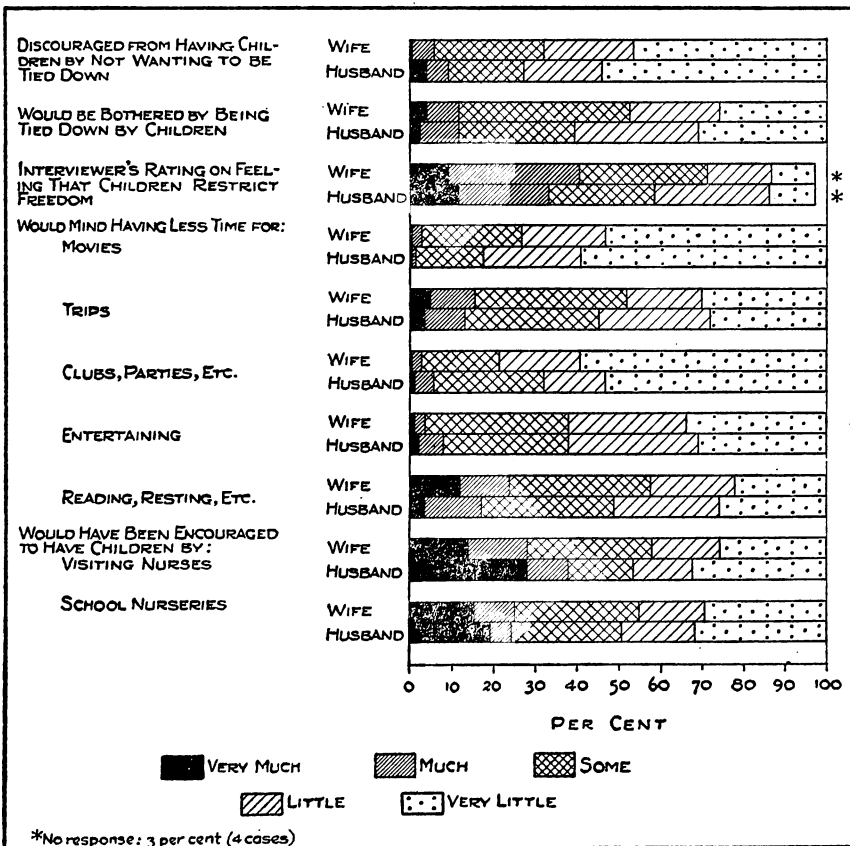
³⁴ See Riemer, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI.

Neither do they conflict with it. They do point up once more the difficulty of trying to trace any causal sequence involving fertility and attitudes toward fertility when the available data have an indefinite time reference and when such objective facts as frequencies of activities cannot be separated from subjective evaluations of them.

CHILDLESS COUPLES

So far as could be determined by non-clinical interview, all of the childless couples in this sample were fecund, i.e. they had no reason to believe themselves sterile. During all, or nearly

Fig. 2. Percentage distributions of responses of 135 childless wives and husbands to questions relating to "the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom."



SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NUMBER OF CASES	DISCOURAGED . . . AVOID BEING TIED DOWN		WOULD BE BOTHERED BY BEING TIED DOWN		INTERVIEWER RATING	
		Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Both Groups	135	31.8	27.4	52.6	39.3	73.4	60.3
High SES	95	33.7	33.7	58.9	46.3	70.4	62.6
Low SES	40	27.5	12.5	37.5	22.5	80.0	55.0
Both Groups	135	131	153	365	285	267	304
High SES	95	139	188	409	335	256	316
Low SES	40	114	70	260	163	291	278

Table 13. Index numbers and percentages of childless couples giving responses showing a "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" to attitude items.¹

all, of the time since marriage they had practiced contraception regularly. None had had a live birth, for couples with a live birth but no living child were not interviewed. Eight of the 135 childless wives had had at least one pregnancy, but in each case it had been terminated by a miscarriage or an intentional abortion. One wife was in the midst of an unwanted pregnancy when interviewed. The childless couples are therefore fairly homogeneous in being deliberately childless, and had no experience in the care of their own children to modify their attitudes.

As noted earlier, the wording and meaning of questions relating to the hypothesis under consideration were not the same on the schedules for childless couples and on those for couples with children. For childless couples the questions refer to the spouses' attitudes with respect to the potential restriction of their freedom if they had children. The attitude data for them are thus directly relevant to the motivation hypothesis. However, analysis is handicapped by the small number of cases³⁵ and by the absence of any group with which they can validly be compared. A very rough comparison with couples with children has been resorted to, in spite of the difference in questions, in order to get more perspective on the data.

³⁵ There are only 135 childless couples in the inflated sample, of which 92 are independent cases.

WOULD MIND SOME, MUCH, OR VERY MUCH IF LESS TIME AVAILABLE FOR:									
Movies		Trips		Clubs . . . etc.		Entertaining		Reading . . . etc.	
Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
PERCENTAGES									
26.7	17.8	51.9	45.2	21.5	31.9	37.8	37.8	57.8	48.9
23.2	15.8	59.0	52.6	23.2	34.7	38.9	43.1	64.1	59.0
35.0	22.5	35.0	27.5	17.5	25.0	35.0	25.0	42.5	25.0
INDEX NUMBERS ²									
96	142	116	132	97	225	79	115	102	150
83	126	132	154	104	244	81	131	114	181
126	180	79	80	79	176	73	76	75	77

¹ Responses taken as showing a "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" were "some," "much," and "very much" discouraged, etc.

² Index numbers are computed to the base percentages given in Tables 5, 7, or 9 for responses of all couples with children. This is merely to facilitate rough comparisons; the items had different meanings for childless couples and couples with children.

Figure 2 gives the percentage distributions of responses by childless wives and husbands to the ten attitude items. It exhibits essentially the same features as did Figure 1 for couples with children. The distributions are highly skewed, except for the interviewer rating (the meaning of which is ambiguous in the case of childless couples) and the two items concerning encouragement to have children by the availability of visiting nurses and school nurseries (the ambiguity of which was noted earlier). Of the five activities, curtailment of time available for reading, resting, etc. and for trips would be minded more, the same activities for which parents with children wanted "more time." And, just as for couples with children, it is movies, and clubs, parties, etc., which seem the less attractive of the activities listed.

In contrast to couples with children, the responses of childless couples to the two general questions entering into the summary index of "feeling . . ." tend to show more concern for their personal freedom, and the interviewers attributed such concern to most of the childless couples but to relatively few couples with children. Among childless couples the husbands sometimes appear to be more concerned than the wives with possible restriction of personal freedom, but whether this concern is pri-

marily for self or spouse cannot be determined. The degree to which childless husbands claim they would have been encouraged to have children if visiting nurses and school nurseries had been available suggests concern for the wife's freedom, and perhaps an unrealistic appraisal of the effectiveness of such institutions.

To get more perspective on the attitudes of childless couples, it is helpful to assume that the questions asked them and the possible responses are roughly equivalent to those for couples with children. On this basis Table 13 gives the incidence among childless couples of responses showing a feeling of potential restriction, and also expresses them as index numbers to the base proportions of equivalent responses for all couples with children. Table 14 does the same for the summary index of the time desired for various activities.

The index numbers in Table 13 point up more strongly what a comparison between Figures 1 and 2 also shows, namely, the high degree to which interviewers judged that childless couples would resent having their freedom restricted by children; the

Table 14. Attitude of childless couples toward restriction of activities: index numbers and percentages of those who would mind very much if they had less time for various activities because of children.¹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NUMBER OF CASES	WIVES	HUSBANDS	COUPLES
		PERCENTAGES		
Both Groups	135	48.9	45.9	32.6
High SES	95	54.7	51.6	41.1
Low SES	40	35.0	32.5	12.5
		INDEX NUMBERS ²		
Both Groups	135	92	136	152
High SES	95	103	154	192
Low SES	40	66	97	58

¹ An attitude of "mind very much" is present for wife or husband if the summary index was coded 1-6, for the couple if the summary index was coded 1-6 for both wife and husband.

² Index numbers are computed to the base percentages given in Tables 6, 8, or 10 for "more time wanted" by couples with children. This is merely to facilitate comparisons; the items had different meanings for childless couples and couples with children.

high frequency with which childless couples, and especially wives, themselves judged that they would be bothered by being tied down by children; and the relatively high frequency with which childless couples admitted to being discouraged from having children by the desire to avoid being tied down. All these points favor the hypothesis that the desire to avoid restriction of personal freedom may be an important motive for remaining childless.

The index numbers in Table 13 also suggest that the reluctance among childless wives to have certain of their activities curtailed by child care is not extreme, and appears realistic when compared with the reported experience of all wives with children. Childless husbands appear to feel relatively more strongly about having their freedom restricted.

It may be noted also that, with three exceptions, childless couples in the high socio-economic group have a greater incidence of "feeling . . ." responses than those in the low group, and that some of the differences are quite considerable. This is the same pattern found for couples with children. Its recurrence here lends additional weight to the argument that the summary index of socio-economic status is an indicator of different value systems or ways of life, rather than an indicator of the economic burden of child-rearing. Possibly the childlessness of couples with low socio-economic status is more due to economic causes, and that of the couples with high socio-economic status to a preference for a less restricted way of life.

Table 14 gives the percentages of childless wives, husbands, and couples who thought they would mind restriction of their activities by children, and also expresses these percentages as index numbers to the base proportions wanting much "more time" among all couples with children. It may be observed that the percentage of childless wives who thought that they would mind having less time for certain activities is slightly smaller than the percentage of wives with children who actually wanted more time for those activities. For husbands and for couples the reverse is the case, i.e. the percentage of the child-

less who anticipated dissatisfaction is larger than the percentage of those with children who claimed to have experienced it. This difference between childless wives and husbands is particularly strong in the high socio-economic group; the wives' index is no higher than that for successful planners with three or more children and lower than that for unsuccessful planners with two children, but the husbands' index (and the index for couples) is higher than for any group with children. In the low socio-economic group the indices for childless persons are quite moderate, about the same as for unsuccessful planners with one child.

Since precise comparison of childless couples and couples with children is impossible, the main value of this rough comparison is to suggest that (a) deliberate childlessness is only moderately associated with the expectation that desired activities would be too much restricted by children, (b) the expectation is stronger at the high SES level than at the low level, and (c) it is held by husbands to a greater degree than would seem warranted by the experience of couples with children.

In summary, the data suggest that childless couples may have a more intense "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" than do couples with children. But it is impossible to determine to what extent this attitude of childless couples motivated their childlessness over the twelve to fourteen years of marriage and to what extent it is the product of new interests and habits which did not exist as a hindrance to family building in earlier years.

SUMMARY

Hypothesis 7 of the Indianapolis Study refers to motivation for fertility control: "The stronger the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, the higher the proportion of couples practicing contraception effectively and the smaller the planned family." It was found, however, that the data are not adequate to test this hypothesis. Among couples with children, most of the questions which were to determine the

“feeling that children interfere with personal freedom” refer explicitly to experiences since the birth of the first child.

Accordingly the alternative position was taken that among couples with children a feeling of restriction results from difficulties or hardships experienced in family building. Specific hypotheses are that the feeling of restriction—as manifested in a general index of “feeling . . .” and an index of “more time wanted” for various activities—are associated with (1) unsuccessful fertility control, (2) number of children, and (3) low socio-economic status. In general the data confirm that lack of success in fertility planning and having three or more children are associated with a feeling of restriction. The association appears to be closer when feeling of restriction is measured by the index of “more time wanted” for various activities than when measured by the index of more general “feeling. . .” No clear association exists, however, between socio-economic status and feeling of restriction among couples with children. A slight tendency for the feeling of restriction to be associated with high status prompts the interpretation that the summary index of socio-economic status used in this analysis does not indicate economic difficulty in child-rearing so much as it indicates different value systems with respect to family building.

Additional information about domestic help, pattern of family growth, employment, and participation of wives in activities outside the home was examined for possible effects on the attitudes of wives with children. These data do not conflict with the hypothesis that a feeling of restriction by children is the product of experience in family building, but they offer little additional support. They do serve to emphasize two points: (1) It is not success in fertility planning or size of family *per se* or the objective difficulties associated with economic position which determine attitudes, but the interpretation of the experiences by the spouses. (2) If causal sequences involving fertility and attitudes toward fertility and toward personal freedom are to be unravelled, the data must have definite time reference and must distinguish more clearly be-

tween the objective events of parents' experiences and their subjective evaluations of them.

Data on deliberately childless couples offer some support for the hypothesis that the "feeling that children interfere with personal freedom" motivates fertility control and small families. But because there are so few childless couples in the sample and because the different questions asked of them make precise comparison with other groups impossible, only very limited analysis was feasible.

It may be suggested, however, that intensive study of the relationships between attitudes toward personal freedom and fertility control and planned family size may be concentrated most profitably on the attitudes of couples who have deliberately remained childless for varying periods after marriage, and on the expectations and experiences of couples directly before and after the birth of the first child.

APPENDIX

Table 15. Fertility planning status among couples with children by summary index of "feeling . . .," for wives, husbands, and couples. Percentage distributions.

FERTILITY PLANNING STATUS ¹	INDEX OF "FEELING . . ."							
	(Much) 1-3	4	5	6	7	8 (Little)		
<i>Wives²</i>								
Number of Cases	26	83	110	281	527	282		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Number and Spacing								
Planned	26.9	9.6	13.6	22.4	23.7	20.9		
Number Planned	7.7	15.7	8.2	13.9	12.9	24.8		
Quasi-Planned	26.9	40.9	20.9	32.7	34.7	39.4		
Excess Fertility	38.5	33.7	57.3	31.0	28.7	14.9		
<i>Husbands²</i>								
Number of Cases	27	59	81	262	623	257		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Number and Spacing								
Planned	0.0	11.9	22.2	20.6	20.2	28.0		
Number Planned	11.1	10.2	8.6	13.0	17.5	16.3		
Quasi-Planned	25.9	28.8	23.5	30.9	38.4	33.9		
Excess Fertility	63.0	49.1	45.7	35.5	23.9	21.8		
<i>Couples³</i>								
	4-9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Number of Cases	64	69	103	142	228	394	190	119
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number and Spacing								
Planned	15.6	7.2	8.7	31.0	19.3	22.3	23.7	26.9
Number Planned	7.8	4.3	16.5	10.6	12.7	18.5	21.0	16.0
Quasi-Planned	26.6	42.0	29.1	20.4	37.8	35.0	36.3	43.7
Excess Fertility	50.0	46.4	45.6	38.0	30.3	24.1	18.9	13.4
<i>Couples⁴</i>								
	Both 1-6		W. 1-6, H. 7-8		W. 7-8, H. 1-6		Both 7-8	
Number of Cases	241		259		188		621	
Total	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
Number and Spacing								
Planned	19.5		17.8		17.0		24.5	
Number Planned	8.3		16.6		16.0		17.4	
Quasi-Planned	27.4		34.7		30.8		38.0	
Excess Fertility	44.8		30.9		36.2		20.1	

¹ These are the same categories used throughout the Indianapolis Fertility Study, except that all childless couples are excluded.

² Index obtained by summing, for wife and husband respectively, codes for responses to three items, multiplying by 3 and taking the first digit of the product as the index. The index is dichotomized (1-6, 7-8) to indicate presence or absence of strong "feeling . . .".

³ For couples, index obtained by summing indices of wife and husband. These data are supplied for possible comparison with other studies in the series; no further use is made of them in this study.

⁴ Index dichotomized for wife and husband separately, and then cross-tabulated. "Both 1-6" is taken to indicate strong "feeling . . ." for the couple, "both 7-8" is taken to indicate lack of such "feeling . . .," and the cases where wife and husband fall in opposite dichotomies are "mixed."

Table 16. Fertility planning status among couples with children, by summary index of "more time wanted," for wives, husbands, and couples. Percentage distributions.

FERTILITY PLANNING STATUS ¹	INDEX OF "MORE TIME WANTED"									
	(Much) 1-3	4	5	6	7	8	9 (Little)			
<i>Wives</i> ²										
Number of Cases	76	98	287	234	301	141	172			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Number and Spacing Planned	9.2	21.4	21.3	22.2	16.0	28.4	27.9			
Number Planned	14.5	10.2	13.6	11.1	16.6	24.1	18.0			
Quasi-Planned	42.1	29.6	29.6	30.3	38.5	34.8	39.6			
Excess Fertility	34.2	38.8	35.5	36.3	28.9	12.8	14.5			
<i>Husbands</i> ³										
Number of Cases	20	49	188	183	315	208	346			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Number and Spacing Planned	15.0	4.1	11.2	23.5	20.0	26.4	26.0			
Number Planned	20.0	20.4	12.2	12.6	14.0	12.5	20.5			
Quasi-Planned	30.0	36.7	34.0	36.6	36.5	30.3	33.8			
Excess Fertility	35.0	38.8	42.6	27.3	29.5	30.8	19.7			
<i>Couples</i> ³										
Number of Cases	50	70	141	162	194	165	81			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Number and Spacing Planned	10.0	9.3	18.4	16.9	17.5	34.0	32.1			
Number Planned	18.0	11.1	7.1	16.7	15.5	18.8	23.4			
Quasi-Planned	20.0	48.1	35.7	30.2	44.4	23.0	35.8			
Excess Fertility	52.0	31.5	39.7	35.8	22.7	24.2	8.6			
<i>Couples</i> ⁴										
Number of Cases	280	415	415	160	160	160	454			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Number and Spacing Planned	17.8	21.9	13.8	11.9	11.9	19.4	25.8			
Number Planned	10.4	13.8	13.1	19.4	19.4	18.5	18.5			
Quasi-Planned	31.4	31.1	33.2	41.9	41.9	36.6	36.6			
Excess Fertility	40.4	33.2	26.9	26.9	26.9	19.2	19.2			

¹ These are the same categories used throughout the Indianapolis Fertility Study, except that all childless couples are excluded.
² Index obtained by summing, for wife and husband respectively, codes for responses to five items, multiplying by 2, and taking the first digit of the product as the index. The index is dichotomized (1-6, 7-9) to indicate whether "much" or "little" more time is wanted.
³ For couples, index obtained by summing indices of wife and husband. These data are supplied for possible comparison with other studies in the series; no further use is made of them in this study.
⁴ Index dichotomized for wife and husband separately, and then, cross-tabulated. "Both 1-6" is taken to indicate strong "feeling . . ." for the couple, "both 7-9" is taken to indicate lack of such "feeling . . ." and the cases where wife and husband fall in opposite dichotomies are "mixed."

Table 17. Average number of living children for couples with children, by summary index of "feeling . . ." and fertility planning status.

FERTILITY PLANNING STATUS ¹	INDEX OF "FEELING . . ."				
	(Much) 1-4	5	6	7	8 (Little)
AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN					
<i>Wives</i> ²					
Number and Spacing Planned	1.60		1.62	1.48	1.41
Number Planned	2.38		2.05	2.29	2.13
All Successful Planners	2.07	1.79	1.78	1.77	1.80
Unsuccessful Planners	2.32	2.64	2.49	2.34	2.09
<i>Husbands</i> ²					
Number and Spacing Planned	1.80		1.63	1.44	1.44
Number Planned	2.44		2.21	2.17	2.19
All Successful Planners	2.05		1.85	1.77	1.72
Unsuccessful Planners	2.67	2.57	2.60	2.23	2.16
COUPLES ³					
	Both 1-6	W. 1-6 H. 7-8	W. 7-8 H. 1-6	Both 7-8	
All Successful Planners	1.85	1.83	1.98	1.73	
Unsuccessful Planners	2.65	2.32	2.56	2.16	
NUMBER OF CASES					
<i>Wives</i>	1-4	5	6	7	8
Number and Spacing Planned	15	15	63	125	59
Number Planned	15	9	39	68	70
All Successful Planners	30	24	102	193	129
Unsuccessful Planners	79	86	179	334	153
<i>Husbands</i>					
Number and Spacing Planned	7	18	54	126	72
Number Planned	9	7	34	109	42
All Successful Planners	16	25	88	235	114
Unsuccessful Planners	70	56	174	388	143
COUPLES					
	Both 1-6	W. 1-6, H. 7-8	W. 7-8, H. 1-6	Both 7-8	
All Successful Planners	67	89	62	260	
Unsuccessful Planners	174	170	126	361	

¹ These are the same categories used throughout the Indianapolis Fertility Study, except that all childless couples are excluded and quasi-planned and excess fertility categories are combined.

² See footnote (2) to Table 15 for formation of index.

³ See footnote (4) to Table 15 for formation of index. Separate averages for the two categories of successful planners would have required new tabulations.

Table 18. Average number of living children for couples with children, by summary index of "more time wanted" and fertility planning status.

FERTILITY PLANNING STATUS ¹	INDEX OF "MORE TIME WANTED"					
	(Much) 1-4	5	6	7	8	9 (Little)
AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN						
<i>Wives</i> ²						
Number and Spacing Planned	1.68	1.69	1.44	1.50	1.38	1.38
Number Planned	2.05	2.33	2.38	2.24	1.97	2.16
All Successful Planners	1.84	1.94	1.76	1.88	1.65	1.68
Unsuccessful Planners	2.82	2.66	2.28	2.16	2.10	1.85
<i>Husbands</i> ²						
Number and Spacing Planned	2.23		1.58	1.32	1.60	1.41
Number Planned	2.49		2.30	2.36	2.23	1.90
All Successful Planners	2.05	2.52	1.83	1.75	1.80	1.63
Unsuccessful Planners	2.62	2.67	2.40	2.45	2.20	2.01
	Both 1-6	W. 1-6, H. 7-9		W. 7-9, H. 1-6		Both 7-9
<i>Couples</i> ³						
All Successful Planners	2.09	1.73		2.00		1.69
Unsuccessful Planners	2.74	2.45		2.23		2.00
NUMBER OF CASES						
	1-4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Wives</i>						
Number and Spacing Planned	28	61	52	48	40	48
Number Planned	21	39	26	50	34	31
All Successful Planners	49	100	78	98	74	79
Unsuccessful Planners	125	187	156	203	67	93
<i>Husbands</i>						
Number and Spacing Planned	5	21	43	63	55	90
Number Planned	14	23	23	44	26	71
All Successful Planners	19	44	66	107	81	161
Unsuccessful Planners	50	144	117	208	127	185
	Both 1-6	W. 1-6, H. 7-9		W. 7-9, H. 1-6		Both 7-9
<i>Couples</i>						
All Successful Planners	79	148		50		201
Unsuccessful Planners	201	267		110		253

¹ These are the same categories used throughout the Indianapolis Fertility Study, except that all childless couples are excluded and quasi-planned and excess fertility categories are combined.

² See footnote (2) to Table 16 for formation of index.

³ See footnote (4) to Table 16 for formation of index. Separate averages for the two categories of successful planners would have required new tabulations.

Table 19. Incidence of attitudes among couples with children, by success in planning fertility, number of living children, and socio-economic status.¹

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP			NUMBER OF CASES	PER CENT OF EACH CATEGORY					
				With Strong "Feeling . . ."			Wanting Much "More Time"		
				Wives	Husbands	Couples	Wives	Husbands	Couples
All Planning Groups	Total	All SES	1,309	38.2	32.8	18.4	53.1	33.6	21.4
		High SES	695	40.9	31.1	20.3	52.8	30.9	19.9
		Low SES	614	35.2	34.7	16.3	53.4	36.7	23.1
	1 Child	All SES	396	29.3	22.5	10.6	41.2	23.5	10.4
		High SES	251	33.1	22.3	12.3	41.8	21.5	10.4
		Low SES	145	22.8	22.8	7.6	40.0	26.9	10.3
	2 Children	All SES	541	42.1	33.3	21.2	53.5	33.6	22.6
		High SES	309	47.9	33.0	25.6	55.7	32.0	21.7
		Low SES	232	34.5	33.6	15.5	50.9	35.8	23.7
	3 or More Children	All SES	372	41.9	43.0	22.6	65.1	44.4	31.5
		High SES	135	39.3	43.0	23.0	66.7	45.9	33.3
		Low SES	237	43.5	43.0	22.4	64.1	43.5	30.4
Successful Planners	Total	All SES	478	32.6	27.0	14.0	47.5	27.0	16.5
		High SES	315	37.8	29.2	17.5	47.9	27.6	16.5
		Low SES	163	22.7	22.7	7.4	46.6	25.8	16.6
	1 Child	All SES	178	32.6	23.0	13.5	44.9	16.3	9.0
		High SES	121	34.7	23.1	15.7	43.0	15.7	9.1
		Low SES	57	28.1	22.8	8.8	49.1	17.5	8.8
	2 Children	All SES	235	31.1	27.2	14.0	46.8	30.2	19.1
		High SES	154	39.6	31.8	18.8	50.0	33.8	19.5
		Low SES	81	14.8	18.5	4.9	40.7	23.5	18.5
	3 or More Children	All SES	65	38.5	36.9	15.4	56.9	44.6	27.7
		High SES	40	40.0	37.5	17.5	55.0	40.0	27.5
		Low SES	25	36.0	36.0	12.0	60.0	52.0	28.0
Unsuccessful Planners	Total	All SES	831	41.4	36.1	20.9	56.3	37.4	24.2
		High SES	380	43.4	32.6	22.6	56.8	33.7	22.6
		Low SES	451	39.7	39.0	19.5	55.9	40.5	25.5
	1 Child	All SES	218	26.6	22.0	8.3	38.1	29.4	11.5
		High SES	130	31.5	21.5	9.2	40.8	26.9	11.5
		Low SES	88	19.3	22.7	6.8	34.1	33.0	11.4
	2 Children	All SES	306	50.7	37.9	26.8	58.8	36.3	25.2
		High SES	155	56.1	34.2	32.2	61.3	30.3	23.9
		Low SES	151	45.0	41.7	21.2	56.3	42.4	26.5
	3 or More Children	All SES	307	42.7	44.3	24.1	66.8	44.3	32.2
		High SES	95	38.9	45.3	25.2	71.5	48.4	35.8
		Low SES	212	44.3	43.9	23.6	64.6	42.5	30.7

¹ For dichotomy points on summary indices of attitudes, see Table 2.

DESCRIPTION OF SUB-GROUP			NUMBER OF CASES	PER CENT OF					
				Discouraged . . . Avoid Being Tied Down		Bothered By Being Tied Down		Interviewer Rating	
				Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.
All Planning Groups	Total	All SES	1,309	24.2	17.9	14.4	13.8	27.5	19.8
		High SES	695	28.5	18.0	17.3	12.7	29.3	20.0
		Low SES	614	19.4	17.7	11.2	15.1	25.5	19.6
	1 Child	All SES	396	17.4	13.7	11.1	8.1	21.7	18.1
		High SES	251	20.7	16.1	14.3	9.6	23.9	17.7
		Low SES	145	11.7	9.7	5.5	5.5	17.9	18.6
	2 Children	All SES	541	28.8	14.8	13.1	10.4	30.7	19.0
		High SES	309	35.6	16.8	14.2	8.1	35.0	20.4
		Low SES	232	19.8	15.5	11.6	13.4	24.9	17.0
	3 or More Children	All SES	372	24.8	24.7	19.9	25.0	29.2	23.0
		High SES	135	26.7	24.4	29.6	28.9	26.3	23.3
		Low SES	237	23.6	24.9	14.3	22.8	30.8	22.8
Successful Planners	Total	All SES	478	21.8	13.8	15.1	8.6	22.3	16.3
		High SES	315	26.7	15.6	19.1	8.8	24.8	17.9
		Low SES	163	12.3	10.4	7.4	8.0	17.5	13.1
	1 Child	All SES	178	16.9	12.4	14.0	5.6	21.9	18.3
		High SES	121	18.2	14.9	16.5	6.6	23.2	19.5
		Low SES	57	14.0	7.0	8.8	3.5	19.3	15.8
	2 Children	All SES	235	24.7	12.8	14.0	7.2	23.3	15.5
		High SES	154	32.5	14.3	18.8	6.5	28.6	18.2
		Low SES	81	9.9	9.9	4.9	8.6	12.8	10.3
	3 or More Children	All SES	65	24.6	21.5	21.5	21.5	20.0	13.8
		High SES	40	30.0	22.5	27.5	25.0	15.0	12.5
		Low SES	25	16.0	20.0	12.0	16.0	28.0	16.0
Unsuccessful Planners	Total	All SES	831	25.6	20.2	14.1	16.8	30.5	21.8
		High SES	380	30.0	20.1	15.8	15.8	33.1	21.7
		Low SES	451	22.0	20.4	12.6	17.7	28.4	22.0
	1 Child	All SES	218	17.9	14.8	8.7	10.1	21.6	17.9
		High SES	130	23.1	17.2	12.3	12.3	24.6	16.2
		Low SES	88	10.2	11.4	3.4	6.8	17.0	20.5
	2 Children	All SES	306	32.0	19.0	12.4	12.7	36.3	21.6
		High SES	155	38.7	19.4	9.7	9.7	41.3	22.6
		Low SES	151	25.2	18.5	15.2	15.9	31.1	20.5
	3 or More Children	All SES	307	24.8	25.4	19.5	25.7	31.1	24.9
		High SES	95	25.3	25.3	30.5	30.5	31.2	27.0
		Low SES	212	24.5	25.5	14.6	23.6	31.1	13.6

Table 20. Incidence of item responses showing a feeling of restriction among couples with children, by success in fertility planning, number of living children, and socio-economic status.¹

EACH CATEGORY GIVING RESPONSE SHOWING "FEELING . . ." ON ITEM

Some, Much or Very Much More Time Wanted For:									
Movies		Trips		Clubs, Etc.		Entertaining		Reading, Etc.	
Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.	Wives	Husbs.
27.8	12.5	44.6	34.2	22.2	14.2	47.9	33.0	56.4	32.6
26.8	11.2	41.6	33.8	24.8	13.4	47.6	31.7	57.1	29.8
29.0	14.0	48.0	34.7	19.2	15.1	48.2	34.4	55.4	35.8
17.9	8.3	35.4	25.3	13.8	11.4	35.6	26.8	42.4	26.8
17.5	8.4	33.7	23.9	15.5	11.2	35.8	24.3	41.8	27.9
18.6	8.3	40.0	27.6	10.3	11.7	35.2	31.0	43.4	24.8
29.2	8.7	43.8	33.8	26.7	12.4	48.4	31.1	60.0	31.1
28.8	8.7	43.0	35.6	31.3	12.6	50.8	31.8	65.0	27.2
29.7	8.6	44.8	31.5	20.7	12.1	45.3	30.2	53.5	36.2
36.3	22.6	55.6	44.4	24.7	19.9	60.2	42.4	65.6	41.1
39.3	22.2	54.8	48.1	27.4	19.3	62.3	45.2	87.4	39.3
34.6	22.8	56.1	42.2	23.2	20.3	59.1	40.7	64.6	42.2
22.6	7.7	40.0	28.7	21.4	12.3	43.9	28.0	53.8	24.9
22.6	8.8	38.1	29.5	24.0	11.8	45.1	28.9	53.7	25.4
22.7	5.5	43.6	27.0	16.6	13.5	41.7	26.4	54.0	23.9
21.9	3.4	38.2	17.4	15.2	6.2	39.3	21.3	42.1	20.8
19.8	5.0	33.9	18.2	14.9	3.3	34.7	19.8	38.8	23.1
26.3	0.0	47.4	15.8	15.8	12.3	49.1	24.6	49.1	15.8
22.1	6.8	37.9	31.5	27.4	13.6	45.1	28.9	59.6	23.8
24.0	7.8	40.3	32.5	32.2	16.9	50.0	32.5	63.0	25.3
18.5	4.9	33.3	29.6	18.5	7.4	35.8	22.2	53.1	21.0
26.2	23.1	52.2	49.2	16.9	24.6	52.2	43.1	64.6	40.0
25.0	25.0	42.5	52.5	20.0	17.5	57.5	42.5	62.5	32.5
28.0	20.0	68.0	44.0	12.0	36.0	44.0	44.0	68.0	52.0
30.8	15.3	47.3	37.4	22.6	15.3	50.2	35.8	57.8	37.1
30.3	13.2	44.5	37.4	25.5	14.7	49.7	34.0	60.0	33.4
31.2	17.1	49.6	37.4	20.2	15.7	50.5	37.3	55.9	40.1
14.7	12.4	33.0	31.7	12.4	15.6	32.6	31.2	42.7	31.6
15.4	11.5	31.5	29.2	16.2	18.5	36.9	28.5	44.6	32.3
13.6	13.6	35.2	35.2	6.8	11.4	26.1	35.2	39.8	30.7
34.6	10.1	48.4	35.6	26.1	11.4	51.0	32.8	60.5	36.6
33.5	9.7	46.8	38.7	30.3	8.4	51.6	31.2	57.1	29.0
35.8	10.6	51.0	32.4	21.9	14.6	50.4	34.4	53.6	44.4
38.4	22.5	56.4	43.3	26.4	18.9	61.9	42.1	65.8	41.4
45.3	21.1	60.0	46.3	30.5	20.0	64.2	46.3	69.5	42.1
35.4	23.1	54.7	42.0	24.5	18.4	60.9	40.3	64.2	41.0

¹ Responses taken as showing a feeling of restriction were "some," "much," and "very much . . . bothered," "more time," etc.