

Fertility, Childrearing Career, Work/Family Type:
An Analysis of the Expectations of University Students

by

Lenora M. Wiebe

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Science
in
Department of Family Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXPECTATIONS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

BY

LENORA M. WIEBE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the expectations of contemporary students at a mid-western Canadian university in terms of family formation, gender-role attitude, religiosity, childbearing, and childrearing. The sample (N=234) was obtained through the process of systematic random sampling of the University of Manitoba phone book. Students were initially contacted by telephone and had to meet specific criteria in order to participate. Data were collected on a self-report, mail-out questionnaire. Data analysis included correlations, a two-way analysis of variance, a Mann-Whitney test, and logistic regression. The results revealed significant relationships between (1) religiosity and gender-role attitude; (2) religious preference and childrearing career; (3) female gender-role attitude and (a) dual-career lifestyle, (b) childrearing career, and (c) ideal childrearing career; and (4) expected level of education for females and cost factors for males and delayed bearers. A significant difference was found between male and female expectations of female childrearing career. It was concluded that for this sample, religiosity, gender-role attitude, expected level of education, and cost factors were variously related to fertility expectation, childrearing career, and work/ family type.

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This completed document is hereby dedicated to the memory of my father, Boris Stuchenko, who passed away during my final year of high school, and to whom I made a promise.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The complex set of alternative lifestyles that face university students as they near completion of a first degree includes various types of work and family arrangements. These choices have arisen as a result of major social changes that have taken place in the last three decades. Included in the social changes are the advent of the dual-earner family and the smaller sized families. Changes in gender-role attitudes have taken place that affect men and women. Research results indicate that a relationship exists between religion, gender-role attitudes, fertility decision-making, careers, and marriage.

According to Reuther (1974), religion is the most important factor contributing to the traditionally accepted definition of the family. This definition reflects the sexual inequality found in the traditional family with the superior bread-winner husband and the subordinate childbearing and childrearing wife. Brinkerhoff and MacKie (1985) stated that "the family, the primary agent of gender socialization, derives many of its ideas about gender from religion" (p.416). Even though social changes have taken place in recent years that offer different roles for women, many religious teachings continue to support traditional roles for women. The Catholic church continues to support marriage, childbearing, and childrearing as the position to which women

should aspire. Similarly, Mennonite and other Anabaptist religions subscribe to the literal translations of the Bible that teach the traditional family structure with the husband as head of the family and the wife as the caregiver.

Researchers have pointed out that traditional gender-role attitudes that are reinforced by religious beliefs are strongly related to fertility. Scott and Morgan (1983) stated that childbearing is strongly associated with traditional religion beliefs. A high church attendance rate was related to above average fertility (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). According to Morgan and Scanzoni (1987), religious devoutness defined labour force participation for women as harmful to children and contrary to church doctrine.

Social scientists have studied fertility according to religious denomination. The Catholic religion was often chosen for study because of its much publicized pronatalist views (Blake, 1984). Researchers have compared Catholics, non-Catholics, and Protestants. It was argued that comparatively higher fertility rates of Catholic families were no longer evident (Westoff & Jones, 1979). Mosher and Hendershot (1984) claimed that although the fertility rates of Catholics and non-Catholics were converging, an obvious difference was found. Other researchers claimed a convergence between Catholic and Protestant families in regard to family size, parental values, and childrearing practises (Alwin, 1986; Bahr & Chadwick, 1985; D'Antonio & Cavanaugh, 1983). It was pointed out that religious participation and religious preference were associated with higher fertility expectations (Smith-Lovin & Tickamyer, 1978; Thornton, 1985) and the timing of first and second births (Heckert & Teachman, 1985; Rindfuss & St. John, 1983).

According to choice exchange theory, people make choices that maximize rewards and reduce costs (Nye, 1979). The people who are involved with religion probably experience more socialization with religious organizations than people who are not involved with religion. Because these organizations perpetuate religious norms, any violation of these norms would result in costly consequences. In order to maximize their rewards, religious persons would comply with the teachings of their church.

Gender-role attitudes in relation to fertility and labour force participation have been examined. Researchers who have studied women and women's roles have noted a definite trend toward the egalitarianism of roles (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983; Weeks & Gage, 1984). It was concluded that labour force participation and education were predictors of modern gender-role attitudes (Johnson & Stokes, 1984; Thornton et al., 1983). Komarovsky (1980) pointed out that the majority of their male respondents subscribed to the traditional family structure that allowed for female labour force participation but expected labour force interruption for childbearing and childrearing duties. Kotkin (1983) also found support for women's labour force participation as subordinate to their male partner's career.

The participation of married women in the labour force has resulted in the creation of "two physically separated and socially distinct work roles for women: one inside and one outside the home" (Piotrkowski & Repetti, 1984, p.99). Fertility decisions are an inherent part of this social change. Researchers have attempted to develop an understanding of fertility patterns and their effects on family, career, marriage, and

the individual by studying the relationship between fertility and labour force participation. Ewer, Crimmins, and Oliver (1979) argued that women enter the labour force in response to family financial considerations rather than to attain personal career goals. Other social scientists have examined this area of change. Although they have agreed upon the existence of a relationship between labour force participation and fertility, they have disagreed about the causal direction of this relationship (Bagozzi & Van Loo, 1982; Bielby & Bielby, 1984; Cramer, 1980; Gurak & Kritz, 1982; Straits, 1985; Waite & Stolzenberg, 1976). Traditional and nontraditional gender-role attitudes add complexity to this relationship. A traditional pattern in female labour force participation is observed. Women interrupt their labour force participation in response to childbearing and childrearing demands. According to choice exchange theory, a woman may chose to interrupt her career in order to experience the rewards of childrearing.

Gender-role attitudes have been associated with education. Exposure to nontraditional lifestyles through the medium of education is thought to be a strong predictor of gender-role attitudes (Rosenberg, 1984). Women who pursue higher educational goals are more likely to postpone childbirth (Callan, 1985; Rindfuss, Morgan, & Swicegood, 1984; Rindfuss & St. John, 1983; Spanier, Roos, & Shockey; 1985), delay first marriage (Spanier et al., 1985), and have fewer children (Rindfuss et al., 1980). These relationships have been examined as the perceived costs and rewards of having children (Gerson, 1984).

Research that examines fertility and gender roles often includes the no-fertility option. A voluntarily childless lifestyle, once referred to

as a deviant lifestyle, has begun to receive acceptance as an alternative lifestyle (Hoffman & Levant, 1985). Bram (1984) found strong support for the hypothesis that voluntary childless women subscribe to a less traditional gender-role orientation. Conversely, Callan (1986) argued that voluntarily childless women choose to further their careers rather than to raise children, because childrearing would require full-time attendance at home, a traditional viewpoint.

Gender-role attitudes have been researched in relation to dual-career families. Previously, the traditional sexual division of labour has seen women taking responsibility for household production. As increasing numbers of women enter the labour force, a corresponding shift in gender-roles has occurred. Women appear to suffer role strain as their workloads have increased. It has been suggested that women face a moral dilemma because they still subscribe to traditional gender-role patterns (Gilligan, 1982). Hunt and Hunt (1982) argued that dual-career families will result in the demise of the traditional family structure.

Although the areas of fertility, childrearing, and work/family type have been researched previously, no studies have been found that have combined these areas in the manner utilized in this study. As a result of this study, more information will be available about the expected numbers of children, the expected manner of childrearing, the expected participation of females in the labour force, and the expected work-family type. Knowledge about the relationship of these factors is essential to the social services sector of government, particularly the area of day care.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to assess the gender-role attitudes of university students, both male and female, in relation to religiosity, expected family-type, fertility expectation, and childrearing career.

Operational Definitions

The operational definitions employed in the present study were:

1. Religiosity: the individual's strength of religious feelings about his/her beliefs in and worship of God. It also includes church attendance and participation.
2. Gender-role attitudes: the respondent's personal preferences concerning the gender-linked division of labour in society. It will be measured by the Sex-role Preference Inventory (Scanzoni, 1980).
3. Fertility expectation: the number of children an individual expects to have in his/her lifetime.
4. Ideal fertility expectation: the ideal number of children an individual would choose to have in his/her lifetime.
5. Childrearing career: the length of time one expects to take out of the labour force to rear children in one's lifetime.
6. Ideal childrearing career: the length of time that an individual would like to spend out of the labour force in one's lifetime because of childcare duties.
7. Dual-career family: those expected husband-wife families in which both partners actively pursue professional careers.

8. Dual-earner family: those expected husband-wife families in which both partners participate regularly in jobs at the nonprofessional level.
9. Work/family type: the typology of expected husband-wife family style and includes dual-career couples, career husband/job wife, career husband/non-employed wife, career wife/job husband, career wife/non-employed husband, career-sharing couples, dual-job couples, job husband/non-employed wife, job wife/non-employed husband, and non-employed couples.
10. Delayed bearer: those subjects who do not expect to have a first birth until after the age of thirty.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study were:

1. To determine the relationship between religiosity and gender-role attitudes of male and female university students;
2. To determine the relationship between strength of religion and church attendance and (a) fertility expectations, (b) expected partner's childbearing desires and (c) expected childrearing career;
3. To determine the relationship between religious preference and (a) fertility expectations and (b) expected childrearing career;
4. To determine the relationship between gender-role attitudes and (a) fertility expectations, (b) expected childrearing career, and (c) work/family type;

5. To determine the relationships between each of the following variables: (a) expected level of education, (b) gender roles, (c) religiosity, and (d) perceived costs of having children, and both (a) expected delay of childbearing and (b) expected childlessness;
6. To determine the relationship between gender-role attitude and differences in male and female childrearing career expectations; and
7. To determine the relationship between expected education levels and expected work/family type.

This research will provide some understanding of the expectations of contemporary students toward family formation, childbearing, child-rearing, and gender-role attitudes. The results of this research will add information to the growing body of literature that deals with changing gender roles.

Strengths and Limitations

The process of systematic random sampling of university students who were in the final two years of their program was used to obtain a study sample. Random sampling of a university educated population allows the results to be generalized to other educated populations.

Delimitations

Predictions were made following an analysis of expectations and attitudes, instead of behaviour.

A delimitation of this study is that single member data were collected about a subject that involves couples. Since fertility and family type decisions are required of couples, an individual's expectations may change in order to satisfy a relationship.

The sample was comprised of University of Manitoba students who met the following criteria: (a) currently registered in the final two years of their program, (b) between the ages of 20 and 26 years, (c) childless, (d) single (never married) and not cohabiting, (e) currently residing in the city or the immediate surroundings, and (f) not pregnant.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Since the emergence of the women's movement in the 1960s, changes in women's gender-role attitudes have received much research attention. One of the areas of research has been the investigation of the relationship between religion, gender roles, and fertility. Researchers have noted and studied the corresponding family role changes that have occurred, such as the creation of new family types and for many women, new work and family options. Fertility research has been subdivided into the investigation of the areas of religion, gender-role attitudes, female labour force participation, childbearing postponement, voluntary childlessness, and work-family type.

Church Teachings in the Twentieth Century

Although there are exceptions, attitudes within the Christian church toward women, marriage, and the family have remained traditional. Pope Pius XI, in *Casti Connubii*, a letter to his bishops, wrote on the teachings of the Catholic church about marriage and the family and included the following principles: (1) "the prime purpose of marriage is the procreation and rearing of children" (D'Antonio & Cavanaugh, 1983, p.150), and (2) "woman's proper place is in the home" (D'Antonio, 1985, p.396). Similarly, Protestant and non-Catholic teachings are based on a

masculine theology that continues to maintain the status of male dominance and female roles of wife and mother.

Teachings in the Mennonite church are not as clearly stated as those of the Catholic church. Attitudes about fertility and the role of women are based on literal interpretations of the Bible. Wiebe (1972) pointed out that the Bible tells us that man is insufficient to himself and that children are a "heritage from the Lord" (Psalms 127:3). It is the accepted belief of Mennonites that God created the family primarily for procreative purposes (Wiebe, 1972). In addition, Kauffman and Harder (1975) pointed out that "Mennonite fertility is significantly higher than the general population of the U.S." (p.177).

In summary, although the church doctrines may be different for the Roman Catholic church and the Mennonite church, the traditional belief systems that deal with family formation, fertility, and the role of women are similar.

Religion and Gender Roles

Religion and religiosity have received much research attention in relation to the family. Thornton (1985) stated that:

Religious institutions and values had significant effects on family life in societies of the past and are important factors in family structure and relationships today. Religion and its changing role in the lives of individuals also has influenced the course of family change over the last century. (p.381)

Religious thought has been linked to gender-role traditionalism. The status of women, in particular, has been associated with a traditional gender perspective and religious thought. It has been stated that the

most important determinant of gender roles is religion (Wilson, 1978). Reuther (1974) claimed that religion not only shaped but also enforced the role and image of women.

McMurry (1978) reported the results of a 1964 college graduate study on religious preferences and women's gender roles. A substantial religious effect on women's gender-role traditionalism was revealed with subjects among the Baptists, Catholics, and fundamentalist Protestant groups having the most traditional gender-role attitudes. Because this research employed 1964 data, McMurry questioned whether this relationship would remain or disappear in time.

Brinkerhoff and MacKie (1985) hypothesized that religiosity would be linked to gender-role attitudes. Results revealed that the stronger the religious belief system the more traditional the gender-role attitude. It was noted that religion variables were more influential than demographic variables as predictors of gender-role attitudes. Similarly, Scott and Morgan (1983) concluded that traditional religious beliefs were strongly associated with traditional gender-role orientations. The perception of childbearing as rewarding was related to the traditional gender-role variable.

In a study that explored the causes of gender-role attitudes, Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983) studied age, religion, education, and work experience as causal variables. It was found, as expected, that church attendance had a significant influence on gender-role attitudes. The higher the church attendance rate, the less likely the respondent was to experience a change toward egalitarianism in gender-

role attitude. Respondents with a more traditional gender-role attitude defined the female role as that of a homemaker and experienced above average fertility. Similarly, in a study of college females by Morgan and Scanzoni (1987), it was concluded that religious devoutness encouraged a traditional gender-role structure that viewed labour force participation as harmful to children, family, and society, and ultimately as a violation of God's laws. It was concluded that devoutly religious females would interrupt labour force participation for childrearing to a greater extent than less devout females who had modern gender-role attitudes.

Religious origins and religious participation were linked to gender-role attitudes (Crawford & Boyer, 1985; Smith-Lovin & Tickamyer, 1978). Crawford and Boyer noted that religiosity and gender roles were strongly associated with the female partner's cooperation with the childbearing preference of the husband. According to Smith-Lovin and Tickamyer, religious participation and religious preference as an adolescent were variables that had an effect on gender-role attitudes in adulthood.

In summary, religion as a variable in social science research has been consistently bound to gender-role attitudes. Christian tradition has emphasized the patriarchal structure that has perpetuated traditional gender roles.

Religion and Fertility

Several researchers have examined the relationship between religion and fertility. According to Crawford and Boyer (1985), religiosity,

defined as beliefs in the "existence of God, life after death, [and] literal interpretation of the Bible" (p.20), is important in fertility research. It was found that the intention to have a child was strongly related to fundamentalist religious beliefs. The female respondents' compliance with the husbands' childbearing preference was strongly associated with religious orthodoxy.

The relationship between religion and fertility has been studied according to religious denomination. Researchers have studied fertility differences among Catholics, non-Catholics, and Protestants. Blake (1984) speculated that these divisions are used in research because of the pronatalist views of the Catholic church. High fertility may be supported by religious doctrine or by the prohibition of birth control.

Westoff and Jones (1979) argued that, although Catholic fertility was higher than non-Catholic fertility in the early part of the twentieth century, a convergence took place in the mid 1970s signifying the end of "Catholic" fertility. Similarly, in a replication of the previous study, Mosher and Hendershot (1984) found that although the convergence of fertility between the Catholic and non-Catholic groups was taking place, the difference between Catholic and non-Catholic fertility was much larger than was found in the original study. It was concluded that the prediction of the end of Catholic fertility was premature. However, D'Antonio and Cavanaugh (1983) argued that Protestant-Catholic differences in family size and birth control have almost disappeared.

In addition, Alwin (1986) argued that a Catholic-Protestant convergence has taken place in family life, in parental values for children,

and in childrearing practises. Thornton (1985) pointed out that members of fundamentalist Protestant churches subscribed to more distinctive religious practises than modern Catholics. By dividing his sample into fundamentalists and non-fundamentalists, Alwin concluded that it is religious participation rather than fundamentalism that governed specific religious values. The religious participation measure in this study combined the following items: "(1) the extent of church attendance during childhood, (2) the extent of current church attendance, and (3) the extent to which respondents' children participate in religious instruction classes" (p.435).

Smith-Lovin and Tickamyer (1978) noted that religious preferences in high school had a significant effect on fertility. It was pointed out that respondents who had a Catholic upbringing tended to have larger families. In a study that examined the fertility expectations of high school students according to gender and degree of religiousness among Catholics, Blake (1984) noted that although family size expectations between Catholics and non-Catholics were not large, they did exist. An analysis of Catholic girls who described themselves as practising religious Catholics, defined as "those who attend Mass once a week or more" (p.333), revealed that their family size expectations were 19 percent higher than those of non-Catholic girls. Blake reported that practising Catholics attending Catholic schools had higher fertility expectations than other Catholics and defined the role of mothers in terms of traditional gender-role patterns.

A positive relationship between religiosity and family life was reported by Bahr and Chadwick (1985). The authors concurred with

previous research that claimed marginal differences between Catholic and Protestant family size. It was noted that Catholics and Protestants had larger families than people with no religious preference. A positive relationship between church attendance and family size was noted.

Contrary to the findings above, Marcum's (1988) analysis in a study on religious affiliation, participation, and fertility found a negative relationship between fertility and religious participation for moderate and liberal Protestants. However, as expected, a positive relationship was found between religiosity and fertility for conservative Protestants.

Heckert and Teachman (1985) approached the relationship between religion and fertility differently but reached similar conclusions. In determining the pace at which second births occur, it was concluded that Catholics who are highly religious experience a more rapid second birth than non-Catholics. It was discovered by Rindfuss and St. John (1983), when they studied social determinants of age at first birth, that being Catholic had a direct positive effect on age at first birth.

All in all, a positive relationship has been found between religiosity and fertility. Females who subscribe to an orthodox belief system are more likely to comply with their husband's increased childbearing preferences. Religiosity and religious preference are associated with family size, expected family size, and the timing of first and second births. The rewards and satisfactions obtained by complying with the belief system are greater than the costs incurred by rejecting the belief system.

Gender roles, Fertility, and Labour Force Participation

The traditional role for women has included the roles of wife and mother and has placed great value on the nurturance of others. Weeks and Gage (1984), in an analysis of the marriage-role expectations of college women, compared women from 1951, 1972, and 1978. Strong support was found for a trend toward egalitarian expectations for marriage roles with nonfamilial areas such as female labour force participation becoming accepted much more quickly than the intrafamilial areas of homemaking and childcare. In a similar study of gender-role attitudes and attitude change that analyzed data collected from 1962 to 1980, Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983) noted a definite trend toward the egalitarianism of women's roles. Labour force participation, youth, and education were variables that determined nontraditional gender roles. In addition, as concluded by Johnson and Stokes (1984), two of the strongest predictors of modern gender roles were female labour force participation and education.

Several researchers have examined gender roles from the woman's perspective; Komarovsky (1976, 1980), in contrast, has studied gender-role attitudes from the male's perspective. The term "modified traditionalism" (1980, p.265) was devised to describe male attitudes toward their future wives' occupational roles. The dominant response (48%) was the modified traditionalist approach which was defined as: "work, withdrawal from work for childrearing, and eventual return to work" (1980, p.265). Komarovsky (1976) further pointed out that the modified traditionalist male's beliefs about motherhood included the presence of the mother at home during the preschool years and after

school, even if she was employed. The expectation of the husband as breadwinner or superior achiever with the wife's occupation or career as subordinate to her husband's was evident in the modified traditionalist approach. This traditional approach to marriage and career was discussed by Kotkin (1983) in a study of gender roles among married and unmarried couples. It was argued that marriage, by definition, contains specific expectations about domestic and occupational gender roles. Kotkin found that even though the highly educated women in his sample were involved in the pursuit of a professional career, married and engaged women's occupations were subordinate to their partner's careers. This finding was in direct contrast to the majority of couples who were not engaged, signifying a relationship between marriage and traditional gender-roles.

In their examination of gender roles, Booth and Duval (1981) explored the relationship between fertility and labour force participation. Data analysis from this research revealed that labour force participation reduced overall birth rates, with a slightly greater effect on women who subscribe to a traditional gender-role attitude. These researchers speculated that women with traditional gender-role attitudes find the roles of career and childrearing to be incompatible. It was pointed out that although labour force participation reduced overall birth rates, it did not reduce the birth rate for women who believed themselves to be superior wives or mothers. In a similar study, Thornton and Camburn (1979) questioned the causal direction of the relationships between fertility and labour force participation and gender roles. The home orientation variable, as a dimension of gender-role attitude, included

the role of wife as mother and nurturer. Deviation from this role was perceived as harmful to the family. The home orientation variable was positively related to labour force participation.

Mott and Mott (1984), in a study that examined the extent of congruence between attitudes about women's roles and fertility expectations, found that male and female youth expressed different attitudes toward women's roles, such as female labour force participation, the sharing of housework, and childrearing commitments. These attitudinal differences, however, were not present in fertility expectations as there were no significant differences with regard to male and female respondents. A traditional gender-role orientation was found to be positively associated with fertility expectations.

In examining labour force participation in relation to fertility and gender roles, Ewer, Crimmins, and Oliver (1979) found that during the early stages of family formation, married women obtained employment in response to family circumstances. Findings in this research showed wives interrupting labour force participation in response to childbirth and returning to labour force participation in response to their children reaching the ages of 2 to 4 years. It was pointed out that the wives' labour force participation was, in essence, a traditional role because the main objective was not for career enhancement but rather for family financial reasons. A study by Straits (1985) resulted in a similar conclusion. An exploration of college women's fertility expectations and career aspirations revealed that fertility expectations would be lowered in response to either family financial situations or the lure of a specific career. Again, the traditional lifestyle values of the respondents were emphasized.

Work commitment and parenting were examined in relation to gender-role attitudes and labour force participation. Bielby and Bielby (1984) found that the majority of their sample of female college graduates interrupted labour force participation in response to childrearing demands. McHale and Huston (1984) observed that mother's gender-role attitudes and labour force participation were factors that affected the mother-child involvement. It was noted that "nontraditional mothers decrease the frequency of their childcare" (p.1360).

A variety of instruments were used in several studies to determine the casual dynamics of the relationship between labour force participation and fertility expectation. Waite and Stolzenberg (1976) concluded that women's fertility plans are altered to accomodate labour force participation. The opposite relationship, however, was significantly higher. Bagozzi and Van Loo (1982) reported that the relationship between fertility and labour force participation is "spurious and not necessarily casual in nature" (p.247). Further, the authors suggested that work and fertility plans are influenced by individual tastes. In a study of married women in the Dominican Republic, Gurak and Kritz (1982) stated that there was no observable relationship between fertility and proximate employment. In addition, Cramer (1980) concluded that "causation appears to go in both directions" (p.186). Cramer pointed out that in the short run the effect is from fertility to employment and the long run from employment to fertility.

A pattern has become evident from research results that involved gender-roles, fertility, and labour force participation. Many women

enter the labour force upon completion of their education, interrupt labour force participation to meet childbearing and childrearing demands, and then return to the labour force. Choices may be made on the basis of a cost and reward system. Women with a traditional gender-role orientation would be more likely to find childrearing more rewarding than labour force participation. Speculations, based on national longitudinal surveys that this established pattern is changing, forecast minor labour force interruptions during the childbearing and childrearing years (Shapiro & Mott, 1979).

Age, Education, Fertility, and Labour Force Participation

Rindfuss, Bumpass, and St. John (1980) pointed out that education is expected to introduce values, ambitions, and abilities that are not congruent with traditional family roles for females. Rosenberg (1984) studied gender-role attitudes of working class women in Bogota, Columbia and compared their attitudes to women in the United States. It was concluded that "education is the most reliable predictor of sex-role attitudes among North American women" (p.80).

A substantial number and variety of roles become available to women who obtain higher levels of education (Rindfuss et al., 1980). Results of this study revealed that the effect of education on fertility preferences operated through age at first birth. It was found that the first birth was delayed by about three-quarters of a year for each additional year of education. Educated women postponed childbirth, thereby, beginning the process of childbearing at a later age. This, in turn, leads to longer birth intervals. The cumulative effect of delayed

childbirth is reduced fertility because of time and finances spent on education and career attainment, the breakdown of relationships, and a widening gap between career and family lifestyles. In a similar study, Rindfuss and St. John (1983) examined a women's first birth and concluded that education had "a large and significant effect on age at first birth" (p.560). Callan's (1985) findings that highly educated women delayed their first birth supports the previously mentioned research.

Spanier, Roos, and Shockey (1985), who studied the relationship between family life-course characteristics and education, found that higher levels of education were associated with a delayed first marriage, delayed first birth, and smaller family size. Similarly Rindfuss, Morgan, and Swicegood (1984) found that highly-educated women were more likely than other women to have a child at a later age and less likely than other women to have a child at an early age. In examining the probability of having a child by the age of 35, education was the only variable found to have any effect. It was noted that highly educated women are less likely to have children than other women because career development is in competition with childbearing for a woman's time.

The effect of a woman's age on the relationship between fertility expectations and labour force participation was researched by Stolzenberg and Waite (1977). The hypothesis, that as women age the effects of labour force participation on fertility expectations become negative, was supported. It was reasoned that as women age, their awareness of the costs of childbearing and childrearing to labour force participation and subsequent career aspirations is expanded. In

addition, Soloway and Smith (1987) found that participants in a study dealing with late birthtiming believe that educational goals should be accomplished prior to childbearing. Among the reasons cited for the postponement of childbearing were occupational identity, financial security, educational status, marital commitment, and gender-role identity.

In summary, researchers have noted a number of relationships between age, education, fertility, and labour force participation. Education introduces women to a variety of nonfamily roles and is a strong predictor of modern gender-role attitudes. It was noted that educated women delay first marriage, delay first births, have longer intervals between births, and have smaller families or no children. For women, choices about careers and childbearing and childrearing are related to gender-role orientation.

Voluntary Childlessness

Researchers who study fertility patterns have noted and begun to study the significant increase in the proportion of women who expect to remain childless. In the past, voluntarily childless couples were viewed as adhering to a deviant lifestyle (Reading & Amatea, 1986). In the 1980s, however, "voluntary childlessness is becoming [viewed as] an increasingly prevalent alternative lifestyle in contemporary American society" (Hoffman & Levant, 1985, p.197). The stereotypic view of the childless has become less relevant. Along with the increased acceptance of alternative lifestyles, the norm "for married women has changed; a woman's place is no longer solely in the home" (Reading & Amatea, 1986,

p.256). Changes in gender-role patterns and lifestyles are being increasingly investigated by social scientists.

According to Statistics' Canada figures, since 1961, there has been a significant increase in the number of young married women who have chosen to remain childless. The proportion of young married women, aged 25-29 years, who have had a child rose from 14% in 1961 to 30% in 1981. For those childless women aged 30-34 years, proportions for the years 1971 and 1981 rose from 9% to 14% (Romaniuc, 1987).

Bram (1984), in a study of voluntarily childless women, pointed out that childless women expressed different attitudes toward employment than delayers (women who are currently childless but plan to have children in the future) and parents. Childless women were more likely than delayers or parents to remain in the labour force consistently until retirement. Women who are childless by choice are more likely than the other groups to: (a) attain professional or doctorate degrees, (b) be employed, (c) choose professional occupations, and (d) be in traditionally male-dominated occupations. Strong support was found for the hypothesis that voluntarily childless women are more modern in gender-role orientation than delayers or parents. Similar results were obtained by Baber and Dreyer (1986) when they investigated gender-role differences between child-free and expectant couples. Childless females viewed themselves as nontraditional in relation to the mothering role. It was noted that the expectant group were identified as having traditional gender-role orientations. It was pointed out that the males in the expectant group had the highest traditional role scores.

Daniluk and Herman (1984) stated that women today, although raised with traditional gender-role stereotypes, are dealing with values and lifestyles in conflict with past lifestyles and role definitions. Research has revealed mixed feelings dealing with traditional versus nontraditional gender-role labelling of the voluntary childless. Although Bram (1984) reported that the childless are more likely than delayers or parents to be in traditionally male-dominated fields, it should be noted that the largest proportion are found in female-dominated fields. Hoffman and Levant (1985) reported that lifestyle or fertility choice and age were related to gender-role orientation. For women, voluntary childlessness was strongly associated with a modern gender-role orientation. For men, age was more strongly associated with gender-role orientation; younger men subscribed to a more traditional gender-role orientation than older men. Callan (1986) argued that because "the voluntary childless have very firm views about working mothers" (p.269), many believe that mothers of young children should not be employed, thereby revealing a traditional gender-role value.

In addition, Callan (1986) found support for the hypothesis that women who chose voluntary childless lifestyles would rate the costs of having children higher and the rewards lower than mothers. When rating statements about attitudes toward employment outside of the home, the childless group agreed that more satisfaction was obtained from being employed than from being involved in childcare at home. The childless group gave the lowest ratings to emotional satisfactions and personal fulfillment when rating the rewards of having children. In another study by Callan (1983), it was noted that one-third of the single male

and female respondents who expected to remain childless stated career advancement as an advantage of a child-free lifestyle

Women who chose a voluntary childless lifestyle defined themselves as less sex-typed than mothers (Bram, 1984; Hoffman & Levant, 1985). They described themselves as leaning strongly toward the companionship type of marriage. According to Holahan (1983), voluntary childless women who have satisfying careers may not be motivated toward having children. It was stated that a childfree lifestyle expedites professional development for women.

In summary, researchers have included the voluntarily childless in their research on fertility patterns and gender roles. They are divided about the gender-role orientations of this group. Childless women rank employment, family, and marriage as equally important (Bram, 1984). Childless women are more likely to be less traditional in gender-role orientation, be more concerned about social life, and expect a companionship type of marriage. Voluntarily childless women found the costs of childbearing and childrearing much higher than the rewards. It has been argued that voluntarily childless women believe that mothers belong at home with their children, a traditional viewpoint. An advantage of the childless lifestyle is the freedom to pursue a career (Callan, 1983).

Dual Career Families and Gender Roles

The traditional marriage has been characterized by the sexual division of labour with the female taking responsibility for homemaking

and the male assuming the role of the breadwinner. Dual-earner and dual-career families have evolved in recent years as a direct result of the exodus of married women from unpaid household tasks and other home-based activities in active pursuit of paid employment. Because of this change, families, especially women, have experienced many changes in family roles.

Gender roles, in particular the attitude towards women's roles, have been found to be associated with occupational behavior (Stafford, 1984). Increasingly, nontraditional gender-role attitudes are being associated with a deviation from the homemaker role. Stafford questioned whether labour force participation leads women to assume nontraditional gender-role attitudes or whether nontraditional gender-role attitudes lead women to pursue a nontraditional lifestyle. Scanzoni (1980), however, linked the trend toward egalitarianism in marriages to changing family roles. It was concluded that the equal partner marriages or dual-career marriages exercised more control over fertility "so as to enhance occupational participation, and [held] less traditional sex roles" (p.135) than other marriage types.

Stephan and Corder (1985), in a study of the effects of dual-career families on gender-role attitudes, found that females reared in dual-career families expected to combine their labour force participation with family roles. Males reared in dual-career families, also, expected their wives to combine these roles. In addition, respondents reared in nontraditional or egalitarian families expected smaller numbers of children and more childcare help from the father. Stephan and Corder concluded that because dual-career families produced children who expect

to form dual-career families, not only will the number of dual-career families increase but also an increase will be evidenced in nontraditional gender-role attitudes and behaviors.

Similarly, Kingsbury (1987), in a study dealing with dual-earner families, predicted increases in the numbers of dual-career couples, career husband and job wife couples, career wife and job husband couples, and dual-job couples with corresponding decreases in career husband and non-employed wife couples. It was concluded that "the greatest change for women is in fertility" (p.163).

Hunt and Hunt (1982) presented a theory about the relationship between dual-career families and family lifestyles. It was purported that because of the gender role division of labour, careers and families have survived. Hunt and Hunt argued that the nonparenting lifestyle will become associated with careerism in the future. A widening gap will evolve between those who embrace a career-oriented lifestyle and those who embrace traditional family values. This polarization of career and family will create two different standards of living.

Roos (1983), from a cross-cultural perspective, examined the labour force participation differences of ever and never married women in twelve countries. Using dual career theory, this study tested occupational sex segregation.

According to dual career theory, actual (or in the case of single women, anticipated) family responsibilities affect the kinds of jobs women enter by limiting their investment in education and/or on-the-job training, the number of hours they work, the continuity of their labour force attachment, and their ability to pursue opportunities for advancement. (p.852)

It was concluded that dual career theory does explain certain labour force behavior differences of ever and never married women. Married women with their additional responsibilities differ from never married women in that they receive a smaller return on their educational investment. The number of hours worked, the capacity to pursue advancement opportunities, and labour force participation continuity affect the type of jobs for which married women can compete. This is evidenced in seven of the twelve industrial societies investigated.

Other researchers have studied the extra family responsibilities of dual-earner families by exploring role strain (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985), and role behavior and depression (Keith & Schafer, 1985). Kelly and Voydanoff concluded that being a parent in a dual-earner family was associated with high job tension. A strong predictor of high job tension, because of the increased time and energy demands, was the presence of a preschool child. Keith and Schafer reported that even though women in dual-earner families reported more dissatisfaction with their family role involvement and higher disagreement over roles than women in one-earner families, there was no difference when homemakers and employed women evaluated the quality of their role performance. The authors reported that role performance problems had less effect on depression for employed women than for homemakers. Family role disagreements are a cost of being employed. This cost is offset by the financial benefits inherent in being employed.

Elman and Gilbert (1984), in a study of dual-career families investigated the conflicts and coping strategies faced by married professional women with preschool children. Professional and parental

role schedules may be changed to avoid or reduce conflict. Personal role redefinition, one of the coping strategies studied, is defined as a change in the salience of life roles in order for family needs to be met or for career aspirations to take precedence. Elman and Gilbert pointed out that some women are trying to cope with full-time labour force participation and a full-time homemaker role. Gilligan (1982) argued, however, that coping with employment and household duties may not be the entire problem. The female may create her own "moral dilemma". Many employed women accept the traditional viewpoint of meeting the needs of others at their own expense. Because these women believe there is virtue in self-sacrifice, they forgo career advancement to aid their husband's career aspirations.

In summary, dual-career families appear to be associated with nontraditional gender-role patterns. Women are expected to combine the multiple roles associated with family and employment but as researchers have pointed out, delayed childbearing, reduced fertility, or no children are becoming established patterns. It has been predicted that family lifestyles have survived to the present time because of the gender-role division of labour; men pursued careers and women reared children. In addition, Hunt and Hunt (1982) argued that the dual-career lifestyle will challenge the traditional structure of family life.

Theory Development

Men and women today are faced with many choices to make with regard to their future. Included in these choices are work and family arrangements, pursuit of a career, and fertility options. Choice

exchange theory is a theoretical perspective suited for the study of expectations about fertility, childrearing patterns, and work/family types. According to Nye (1979), "One makes an infinite number of choices so as to reduce his/her costs, maximize his/her rewards for most profits (or least losses)" (p.4).

Men and women who subscribe to religious beliefs that strongly support larger families and the woman's role as mother, are more likely than men and women who have little involvement with religious beliefs to choose to comply with their religious beliefs because non-compliance would be too costly.

According to choice exchange theory (Nye, 1979), when a mother becomes a labour force participant the rewards of employment are greater than the costs.

Since money is a generalized reward in industrial societies, and since paid employment resulted in receiving money, differential costs may be more critical than differential rewards in explaining taking or not taking employment, but both costs and rewards are involved. (p.11,12)

The differential costs may include financial costs incurred by daycare and additional household expenses, and time constraints caused by a combination of the motherhood role and labour force participation. Spouses and children receive less time, and the mothers may experience guilt feelings about the role change that could reduce job satisfaction.

Career oriented women are faced with a dilemma. Do they interrupt or postpone their careers in order to remain at home "during the early years of childbearing" (Daniluk & Herman, 1984, p.608), or do they reject the motherhood option? According to Nye (1979), "the younger the

age of the mother's youngest child, the less likely that she will be employed" (p.12). A recent trend is for young mothers to return to labour force participation soon after the birth of a child. The costs in terms of time, finances for childcare, and disapproval from family members and friends may be too high for the mother to return to or obtain employment when parenting an infant or toddler. Conversely, the mother may feel that the rewards, in terms of approval from family and friends, and emotional involvement in the care of the child, for remaining in the homemaking role are greater than the costs of labour force participation.

When faced with the choice, "to parent or not to parent," choice exchange theory can be used in the explanation. Holahan (1983) studied mothers and childless women concerning their childbearing decisions. The results indicated that the perception of many women is that they must choose either to parent or to pursue a career. The satisfaction or rewards of a career may be greater than the rewards of having a child. Callan (1986) studied mothers, childless wives, and single women who wished to remain childless. It was hypothesized that childless women, married or single, would estimate fewer rewards and higher costs of having children than other women. The results supported this expectation.

Reading and Amatea (1986) studied mothers and voluntarily childless women. They questioned whether "today's childless women have chosen not to have children as a way to minimize the stress of multiple role commitments and to maximize the rewards of proven areas of competence" (Reading & Amatea, p.256). As expected, the childless women found the

parenting role to have less salience than was reported by the mothers. In addition, mothers attributed more altruistic motives for parenting than childless women. This revealed differences in perceived personal rewards for parenting and having children between mothers and childless women.

In a study of female undergraduates' wishes for a child in relation to a feminist perspective, Gerson (1984) measured the perceived costs and rewards of having children. The costs of rearing children were identified as a loss of individualism and career opportunities. In a study that used undergraduate subjects, Jensen, Christensen, and Wilson (1985) investigated the perceived costs and rewards of parenting in order to predict motivations toward full-time parenting or full-time employment.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

The greater the religiosity of the subjects, the more traditional the gender-role attitude will be.

Rationale for Hypothesis 1

Researchers have consistently claimed that religion teaches and enforces the traditional sexual division of labour within families (Brinkerhoff & McKie, 1985; McMurry, 1978; Reuther, 1974; Thornton, 1985; Wilson, 1978). The rewards obtained from the church and the family for compliance with traditional family values are greater than the costs of rejecting the teachings of the church.

Hypothesis 2

The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the higher the fertility expectation will be.

Hypothesis 3

The more frequent the church attendance of the female subject, the higher the fertility expectation will be.

Rationale for Hypotheses 2 and 3

Subjects with a high church attendance rate resisted change in gender-role attitudes, subscribed to the traditional male and female division of labour (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983), and had larger families (Smith-Lovin & Tickamyer, 1978; Thornton et al., 1983). Subjects with a high religiosity strength will regard the bearing of children as rewarding because of their belief system rather than cost provoking.

Hypothesis 4

The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the more important she will consider her expected husband's/partner's childbearing desires.

Hypothesis 5

The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the longer she will expect her childrearing career to be.

Rationale for Hypotheses 4 and 5

Religious orthodoxy was strongly associated with the wife's cooperation with her husband's childbearing intentions (Crawford & Boyer, 1985), reinforced beliefs that the female role was defined as homemaker (Thornton et al., 1983), and supported traditional family values (Scott & Morgan, 1983). The rewards of compliance with the partner's desires are greater than the costs of rejecting his desires. Rewards obtained from childcare duties will be greater for the female who has a high religious strength than the costs of leaving her children in order to be employed.

Hypothesis 6

Subjects who have a religious preference (Mennonite and Roman Catholic) that traditionally has supported large family size and who have high religiosity scores will expect to have a higher fertility expectation, a higher ideal fertility expectation, a higher childrearing career, and a higher ideal childrearing career than other religions.

Rationale for Hypothesis 6

The family is perceived as the nurturer of values and is expected to procreate to perpetuate these values. Traditional gender roles, that include mothering and childrearing as valuable components of family life, are supported by religious teachings (Crawford & Boyer, 1985; Rindfuss & St. John, 1983; Scott & Morgan, 1983; Smith-Lovin & Tickamyer, 1978; Thornton et al., 1983). Many researchers have examined the higher fertility rates of Catholic families (Blake, 1984; Westoff & Jones, 1979), and noted that other fundamentalist religions have similar birth rates (Alwin, 1986; Thornton, 1985). The rewards of parenting, having and rearing children, and complying with religious teachings are greater than the costs of rejecting these values.

Hypothesis 7

Controlling for sex, subjects with more modern gender-role attitudes will expect to have a dual-career lifestyle, the wife to have the shortest childrearing career, shortest ideal childrearing career, the lowest fertility expectation, and the lowest ideal fertility expectation of all work/family types.

Rationale for Hypothesis 7

Many women believe that a choice must be made between parenting and the pursuit of a career (Holahan, 1983). Education increases the roles and options accessible to women (Rindfuss, Bumpass & St. John, 1981). A dual-career lifestyle is likely to become associated with a nonparenting

lifestyle (Hunt & Hunt, 1982). Booth and Duvall (1981) speculated that women perceive conflict between the motherhood role and career development when they subscribe to traditional gender roles. Women with a feminist perspective, that is, women who expect "equality in the workplace" (Gerson, 1984, p.390), believe that the costs of rearing children exceed the benefits of having children.

Hypothesis 8

Controlling for gender-role attitude, male subjects will have a longer childrearing career expectation for their partner than female subjects will expect to have for themselves.

Rationale for Hypothesis 8

Research has shown that the greatest changes in gender-role attitudes have taken place for women. Men subscribe to more traditional gender-role attitudes than women and regard childrearing as a traditionally female role (Scott & Morgan, 1983). Traditionalist males in the Komarovsky study (1976) expected their wives to work, remain out of the labour force during childrearing especially if the child was a preschooler, and to be home when the child returned from school even if the mother was employed. The psychological and emotional rewards obtained by maintaining the norm of male provider and female nurturer are greater than the costs of childrearing if the wife works.

Hypothesis 9

Controlling for sex, the higher the expected level of education, more modern gender-role attitudes, lower religiosity score, and more cost factors for having children recognized, the more likely the subject will be to expect to delay childbearing until he/she is past 30.

Rationale for Hypothesis 9

To obtain the maximum benefits from her education and pursuit of a career, educated women postpone childbirth (Rindfuss & St. John, 1981). Hunt and Hunt (1982) argued that motherhood is more problematic and costly for career-oriented women. Women with more modern gender-role attitudes place less value on children than women with traditional gender-role attitudes (Gerson, 1984). To maximize career potential, women delay childbirth until they are established in a career. When the biological time clock becomes an important factor, the decision to have a child is made (Soloway & Smith, 1987). The cost of having a child before being established in a career would be greater than the rewards of childbearing and childrearing.

Hypothesis 10

The higher the expected level of education, more modern gender-role attitudes, lower religiosity score, and more cost factors for having children recognized, the more likely the female subject will expect to remain childless.

Rationale for Hypothesis 10

Childless women are more likely to attain professional or doctorate degrees (Bram, 1984). Education clearly introduces new values and ambitions that are not congruent with traditional gender-role attitudes (Rindfuss et al., 1980). Callan (1986) argued that voluntarily childless women would find the time and opportunity cost resultant from childbearing and childrearing too high a price to pay. The costs to career attainment would be considered greater than the rewards of having a child.

Hypothesis 11

The higher the expected level of education for male subjects, the more likely they will expect to be part of a single career family as a career husband/job wife family. Conversely, the higher the expected level of education for female subjects, the more likely they will expect to be part of a dual-career family.

Rationale for Hypothesis 11

The most likely female to be at home and unemployed is the female with a husband in a high earnings career. Females will expect to develop a career and obtain a return on their educational investment (Rindfuss, Bumpass, & St. John, 1981), whereas males will expect their wives to devote their energies toward childrearing and to have a job as long as it does not interfere with his career pursuits (Komarovsky, 1976).

The rewards for males of having an at-home wife are greater than the costs of having an employed wife. The career-oriented female would expect greater rewards from her career than she would expect from being a homemaker.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Sample

Systematic random sampling was used to draw a sample of 2000 names from the University of Manitoba phone book. Participants were contacted initially by telephone and were screened for eligibility (see Appendix A for Telephone Script). Criteria for participation in the study were: (a) currently registered in the final two years of their program, (b) between the ages of 20 and 26 years, (c) childless, (d) single (never married), and not cohabiting, (e) residing in the city or the immediate surrounding area, and (f) not pregnant. Of the 2000 names drawn, 376 names had to be replaced because the calls were long distance, disconnected, or the person had moved, 1687 did not meet the criteria necessary to participate, and 28 refused to participate. Of those who did not meet the criteria, (a) 1353 were not in the final two years of study, (b) 63 did not meet the age criteria, (c) 271 were married and had children or were married and pregnant, and (d) 17 did not identify the criteria that they did not meet. One person who met the criteria refused to participate.

A total of 285 students met the criteria and agreed to participate in the study. A self-report questionnaire was mailed to each qualified student. Of the 285 questionnaires mailed, a total of 234 question-

naires were returned, representing 82.1% of those who agreed to participate in the study. This resulted in a sample of 139 females and 94 males (N = 234).

Data Collection

Data were collected by a mailed questionnaire (see Appendix B). In designing the cover letter, the questionnaire, the telephone script, and mailing the questionnaire Dillman's (1978) recommendations were followed. The addresses on the envelopes were typed, and the mail-out package included the cover letter and a printed, postage-paid return envelope. The return envelopes were numbered with the corresponding number on the list of names. This number code was used to ascertain which questionnaires had been returned. After the questionnaires were returned, the name corresponding to the number was deleted from the list. After three weeks, a follow-up reminder telephone call was made to those who had not returned the questionnaire.

Research Instruments and Measures

Independent Variables

Religiosity. To assess religiosity, the scores from six items were summed to give a religiosity score (Appendix B, Section I, Items 2-7). The first item questioned religious strength with response categories that ranged from very religious to not at all religious and scoring that ranged from 5 for very religious to 1 for not at all religious. The second item questioned the influence of religion with categories ranging from very strong with a score of 5 to no influence with a score

of 1. The third item examined church attendance with a score of 1 for never ranging to a score of 6 for more than once a week. The fourth item rated participation in the congregation with scores ranging from 5 for very active to 1 for not at all active. The fifth item referred to the amount of time spent reading religious materials with response categories ranging from daily to never with scores from 6 for daily to 1 for never. The final item questioned the frequency of prayer with a score of 1 for never ranging to 6 for more than once a week. The total combined scores from all statements indicated the degree of religiosity. For this study, scores on items 2, 3, and 5 were recoded by multiplying each score by 6 creating scores ranging from 6 to 30. Scores on items 4, 6, and 7 were recoded by multiplying each score by 5 creating scores ranging from 5 to 30. The possible range of scores was 27 to 180. In this study, the internal reliability of this scale as determined by Cronbach's alpha was 0.91. Higher scores indicated higher degrees of religiosity.

Sex-Role Preference Inventory. This scale (Scanzoni, 1980) was used to measure gender-role attitudes (Appendix B, Sections III-VI). Response categories range from strongly agree to strongly disagree on a five-point Likert-type scale with scores ranging from zero to four. This inventory is comprised of 24 statements that measured the respondent's attitudes on the roles of mother, husband, wife, and father. Scores on the following items were reversed: III - 4, 5, 7; IV - 1, 2, 3; V - 4, 5; VI - 2, 4. The total combined score from all statements indicated the degree of nontraditional or traditional gender-role preference. The possible range of scores is from zero to 96.

Higher scores indicated more modern gender-role attitudes. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.90.

Worship Service Attendance. This variable was measured by the subject's response to a statement about worship service attendance (Appendix B, Section I, Item 3). Response categories included never or hardly ever, 1 to 3 times a year, 4 to 11 times a year, 1 to 3 times a month, once a week, or more than once a week. Responses were coded from 1 to 6 with never coded 1 and more than once a week coded 6.

Religious Preference. This variable was measured by the respondent's identification of a particular religion (Appendix B, Section I, Item 1). Religious denominations listed were: Anglican, coded 1; Baptist, coded 2; Greek Orthodox, coded 3; Jewish, coded 4; Lutheran, coded 5; Mennonite, coded 6; Mormon, coded 7; Pentecostal, coded 8; Presbyterian, coded 9; Roman Catholic, coded 10; Ukrainian Catholic, coded 11; United Church, coded 12; Protestant Unspecified, coded 13; Christian Unspecified, coded 14; Moslem, coded 15; Other Eastern Religions, coded 16; Atheist, coded 17; Agnostic, coded 18; No Preference/Affiliation, coded 19; Other, coded 20; and No Response, coded 99.

Costs and Rewards of Having Children. This scale was used to measure reasons that people consider important when making the decision to have or not to have children (Appendix B, Section VII, Items 1-8). The scale was developed by Kingsbury (1989). For purposes of this study, a cost factors scale was developed by combining the scores from items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. Response categories range from not at all important to very important on a seven point Likert-type scale with scores ranging from 1

to 7. The cost factors inventory is comprised of five statements, that questioned the importance of the following reasons to have or not to have children: (1) the effect a child or children would have on my career, (2) the financial costs of rearing children in light of my expected family income, (3) the time, energy, and potential loss of freedom involved with childrearing, (4) the effect childrearing will have on my relationship with my partner, and (5) the issue of who will care for my child(ren) while I and/or my partner work. The possible range of scores is from 7 to 35. Higher scores indicated higher costs of having children. In this study, internal reliability of the scale as determined by Cronbach's alpha was 0.6578. The reliability coefficient would not be increased by the deletion of any item.

Level of Education. This variable measured the respondent's expected level of education (Appendix B, Section II). Categories included university incomplete, coded 10; Bachelor's Degree, coded 12; Medical Degree (Vets, Drs., Dentists), coded 13; Master's Degree, coded 14; and Doctorate, coded 15. Don't know was coded 98 and no response was coded 99. For this study, Medical Degree was recoded 16, and Doctorate was recoded 18.

Partner's Childrearing Career. This variable measured the respondent's expectation of a childrearing career for his/her partner (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 5). Response categories included none, coded 01; 3 to 4 months, coded 02; more than 6 weeks but less than 1 year, coded 03; 1 to 2 years, coded 04; 3 to 5 years, coded 05; 6 to 9 years, coded 06; don't know, coded 08; and no response, coded 09.

Gender. Information on gender was collected in Section X, Item 1 (Appendix B) and was coded 1 for female and 2 for male.

Age. Information on this variable was collected in Section X, Item 2 (Appendix B). Respondents ages had to be between 20 and 26 in order to participate in the study.

Dependent Variables

Fertility Expectation. This variable measured the number of children the respondent expected to have, if any, in his/her lifetime (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 1). This variable also measured expected childlessness.

Ideal Fertility Expectation. This variable measured the ideal number of children the respondent would choose in his/her lifetime (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 2).

Childrearing Career. This variable measured the length of time that the respondent expected to take out of the labour force in order to rear children (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 4). Response categories included none, coded 01; 3 to 4 months, coded 02; more than 4 months but less than 1 year, coded 03; 1 to 2 years, coded 04; 3 to 5 years, coded 05; 6 to 9 years, coded 06; more than 9 years, coded 07; don't know, coded 08; and no response, coded 09. In some instances this variable is also as independent variable.

Ideal Childrearing Career. This variable measured the ideal length of time the respondent thinks a mother would like to take out of the

labour force to rear children (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 6). Response categories included 4 to 6 weeks, coded 01; 1 year, coded 02; 2 years, coded 03; starting kindergarten, coded 04; starting grade 1, coded 05; starting grade 3, coded 06; starting junior high, coded 07; starting senior high, coded 08; finishing high school, coded 09; don't know, coded 98; and no response, coded 99.

Partner's Desires. This variable measured the importance placed on the partner's childbearing desires when deciding to have children (Appendix B, Section VII, Item 7). On a seven point Likert-type scale with response categories ranging from 1 for not at all important to 7 for very important, respondents rated the following statement: my partner's desires whether or not my partner wants a child. The higher the score, the more importance placed on the partner's desire to have a child.

Delayed Childbearing. This variable was measured by the respondent's expectation of his/her age at the birth of the first child (Appendix B, Section VIII, Item 3). Respondents who expect to have first child at thirty years or older were considered delayed bearers.

Voluntarily Childlessness. This variable was measured by a zero response to the fertility expectation variable.

Work/Family Type. Eight statements about work/family type were generated specifically for this study based on concepts developed by Kingsbury (1987) (Appendix B, Section IX, Item 1. a-h). Respondents chose the work/ family type that they expected to be part of in the future. Categories were: both partners have professional careers, coded

1; male partner with a professional career and female partner with a job, coded 2; female partner with a professional career and male partner with a job, coded 3; male partner with a professional career and female partner non-employed, coded 4; female partner with a professional career and male partner non-employed, coded 5; both partners have jobs, coded 6; a career-sharing couple, coded 7; and partner with a job and respondent non-employed, coded 8. Category 1 measured the expectation of being part of a dual-career family. Categories 2, 3, 4, and 5 measured expected single-career lifestyle.

Data Analysis

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, r , a measure of linear association between pairs of variables, was computed to determine the significance of the relationship between (H1) religiosity and gender roles. Correlation coefficients provide an indication of the magnitude of the relationship and the direction of the relationship. The Pearson r can equal any value between +1.00 and -1.00. A value near +1.00 indicates a strong positive relationship; as one variable increases, the other also increases. A value near -1.00 indicates a strong negative relationship; as one variable increases the other decreases. A correlation coefficient of .00 indicates the absence of any relationship (Downie & Heath, 1983).

Kendall's tau, t , a measure of association based on ranks, is a refined version of the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient. The Spearman r produces a correlation coefficient from ranks that are treated as if they were scores (Hays, 1981). Kendall's tau deals with

pairs of order inversions in the two rankings. The advantage of using Kendall's tau computation instead of Spearman's r is that "in t all inversions are weighted equally by a simple frequency count" (Hays, 1981, p.599). Church attendance and childrearing career were ranked because the intervals were not equal. Kendall's tau was calculated to determine the significance of the following relationships: (a) (H2) female religiosity and fertility expectation, (b) (H3) female church attendance and fertility expectation, (c) (H4) female respondent's religiosity and expected partner's childbearing desires, and (d) (H5) female respondent's religiosity and expected childrearing career.

A correlation matrix of key variables for the entire sample was computed using Pearson's r . This procedure was used for the entire sample because the underlying assumption that the sample was normally distributed was met. The sample was divided by gender and a matrix was computed for these subsets using Kendall's t . The more conservative non-parametric statistic was computed based on the assumption that the smaller sized subsets were not continuously distributed.

To examine the relationship (H6) between subjects with a high religiosity strength who identified themselves as Mennonite or Roman Catholic and fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, childrearing career, and ideal childrearing career, a two-way analysis of variance was computed. A two-way analysis of variance with two independent variables is a significance test that determines differences among the means of a number of groups. The dependent variables, fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, childrearing career, and ideal childrearing career were examined in relation to traditional

religious subjects, highly religious subjects, and traditional religious subjects who were highly religious.

Logistic regression was used to examine the following relationships: (a) (H7) gender-role attitude and dual-career lifestyle, childrearing career, ideal childrearing career, fertility expectation, and ideal fertility expectation; (b) (H9) delayed childbearing and expected level of education, gender-role attitude, religiosity, and cost factors; (c) (H10) voluntary childlessness, expected level of education, gender-role attitude, religiosity, and cost factors; and (d) (H11) expected level of education and work/family type. Logistic regression was chosen instead of discriminant analysis because logistic regression is less sensitive to predictor variables that are not normally distributed. Logistic regression is a regression analysis used with categorical variables that performs a logistic transformation and gives the maximum likelihood estimators.

Nonparametric tests were used when analyzing variables that were not normally distributed. The Mann-Whitney test, a test of significant differences between two independent groups with rank order values, was computed to compare the differences (H8) between the childrearing expectations of male and female subjects.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Demographic Characteristics of the Entire Sample

The sample for this study was comprised of 139 (59.7%) females subjects and 94 (40.3%) male subjects (N = 234). All subjects were: (a) single, (b) attending the University of Manitoba, (c) residing in or near the city of Winnipeg, (d) childless, (e) not pregnant, and (f) were in the final two years of their program. The modal response for church attendance was one to three times a year. The possible range of religious service attendance was from never to more than once a week. One hundred and nineteen (52.2%) students expect to complete a Bachelor's degree. Seventy-five (32.9%) students expect to complete a Master's degree. The average response on the cost factors scale was 23.5 with a possible range of 6 to 35, which indicates that the sample considered the cost factors of having children fairly high. The average age of the respondents was 21.9 years of age with a range of 20 to 26 years. The majority (n = 185, 79.4%) of subjects expect to be part of a dual-career family. On the religiosity scale, the median was 71, which suggests that the sample was low on religiosity. On the sex-role preference scale, the median was 71, which suggests that this sample had modern gender-role attitudes.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviation, and Range of Scores

| | N | Mean | Standard Deviation | Range |
|--------------------------------|-----|-------|-----------------------|--------|
| Religious Preference | 224 | 10.85 | 5.30 | 1-20 |
| Church Attendance | 233 | 12.77 | 7.32 | 5-30 |
| Expected Level of Education | 228 | 13.35 | 1.81 | 10-18 |
| Cost Factors | 228 | 23.54 | 5.74 | 6-35 |
| Partner's Childbearing Desires | 232 | 6.21 | 1.07 | 1-7 |
| Fertility Expectation | 223 | 2.31 | 0.86 | 0-6 |
| Ideal Fertility Expectation | 225 | 2.78 | 1.11 | 0-8 |
| Expected Age at First Birth | 213 | 28.44 | 2.30 | 24-35 |
| Childrearing Career | 220 | 3.14 | 1.69 | 1-7 |
| Ideal Childrearing Career | 223 | 3.91 | 1.68 | 1-9 |
| Partner's Childrearing Career | 211 | 2.52 | 1.45 | 1-6 |
| Work/Family Type | 233 | 1.59 | 1.50 | 1-7 |
| Gender-Role Attitude | 229 | 70.86 | 11.86 | 31-96 |
| Religiosity | 231 | 79.54 | 38.98 | 32-180 |

Religious Preference.

A description of the sample by religious preference is presented in Table 2. Nineteen (8.5%) of the respondents identified themselves as Anglican, 9 (4.0%) as Jewish, 17 (7.6%) as Lutheran, 4 (1.8%) as Mennonite, 64 (28.6%) as Roman Catholic, 35 (15.6%) as United Church, 13

(5.8%) as Protestant Unspecified, 8 (3.6%) as Christian Unspecified, 11 (4.9%) as Atheist, 7 (3.1%) as Agnostic, 21 (9.4%) as No Preference/Affiliation, and 16 (6.8%) as Other.

Table 2

Description of Sample by Religious Preference

| Religious Preference | N | % of sample |
|---------------------------|-----|-------------|
| Anglican | 19 | 8.5 |
| Jewish | 9 | 4.0 |
| Lutheran | 17 | 7.6 |
| Mennonite | 4 | 1.8 |
| Roman Catholic | 63 | 28.3 |
| United Church | 35 | 15.7 |
| Protestant Unspecified | 13 | 5.8 |
| Christian Unspecified | 8 | 3.6 |
| Atheist | 11 | 4.9 |
| Agnostic | 7 | 3.1 |
| No Preference/Affiliation | 21 | 9.4 |
| Other | 16 | 6.8 |
| Totals | 223 | 99.5% |

Note. Not all tables will equal 234 or 100% because of missing data.

Correlations Between Variables

Correlations of the Entire Sample.

A correlation matrix (Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients) of variables used is presented in Table 3. The gender role variable had a weak but significant negative relationship with church attendance ($r=-0.30$) and religiosity ($r=-0.27$). The more traditional the gender-role attitude of the subject, the more likely they were to have a higher church attendance rate and to have a higher religiosity score. A weak but significant negative correlation was found between the gender role attitude variable and partner's childrearing career expectation ($r=-0.25$) and ideal childrearing career ($r=-0.39$). The more traditional the gender-role attitude of the subject, the more likely they were to expect their partner to have a longer childrearing career and to expect longer amounts of time spent out labour force for childrearing to be ideal. A weak negative correlation was found between ideal fertility expectation and cost factors ($r=0.29$). As the subject found more cost factors in having children, the ideal number of children decreased. A weak but significant positive relationship was discovered between age at first birth and expected level of education ($r=0.32$), and a weak but significant negative relationship was found between age at first birth and fertility expectation ($r=-0.25$), and childrearing career ($r=-0.24$). The higher the expected level of education, the more likely the subject was to expect to delay a first birth. The longer the subject expects to delay a first birth, the fewer children he/she expected to have. The higher the expected level of education, the more likely the subject was

to expect to spend less time out of the labour force in order to rear children.

Correlations of Female Subjects.

A correlation matrix (Kendall's tau rank order correlation coefficients) of variables used for female subjects is presented in Table 4. The expected level of education variable had a weak but significant positive relationship with the expected age at first birth variable ($r=0.31$). The higher the expected level of education for females, the longer they expected to delay childbirth. A weak but significant positive correlation was found between the ideal childrearing career variable and the church attendance variable ($r=0.27$). The higher the church attendance rate of the female subject, the more likely the subject was to expect a longer ideal childrearing career. A weak but significant positive relationship was found between the gender-role attitude variable and the partner's childrearing career variable ($r=0.25$). The more traditional the gender-role attitude, the more importance placed on the partner's childrearing career expectations. The gender-role attitude variable had a weak but significant negative relationship with the childrearing career variable ($r=-0.37$) and the ideal childrearing career variable ($r=-0.41$). The more traditional the gender-role attitude, the longer the expected childrearing career and the ideal childrearing career.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix of Key Variables for Entire Sample

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Religious Preference | | -0.28 (224) | 0.10 (219) | 0.06 (218) | 0.06 (222) | -0.01 (215) | -0.11 (217) | 0.12 (205) | 0.01 (211) | -0.03 (203) | -0.06 (216) | 0.02 (223) | 0.13 (220) | -0.22 (222) |
| 2. Church Attendance | | | -0.00 (227) | -0.11 (227) | -0.01 (231) | 0.14 (222) | 0.13 (224) | -0.05 (212) | -0.02 (219) | 0.09 (210) | 0.17 (222) | 0.05 (232) | -0.30* (228) | 0.85 (231) |
| 3. Expected Level of Education | | | | -0.10 (222) | 0.01 (226) | 0.01 (219) | -0.01 (220) | 0.32* (229) | -0.15 (216) | 0.02 (207) | -0.04 (218) | 0.04 (227) | 0.09 (223) | 0.01 (225) |
| 4. Cost Factors | | | | | 0.09 (226) | -0.22 (217) | -0.29* (219) | 0.05 (208) | 0.05 (214) | -0.04 (205) | -0.01 (217) | 0.03 (227) | 0.00 (223) | -0.09 (225) |
| 5. Partner's Childbearing Desires | | | | | | -0.04 (221) | 0.01 (223) | 0.03 (211) | 0.11 (218) | 0.03 (210) | 0.05 (221) | 0.12 (231) | 0.02 (227) | -0.00 (230) |
| 6. Fertility Expectations | | | | | | | 0.71* (218) | -0.26* (210) | 0.11 (216) | 0.10 (207) | 0.09 (216) | -0.01 (222) | -0.14 (219) | 0.16 (221) |
| 7. Ideal Fertility Expectation | | | | | | | | -0.23 (208) | 0.17 (215) | 0.07 (207) | 0.11 (217) | -0.03 (224) | -0.09 (220) | 0.15 (222) |
| 8. Expected Age at First Birth | | | | | | | | | -0.24* (206) | 0.14 (198) | -0.16 (205) | 0.05 (213) | -0.03 (209) | 0.01 (210) |
| 9. Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | -0.33* (207) | 0.27* (212) | 0.14 (219) | 0.06 (216) | -0.01 (217) |
| 10. Partner's Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | 0.16 (203) | 0.00 (210) | -0.25* (207) | 0.10 (210) |
| 11. Ideal Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.11 (222) | -0.39* (218) | 0.12 (220) |
| 12. Work/Family Type | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.11 (228) | 0.09 (230) |
| 13. Gender-Role Attitude | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.27* (226) |
| 14. Religiosity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note. The Bonferroni approach was used, therefore, acceptable significance levels were $p < .0006$.

* $p < .0006$

Table 4

Correlation Matrix of Key Variables for Female Subjects

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Religious Preference | | -0.29 (134) | 0.07 (131) | 0.03 (130) | 0.00 (132) | 0.04 (132) | -0.06 (131) | 0.09 (125) | -0.02 (133) | 0.02 (125) | -0.03 (130) | -0.01 (133) | 0.01 (132) | -0.19 (133) |
| 2. Church Attendance | | | -0.04 (135) | -0.08 (135) | -0.00 (137) | 0.09 (136) | 0.14 (135) | -0.08 (129) | 0.08 (137) | -0.02 (128) | 0.27* (133) | -0.00 (138) | -0.13 (137) | 0.65 (138) |
| 3. Expected Level of Education | | | | -0.05 (132) | -0.01 (134) | 0.03 (134) | -0.01 (133) | 0.31* (127) | 0.17 (135) | 0.01 (126) | -0.09 (131) | -0.03 (135) | 0.11 (134) | -0.02 (134) |
| 4. Cost Factors | | | | | 0.17 (134) | -0.13 (133) | -0.19 (132) | 0.03 (127) | -0.01 (134) | -0.06 (125) | -0.05 (130) | 0.07 (135) | 0.02 (134) | -0.05 (134) |
| 5. Partner's Childbearing Desires | | | | | | -0.10 (135) | -0.09 (134) | 0.02 (128) | 0.21 (136) | -0.05 (128) | 0.14 (132) | 0.11 (137) | -0.04 (136) | -0.00 (137) |
| 6. Fertility Expectations | | | | | | | 0.59* (135) | -0.24 (129) | 0.15 (137) | 0.17 (128) | 0.07 (133) | 0.11 (136) | -0.06 (135) | 0.09 (135) |
| 7. Ideal Fertility Expectations | | | | | | | | -0.21 (128) | 0.16 (136) | 0.13 (127) | 0.15 (132) | -0.04 (135) | -0.07 (134) | 0.12 (134) |
| 8. Expected Age at First Birth | | | | | | | | | -0.11 (130) | 0.00 (122) | -0.13 (126) | -0.09 (130) | 0.13 (128) | -0.03 (128) |
| 9. Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | -0.01 (129) | 0.46* (134) | 0.17 (137) | -0.37* (136) | 0.08 (136) |
| 10. Partner's Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | -0.14 (126) | -0.09 (128) | 0.25* (127) | 0.00 (128) |
| 11. Ideal Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.09 (133) | -0.41* (132) | 0.15 (132) |
| 12. Work/Family Type | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.13 (137) | 0.05 (137) |
| 13. Gender-Role Attitude | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.10 (136) |
| 14. Religiosity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note. The Bonferroni approach was used, therefore, acceptable significance levels were $p < .0006$.

* $p < .0006$

Correlations of Male Subjects.

A correlation matrix (Kendall's tau rank order correlation coefficients) of variables used for male subjects is presented in Table 5. A weak but significant positive relationship was found between the ideal childrearing career and the expected partner's childrearing career ($r=0.57$). The higher the ideal childrearing career, the longer the partner would be expected to remain out of the labour force in order to rear children. A weak but significant relationship was found between the gender-role attitude variable and the church attendance variable ($r=-0.28$) and the partner's childrearing career variable ($r=-0.31$). The more traditional the gender-role attitude, the higher the church attendance rate and the longer the partner would be expected to remain out of the labour force.

Descriptive Information by Gender

The Kruskal-Wallis test and the T Test were run to determine the significant differences between the male and female subjects. The Kruskal-Wallis test is a nonparametric significance test of the differences between independent groups based on ranks. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 6. The T Test is a significance test between the means of two groups. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7.

Gender Role Attitude. Females had significantly higher gender-role attitude scores than males, which indicates that females had more modern gender-role attitudes than males. The mean for female respondents was 74.01 and for male respondents was 66.08.

Table 5

Correlation Matrix of Key Variables for Male Subjects

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Religious Preference | | -0.32* (90) | 0.20 (88) | 0.04 (88) | 0.14 (90) | -0.06 (83) | -0.10 (86) | 0.04 (80) | 0.11 (78) | -0.07 (78) | -0.01 (86) | -0.03 (90) | 0.16 (88) | -0.32 (89) |
| 2. Church Attendance | | | 0.01 (92) | -0.11 (92) | -0.15 (94) | 0.20 (86) | 0.21 (89) | -0.02 (83) | 0.07 (82) | 0.10 (82) | 0.01 (89) | 0.09 (94) | -0.28* (91) | 0.73* (93) |
| 3. Expected Level of Education | | | | -0.04 (90) | 0.03 (92) | 0.00 (85) | -0.01 (87) | 0.01 (82) | 0.15 (81) | -0.08 (81) | -0.02 (87) | 0.01 (92) | 0.11 (89) | 0.03 (91) |
| 4. Cost Factors | | | | | 0.03 (92) | -0.25 (84) | -0.25 (87) | 0.14 (81) | 0.15 (80) | -0.01 (80) | 0.08 (87) | 0.06 (92) | 0.00 (89) | -0.10 (91) |
| 5. Partner's Childbearing Desires | | | | | | 0.04 (86) | 0.10 (89) | 0.08 (83) | 0.08 (82) | -0.07 (82) | -0.06 (89) | -0.13 (94) | 0.28 (91) | -0.08 (93) |
| 6. Fertility Expectations | | | | | | | 0.70* (83) | -0.17 (81) | -0.06 (79) | 0.00 (79) | 0.04 (83) | -0.24 (86) | -0.09 (84) | 0.18 (86) |
| 7. Ideal Fertility Expectations | | | | | | | | -0.25 (80) | -0.01 (79) | 0.04 (80) | -0.00 (85) | -0.13 (89) | -0.10 (86) | 0.17 (88) |
| 8. Expected Age at First Birth | | | | | | | | | -0.05 (76) | -0.13 (76) | -0.18 (79) | -0.12 (83) | -0.05 (81) | 0.01 (82) |
| 9. Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | 0.11 (78) | 0.10 (78) | -0.08 (82) | 0.28 (80) | -0.03 (81) |
| 10. Partner's Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | 0.57* (77) | 0.16 (82) | -0.31* (80) | 0.15 (82) |
| 11. Ideal Childrearing Career | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.18 (89) | -0.22 (86) | 0.07 (88) |
| 12. Work/Family Type | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.25 (91) | 0.16 (93) |
| 13. Gender-Role Attitude | | | | | | | | | | | | | | -0.25 (90) |
| 14. Religiosity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note. The Bonferroni approach was used, therefore, acceptable significance levels were $p < .0006$.

* $p < .0006$

Fertility Expectation. Seven (3.14%) of the female subjects expect to remain childless, whereas none of the male subjects chose this option. One hundred and twenty-eight (57.4%) subjects chose the two children option. This included 77 (34.5%) females and 51 (22.9%) males. One female reported a fertility expectation of 6 children. The average fertility expectation for females was 2.31, for males 2.33 and for the entire sample 2.31 (see Tables 1 and 7).

Ideal Fertility Expectation. When giving information on the ideal fertility expectation, four (1.78%) female subjects and no male subjects chose childlessness. The largest number of subjects (94) chose the two children option as the ideal family size with 49 (21.78%) of the females and 45 (20%) of the males choosing this option. Thirty-four females and seventeen males chose four or more children as the ideal family size with one female respondent choosing eight children as the ideal. The average ideal fertility expectation for females was 2.8 children, for males, 2.7, and for the entire sample, 2.8 (see Tables 1 and 7).

Childrearing Career. Of the 59 (26.8%) subjects who expect not to take any time out of the labour force in order to raise children, 9 (4.0%) were female, and 50 (22.7%) were male. Thirteen (5.9%) males expected to take 3 to 4 months out of the labour force in order to perform childcare duties. The largest proportion of females (n=38, 17.27%) chose the 3 to 5 year option as the expected childrearing career. The average time females expect to take out of the labour force for childcare duties was 1 to 2 years. This was significantly lower for males, who expect to take 3 to 4 months out of the labour force to take part in childcare duties (see Table 6). The mean for the entire sample was more than four months but less than one year (see Table 1).

Ideal Childrearing Career. Of the 12 respondents who chose 4 to 6 weeks as the ideal childrearing career, 6 (2.6%) were female and 6 (2.6%) were male. Seventy-five (33.6%) subjects, including 48 (21.5%) female subjects and 27 (12.2%) male subjects, chose the start of kindergarten as the ideal childrearing career. This was the childrearing career most often chosen. As the length of time increased, the numbers of subjects dropped until only one female chose the ideal length of time spent out of the labour force as the time that the child finished high school. Both males and females agreed that a mother should feel that it is no longer necessary to stay home full time when the child is starting kindergarten.

Partner's Childrearing Career. A significant difference was found between female and male subjects on the expected partner's childrearing career. Female respondents expected their partner to take 3 to 4 months out of the labour force in order to rear children, whereas male respondents expected their partners to take 1 to 2 years out of the labour force for childrearing duties (see Table 6). The mean for the entire sample was more than four months but less than one year (see Table 1).

Expected Age at First Birth. A total of 134 (57.2%) respondents chose 24 to 29 years as the age of first birth. Of this group, 91 (70.0%) were female and 43 (51.8%) were male. Of the 100 (42.7%) respondents who expect to delay the first birth until after 30, 39 (30%) were female and 40 (48.1%) were male. The expected age at first birth responses ranged from 24 to 35 years of age. The expected age at first birth was significantly different for males and females. The mean was 29.12 for males and 28.01 for females.

Table 6

Kruskal-Wallis Test for Gender Differences

| Category | n | Mean Rank | Kruskal-Wallis chi square | p |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----------|------------------------------|-------|
| Church Attendance | | | | |
| Female | 139 | 12.52 | | |
| Male | 94 | 13.14 | 0.05 | .5270 |
| Expected level of Education | | | | |
| Female | 136 | 12.89 | | |
| Male | 92 | 12.99 | 0.69 | .5076 |
| Cost Factors | | | | |
| Female | 136 | 23.75 | | |
| Male | 92 | 23.22 | 0.20 | .4928 |
| Expected Child- rearing Career | | | | |
| Female | 138 | 3.94 | | |
| Male | 82 | 1.79 | 84.36 | .0001 |
| Partner's Child- rearing Career | | | | |
| Female | 129 | 1.78 | | |
| Male | 82 | 3.68 | 86.89 | .0001 |
| Ideal Child- rearing Career | | | | |
| Female | 134 | 3.88 | | |
| Male | 89 | 3.97 | 0.01 | .7093 |
| Partner's Child- bearing Desires | | | | |
| Female | 138 | 6.09 | | |
| Male | 94 | 6.37 | 2.40 | .0524 |
| Gender-Role Attitude | | | | |
| Female | 138 | 74.01 | | |
| Male | 91 | 66.08 | 23.81 | .0001 |
| Religiosity | | | | |
| Female | 138 | 78.55 | | |
| Male | 93 | 81.01 | 0.00 | .6391 |

Note: The Bonferroni approach was used, therefore acceptable significance levels were $p < .005$.

Table 7

T Test for Gender Differences

| Category | n | Mean | F | p |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------|------|-------|
| Fertility Expectation | | | | |
| Female | 137 | 2.31 | | |
| Male | 86 | 2.33 | 1.91 | .8735 |
| Ideal Fertility Expectation | | | | |
| Female | 136 | 2.82 | | |
| Male | 89 | 2.71 | 1.24 | .4450 |
| Expected Age at First Birth | | | | |
| Female | 130 | 28.01 | | |
| Male | 83 | 29.12 | 1.02 | .0005 |
| Age | | | | |
| Female | 140 | 21.75 | | |
| Male | 94 | 22.11 | 1.28 | .0837 |

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. The greater the religiosity score of the subjects, the more traditional the gender-role attitude will be.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, r (see Table 3), was computed to determine the significance of a relationship between religiosity and gender-role attitude. The results indicated that there was a significant negative relationship between religiosity and gender role ($r=-0.27$, $p<.0006$). As the respondents religiosity score increased gender-role attitude scores decreased. These results, which supported

Hypothesis 1, indicated that the more religious the subject was, the more traditional was the gender-role attitude.

Hypothesis 2. The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the higher the fertility expectation will be.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, r (see Table 4), was computed to determine if a significant positive relationship existed between female religiosity and fertility expectation. The results of this analysis indicated that the findings were non-significant. The results of this analysis, which did not support the hypothesis, indicated that female religiosity and fertility expectation were not related for this sample.

Hypothesis 3. The more frequent the church attendance of the female subject, the higher their fertility expectation will be.

Kendall's tau, τ (see Table 4), was calculated to determine the significance of the relationship between female church attendance and fertility expectation. The results of this analysis indicated that the findings were non-significant. The hypothesis was not supported. A high female church attendance rate did not correspond with a desire for a larger number of children.

Hypothesis 4. The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the more important she will consider her expected husband's/partner's childbearing desires.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, r (see Table 4), was computed to determine if a significant relationship existed between

female religiosity and partner's childbearing desires. The results of this analysis indicated that the findings were non-significant. The hypothesis was not supported. A high religiosity score for female respondents did not show an increased desire to concur with the partner's expected childbearing desires.

Hypothesis 5. The greater the religiosity score of the female subject, the longer she will expect her childrearing career to be.

Kendall's tau, τ (see Table 4), was calculated to determine the significance of the relationship between female religiosity and childrearing career. The results of this analysis indicated that the findings were non-significant. Female subjects who were highly religious did not expect longer childrearing careers than female subjects who were not highly religious. The hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 6. Subjects who have a religious preference (Mennonite and Roman Catholic) that traditionally has supported large family size and who have high religiosity scores will expect to have a higher fertility expectation, a higher ideal fertility expectation, a longer childrearing career, and a longer ideal childrearing career than all other religions.

To examine the relationship between subjects with a high religiosity score who have identified themselves as Mennonite or Roman Catholic and fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, childrearing career, and ideal childrearing career, a two-way analysis of variance was computed (see Table 8). The results of this analysis indicated that

Mennonite and Roman Catholic subjects expected a longer childrearing career ($F=6.49$, $p<.05$). The results indicated no significant effects by religion (Mennonite/Roman Catholic versus Other Religions) on fertility expectation, ideal fertility, and ideal childrearing career. The results indicated no significant interactions between religion and religiosity on fertility expectation, ideal fertility, childrearing career, and ideal childrearing career. Results indicated that Mennonite and Roman Catholic subjects differed from other religions because they expected a longer childrearing career but were the same on fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, and ideal childrearing career. Partial support was found for this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 7. Controlling for sex, subjects with more modern gender-role attitudes will expect to have a dual-career lifestyle, the wife to have the shortest childrearing career, the shortest ideal childrearing career the lowest fertility expectation, and the lowest ideal fertility expectation of all work/family types.

Logistic regression (see Table 9) was used to determine the relationship between gender-role attitudes and dual-career lifestyle, childrearing career, ideal childrearing career, fertility expectation, and ideal fertility expectation. By the addition of the variable, gender role, to the equation, the chi-square was significantly improved for the prediction of the expected dual-career lifestyle, expected childrearing career, and expected ideal childrearing career ($p<.05$) for females. Gender role was not found to be a predictor of fertility expectation for women, however, the addition of gender role to the

Table 8

Two-way Analysis of Variance

| | Sum of Squares | Degree of Freedom | F | p |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------|--------|
| Fertility Expectation | | | | |
| Religions | .4942 | 1 | 0.63 | 0.4301 |
| Religiosity | 2.5676 | 1 | 3.25 | 0.0731 |
| Interaction | .0004 | 1 | 0.00 | 0.9814 |
| Childrearing Career | | | | |
| Religions | 17.8912 | 1 | 6.49 | 0.0116 |
| Religiosity | 1.7188 | 1 | 0.62 | 0.4307 |
| Interaction | .0400 | 1 | 0.01 | 0.9042 |
| Ideal Fertility Expectation | | | | |
| Religions | .7503 | 1 | 0.57 | 0.4520 |
| Religiosity | 4.1315 | 1 | 3.13 | 0.0786 |
| Interaction | .1061 | 1 | 0.18 | 0.7772 |
| Ideal Childrearing Career | | | | |
| Religions | .9172 | 1 | 0.35 | 0.5540 |
| Religiosity | 8.7092 | 1 | 3.34 | 0.0693 |
| Interaction | .5659 | 1 | 0.22 | 0.6420 |

equation with ideal fertility revealed that gender role just missed improving the chi-square ($p=.051$). For males, the addition of gender role to the equation did not show any improvement in the chi-square for expected dual-career lifestyle, fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, expected childrearing career, and expected ideal childrearing career.

For females, the more modern the gender-role attitude, the more likely the female would be to choose to be part of a dual-career lifestyle, to spend less time out of the labour force in order to rear

children, and would expect the ideal length of time spent out of the labour force to be less than respondents with a traditional gender-role orientation. Gender-role attitude did not predict fertility expectation or ideal fertility expectation for female respondents. For male respondents, gender-role attitude did not predict the type of work/family lifestyle, the number of children, the ideal number of children, the length of time spent out of the labour force to rear children, or the ideal length of time spent out of the labour force to rear children. The hypothesis was partially supported.

Table 9

Logistic Regression using Gender-Role Attitude as a Predictor

| Female | DF | Log Likelihood | Improvement Chi-square | p |
|--------------------------------------|----|----------------|------------------------|-------|
| Dual Career | | -61.810 | | |
| Dual Career plus Gender Role | 1 | -59.520 | 4.578 | 0.032 |
| Fertility Expectation | | -75.603 | | |
| Fertility plus Gender Role | 1 | -73.696 | 3.814 | 0.051 |
| Childrearing Career | | -90.435 | | |
| Childrearing plus Gender Role | 1 | -81.300 | 18.271 | 0.000 |
| Ideal Child-rearing Career | | -80.607 | | |
| Ideal Child-rearing plus Gender Role | 1 | -61.198 | 38.819 | 0.000 |

Hypothesis 8. Controlling for gender-role attitude, male subjects will have a longer childrearing career expectation for their partner than female subjects will expect for themselves.

The Mann-Whitney test was computed to compare the differences between the childrearing expectations of male and female subjects. The results of the Mann-Whitney test are presented in Table 10. In order to test this hypothesis male responses to the partner's expected childrearing career and female responses to the expected childrearing career questions were used. Male subjects with more traditional gender-role attitudes were significantly more likely to expect the female partner to have a longer childrearing career than the female would expect for

Table 10

Comparison of Partner's Expected Childrearing Career
and Female's Expected Childrearing Career

| Gender-Role Attitude | N | Rank Sum | Mann-Whitney test statistic |
|---|----|----------|-----------------------------|
| <u>Traditional</u> | | | |
| 1. Partner's Expected Childrearing Career | 53 | 2178.5 | |
| 2. Expected Childrearing Career | 47 | 2871.5 | |
| | | | 1743.50* |
| <u>Modern</u> | | | |
| 1. Partner's Expected Childrearing Career | 27 | 1427.5 | |
| 2. Expected Childrearing Career | 88 | 5242.5 | |
| | | | 1326.5 |

*p<.05

herself. Male and female subjects differed on the length of time that

they expected a woman to spend out of the labour force in order to rear children. The hypothesis was partially supported.

Hypothesis 9. Controlling for sex, the higher the expected level of education, more modern gender-role attitudes, lower religiosity score, and more cost factors for having children recognized, the more likely the subject will be to expect to delay childbearing until older than 30.

Logistic regression (see Table 11) was used to determine the relationship between the expected level of education, gender-role attitudes, religiosity scores, and cost factors and female delayed bearers. For females, the chi-square was significantly improved by the addition of expected level of education to the equation. Expected level of education is a significant predictor of female to delay of first birth until after she is over 30 years of age ($p < .05$). For males, the chi-square was significantly improved by the addition of cost factors of having children to the equation ($p < .05$). This indicates that cost factors of having children is a significant predictor of delaying childbirth for males. For females, gender-role attitude, religiosity, and cost factors were not significant predictors of delayed childbearing. For males, expected level of education, gender-role attitude, and religiosity were not significant predictors of delayed childbearing.

For females, the more education that they expect to have, the more likely they are to not have a first birth until they are past the age of thirty. For males, the higher they consider the costs of having children, the more likely they are to delay having children until they

are past the age of thirty. Whether the female subscribed to modern or traditional gender roles, was highly religious or not, or counted the costs of having children high or low had no effect on whether she would delay childbirth until she was past thirty. For males, expected level of education, gender-role orientation, and religiosity did not affect their decision about the timing of a first birth. The hypothesis was partially supported.

Table 11

Logistic Regression to Predict Delayed Bearers

| Male | DF | Log Likelihood | Improvement Chi-square | p |
|--------------------------------------|----|----------------|------------------------|-------|
| Age at First Birth | | -56.089 | | |
| Age at First Birth plus Cost Factors | 1 | -53.664 | 4.850 | 0.028 |
| Female | | | | |
| Age at First Birth | | -77.138 | | |
| Age at First Birth plus Education | 1 | -68.055 | 18.164 | 0.000 |

Hypothesis 10. The higher the expected level of education, more modern gender-role attitudes, lower religiosity score, and more cost factors for having children recognized, the more likely the female subject will expect to remain childless.

To examine the relationship between voluntarily childlessness and expected level of education, religiosity, gender role and cost factors the logistic regression procedure was used. The improvement in the prediction of voluntarily childlessness when expected level of education, gender-role attitude, religiosity, and cost factors is added to the equation is not significant.

The results indicated that level of education, gender role, religiosity, and cost factors could not be used as variables in the prediction of voluntarily childless females. The hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 11. The higher the expected level of education for male subjects, the more likely they will expect to be part of a single career family as a career husband/job wife family. Conversely, the higher the expected level of education for female subjects, the more likely they will expect to be part of a dual-career family. The hypothesis was not supported.

The logistic regression procedure was used to determine the relationship between expected level of education for male and female subjects and work/family type. The improvement in the chi-square was not significant. Expected level of education does not predict work/family type. The hypothesis was not supported.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the expectations of contemporary students toward family formation, childbearing, child-rearing, and gender-role attitudes. Religiosity was examined in these contexts. Previous research findings and choice exchange theory were used to generate hypotheses dealing with relationships between religiosity, gender-role attitudes, fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, childrearing career, ideal childrearing career, expected level of education, and work/family type. The results of this study will be discussed in terms of choice exchange theory, which states that in behavioral situations humans seek rewards and avoid costs.

Religiosity

The result that religiosity was significantly related to gender-role attitude is consistent with research done by Wilson (1978) who reported that religion was the most important determiner of gender-role attitude. Similarly, Reuther (1974) claimed that religion was one of the most important factors contributing to traditional family values. The results of a study by Brinkerhoff and MacKie (1985) revealed that the stronger the religious belief system, the more traditional the gender-role attitude. In addition, McMurry (1978) studied women's gender-role attitudes and observed that religion had a substantial effect on women's gender-role traditionalism. Traditional gender-role attitudes were strongly associated with traditional religious beliefs (Scott & Morgan, 1983). Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983), and Morgan and Scanzoni (1987) reported results that concur with the previous findings.

According to choice exchange theory, compliance with the teachings of the church would be more rewarding than the costs of rejecting the teachings of the church.

The religiosity score of female subjects was not related to fertility expectation. This finding was contrary to the findings of Crawford and Boyer (1985), who found that these variables were positively related, Smith-Lovin and Tickamyer (1978), who reported a relationship between religious preference, religious participation and fertility, and Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983), who found support for a relationship between religion, gender-role attitude, and church attendance. However, Rindfuss, Bumpass, and St. John (1980) reported that education introduces females to values that are not congruent with traditional family views. It may be speculated that for an educated sample the effects of religiosity are not as pertinent because of the new values introduced by education. In terms of choice exchange theory, the rewards of adhering to the values of education and the pursuit of a career are greater than the costs of non-compliance with religious teachings.

The result that frequent church attendance of females was not significantly related to fertility expectation did not concur with the findings of Smith-Lovin and Tickamyer (1978) who reported that a high church attendance rate was strongly correlated with a higher fertility expectation. In addition, Bahr and Chadwick (1985) noted the existence of a positive relationship between church attendance and family size. The higher the church attendance rate the higher the fertility rate. Marcum (1988), however, found a negative relationship between fertility

and participation in religious services when moderate and liberal religions were studied. The expected positive relationship, however, was found for conservative Protestants (Marcum). In this study, thirty-five subjects reported that they attend the United Church, a liberal church. Churches in Winnipeg may be more liberal than churches in other communities. In terms of choice exchange theory, a larger number of children would be rewarding and this fertility rate would concur with the teachings of a traditional church.

The result that female religiosity was not related to expected partner's childbearing desires or to childrearing career were contrary to the findings of Crawford and Boyer (1985) who reported that female religiosity was strongly associated with the husband's childbearing preferences. Thornton et al. (1983) reported an association between religiosity and the belief that the role of the female was that of wife and mother. Scott and Morgan (1983) noted that religiosity was associated with traditional family values that place the female in the role of homemaker. It should be noted that for this sample of university students the overall religiosity scores were low, so that even those with the highest religiosity scores would have been considered low when compared to the general population. This may be an indication that: (a) fewer students are attending church, (b) they are attending more liberal churches, or (c) they are attending church with less regularity. It should be pointed out that education introduces new values and ambitions that are not congruent with traditional views (Rindfuss et al, 1980) that place greater value on childrearing, childbearing, and adherence to the principle of male as head of the

household. These new views may interfere with traditional reward/cost ratios so that greater rewards are realized for lower birth rates, less time out of the labour force, and shared household responsibilities. For example, a woman who attends university may have lower religiosity scores than those who choose not to attend university and her religiosity scores may become lower after attending university. Consequently, the costs/rewards of choosing nontraditional female roles concerning work/family lifestyle may become more rewarding and less costly in terms of traditional religious teachings.

It was found that subjects with a specific religious preference (Mennonite and Roman Catholic) expected to have a longer childrearing career than other religions. This may be interpreted to mean that the rewards obtained from raising children and complying with religious teachings are greater than the costs of rejecting these values. The Mennonite and the Roman Catholic churches clearly state that the primary focus of the family is procreation and Christian family living. For these two traditional religions, Christian family living is defined as the patriarchal family with the male as head of the household and the female as the traditional care-giver (D'Antonio & Cavanaugh, 1983; D'Antonio, 1985; Wiebe, 1972). Morgan and Scanzoni (1987) reported that religiosity was strongly associated with traditional gender-role attitudes that support childrearing as an important and integral part of family life.

Conversely, it was found that highly religious subjects who identified themselves as Mennonite and Roman Catholic did not expect to have a higher fertility rate, a higher ideal fertility rate, a higher

childrearing career, or a higher ideal childrearing career than other religions. This result is contrary to the findings of Blake (1984) and Westoff and Jones (1979) who reported higher fertility rates among Catholic families. Alwin (1986), and Thornton (1985) noted higher fertility rates in fundamentalist Protestant religions. It may be speculated that although the females in this sample place a great value on children and childrearing, they expect to develop a career. A reduced number of children would reduce the amount of time spent out of the labour force. For these subjects, the rewards of developing a career are greater than the rewards obtained from having a larger number of children.

Religiosity was examined in the context of delayed bearers and voluntarily childless women. Although it was hypothesized that low religiosity scores would be associated with delayed bearers and voluntary childlessness, this association was not found. Rindfuss and St. John (1983) examined age at first birth and concluded that religious preference was positively associated with age at first birth. Rindfuss and St. John divided their sample into Catholic and non-Catholic subjects. Researchers have not examined delayed bearers and the voluntary childless in terms of religiosity. It should be noted that overall religiosity scores for this sample of university students were low, reducing the effect of religiosity. It may be speculated that the new values and ambitions introduced by education further reduce the effect of religiosity. Callan (1983) noted that the voluntary childless saw career advancement as an advantage of being childless. In terms of choice exchange theory, the benefits to career development by choosing to remain childless would outweigh the rewards of having children.

Gender Roles

The result that females with more modern gender-role attitudes were more likely to choose a dual-career lifestyle, to expect to take less time out of the labour force to rear children, and to consider the ideal childrearing career shorter than females with traditional gender-role attitudes is congruent with past researchers work. Weeks and Gage (1984) found support for the trend toward more egalitarianism in nonfamilial roles, such as acceptance of females as participants in the labour force. According to Weeks and Gage, although the dual-career lifestyle was readily accepted, the change in the division of labour in the household was not as readily accepted. According to Johnson and Stokes (1984), a strong predictor of modern gender roles was labour force participation. McHale and Huston (1984) found that labour force participation and more modern gender-role attitude was related to a decrease in the amount of time spent out of the labour force because of childcare duties. It may be speculated that for this sample, the household division of labour is an accepted and expected lifestyle. The rewards of developing a career would be greater for the female than the costs of placing her children in some type of childcare arrangement.

The finding that modern gender-role attitude was not a predictor of fertility or ideal fertility is contrary to the results of Booth and Duvall (1981) who reported a negative relationship between fertility and labour force participation for females who subscribe to a traditional gender-role attitude. Thornton and Camburn (1979) found a positive relationship between traditional gender-role attitude and fertility and a negative relationship between gender-role traditionalism and labour

force participation. Booth and Duvall pointed out that the reduced birth rate found in their study was not evident for women who believed themselves to be superior mothers. It may be speculated that educated women are more confident in their ability to parent and develop a career simultaneously. The present study, however, took place ten years later and examined Canadian students.

Mott and Mott (1984) discovered that there were no gender differences in the relationship between gender role and fertility expectations. In this study the result that gender-role attitude did not predict fertility expectation or ideal fertility expectation for male or female subjects concurred with Mott and Mott's results. Mott and Mott noted a gender difference between gender-role attitudes and childrearing. It was discovered in this study that male subjects with a more traditional gender-role attitude expected a longer childrearing career for their partner than the females expected for themselves. This result concurs with Mott and Mott who reported evidence of gender role differences between male and female subjects in terms of female employment and childrearing, and Komarovsky (1980) who reported that the traditionalist approach is the accepted norm for males. It may be speculated that although the subjects in this sample had high gender-role attitude scores indicating more modern gender-role scores, they are still traditional when defining the role of mother.

The finding that gender-role attitude was not related to delayed bearers or to voluntary childlessness was contrary to the findings of Bram (1984) and Baber and Dreyer (1986) who reported that voluntarily childless women were more modern in gender-role attitude than parents.

Voluntary childlessness is becoming an increasingly accepted lifestyle according to Reading and Amatea (1986). Perhaps this lifestyle is no longer associated with a gender-role orientation but rather is another accepted type of family formation. In terms of choice exchange theory, it may be theorized that the voluntary childless lifestyle is more rewarding in terms of career development and may be viewed as a way of maximizing the potential resultant from a costly education.

Expected Level of Education

The finding that the expected level of education was a significant predictor of delayed childbearing for females is supported by previous research. Rindfuss, Morgan, and Swicegood (1984) reported that education was the only variable that was found to have any effect on the probability of having a child by the age of 35. Rindfuss, Bumpass and St. John (1980) found support for their hypothesis that education was associated with age at first birth. First births were delayed by approximately three-quarters of a year for each year of education. Callan (1985), and Spanier, Roos, and Shockey (1985) reported similar results.

Expected level of education was not associated with delayed childbirth for males. It may be speculated that men normally start their families later than females so that the delayed bearer age for men could be higher than for women.

Female subjects who expect to obtain a higher level of education were not more likely to choose to be part of a dual-career lifestyle and male

subjects who expect to obtain a higher level of education were not more likely to choose to be part of a single-career lifestyle. According to Rindfuss, Bumpass, and St John (1981), females who have obtained an education will expect to obtain a return on their investment, and would, therefore, expect to be part of a dual-career family. It may be speculated that factors other than education influence the choice of work/family type. For example, females in this sample could be products of their environment. They may have been reared in a dual-career household, and would expect to be part of one when they form their own family. Kotkin (1983) found that male expectations of the marriage relationship were that female employment was secondary to her partner's employment. It should be noted that a single-career lifestyle is based on the traditional sexual division of labour. For this sample of university students the overall gender-role scores were high, so that even those with the low gender-role scores would be considered modern when compared to the general population. This may be an indication that male students are accepting more modern gender roles and this is becoming evident in the way that they expect to form a family. In terms of choice exchange theory, the costs/rewards of choosing nontraditional family lifestyles may become more rewarding and less costly in terms of equal opportunities for males and females.

Cost Factors

The finding that the cost factors of having children was not a predictor of either delayed bearers or voluntarily childless for females was contrary to the findings of Callan (1986), who reported that the voluntary childless rated costs of having children higher and the

rewards of having children lower than mothers. Callan (1983) found that females who expected to remain childless pointed out that the perceived reward of a child-free lifestyle was career advancement. It may be speculated that for this sample of university students, other issues and concerns may have an impact on the desire to delay birth or to remain childless. For example, environmental concerns may have a direct bearing on the fertility decisions made by educated females. In terms of choice exchange theory, the rewards of a childless lifestyle may be greater than the costs incurred by having children.

The finding that cost factors of having children was a predictor of delayed childbearing for male subjects was contrary to the finding for female subjects. Research does not deal with this area for males. It may be speculated that since men are taking more of an active part in childrearing that they find children an encumbrance before their career is established. In addition, male delayers may want to become established in the community before starting a family. For example, priorities may include home ownership and travel. In terms of choice exchange, the rewards of a childless lifestyle may be greater than the costs to career incurred by the birth of children.

CHAPTER V

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the expectations of university students as they near completion of a degree with regard to fertility, ideal fertility, childrearing career, ideal childrearing career, and work/family type in the context of religiosity, gender-role attitude, expected level of education, and expected age at first birth. This study sample was unique in the area of fertility research because men were included in the sample.

Even though religiosity scores were low, gender-role attitude was correlated with religiosity. Relationships between female religiosity and church attendance and fertility expectation, expected partner's childbearing desires, and childrearing careers were not found. However, Mennonite and Roman Catholic subjects did expect a longer childrearing career than other religions. Mennonites and Roman Catholics were the same as other religions on the fertility expectation, ideal fertility expectation, and ideal childrearing career expectation variables.

Gender-role attitude was a significant predictor of dual-career lifestyle, childrearing career expectation, and ideal childrearing career expectation for females, but not for males. Female subjects who subscribe to a more modern sexual division of labour expect to live in dual-career families. They expect to interrupt their careers for short

periods of time in order to rear young children. Male subjects chose a longer childrearing career for their expected female partner than the females chose for themselves. This is evidence of a traditional gender-role orientation. Male subjects scored lower on the gender-role scale than female subjects. Even though men scored lower on the gender-role scale than women, it should be noted that men did expect to take time out of the labour force in order to share some of the childrearing responsibilities.

The higher the expected level of education for women, the more likely they were to expect to delay childbirth until they were past thirty years of age. This implies that women want to obtain some return on their educational investment. The higher the cost factors of having children for men, the more likely they were to expect to delay childbearing until they were past the age of thirty.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study, it is possible to describe this sample as scoring very low on the religiosity scale, and as relatively modern in terms of gender-role attitude. Both female and male subjects scored high on the gender-role scale but differences were found in terms of childrearing career. Males expected longer childrearing careers for their partners than females did for themselves.

There were significant differences found in the gender-role attitudes of male and female subjects with the male sample being more traditional. Male and females differed on the expected age at first birth by more

than one year. The men expect to start their family later than the women. Men and women subjects were similar in their choice of family lifestyle with both groups expecting to be part of a dual-career family.

In regard to fertility choices, 30% of the female subjects expect to delay childbearing. This is congruent with the trends noted by Statistics Canada and other research. This sample of university student expect to have 2.3 children, and for females to take one to two years out of the labour force to rear children.

Possibilities for future research in the area of gender-role attitudes include sampling of colleges with a definite religious affiliation in order to learn more about the fertility expectations as they relate to specific religions. Although research has been done in this area, much of the research has examined the Roman Catholic religion. Other researchers have examined fundamentalist churches as a group. Comparisons between religious groups and the general populations would identify different trends in fertility.

Another possibility would be to examine gender-role attitudes by breaking down the gender-role attitude scale into the four components: (a) wife, (b) mother, (c) husband, and (d) father. Because we are aware that there is a definite trend among university students to subscribe to a more modern gender-role attitude, information on the separate components would reveal if a particular area was becoming accepted as modern more rapidly than other areas. This type of study would add more information to the growing body of literature that deals with gender-role attitudes. A longitudinal study to see whether or not the

expectations become reality would be of interest to childcare professionals.

Other variables and characteristics could be examined to better define female and male delayed bearers and the voluntary childless. This would provide a better and more complete understanding of this fertility issue.

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Appendix A

TELEPHONE SCRIPT USED TO RECRUIT SUBJECTS

Good (morning/afternoon/evening)

My name is _____.

I am calling in regard to a research project being carried out by a University of Manitoba graduate student and Dr. Nancy Kingsbury in the Department of Family Studies in the Faculty of Human Ecology. This study deals with expectations of university students about fertility, childrearing, and work/family patterns. This information will enable those professionals who work with families to develop programs and services which will meet the needs of future families. This study is part of a master's thesis.

As a participant in this study, you may obtain the following benefits: (1) an awareness of fertility issues, (2) an awareness of your childrearing expectations, (3) an awareness of the roles of men and women, and (4) results of the study, which will be available to any participant who makes the request for them.

Your name has been randomly selected from the University of Manitoba phone book. If you qualify as a subject, we hope that you will agree to participate in the study. I am going to ask you some questions to determine if you meet the criteria to participate: (1) are you a University of Manitoba student in the final two years of study, yes or no, (2) are you between the ages of 20 and 26 years, yes or no, (3) do you have any children, and/or are you pregnant, yes or no, and (4) are you single (never married), and not cohabiting, yes or no. (If they answer "yes" to 1, 2, & 4, and "no" to 3, they meet the criteria; go on to paragraph below.) (If they do not meet the criteria, thank them for their time.)

If you choose to participate, a questionnaire will be mailed to you. Your response will be kept strictly confidential.

Would you like to participate?

May I have your correct mailing address?

Thank you.

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE AND INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPANTS

Instructions

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information about future fertility, childrearing, and work/family type. The phone call you received earlier ascertained that you are a single 20 to 26 year old university student in the final two years of study and are not pregnant.

Please answer the questionnaire based on your own personal feelings. There are no right or wrong answers.

Your answers will be completely confidential. Your name will not be connected to any answers. Data collected will be analyzed only in terms of group results. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to.

Please fill the questionnaire out as soon as possible and return in the prepaid envelope. Your returned questionnaire will indicate your consent to participate in the study.

You may notice a number on your envelope. This number is a code used to ascertain that your questionnaire has been returned. Your name will then be deleted from the list and you will not receive a phone call. At no time will your name be attached to your questionnaire.

Thank you for your participation.

I. Here are some statements about your beliefs and practises in relationship to religion. CIRCLE THE NUMBER NEXT TO THE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWER FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW.

1. To what religion do you belong, if any?

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| ANGLICAN..... | 01 |
| BAPTIST..... | 02 |
| GREEK ORTHODOX..... | 03 |
| JEWISH..... | 04 |
| LUTHERAN..... | 05 |
| MENNONITE..... | 06 |
| MORMON..... | 07 |
| PENTECOSTAL..... | 08 |
| PRESBYTERIAN..... | 09 |
| ROMAN CATHOLIC..... | 10 |
| UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC..... | 11 |
| UNITED CHURCH..... | 12 |
| PROTESTANT UNSPECIFIED..... | 13 |
| CHRISTIAN UNSPECIFIED..... | 14 |
| MOSLEM..... | 15 |
| OTHER EASTERN RELIGIONS..... | 16 |
| ATHEIST..... | 17 |
| AGNOSTIC..... | 18 |
| NO PREFERENCE/AFFILIATION..... | 19 |
| OTHER..... | 20 |
| NR..... | 99 |

2. We know that some people are more religious than others.

How religious are you?

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| I AM VERY RELIGIOUS..... | 5 |
| I AM SOMEWHAT RELIGIOUS..... | 4 |
| I AM SLIGHTLY RELIGIOUS..... | 3 |
| I AM NOT VERY RELIGIOUS..... | 2 |
| I AM NOT AT ALL RELIGIOUS..... | 1 |

3. To what degree would you say religion has an influence on your life?

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| INFLUENCE IS VERY STRONG..... | 5 |
| INFLUENCE IS SOMEWHAT STRONG..... | 4 |
| SLIGHT INFLUENCE..... | 3 |
| VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE..... | 2 |
| NO INFLUENCE ON MY LIFE..... | 1 |

4. How often do you attend religious services?

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| NEVER (GO TO Q. 6)..... | 1 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A YEAR..... | 2 |
| FOUR TO ELEVEN TIMES A YEAR..... | 3 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A MONTH..... | 4 |
| ONCE A WEEK..... | 5 |
| MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK..... | 6 |

5. If you attend religious services, how would you rate your participation in your congregation?

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| VERY ACTIVE..... | 5 |
| SOMEWHAT ACTIVE..... | 4 |
| SLIGHTLY ACTIVE..... | 3 |
| NOT VERY ACTIVE..... | 2 |
| NOT AT ALL ACTIVE..... | 1 |

6. How often do you read religious materials, (e.g., Bible, booklets, magazines)?

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| DAILY OR MORE OFTEN..... | 6 |
| ONCE A WEEK..... | 5 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A MONTH..... | 4 |
| FOUR TO ELEVEN TIMES A MONTH..... | 3 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A YEAR..... | 2 |
| NEVER..... | 1 |

7. How often do you pray privately, other than in church?

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| NEVER..... | 1 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A YEAR..... | 2 |
| FOUR TO ELEVEN TIMES A YEAR..... | 3 |
| ONE TO THREE TIMES A MONTH..... | 4 |
| ONCE A WEEK..... | 5 |
| MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK..... | 6 |

II. What is the highest level of education that you expect to complete?

| | DON'T KNOW | NO RESPONSE |
|--|------------|-------------|
| | DK | NR |
| UNIVERSITY INCOMPLETE..... | 10 | |
| BACHELOR'S DEGREE..... | 12 | |
| MEDICAL DEGREE (VETS, DRS., DENTISTS)..... | 13 | |
| MASTER'S DEGREE..... | 14 | |
| DOCTORATE..... | 15 | |
| DK..... | 98 | |
| NR..... | 99 | |

The next four sections are statements about the roles of men and women. Note that "work" refers to paid employment. Please answer all of the questions, indicating the extent of your agreement or disagreement by circling the letter(s) on the right.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------------|----------|----------|
| STRONGLY | AGREE | MIXED FEELINGS | DISAGREE | STRONGLY |
| AGREE | | | | DISAGREE |

III. The following statements apply to a MOTHER.

1. A mother should realize that her
greatest rewards and satisfaction
in life come through her children..... SA A MF D SD
2. A mother of preschool children
should work only if the family
really needs the money..... SA A MF D SD
3. A working mother should give up
her job whenever it makes a
hardship for her children..... SA A MF D SD
4. There should be more day care
centers and nursery schools so
that more mothers of preschool
children could work..... SA A MF D SD
5. If being a mother isn't enough,
she should get a job..... SA A MF D SD

6. A mother pf preschool children
 shouldn't work because it
 isn't good for the child..... SA A MF D SD

7. A mother with preschoolers
 should be able to work as
 many hours per week as their
 father..... SA A MF D SD

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------------|----------|----------|
| STRONGLY | AGREE | MIXED FEELINGS | DISAGREE | STRONGLY |
| AGREE | | | | DISAGREE |

IV. The following statements apply to a HUSBAND.

1. If her job sometimes requires his
 wife to be away from home, this
 should not bother him..... SA A MF D SD

2. If his wife makes more money than
 he does, this should not bother him.. SA A MF D SD

3. If his wife works, he should share
 equally in household chores such as
 cooking, cleaning, and washing..... SA A MF D SD

4. A married man's chief responsibility
 should be his job..... SA A MF D SD

5. The husband should be the head
 of the family..... SA A MF D SD

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------------|----------|----------|
| STRONGLY | AGREE | MIXED FEELINGS | DISAGREE | STRONGLY |
| AGREE | | | | DISAGREE |

V. The following statements apply to a WIFE.

1. A wife's most important task in life
should be taking care of her
husband..... SA A MF D SD

2. A working wife should not try to get
ahead in the same way that a
man does..... SA A MF D SD

3. A working wife should give up her job
if it inconveniences her husband..... SA A MF D SD

4. Having a job herself should be just
as important as encouraging her
husband to do his job..... SA A MF D SD

5. She should be able to make long-range
plans for her occupation, in the same
way that her husband does for his.... SA A MF D SD

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------------|----------|----------|
| STRONGLY | AGREE | MIXED FEELINGS | DISAGREE | STRONGLY |
| AGREE | | | | DISAGREE |

VI. The following statements apply to a FATHER.

1. The father should be the main financial support of his children.... SA A MF D SD
2. The father should spend as much time as the mother in looking after the daily needs of the children..... SA A MF D SD
3. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to discipline the children..... SA A MF D SD
4. If he wants to, a father should be able to quit working and be a full time parent..... SA A MF D SD
5. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons about how to provide for the family..... SA A MF D SD
6. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons of how to work hard and get ahead in the world..... SA A MF D SD

7. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to make and enforce rules for the children... SA A MF D SD

VII. Listed below are a number of reasons that some people consider important in a decision to have or not to have children. On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being not at all important and 7 being very important, would you please indicate how important the following reasons are to you.

| DON'T KNOW | NO RESPONSE | NOT APPLICABLE |
|------------|-------------|----------------|
| DK | NR | N/A |

1. The effect a child or children would have on my career.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|----|----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | | very | DK | NR | N/A |
| important | | | | | | important | | | |

2. The financial costs of rearing children in light of my expected family income.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|----|----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | | very | DK | NR | N/A |
| important | | | | | | important | | | |

3. The time, energy, stress, and potential loss of freedom involved with childrearing.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | very DK NR N/A | | | | |
| important | | | | | important | | | | |

4. The effect childrearing will have on my relationship with my partner.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | very DK NR N/A | | | | |
| important | | | | | important | | | | |

5. The personal reward of having children, such as someone to love and to give meaning to life.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | very DK NR N/A | | | | |
| important | | | | | important | | | | |

6. The issue of who will care for my child(ren) while I and/or my partner work.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | very DK NR N/A | | | | |
| important | | | | | important | | | | |

7. My partner's desires whether or not my partner wants a child.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|----|----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | | very | DK | NR | N/A |
| important | | | | | | important | | | |

8. Other _____

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|----|----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| not at all | | | | | | very | DK | NR | N/A |
| important | | | | | | important | | | |

VIII. The following are questions concerning your expectations for childrearing. Please answer all questions.

1. How many children do you expect to have as a natural parent in your lifetime?

NUMBER _____

DK..... 98

NR..... 99

2. If you could choose the ideal number of children to have in your whole life, how many would that be?

NUMBER-----

DK..... 98

NR..... 99

3. At what age do you expect to have your first child?

AGE _____

| | |
|----------|----|
| N/A..... | 97 |
| DK..... | 98 |
| NR..... | 99 |

Circle the most appropriate answer from your point of view.

4. How many years do you expect to take out of the labour force in order to raise children?

| | |
|---|----|
| none..... | 01 |
| 3 to 4 months..... | 02 |
| more than 4 months but less than one year..... | 03 |
| 1 to 2 years..... | 04 |
| 3 to 5 years..... | 05 |
| 6 to 9 years..... | 06 |
| more than 9 years..... | 07 |
| DK..... | 08 |
| NR..... | 09 |

5. How many years do you expect your partner to take out of the labour force in order to raise children?

| | |
|--|----|
| none..... | 01 |
| 3 to 4 months..... | 02 |
| more than 6 weeks but less than one year..... | 03 |
| 1 to 2 years..... | 04 |
| 3 to 5 years..... | 05 |
| 6 to 9 years..... | 06 |
| DK..... | 08 |
| NR..... | 09 |

6. Ideally, at what age of an only child or last child should a mother feel that it is no longer necessary to stay home full time?

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 0 to 6 weeks..... | 01 |
| 1 year..... | 02 |
| 2 years..... | 03 |
| starting kindergarten..... | 04 |
| starting grade 1..... | 05 |
| starting grade 3..... | 06 |
| starting junior high..... | 07 |
| starting high school..... | 08 |
| finishing high school..... | 09 |
| DK..... | 98 |
| NR..... | 99 |

IX. The next section contains statements about work and family types. Please choose the work/family type that you expect to be a part of in the future. Circle one.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER is defined as a career that requires a specific level of education and has a high and long-term commitment.

1. a. My partner and I will both have
professional careers..... 1
- b. I expect the male partner to have
a professional career and the female
partner to have a job..... 2
- c. I expect the female partner to have
a professional career and the male
partner to have a job..... 3
- d. I expect the male partner to have a
professional career and the female
partner to be non-employed..... 4
- e. I expect the female partner to have a
professional career and the male
partner to be non-employed..... 5
- f. My partner and I will both have jobs.. 6
- g. My partner and I will be a career-
sharing couple..... 7

h. My partner will have a job and I will
be non-employed..... 8

X. Please answer the following.

1. I am FEMALE _____ MALE _____

2. What is your age? _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

Appendix C

TELEPHONE SCRIPT, REMINDER CALL

Good evening.

This is _____ from the Department of Family Studies in the Faculty of Human Ecology at the University of Manitoba. I'm calling to ascertain whether or not you received the questionnaire that I mailed to you about three weeks ago.

Did you receive the questionnaire?

Do you have any questions?

If you have already returned the questionnaire, thank you for your participation.