

Center for Demography and Ecology

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Motherhood, Fatherhood, and Family Values

Elizabeth Thomson

NSFH Working Paper No. 88



Motherhood, Fatherhood and Family Values¹

Elizabeth Thomson²
University of Wisconsin-Madison

January 2001

¹This research was supported by Grant HD36275 and Center Grant HD98014 from the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development, U.S. National Institutes of Health. Jui-Chung Allen Li assisted with analysis. An earlier version of the analysis was presented at the Contact Forum: Values Orientations and Life Cycle Decisions, Brussels, Belgium, September 4-5, 2000.

²Department of Sociology and Center for Demography & Ecology, 1180 Observatory Drive, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706 USA; thomson@ssc.wisc.edu.

Motherhood, Fatherhood and Family Values

Abstract

This chapter examines effects of partners' family values on the birth of their first or second child and the effects of parenthood transitions on changes in parents' family values. I use panel data from the U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, which includes parallel indicators of family values in both waves (1987-88 and 1992-94). Four dimensions of family values are examined: gender-role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, and extended familism. The results provided only moderate support for the processes of values selection and values adaptation associated with first- or second-time parenthood. Although family values influenced the risk of having a first child, only women's conjugal familism and men's extended familism increased the risk, as hypothesized. Women's extended familism reduced their risk of becoming mothers between interviews. Effects of these values were quite substantial, increasing or decreasing the risk of having a child by as much as 40 percent. Neither men's nor women's values influenced the risk of having a second child. Values adaptation was reflected in the positive effects of first-time motherhood on women's conjugal familism and on both partners' extended familism. First-time fatherhood appeared to challenge men's gender-role traditionalism, however. Estimated effects of these major life transitions on family values were quite small, shifting parents less than 5 percent of the distance between the least and most traditional family values.

Motherhood, Fatherhood and Family Values

As Lesthaeghe and Moors (2000) make clear, life course decisions and events are linked to ideas, most specifically to ideas about appropriate ways of living in families, or what many scholars and social commentators refer to as ‘family values’. Socially conservative observers of changes in family life during the last half century often blame a decline in family values for increases in cohabitation and divorce, nonmarital childbearing, and childlessness.

Most scholars recognize that the causal order is not that simple. Although family values may circumscribe the set of choices considered by people with more traditional views, ideas about appropriate ways of family living may be challenged or reinforced by individual experiences of marriage, childbearing, or divorce. Several analyses of panel data have demonstrated the reciprocity of causal influence between family values and life-course experience (Lesthaeghe & Moors 2000).

What has been ignored in much of the discussion about family values and family behavior is that many life-course decisions made by individuals are in fact made by or require the cooperation of couples. Cohabitation, marriage, divorce and childbearing are key examples of events that bring the life courses of two people together and that may be influenced by and influence the values of each. This chapter contributes further evidence for a reciprocal relationship between family values and life-course decisions by analyzing panel data on values and the birth of a first or second child. It goes beyond the individual model of values and choices by considering the relative influence of men’s and women’s values on shared childbearing and the way in which gendered parental experience may differentially shape the family values of mothers and fathers.

Family Values and Parenthood

Because they are specific to a particular domain of behavior, ‘family values’ do not fit Rokeach’s (1973) classic definition of values as ‘preferred end states of existence’. They are generally understood to be preferred modes for the conduct of sexual and family life. And they are labeled ‘values’ rather than ‘desires’ because the preferences are applied to everyone rather

than to the individual her/himself. That is, family values are ideas about life-course choices appropriate for people in general, and therefore fit the definition of social norms. As norms, family values should guide the individual in making her/his own life-course decisions, the process Moors (1997) labels ‘values selection’. They are also more susceptible to change than are more fundamental values such as those identified by Rokeach. In the process of ‘values adaptation’ (Moors 1997), ideas about appropriate life-course choices are challenged by the individual’s personal experiences, particularly by choices or events that may not be consistent with previously held family values.

Parenthood is clearly associated with more traditional views of family life. Lesthaeghe and Meekers (1986) found a positive association between number of children and measures of meaning of parenthood and familism (beliefs about marriage and nonmarital fertility). Distinguishing the underlying causal processes of values selection and values adaptation, Moors (1997) reported a lower risk of pregnancy for young German women who held nontraditional family values *and* placed a high value on personal autonomy. The birth of the first child significantly increased commitment to traditional family values while also weakening autonomy values. (See also Moors 2000.)

Because most childbearing decisions are made by and most children are born to couples, the transition to parenthood usually involves two sets of family values, hers and his. Through mate selection and the experience of shared lives, partners may hold quite similar ideas about the conduct of family life, but remaining differences could moderate the influence of either partner’s views on the couple’s births. The shared experience of parenthood could produce greater similarity between partners’ family values, or – because parental experience is often highly gendered (e.g., Sanchez & Thomson 1997) – increase the distance between them. The birth of the first child is likely to be most strongly related to family values, both in terms of selection and adaptation, because it represents a major change of status and leads to considerable reorganization of family life. The second child requires significant further investment of parental time, however, and may also therefore be linked to family values through selection or adaptation.

In the following sections, I use panel data from the United States to estimate effects of partners’ family values on their first or second shared birth and subsequent effects of parenthood

on partners' family values. Four values dimensions are examined – gender-role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, and extended familism. Each dimension is hypothesized to exert positive effects on the risk of having a first or second child, and each parenthood transition is hypothesized to increase partners' commitments to traditional family values. A possible alternative hypothesis is that parenthood's effect on gender roles challenges women's gender-role traditionalism, shifting them toward less traditional views.

Data & Methods

The U.S. National Survey of Families and Households is based on a nationally representative sample of adults. The first survey was conducted in 1987-88, yielding a response rate of 74 percent. Data were collected by personal interview, during which the respondent completed several self-enumerated questionnaires dealing with personal relationships, attitudes and values. If a respondent was married or cohabiting, her/his partner was asked to complete a self-enumerated questionnaire with many of the same questions. During 1992-94, primary respondents and their partners were contacted for a second interview with much of the same content as that for the first survey.¹

The analytic sample is limited to respondents who, at the first interview, were married and living together or cohabiting and not separated from a spouse. Couples were excluded if the female partner was age 40 or older or pregnant; if either partner was sterilized or had children before the current union; or if the couple had more than one shared child. Of eligible couples, 87 percent were represented in the second survey by one or both partners. The sample was further reduced to 66 percent of eligible couples due to missing information on family or religious values or control variables in the first survey -- most of which resulted from partner non-participation -- or on union or birth dates between surveys.² The final sample size is 928, 592 couples without children at the first interview, 399 with one child.³

¹See www.ssc.wisc.edu/nsfh/ for more information about the two surveys.

²Only minor differences were found between those with valid and missing data in the probability of a birth or separation between surveys.

³The larger number of childless couples is due to oversampling of cohabiting and recently married couples and the high rate of second births among couples with one child.

Measures of family values are based on responses to the survey items listed in Appendix 1. All indicators were scored in the direction of traditional values. Exploratory factor analyses and reliability tests produced the four dimensions identified above: gender-role traditionalism; sexual conservatism; conjugal familism; and extended familism. Reliability estimates are also provided in the appendix, separately for male and female primary respondents. Parallel scales were constructed for the two interviews, with a few differences in the number and wording of items.

To identify couples with no children or only one shared child, I used information from the household roster and from questions on children living out of the household.⁴ As noted above, couples with stepchildren were excluded from analyses, whether or not they had any shared children. In the second interview, both partners provided information on dates of births, adoptions and, if applicable, the date at which they separated. When partners both provided information but disagreed, I used the woman's report for the date of births or adoptions, and averaged reports of the separation date.⁵

Several social and economic characteristics were measured in the first survey and used as control variables in all models: union status (married or cohabiting), woman's age (under 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35 and older) and education (no high school diploma, high school graduate, some college, college graduate), with indicators for differences between partners' ages (man two or more years younger, five or more years older than woman) and education (man less well, better educated than woman); couple's religious affiliations (at least one partner Catholic or Mormon, all other combinations) and race/ethnic identities (at least one partner not white or Hispanic, both partners white non-Hispanic); and partners' work hours (man employed 40 hours per week or less, 41 hours or more; woman not employed, employed 1-34 hours per week, 35 or more hours per week). As noted below, the baseline hazard for the risk of the couple's first birth is their union duration, that for the risk of the second birth is the age of the first child.

⁴For some children living in the household and for the respondent's children living out of the household, information on the child's full parentage was ambiguous. These children were specified as shared or separate children on the basis of their age and the union's duration.

⁵Women's reports of births or adoptions and union events between surveys were more internally consistent than were men's reports.

Table 1 presents the percent of couples who did and did not conceive (adopt) before their union dissolved, by parenthood and marital status at the first interview. Overall, more than half of the couples had a birth or adopted a child together. Couples who were married or had one child were more likely to have a(nother) child than were cohabiting or childless couples; more than three fifths of married parents experienced the birth or adoption of their second child.

Table 1 about here

Family Values and Births/Adoptions

As a first look at the relationship between family values and transition to first- or second-time parenthood, Table 2 presents differences between couples who did and did not make a transition, in terms of their values at the first and second interviews. Among childless couples, only women's values at the first interview were associated with having a child; women who became mothers were slightly more traditional on conjugal familism. Among fathers, conjugal familism was associated with having a second child. No statistically significant associations were found between first-time fatherhood or second-time motherhood and family values.

Turning to the second interview, we see that the birth of the first child, as hypothesized, is more strongly associated with family values than is the birth of a second child. Sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, and extended familism were associated with the first birth for both women and men. Only men's gender-role traditionalism was associated with second-time fatherhood, in the predicted direction, while women who had a second child did not differ from women with one child on any dimension of family values. All of the estimated differences are relatively small, as little as one- or two-tenths of a point on a scale ranging from 1 to 5.

Table 2 about here

To estimate effects of values on transitions to first- or second-time parenthood, I estimated proportional hazard models of the risk of conception or adoption. The event of interest is specified to occur nine months prior to the date of a live birth or adoption.⁶ Observation begins at three months prior to the first interview or at union formation, whichever

⁶Only a handful of first events were adoptions. Subtraction of nine months recognizes that adoptive parents have usually made a commitment to "have" a child well before the child enters their home. It seemed simplest to specify such commitments as conceptions and to assign the same period of time as is required for most pregnancies to come to term.

occurs later, in order to include premature births and early pregnancies not recognized by respondents or their partners at the first interview. Observation ends at nine months before a birth or adoption or at separation or the second interview, whichever occurs first.⁷ The baseline “clock” is union duration for the risk of the first birth, age of the first child for the risk of the second birth. Couples contribute observations beginning at the point in their union or parenthood occurring three months prior to the first interview, or at union formation, if the union began within three months of the interview.⁸

Figure 1 shows the survival curve for couples with no and one child, respectively, at varying observation times (in months). The lower curve shows that the proportion of couples with one child at the first interview who did not have a child n months after the birth of their first child. The upper curve shows the proportion of couples without children at the first interview who did not have a child n months after their union began. The difference between the lines indicates that the pace of having a second child exceeds that of becoming first-time parents. Virtually no couples are predicted to have a first child after 20 years of coresidence or to have a second child after their first child is 12 years old.

Figure 1 about here

Table 3 presents selected estimates from the best-fitting models of the effect of family values on the risk of a first or second birth. Full model parameters are available on request. The models specify only additive effects of partners’ family values. I attempted to improve model fit

⁷When events occurred in the same month, durations at risk were adjusted so that conception occurred prior to separation and all events occurred after the first interview and before the second.

⁸Because the child’s age was reported in years, I estimated the child’s age to be half way between the age reported and the next age at the time of the interview; thereafter, the duration is incremented in months. Note that union status is a fixed covariate, measured at the beginning of observation. Although many of the cohabiting couples married between surveys, most of those who became parents, the transformation of a cohabiting union to marriage may be endogenous to the decision to have a child or the occurrence of an unintended pregnancy. Thus, I have not included such events as time-varying covariates in these models.

with several specifications of differences between partners' values, with no success – the additive model fits best.⁹

Table 3 about here

The multivariate models do not entirely replicate results from the bivariate associations reported in Table 2. Women's conjugal familism and men's extended familism increased the likelihood of a having a first child, as expected. On the other hand, women's extended familism *reduced* the likelihood of the couple's having their first child between interviews. Among couples with one child at the first interview, family values had virtually no effect on the risk of having a second child.

The effect of women's extended familism on the risk of having a first child appeared to result from the strong gender familism of women who were childless at the first interview, remained with their partners between surveys and did not have a child. Women who did not have a child but separated from their partners had the lowest scores on extended familism at the first interview, masking the true effect of extended familism on the transition to parenthood. Effects of both partners' extended familism (negative for women, positive for men) were slightly stronger when both were included in the same model than when they were estimated in separate models, even though the correlation between partners' extended familism was quite modest (.23 for childless couples). Men's conjugal familism, on which differences were shown in Table 2, had no significant effect on the risk of having a second child because men with the lowest scores were selected out of the risk pool rather quickly through separation.

⁹I used the woman's values as a benchmark, adding two indicators for each value representing the directional difference between the man's and woman's values. One indicator represented couples in which the man was more traditional (less traditional men scored 0), the other couples in which the woman was more traditional (less traditional women scored 0). These variables were included as interval variables and exponential variables (to represent the potentially greater effect of larger gaps between partners' values). In no case did the set of difference variables improve model fit.

Parenthood Effects on Family Values

To identify effects of transitions to first- or second-time parenthood, I estimated models of each family value at the second interview, controlling for the corresponding value at the first interview, with a dummy variable to indicate having a child between interviews. All models include the controls for social and economic characteristics at the first interview that were included in the previous analysis. In the final model, I added an indicator of whether the couple separated between interviews, an event that may be associated with parenthood and also influence family values.

Table 4 presents key model parameters for effects of first- and second-time motherhood on women's family values. In every model, values at the first interview were significantly associated with those at the second, as we would expect, given the relative stability of family values. As shown in the top panel, the transition to motherhood produces more traditional views of conjugal and extended family life, but has no effect on gender-role traditionalism or sexual conservatism. The couple's separation, on the other hand, produces a strong negative effect on women's gender-role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism. In analyses not shown, an apparent positive effect of motherhood on sexual conservatism is accounted for by the negative effect of separation. Couples who separated were less likely to have children and it appears to be the separation rather than the continuing childless state that influences sexual conservatism.¹⁰

Table 4 about here

The second panel of Table 4 shows that having a second child minimally influenced family values. The only coefficient that is statistically significant is for sexual conservatism. Contrary to the hypothesis, women who had their second child between interviews expressed *less* conservative views of sexuality and cohabitation than did women who remained mothers of one child. As for childless women, separation had a liberalizing effect, producing less traditional views of gender roles and conjugal family life.

¹⁰In general, effects in the final model controlling for union stability were similar to those found in analyses limited to couples who were together at the second interview.

Table 5 presents parallel results for men's values. Again, the stronger effects are those of first-time fatherhood, as hypothesized. First-time fathers expressed more traditional views of conjugal family life, as did their partners, but the reality of fatherhood appears to have challenged men's gender-role traditionalism, leaving them less traditional than at the first interview. As for women, separation weakened men's sexual conservatism and conjugal familism, with no effect on gender-role traditionalism. Having a second child had no influence on men's family values. When separation is not included in the model, men who became fathers for the second time expressed more traditional views of gender roles; but this difference was accounted for by separation between interviews. Separation also shifted men toward less traditional values on all dimensions.

Table 5 about here

Values Selection and Values Adaptation

Taken together, these results provide only moderate support for the processes of values selection and values adaptation associated with first- and second-time parenthood. Although three family values – women's conjugal familism and both partners' extended familism – influenced the risk of having a first child, effects of women's extended familism were negative, contrary to my hypothesis. On the other hand, those family values that did influence the risk of parenthood had quite substantial effects, with an increase of one quarter of the values scale increasing or reducing the risk by as much as 45 percent.

Values adaptation was reflected in the positive effects of first-time parenthood on both partners' conjugal familism and on women's extended familism. First-time fatherhood appeared to challenge gender-role traditionalism among men, however. Men who became fathers for the second time did not experience values change, but their female partners became less sexually conservative. Women who had their second child expressed unexpectedly less conservative views of sexuality and cohabitation than those who did not. Note that the estimated effects of these major life transitions on family values were quite small – shifting parents less than 5 percent of the distance between the least and most traditional values.

The only other study to consider values selection and adaptation to parenthood is that of Moors (1997). As reported above, he found positive effects of nontraditional family values held by young German women on the subsequent likelihood of having a child. The items in his

traditionalism scale were similar to but more extensive than the NSFH measures of conjugal familism and gender-role traditionalism. The positive effect was also conditional on women's placing a high value on personal autonomy – only women with nontraditional family values and high autonomy values were significantly less likely than other women to have a child. Moors found further that having a child significantly increased commitment to traditional family values and weakened autonomy values. (See also Moors 2000.)

Given Moors' results and theoretical grounding for selection and adaptation to parenthood on the basis of gender-role traditionalism, it is surprising that this particular dimension of family values was not strongly associated with parenthood transitions. The only significant effect was that of first-time fatherhood on men, shifting them slightly toward less traditional views. It is likely that the difference lies in the higher quality of measurement in Moors' data for this particular family value. In this study, the gender-role traditionalism scale focuses almost exclusively on maternal employment, which has become increasingly accepted in the United States and in other wealthy nations. Moors' scale included much stronger statements of gender inequality (e.g., *a woman should refrain from her interests, if it concerns her family and in difficult situations, a wife should follow the advice of her husband*).

In general, relatively poor measures of family values in the U.S. NSFH can produce downward bias in estimated effects of values on the risk of having a child, particularly when other variables in the multivariate models are measured with a greater degree of accuracy (e.g., marital status at the first interview, age, education). Poor measurement would also attenuate estimated effects of family values at the first interview on those at the second, upwardly biasing estimated effects of having a first or second child. As noted above, those estimates are very small in substantive terms; if they are upwardly biased, we must conclude that very little change in family values is likely to be produced by first-time parenthood.

Poor measurement cannot, of course, account for the puzzling effects of women's extended familism on the risk of having a first child. The opposing effects of women's and men's extended familism on the couple's risk of having a first child are somewhat reduced in models that include only women's or only men's family and religious values. But the correlation between partners' extended familism is not so high as to conclude that the multivariate estimates are an artifact of multicollinearity. An admittedly ad hoc explanation

derives from the matrifocal nature of American kinship. Women are more likely than men, whatever their feelings of intergenerational obligation, to be kinkeepers and family caregivers, particularly if they have no children; thus, women who have decided not to become mothers may maintain stronger feelings of obligation to their own parents and generalize those feelings in the value of extended familism. For men, on the other hand, fatherhood may serve as a critical connection across generations, with men who feel strong intergenerational obligations viewing their prospective parental role as a way to enact those obligations.

It is surprising that the transition to first-or second-time motherhood does *not* alter women's gender-role traditionalism, given the gendered experience of parenthood. Perhaps some women are surprised by their experience such that traditional values are challenged, while others rationalize their experience by adopting a more traditional view of gender roles. The fact that first-time fatherhood liberalizes men is also surprising. Keep in mind, however, that the measure of gender-role traditionalism focuses on maternal employment. New fathers may be feeling financial pressure if their wives reduce employment hours after the birth of the first child and reconsider previously held ideals about women's work and family roles.

What may be missing from this analysis is sufficient attention to selection into parenthood on the basis of something other than social and economic circumstances or family values. The strong negative influence of separation on traditional family values suggests a possible direction for further inquiry. Separation is the ultimate indicator of an unstable, probably unhappy union. As Lillard and Waite (1993) showed, couples who are at high risk of separation are less likely to have a child than couples in more stable unions. In the hazard analysis, unhappy and/or less traditional couples leave the risk pool as they separate, reducing variability in values among those still at risk of having a first or second shared child. Were we to control for this unobserved component of couples' lives, we might find a stronger effect of family values on the risk of having a child.

The effect of separation also brings to mind the fact that other life events may have occurred before or after the parenthood transitions in this analysis. For example, couples having their first child may also have had a second child before family values are measured at the second interview, and some of the couples having their second child have also had a third. Changes in women's employment associated with childbearing and childrearing are also

excluded from the models. Any or all of these events or circumstances might suppress potential effects of the first child on subsequent family values.

What distinguishes this analysis from other studies of family values and life-course transitions is its use of couple data. Although the transition to parenthood is clearly a shared event, it is not clear from this analysis that a couple approach added much to our understanding of the relationship between values and childbearing decisions or the experience of parenthood. Effects shown in the couple models were apparent in models without the other partner's values, and could have been produced with parallel models from independent samples of women and men. Furthermore, differences between partners' values did not contribute to the risk of having a child, perhaps because the values themselves – or the particular measures used herein – did not have strong effects on couples' decisions to have a child.

The use of couple data do shed light on potentially different effects of parenthood on women and men. One could draw such inferences from parallel analyses of unpaired male and female respondents, but the advantage of couple analyses is that we can estimate the effect of the very same event, occurring in the same circumstances, on two different people. The fact that first-time parenthood had different effects on women's and men's values sheds new light on the extent to which parenthood is a gendered experience. The experience of first-time fatherhood in the 1990s apparently challenged traditional gender beliefs of men, while leaving those of their female partners intact. Because women hold less traditional gender beliefs than men, shared parenthood serves to bring couples closer together in their gender beliefs. On the other hand, first-time parenthood strengthened both partners' conjugal familism, consistent with the higher costs of separation among parents than among nonparents. The negative effect of having a second child on women's sexual conservatism is puzzling; motherhood generally increases women's economic dependence on men and ought therefore to strengthen concerns about infidelity and potential divorce. Finally, as noted above, children strengthened intergenerational obligations among women, who are primary kinkeepers, but did not have similar effects on men's extended familism.

References

- Lesthaeghe, Ron, and Meekers, Dominique. 1986. Value changes and the dimensions of familism in the European community. *European Journal of Population* 2:225-268.
- Lesthaeghe, Ron, and Guy Moors. 2000. Life course transitions and value orientations: Selection and adaptation. Presented at the Contact Forum: Values Orientations and Life Cycle Decisions, Brussels, Belgium, September 4-5, 2000.
- Lillard, Lee A., and Linda J. Waite. 1993. A joint model of marital childbearing and marital disruption. *Demography* 30:653-681.
- Moors, Guy. 1997. Valued choices and chosen values: On the dynamics of the relationship between values orientations and family formation. IPD Working Paper 1997-5, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels, Belgium.
- Moors, Guy. 2000. Gender role attitudes/values and family formation. Presented at the Contact Forum: Values Orientations and Life Cycle Decisions, Brussels, Belgium, September 4-5, 2000.
- Rokeach, M. 1973 *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.
- Sanchez, Laura, and Elizabeth Thomson. 1997. Becoming mothers and fathers: Parenthood, gender, and the division of labor. *Gender & Society* 11:747-772.

Table 1. First- and Second-Time Parenthood by Marital Status at First Interview

Marital Status at First Interview	Parental Status at First Interview		
	No Children	One Child	All Couples
Cohabiting			
Conceived/Adopted	32 %	49 %	34 %
# Couples	127	17	144
Married			
Conceived/Adopted	57 %	64 %	60 %
# Couples	402	382	784
All Couples			
Conceived/Adopted		63 %	56 %
	51 %		
# Couples	529	399	928

Source: U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, 1987-88 and 1992-94.

Note: Percentages are weighted, number of cases unweighted.

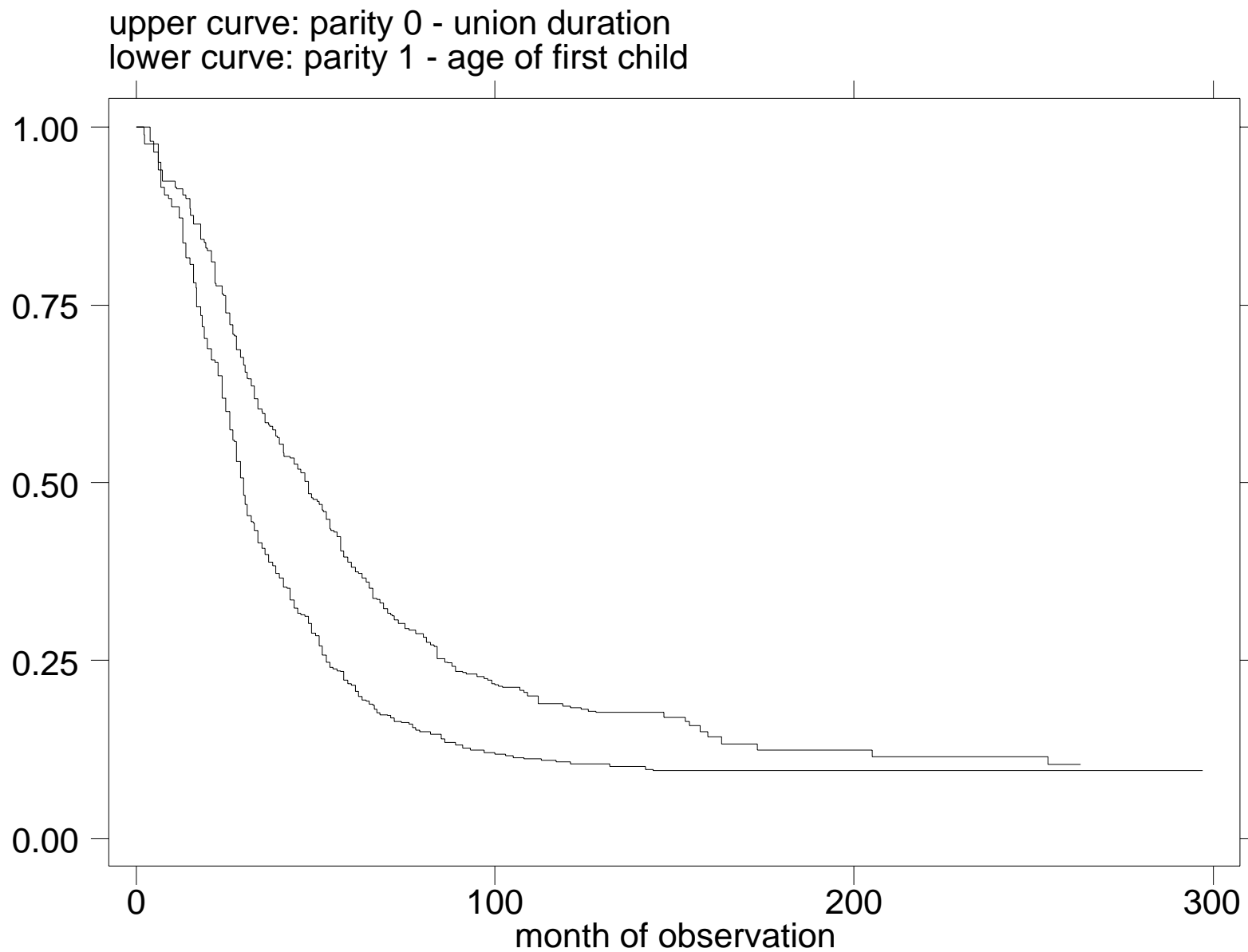
Table 2. Partners' Values Before and After Birth

Parity and Partners' Values	Couples without children				Couples with one child			
	1 st interview		2 nd interview		1 st interview		2 nd interview	
	no child	child	no child	child	no child	child	no child	child
Women								
Gender role traditionalism	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.1
Sexual conservatism	3.1	3.2	2.9*	3.1*	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.2
Conjugal familism	3.0**	3.1**	2.4**	2.8**	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.8
Extended familism	3.4	3.4	3.4#	3.5#	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.6
Men								
Gender role traditionalism	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.0*	3.3*
Sexual conservatism	2.9	3.0	2.8*	3.0*	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Conjugal familism	3.3	3.3	2.7**	3.0**	3.4*	3.6*	2.9	3.1
Extended familism	3.4	3.5	3.4**	3.6**	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6

Source: U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, 1987-88 and 1992-94.

Note: See Appendix 1 for values measurement; all scales range from 1-5 in the direction of more traditional values; estimates are weighted. Valid cases (unweighted) are 529 (parity 0) and 399 (parity 1) at the first interview. At the second interview, valid cases for women range from 487-488 (parity 0), 376-377 (parity 1) and for men from 455-457 (parity 0), 346-348 (parity 1). T-tests for significant differences between couples who did and did not have a child between surveys.

#p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, two-tailed.



Kaplan-Meier Estimates: Probability of not yet having a child

Table 3. Estimated Effects of Partners' Values on Conception Risk

At First Interview:	Increase in Relative Risk of Union Conception			
	First Birth		Second Birth	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Woman's Values				
Gender-role traditionalism	0.97	0.98	1.00	1.03
Sexual conservatism	0.97	0.86	1.10	1.03
Conjugal familism	1.43**	1.45**	0.93	0.92
Extended familism	0.72**	0.69**	0.98	1.00
Men's Values				
Gender-role traditionalism	0.90	0.95	1.14	1.18
Sexual conservatism	1.00	0.96	0.95	0.97
Conjugal familism	1.02	0.94	1.05	1.08
Extended familism	1.32*	1.40*	1.21	1.20
Log-Likelihood/df	-1316.4/9	-1290.4/27	-1187.3/9	-1178.2/26

Source: U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, 1987-88 and 1992-94.

Note: See Appendix 1 for measurement of parents' values; scales range from 1-5 in the direction of traditional values. Model 1 includes only primary respondent's sex; Model 2 includes social and economic characteristics at the first interview. Estimates are weighted, unweighted N=529 parity 0, 399 parity 1.

#p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, two-tailed.

Table 4. Estimated Effects of First- or Second-Time Parenthood on Women's Values

Selected Covariates	Gender-role traditionalism		Sexual conservatism		Conjugal familism		Extended familism	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Parity 0 at first interview								
Values at interview	.50**	.04	.63**	.04	.41**	.04	.46**	.04
1 st child between interviews	-.08	.09	.03	.08	.13#	.07	.11*	.05
Couple separated	-.23*	.10	-.28**	.09	-.22**	.08	-.01	.06
Adjusted R-squared	.31**		.51**		.30**		.26**	
Parity 1 at first interview								
Values at interview	.62**	.05	.67**	.04	.33**	.05	.44**	.05
2 nd child between interviews	-.01	.09	-.17#	.09	-.09	.08	.08	.07
Couple separated	-.32**	.10	.09	.11	-.26**	.08	.11	.08
Adjusted R-squared	.52**		.46**		.18**		.19**	

Source: U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, 1987-88 and 1992-94.

Note: See Appendix 1 for values measurement; scales range from 1-5 in the direction of traditional values. All models include social and economic characteristics measured at the first interview. Weighted data; unweighted N=487-488 at parity 0, 376-377 at parity 1. #p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, two-tailed.

Table 5. Estimated Effects of First- or Second-Time Parenthood on Men's Values

Selected Covariates	Gender-role traditionalism		Sexual conservatism		Conjugal familism		Extended familism	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Parity 0 at first interview								
Values at interview	.41**	.04	.63**	.04	.37**	.04	.31**	.04
1 st child between interviews	-.15#	.08	.04	.08	.13#	.07	.07	.06
Couple separated	-.08	.10	-.22*	.09	-.15*	.08	-.04	.07
Adjusted R-squared	.30**		.49**		.26**		.16**	
Parity 1 at first interview								
Values at interview	.51**	.05	.70**	.05	.41**	.06	.50**	.04
2 nd child between interviews	.11	.09	-.09	.10	-.01	.08	.02	.06
Couple separated	-.27**	.11	-.20#	.11	-.33*	.10	-.12#	.07
Adjusted R-squared	.41**		.45**		.18**		.31**	

Source: U.S. National Survey of Families and Households, 1987-88 and 1992-94.

Note: See Appendix 1 for values measurement; scales range from 1-5 in the direction of traditional values. Models include social and economic characteristics measured at the first interview. Weighted data; unweighted N=455-457 at parity 0, 346-348 at parity 1.

#p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, two-tailed.

Appendix 1: Value Indicators and Scales

Note: For most NSFH1 and all NSFH2 items, the questionnaires read: *Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.* Respondents are provided with five choices, labeled *strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree*, scored from 1 to 5. Constructed scales are comprised of items scored in the direction of traditional values.

NSFH1

Gender-role traditionalism alpha=.83 (men), .80 (women)

Mothers who work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5?¹¹
Children under 3 years old being cared for all day in a day care center?¹
Mothers who work part-time when their youngest child is under 5?¹
It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.
Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed.

Sexual conservatism alpha=.76 (men), .77 (women)

Women who have a child without getting married?¹
It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in considering marriage.
It is all right for unmarried 18 year olds to have sexual relations if they have strong affection for each other
It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together as long as they have plans to marry.

Conjugal familism alpha=.60 (men), .58 (women)

It's better for a person to get married than to go through life being single.
A couple with an unhappy marriage getting a divorce if their youngest child is under 5?¹
Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should never be ended except under extreme circumstances.
Children have fewer problems with two natural parents than with one natural parent and one step-parent.
It's better for a person to have a child than to go through life childless.

¹¹ For these items the questionnaires read: *Here are some questions about your views on some other topics. Please circle the number that best represents how much you approve or disapprove of the behaviors described.* Endpoints on a 7-point scale were labeled as *strongly approve* and *strongly disapprove* with no labels for the intermediate values. I rescaled the 7-point items so that the minimum and maximum values were 1 and 5.

Extended familism

alpha=.60 (men), .67 (women)

Children ought to provide financial help to aging parents when their parents are having financial difficulty.

Parents ought to help their children with college expenses.

Parents ought to provide financial help to their adult children when the children are having financial difficulty.

Parents ought to let their adult children live with them when the children are having problems.

Children ought to let aging parents live with them when the parents can no longer live by themselves.

NSFH2

Gender-role traditionalism

alpha=.76 (men), .78 (women)

It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.

It is all right for children under three years old to be cared for all day in a day care center.

It is all right for mothers to work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5.

Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed.

Sexual conservatism

alpha=.87 (men), .86 (women)

It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in marriage.

It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together as long as they have plans to marry.

It is all right for a woman to have a child without being married.

It is all right for unmarried 18 year olds to have sexual relations if they have strong affection for each other.

It is all right for a man to have a child without being married.

Conjugal familism

alpha=.78 (men), .76 (women)

A man can have a fully satisfying life without getting married.

A man can have a fully satisfying life without having children.

A woman can have a fully satisfying life without getting married.

A woman can have a fully satisfying life without children.

Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should never be ended except under extreme circumstances.

When a marriage is troubled and unhappy, it is generally better for the children if the couple stays together.

It is all right for a couple with an unhappy marriage to get a divorce when their youngest child is under age 5.

Extended familism

alpha=.63 (men), .62 (women)

Children ought to let aging parents live with them when the parents can no longer live by themselves.

Parents ought to let their adult children live with them when the children are having problems

Parents ought to help their children with college expenses.

Children ought to provide financial help to aging parents when their parents are having financial difficulty.

Parents ought to provide financial help to their adult children when the children are having financial difficulty.

Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin
1180 Observatory Drive, Rm. 4412
Madison, WI 53706-1393
U.S.A.
608/262-2182
FAX 608/262-8400
comments to: thomson@ssc.wisc.edu
requests to: cdepubs@ssc.wisc.edu