

MOTIVATIONS FOR PARENTHOOD
IN MOTHERS OF DISTURBED AND MOTHERS OF
NORMAL CHILDREN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

MOTIVATIONS FOR PARENTHOOD IN MOTHERS OF DISTURBED AND MOTHERS OF NORMAL CHILDREN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by Robert J. Greene

The present study was an exploratory project to investigate motivations for parenthood. Of central concern were differences in general needs and specific motivations for having children as expressed by mothers of emotionally disturbed children and mothers of "normal" children. The instruments employed were the Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire (PM2) and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS). The study was also designed to help establish the construct validity of the PM2.

Both measures were distributed to mothers who had at least one child diagnosed as needing psychological treatment and to a larger sample of mothers of normal children. Materials were returned by mail. Questionnaires completed by 30 mothers of disturbed children were matched with those of mothers of normal children. Criteria for matching were: income, education, number of children, religion, and age. Questionnaires were scored after matching and appropriate statistical tests were conducted.

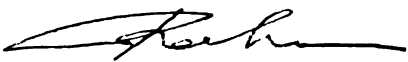
Results of *t* tests for differences confirmed two hypotheses. Mothers of normal children had stronger fatalistic motives on the PM2 scale and stronger nurturance needs on the EPPS scale. These differences may support contentions that mothers wanting progeny due to fatalistic

motives and mothers with stronger nurturance needs would exhibit more psychologically positive behaviors toward their children. However, the significance of results was diminished by the fact that other related hypotheses were not confirmed.

No hypothesized correlational relationships between PM2 and EPPS variables were statistically significant. The construct validity of the PM2 received no support.

Results were discussed in the light of sampling, measurement, and research design problems. The need for genotypic descriptions of children's disturbances and information on the planned or unplanned status of the child was noted. Questions were raised regarding projective aspects of responses and possible changes in procreative motives and general needs.

It was concluded that the study of motivations for parenthood warrants further expenditures of time and effort. Suggestions for modifying the PM2 instrument and directions for future research were offered.

Approved: 
Committee Chairman

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By

Robert J. Greene

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To Marsha

whose patience, understanding and
hard work made this study
possible and more meaningful

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INTRODUCTION

Modern contraceptive methods provide practical and effective means of controlling procreation. Thus, we may assert that the choice of having a child is related to psychological motivations. In turn, it is reasonable to hypothesize that motives to procreate influence the subsequent formation of parental attitudes and expectancy expressions toward the child.

The literature contains many studies focused on effects of parental attitudes upon the child. Typically, these works make no reference to underlying need structures nor do they explicitly consider motivations involved in having children. Facts about motives for reproduction have remained obscure.

In an attempt to reduce this obscurity, the present research has studied general manifest needs and specific motivations for parenthood in two groups of mothers. One group was comprised of mothers who had at least one emotionally disturbed child. The other group of women had "normal" children. In accord with indications that parental attitudes toward a child play a significant role in the genesis of psychopathology, it was hypothesized that group differences would be observable in both general needs and motivations for parenthood. It was also predicted that relationships between general needs and specific motivations for parenthood would be found.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The impact of parental motives on the child occurs via translation into attitudes and expectations. Thus, research and reflections in both areas will be discussed.

Parental Attitudes and Expectations

The assumption that childhood psychopathology rests completely on a psychodynamic etiology would be tenuous (N. Allen, 1964). Yet, information in this area does offer a sound basis for asserting that the child's psychological environment is a central precipitating factor in emotional disturbances. Parents' attitudes constitute an important part of the child's social and emotional environment (Sears et al., 1957; Taylor, 1955).

The recognition that parental attitudes are important is not new (see Kanner, 1948, and Rambert, 1949). Similarly, present writings (see Yarrow, 1963) stress the consequences of the "affectual-emotional" interchange in which child rearing attitudes are central.

More specifically, analytically oriented authors have suggested that detrimental growth conditions lack communication of positive feeling (Gerard, 1956; Goldfarb, 1961). This results in a deficiency in ego synthesis (Escalona, 1963). Different theoretical orientations (e.g., Moustakas, 1953) point to a similar etiological basis founded on parental restrictions, demands, and a lack

of positive communication. Observations that a large percentage of disturbed children have parents who are "cold, detached," and "giving of mechanical attention" (Kanner, 1949; Keller, 1957) support traditional views.

Several authors (Reed, 1923; Duval, 1946; Taylor, 1955; Vogel, 1960) have designated specific parental attitudes toward children (e.g., "nuisances," "social responsibilities," "occupying objects") as central determinants of emotional disturbances. In contrast, the positive growth atmosphere has "security," "belonging," "an awareness of being accepted at full value" (Wile, 1932). Generally, this represents the positive end of Anderson's scale of "dynamic human interaction" (1946).

Claims that parental attitudes are not important (Bergler, 1964) have little supportive evidence. However, there are many studies illustrating the effects of the impingement of parental attitudes upon the child (see Glidewell, 1961).

Summary

Evidence supports the assertion that parental attitudes do influence the child's emotional development. The detrimental psychological environment contains demanding, restrictive, and manipulative behaviors. Here the child is not recognized as an important self-entity. The positive growth context emphasizes love, acceptance, and freedom.

Motivations for Parenthood

The question, "Why do people have children?", has received little attention. Centers and Blumberg (1954) stated:

"We do not really know why man procreates and, in view of the great practical import of man's reproductive tendencies, it is surprising that so little attention has been given to the matter by psychologists." (p. 245)

A number of authors have discussed motivations for procreation but few continued to contribute empirical data. Nonetheless, an inspection of the literature reveals several important areas which may provide focal guidelines.

Biological determinants - In an article presented in the early 20's Thorndike contended that motherhood was a part of the "maternal instinct" (see Thorndike, 1935). However, a concurrent analysis of interview data obtained from expectant women and mothers with small children did not support a similar conclusion (Reed, 1923). Nonetheless, the assumption that procreation is an elementary biological process still finds numerous advocates.

Benedek (1952) considered biological aspects of paramount significance in "the primary reproductive drive." She conceptualized motherliness as "an evolution of a basic anlage." Later (1959), this same author said there is a "drive for fatherliness based on biological bisexuality. . . there need be no doubt that the male reproductive drive has psychic representations of

instinctual, biological origin." Although some research was presented which supported the interaction between physiological and psychological processes in women, it was noted (Rabin, 1965) that Benedek's "postulates about the biological aspects of fatherliness, especially, remain in the realm of speculation and unverified theory."

In this same context, it would be difficult to support a contention that the "biological family" (Montagu, 1965) currently plays a crucial role in fostering procreation. Sound refutations of arguments for the existence of a "spontaneous maternal instinct in women generally" are available (see Scheinfeld, 1944).

Yet, because motivational aspects of parenthood are of primary interest to the present research, studying the biological substratum per se is not necessary. Justification for this position was outlined by Rapaport (1960): "A theory of motivation must distinguish motivations from causes: all motivations are causes, but not all causes are motivations." One may also support a separation of psychological from biological determinants on the basis of modern social changes (e.g., the individualization of marriage and the personalization of procreation). With these changes, apologetics of the "biological need" and of the "elementary wish" are no longer applicable (Wyatt, 1963).

Psychological determinants - Rauf (1958) recognized that "the problem of family size and birth rate is predominately psychological." Yet, a review of the

literature reveals that "intensive studies of motivation and social attitudes affecting general family planning have hardly been undertaken" (Bhandari, 1957). In fact, even studies of an introductory nature are scarce. Most writings are based on personal observations and speculations. This does not necessarily diminish the value of insights available in these works, but more controlled empirical data would be desirable.

The review of information on motivations for parenthood has been categorized under four headings: narcissism, fatalism, altruism, and instrumental usage. Results of studies which integrated several of these concepts have been subdivided for presentation in the appropriate categories.

narcissism - Freud (1914) said that the child represents "not only the parent's self as a child but also his hope and expectation of self-realization through the child." The goal of "remaking her own life," (Hoffman and Wyatt, 1960) has a similar narcissistic connotation. Wile (1932) emphasized the detrimental psychological effects caused by a parent's failure to realize that "children are more than physical representations of their parents." Similarly, Benedek (1959) said superego involvement often directs strivings to raise a child who "fulfills the parents' aspirations."

Centers and Blumberg (1954) surveyed more than 1,000 people to determine "why people really have kids." Eighty

percent said "self-centered" motives were important reasons for wanting children. A study of 1,444 protestant couples (Whelpton and Kiser, 1958) supported arguments that having children may offer a chance to relive one's life. These authors reported that strong feelings of inadequacy were associated with the ineffective practicing of contraception. Here, the person who feels his life needs to be reconstructed gains opportunities to do so via his offspring (Satir, 1964).

Another subdivision of narcissism appears in Pearce and Newton's (1963) claim that "having babies offers an opportunity to reintegrate many uneasy feelings about one's body image and one's physiological capacity." Similarly, Flugel (1947) pointed to a "narcissistic fear of impotence" and Taylor (1955) referred to "the validation of his manhood" as motives to procreate. Further emphasis on physical narcissism was offered by Bhandari (1957). This author said anxiety about sexual functions is a fundamental motivation for parenthood because "in the mind of the average man, procreativity is equated with male sexual potency." In Bhandari's call for rational procreation, he stressed the importance of conveying an understanding that fertility and potency are determined by different biological and psychological processes.

The quest for immortality has also received attention as a narcissistic reason to procreate. Flugel (1947) noted that an individual's children were often regarded as "an

extension or re-incarnation of himself . . . the nearest possible approach to immortality." Others, (Cattell, 1938; Benedek, 1959; Pearce and Newton, 1963) underscored this concept. They contended that the child often "affirms the continuity of the parent's impact on the future," "represents survival," "is a continuation of one's existence." In addition to stating that the child often represents immortality, Hoffman and Wyatt (1960) asserted that immortality has become a more important motivation "as the belief in the hereafter looses ground."

The importance attributed to narcissistic motives for procreation was seen in Rabin's "exploration of the motivational range underlying parenthood" (1965). Nearly 50% of student respondents to an open-ended sentence instrument considered the male's motivation "primarily narcissistic, involving self-enhancement, self-perpetuation, and proof of masculinity and virility."

Finally, information on narcissism is available in data obtained by Rabin and Greene (1966). Correlations of the Roe-Siegelman Parent-Child Relations Questionnaire with the Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire indicated that females who saw their own mothers as rejecting gave a preferable ranking to the narcissistic motivation for parenthood. This relationship was as predicted. A rejecting treatment is not inconsistent with narcissistic reasons to procreate.

fatalism - Another central motive appears in fatalistic views of life's purpose. The core idea is that reproduction is essential to fulfill the predestined, natural function of man.

Taylor (1955) maintained that for the well-adjusted, emotionally mature man "parenthood comes as a real fulfillment." In agreement, Benedek (1959) declared that a principal aspiration of the adult male is to "complete his role in procreation."

In her discussion of the female, Taylor (1955) conceptualized parenthood as part of the "biological role" and "role as a woman." Similarly, Bhandari (1957) stressed that much procreation is encouraged by the belief that the main role of woman is to "perpetuate the progeny." Confirmation of this traditional view appeared in Rabin's data (1965). Rabin found that 52% of his sample attributed a predestined function to motherhood -- "women want children because 'its natural,' 'it's their role and purpose in life' or 'it is a fulfillment of a basic need.'" In this same vein, Wyatt (1963) contended that the new social and psychological accent on individual adjustment and gratification has led to a re-emphasis of the traditional feminine role. Wyatt stated that "tradition and the new ideology of adjustment agree that the woman should devote herself to feminine functions and be a mother and homemaker first." As support, Wyatt presented results from the Mellon Fund Study at Vassar College. These results

indicated that, in contrast to young women of the previous generation who were concerned with careers and equality, modern coeds are more preoccupied with "meeting their feminine role as explicitly and as quickly as they can manage."

The notion of predestination also includes religious beliefs which promote procreation as a preordained "duty" or "fulfillment." "Every couple owes it . . . to God . . . to itself, to the community, to procreate those children whom it will be able to bring up and prepare adequately for life" (DeLestapis, 1961). Most important are Catholicism's tenets which state that the primary end of marriage is the "procreation and education of offspring" (Pius XI, 1930).

The force of these precepts appeared in results from a survey of Roman Catholic high school seniors (Goodwine, 1961). Most students believed married couples are duty bound to have as many children as possible. Actually, a policy of maximum procreation is not supported by the church: "the obligation of parenthood does not require a couple to have as many children as is humanly possible . . . they should have as many as they can support reasonably" (Kelly, 1958; see also DeLestapis, 1961; O'Brien, 1961). However, the members' interpretations of the church's views and the church's negative position on contraception ("it is a vice against nature," Aquinas, 1965) have influenced procreative practices. Whelpton and Kiser (1958)

surveyed 44,000 married couples and found an 18% higher birth rate in Catholic families as compared to families following a more "liberal" theology.

Similarly, after interviewing more than 350 people, Rockwood and Ford (1945) reported that 22.9% of Catholics wanted a child within the first year of marriage as contrasted to only 9.7% of Jews and Protestants. Similar comparative data were published by Centers and Blumberg (1954). These investigators also found that 31.9% of those who wanted children replied "yes" to the question: "Is it a person's religious duty to have children?" This information supports the hypothesis that religion does influence expressed desires for offspring. The same study reported 56.6% of the total sample agreed with the statement that "People have a duty to society to have children." While not related explicitly to religion, again this presents a predestined feeling. Individual choice is secondary.

altruism - A reason for bringing children into the world which has the highest degree of social desirability has been labeled an "altruistic" motivation. An accurate delineation of this type of motive is especially difficult because of the ready mergence of altruism with other motives and the expression of other needs under the guise of altruism. Mandeville (1924) reviewed several authors who agreed that real altruism is a fictitious concept. His theme was that Machiavellian motives always underlie

altruistic acts. However, contentions that "the norm of reciprocity is not ubiquitous" (Gouldner, 1960) more accurately fit some behaviors. Leeds' (1963) claim that a form of giving does exist "not because of any anticipated returns, but for its own value" is consonant with judgments of a number of authors (Simmel, 1950; Sorokin, 1950; DeTocqueville, 1954).

Holmes' (1942) asserted that parental care itself constitutes "the earliest form of true altruism." A similar position was taken by Taylor (1955). She said many people expressed love to their child "for the delight in giving of one's self." "Protector and provider" male characteristics (Benedek, 1959; DeWitt, 1963) and nurturance are also altruistic expressions.

Some related evidence appeared in the Indianapolis study's report of a positive relationship between "liking children" and family size (Whelpton and Kiser, 1958). The authors described this relationship as based on a "child-centered interest in children." Altruistic reasons for having children were also found in Rabin's study (1965). Subsequent data (Rabin and Greene, 1966) confirmed predictions that subjects who perceived their mothers as rejecting or demanding would rank altruistic motivations for parenthood low. Likewise, views of mother as "loving" correlated positively with a high preference for altruistic motivations.

instrumental usage - The production of a child to be used as an instrumentality presents an interesting motive structure. Explicit material and psychological gains may be obtained by the child's presence and behaviors. Ross and Anderson (1965) highlighted instrumental goals in their study of mothers who had adopted children. A few reasons for adoption were:

"hope that natural pregnancy would follow adoption"

"having a baby to care for precluded her going out to face situations fraught with fear"

"mother was bored with collecting antiques and on the verge of becoming a serious alcoholic"

In interviews with natural mothers, Hoffman and Wyatt (1960) discovered that a common reason for having a baby was to allow the mother to remain at home without ostracism by contemporaries. As an additional instrumental gain, the mother automatically joined a "special society" open only to those holding the required entrance certificate of having borne offspring. Hoffman and Wyatt also proposed that producing a child may provide an answer to "the loneliness and alienation of modern man."

In this same sphere, the gain of status should not be disregarded. Parenthood has traditionally received the gold seal of approval from family, friends, and society. "Since parenthood is in accord with one of our basic customs, community approval itself has a stabilizing effect . . . one obtains new status" (Taylor, 1955). People are also pressured toward the norm; and the norm is parenthood (Landis, 1965).

Another goal related to an instrumental type of motivation is "creativity." Creativity has become very popular in current writings (Anderson, 1959; C. Taylor, 1964) and has been presented as a bona-fide reason for procreating in scientific (Hoffman and Wyatt, 1960) as well as in popular literature (Graves, 1966). In discussions of reproduction, creativity considerations are frequently intertwined with fatalism (e.g., "woman's specific form of creativeness, that of motherhood, is tied up with the life of nature," Stern, 1965). Nonetheless, since the creative view typically continues from producing the child to the subsequent "social sense of molding it" (Hoffman and Wyatt, 1960) the tone is instrumental. Even the proposal to reproduce "for mental health" (Wyatt, 1963) shows an instrumental motive structure behind the child's existence.

other motivations - On the basis of present literature, we cannot contend that our four main categories are inclusive of all motives for reproduction. We would not expect that a complete definition of the psychological matrix underlying the desire for progeny could be so simply completed. Puzzles in classifying motives have been presented by general and non-explanatory statements such as wishes for children to "have a family" (Rabin, 1965) and "to have a happy marriage" (Centers and Blumberg, 1954). It may also be possible to discern many individual motives existing apart from general trends. No attempt at an enumeration of minor motives is present in the literature.

Such an attempt seems neither essential nor useful for the present research.

Summary

The general theoretical basis and rationale for the present investigation are consonant with Rabin's (1965) major hypothesis:

"Motivation for parenthood prior to the birth of the child determines parental attitudes to a great extent. Parental attitudes may be health-promoting or pathogenic in the development of the child. By studying the relationship between motivation for parenthood, expectancies, and the attitudinal constellation of the parent, it may be possible to identify the antecedents of the influences that impinge upon the child, that bring about health or pathology." (p. 410)

As noted, psychological data regarding motivations for parenthood are scarce. Most information has come from observant, thoughtful individuals rather than controlled, replicable, studies. Nonetheless, a valuable outline may be constructed by combining available materials. This outline reveals several major motives as well as concomitant attitudes and expectancies.

Social pressures, conformity, and status enter the sketch. There are also more specific instrumental reasons and individual gains to be obtained by having a child (e.g., "cement the marriage together"). A motivational structure of this nature promotes restrictive attitudes and stringent demands upon the child. These demands may produce pathological effects.

A basic narcissistic element exists in the desire to have a child to reflect favorably upon one's self, to relive one's life, to make one immortal. Again, this seems to involve a rigid structuring of expectations and requirements which the child must fulfill. Behavior that does not conform to a parent's expectations could not be readily accepted in this motivational context.

A fatalistic or predestined view appeared repeatedly. This conceptualization includes views of motherhood as an unchanging "instinctual" function and beliefs that man must "fulfill the purpose (role) of life" via the path of procreation. Church affiliation and adherence to religious beliefs are relevant influences. Fatalistic motives are such that specific demands and structuring imposed on the child could be relatively flexible. Because life itself is viewed as predetermined, parental involvement may be of a very passive nature.

Finally, the literature indicated an altruistic motivation for parenthood. Centered around needs to be nurturant, to help and love others, and to simply have children in accord with "liking children," altruism represents the most socially desirable motivating factor. To be congruent with this motivation, negative attitudes and restricting demands imposed upon the child should be minimal.

We cannot contend that narcissism, fatalism, altruism, and instrumentalism are comprehensive of all procreative

motives. Yet, the literature does suggest that these four general categories do encompass most significant motivations recognized to date.

PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

The literature leaves little doubt that parental attitudes constitute a significant variable which does affect the child's psychic development. There are also clear indications that motivations for having children are not all consonant with attitudes, expectations, and behavioral expressions that comprise a favorable environment for psychological growth. If the suggestive premises in the literature have been interpreted correctly, one may expect to find different attitudes and expectancies in homes of children who were conceived due to differing motivations and needs of the parents.

The problem is obtaining an expression of parents' motivations for having children and analyzing this in conjunction with assessments of parental expectancies, general needs, and the psychological state of the child. From the previous theoretical basis, we may posit that the attitudinal-expectancy constellations of parents, which in part constitute derivatives of motivations for having children, comprise influential factors in the child's psychological environment. As such, they may affect emotional development. Thus, the possibility of discerning differential motivations, needs, expectancies, attitudes, and their impact as reflected in the emotional state of the child demands exploration.

The relevance of ascertaining the motivational bases for parenthood and the relationships of these motives to subsequent psychopathology covers several practical areas. These include considerations of: birth rate acceleration (Wyatt, 1963), understanding of personality differences (Hoffman and Wyatt, 1960), the evaluation of foster parents (Veiga, 1965), and the prophylactic intervention and modification of the motivational system (Rabin, 1965). Yet, current literature contains no studies which attempted to empirically approach this specific field of relationships.

Hypotheses

From the preceding review and discussion, it is suggested that motivations for parenthood warrant attention and that these motivations, contingent expectancies, and more general personality needs are related to the development of childhood psychopathology. Moreover, since motivations for parenthood are a part of the general personality structure, and as such, are not independent of other personality needs we expect relationships to exist between these two sets of variables.

Specifically, the present work focused on four main variables: (1) Specific motivations for parenthood. (2) Parental expectancies of the child directly related to motivations. (3) General personality needs. (4) The psychological state of the child.

From these variables, eight hypotheses were proposed. These hypotheses emerged from the theoretical views and empirical investigations discussed previously. The psychological condition of the child was used to differentiate groups of mothers for study.

Specific Motivations for Parenthood and Expectancies:

Hypothesis I. Mothers of disturbed children have (a) stronger instrumental motives for having children and (b) more instrumental expectancies of children than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis II. Mothers of disturbed children have (a) stronger narcissistic motives for having children and (b) more narcissistic expectancies than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis III. Mothers of disturbed children have (a) weaker altruistic motives for having children and (b) less altruistic expectancies than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis IV. Mothers of disturbed children have (a) weaker fatalistic motives for having children and (b) less fatalistic expectancies than mothers of normal children.

General Needs:

Hypothesis V. Mothers of disturbed children have weaker intraception needs than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis VI. Mothers of disturbed children have weaker nurturance needs than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis VII. Mothers of disturbed children have stronger exhibition needs than mothers of normal children.

Hypothesis VIII. Mothers of disturbed children have stronger dominance needs than mothers of normal children.

Within the framework viewing specific motivations for parenthood as part of the total personality, it was posited that relationships exist between general need constructs and specific motivations for having children. Thus, from this theoretical relationship, four additional hypotheses were formulated:

Relationships Between General Needs and
Motivations for Parenthood:

Hypothesis IX. Exhibition needs are positively related to narcissistic motives for having children.

Hypothesis X. Intraception needs are negatively related to narcissistic motives for having children.

Hypothesis XI. Dominance needs are negatively related to altruistic motives for having children.

Hypothesis XII. Nurturance needs are positively related to altruistic motives for having children.

To test these hypotheses and to provide a general exploratory study, the present project was designed to investigate differences in motivations for having children, and differences in general manifest needs as expressed by mothers of emotionally disturbed children and mothers whose children are "normal." To obtain information concerning the structure and measurement of motivations for progeny, an investigation of the relationship between general needs and specific motivations for parenthood also comprised an important segment of this work. Finally,

appropriate analyses of the data were performed to supplement the construct validity of one instrument used in the study.

METHOD

Subjects

Two groups of mothers served as subjects. Participation was voluntary.

Mothers of emotionally disturbed children.

This group was comprised of individuals who were the natural mothers of at least one emotionally disturbed child. A broad definition of "emotionally disturbed" was used. These children were neither brain damaged nor mentally retarded and were diagnosed as having emotional problems warranting psychotherapy. According to self-reports, none of the mothers were involved in psychotherapy programs themselves.

Mothers of all normal children.

These mothers had no children who had been diagnosed "emotionally disturbed." Again, on the basis of self-reports, none of these women was currently participating in any type of psychotherapy.

Measures

The measures employed in the exploration were:

1. The Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire (PM2).
2. The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS).

PM2

The PM2 (Rabin and Greene, 1966) is an instrument designed to assess four comprehensive motivational variables (Altruistic, Fatalistic, Narcissistic, Instrumental) focused upon reasons for having children.

Test format - This instrument (see Appendix B) is comprised of 14 stem statements directed toward motivations for having children and parents' expectancies of their children. Questions 3, 8, 12, and 17 are filler items. The stem units were adopted from Rabin's (1965) open-ended sentence instrument. The four completion choices were constructed to represent typical responses in each category (Rabin and Greene, 1966). Subjects are instructed to rank the answers to show order of preference.

The four major categories of responses.

1. Altruistic (Alt): Responses classified in this category refer to unselfish motivations for parenthood. Simply, affection for children, concern for them, and the need to express nurturance in relation to them.
2. Fatalistic (Fat): This expresses the notion that man (or woman) was brought into the world to procreate and perpetuate the species; it is in "the order of things." It is preordained - part of fate and human destiny.
3. Narcissistic (Nar): This motivation refers to the expectation that the child will reflect glory upon the parent, prove his masculinity (or her femininity) and, generally, his physical, biological and psychological adequacy.
4. Instrumental (Ins): Under this rubric come the responses which indicate that the child has utility, is to be used as a means to an end. He is "instrumental" in the sense that he is expected to be employed as a vehicle in the achievement of specific parental goals.

Scoring - Scoring is performed by adding the preference rankings for each category. A consistent selection of one category as first choice would give a score of 14 for that category. The highest score possible (indicating least preference) is 56. In addition to total scores on the four major variables: Altruistic total (Alttot), Fatalistic total (Fattot), Narcissistic total (Nartot), and Instrumental total (Instot), items may be subdivided for a more detailed examination of sets of responses. By summing the rankings of items referring to expectancies, one may obtain scores of: Altruistic expectancy (Altexp), Fatalistic expectancy (Fatexp), Narcissistic expectancy (Narexp), and Instrumental expectancy (Insexp). Similarly, sums from items directly concerning motivation produce scores of: Altruistic motivation (Altmot), Fatalistic motivation (Fatmot), Narcissistic motivation (Narmot), and Instrumental motivation (Insmot).

Reliability - Thirty-six students at Michigan State University completed the PM2 twice. An interval of 2 1/2 weeks separated the testings. The test-retest reliability coefficients based upon scores for the four total-score variables are as follow:

<u>variable</u>	<u>r</u>
Altruistic total	.79
Fatalistic total	.54
Narcissistic total	.68
Instrumental total	.53

Item intercorrelations are presented in Table 11 of Appendix B.

EPPS

The EPPS (Edwards, 1959) is a widely employed research and counseling instrument which purports to measure 15 manifest needs. These needs were selected from a list presented by H. A. Murray (1938). In designing this measure, Edwards attempted to minimize the influence of social desirability. Studies have given indications of both success in this attempt (Silverman, 1957) as well as failure (Korman and Coltharp, 1962). At this time, no final conclusion on social desirability is justified.

Test format - The test consists of items arranged in a forced-choice paired comparison design. Statements representing each need are paired with all other needs. For example, one pair representing needs of dominance and exhibition is:

A. I like to tell other people how to do their jobs.

B. I like to be the center of attention in a group.

The subject is instructed to choose the statement that is more characteristic of "what you like" or "how you feel" from each of the 225 pairs.

The 15 Manifest Needs - The following list contains the names and abbreviations of the needs measured by the EPPS. Definitions of these needs are in Appendix C.

1. Achievement (Ach).
2. Deference (Def).
3. Order (ord).
4. Exhibition (Exh).
5. Autonomy (Aut).
6. Affiliation (Aff).
7. Intraception (Int).

8. Succorance (Suc).
9. Dominance (Dom).
10. Abasement (Aba).
11. Nurturance (Nur).
12. Change (Cha).
13. Endurance (End).
14. Heterosexuality (Het).
15. Aggression (Agg).

Scoring - Scoring is accomplished by adding the number of statements chosen which represent each need.

Norms - Norms for the EPPS have been described as "excellent" (Stricker, 1965). The 1959 Manual presents several tables of norms, including a "General Adult Sample" of 4,031 males and 4,930 females (Koponen, 1957).

Reliability - Test-retest reliability coefficients were calculated from the records of 89 students at the University of Washington who took the EPPS twice. A one-week interval separated the two administrations (Edwards, 1959). Correlations ranged from .74 to .87. The list of correlations is presented in Table 12 of Appendix C.

Procedure

Mothers of emotionally disturbed children.

These women were contacted through the facilities of the Child Guidance Division of the Lansing Mental Health Clinic and the Michigan State University Psychological Clinic. At the Lansing Mental Health Clinic, when mothers were initially interviewed a staff member gave a brief explanation of the project and an introduction to anonymous

forms of the PM2 and EPPS. Those who agreed to participate were given a stamped folder addressed:

Department of Psychology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

R. Greene

Each folder contained:

PM2 Questionnaire
EPPS Booklet
EPPS Answer Sheet
Pencil

Participants were asked to complete the materials within one week.

Mothers of children being seen at the M. S. U. Clinic were contacted by the author or another graduate student. Again, those agreeing to participate were given instructions and materials identical to those distributed at the Lansing Clinic.

Data collection was terminated when 30 completed folders were received.

Mothers of normal children.

Contacts were made by door to door solicitation in the Lansing area. Subjects were given a brief explanation and introduction to the instruments. A folder identical to that distributed to mothers of disturbed children was left with each cooperative mother. Differentiation of materials received from the two groups was accomplished by different colored address stickers. A sample of 47 properly completed questionnaires was obtained from mothers

of normal children.

Matching.

All subjects were classified on four criteria determined on the basis of information from questions printed on the PM2. Categorizations were:

income (estimated from report of husband's occupation).

- I. \$5,000 or less.
- II. more than \$5,000; not more than \$10,000.
- III. more than \$10,000.

education

- A. not graduated from high school.
- B. graduated from high school.
- C. graduated from college.

number of children

- X. one.
- Y. more than one; not more than five.
- Z. more than five.

religion

- P. protestant.
- R. catholic.
- N. None.

age

- 1. under 25.
- 2. 25-35.
- 3. over 35.

The 30 mothers of disturbed children were paired with mothers selected from the pool of mothers of normals.

Both groups contained two individuals who had no religious affiliations, seven Roman Catholics and twenty-one Protestants. In the group of mothers with disturbed children, twenty-eight were in income level II, one in level I, and one in level III. With the exception of one mother in income level III, all in the matching group were in level II. All respondents were Caucasian and the natural mothers of their children.

Scoring of the measurement instruments was completed after matching.

Predictions Stated in Terms of the Measures

To test the hypotheses outlined, the following specific predictions were formulated in terms of the raw data. Each corresponds to the previously stated hypothesis with the same roman numeral.

It should be noted that, because the PM2 employs a ranking format, stronger motivations or more expectancies are indicated by lower scores. Similarly, a positive directional correlation between any pair of EPPS and PM2 variables will have a negative sign in the raw data.

Table 1. Comparison of 30 mothers of disturbed children and 30 mothers of normal children on three criteria utilized in matching.

	Mothers of Disturbed Children		Mothers of Normal Children	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Education (grade)	11.5	1.98	12.4	1.16
Age	32.5	6.77	33.1	7.85
Number of Children	3.4	1.27	3.0	1.50

Differential hypotheses on the basis of PM2 data.

Dividing the PM2 into motivation and expectancy items and comparing group scores on each of the sub-categories, the following differences in motivation and expectancy scores were predicted:

Hypothesis I (a, b). Mothers of disturbed children will have lower scores on the instrumental scales than mothers of normals.

Hypothesis II (a, b). Mothers of disturbed children will have lower scores on the narcissistic scales.

Hypothesis III (a, b). Mothers of disturbed children will have higher scores on the altruistic scales.

Hypothesis IV (a, b). Mothers of disturbed children will have higher scores on the fatalistic scales.

Differential hypotheses on the basis of EPPS profiles.

In comparing scores on the EPPS, the following directional differences were hypothesized:

Hypothesis V. Mothers of disturbed children will have lower scores on intraception.

Hypothesis VI. Mothers of disturbed children will have lower scores on nurturance.

Hypothesis VII. Mothers of disturbed children will have higher scores on exhibition.

Hypothesis VIII. Mothers of disturbed children will have higher scores on dominance.

Also, in accord with the exploratory nature of this study, non-directional comparative tests were performed on all 15 EPPS variables.

Correlations between PM2 and EPPS variables.

Corresponding to hypotheses IX, X, XI, and XII, the following directional correlations were expected to occur in data from combined groups.

<u>EPPS variable</u>	<u>relationship</u>	<u>PM2 variable</u>
Exhibition	-	Narcissistic
Intracception	+	Narcissistic
Dominance	+	Altruistic
Nurturance	-	Altruistic

Construct Validity

In addition to testing the hypothesized differences and relationships, a segment of the present project was involved with expanding the construct validity of the recently developed instrument employed in this study (The Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire - PM2; Rabin and Greene, 1966). As specified in the Psychological Bulletin's Technical Recommendations (1954): "Construct validity is ordinarily studied when the tester has no definitive criterion measure of the quality with which he is concerned and must use indirect measures to validate the theory. Here the trait or quality underlying the test is of central importance rather than the test behavior or the scores on the criteria." This approach is essential when dealing with concepts such as "needs" and "motives" because direct knowledge of an individual's true position on the variables being measured is absent.

In that adequate construct validation requires the accumulation of information from a variety of sources, the ordinary procedure is to integrate evidence involving predictions based on the set of propositions in which the construct is involved (Selltitz et al., 1965). The most common way to investigate what a test measures is to correlate it with other measures--especially with other tests which are "better understood" (Technical Recommendations, 1954; Anastasi, 1961). Since the specific motivations with which the PM2 is concerned are conceptualized as parts of larger, more general need constructs, the EPPS is theoretically appropriate and fulfills standard requisites for a suitable supplementary measure. Thus, in addition to the correlational relationships examined to test hypotheses IX, X, XI, XII, non-directional tests of the total (4 x 15) correlation matrices of separate and combined groups were conducted. This procedure is consonant with the exploratory nature of the project and allowed a consideration of all relevant data.

Analysis of Data

All computations were performed using Michigan State University's 3600 computer. Data were prepared and submitted by the author with appropriate programs.

Total correlation matrices for all variables (expectancy, motivation, and total PM2 scores, plus the 15 EPPS

scores) were computed under the BASTAT routine (Ball et al., 1966) which employs the simple (Pearson product moment) correlation. Matrices were derived for combined data as well as for separate groups.

The Fisher-Student t test for matched samples was performed using a separate program specifically designed for this purpose (Morris, 1966).

RESULTS

Having considered the theory, hypotheses, instruments, and procedure which comprised the present work, we turn our attention to the results derived from the data analysis.

t Tests

Predicted PM2 differences.

The only hypothesis confirmed was IV (a). The mothers of disturbed children did have significantly higher scores on the Fatalistic motivation items than did mothers of normals ($t = -1.96$). With the exception of one variable (Altruistic motivation) the directions of all differences were as predicted but below the magnitude necessary for significance at the .05 level (see Table 2).

Predicted EPPS differences.

Again, one hypothesis was supported. Mothers of normal children had higher scores on Nurturance ($t = +1.72$). The other three t 's were statistically insignificant. The direction of two of the differences (Intrasection, Exhibition) was opposite to expectations (see Table 3).

Correlations

Predicted PM2 and EPPS correlations.

In regard to the predicted relationships between general needs and motivations for having children, an

Table 2. Comparison of means of PM2 variables for which hypotheses were stated.

PM2 Variable	Means of Normals	S.D.	Means of Disturbed	S.D.	t
Altexp	7.60	2.85	8.03	3.01	-0.60
Fatexp	10.50	3.46	11.07	3.45	-0.57
Narexp	16.63	2.43	15.83	3.03	+1.03
Insexp	15.27	2.16	15.07	2.35	+0.34
Altmot	17.17	4.52	15.40	4.73	+1.48
Fatmot	17.60	5.25	20.53	4.15	-1.96*
Narmot	25.27	5.75	24.77	5.16	+0.37
Insmot	29.97	3.16	29.30	3.76	+0.69

* = probability less than .05 (one-tailed test)

Table 3. Comparison of means of EPPS variables for which hypotheses were stated.

EPPS Variable	Means of Normals	S.D.	Means of Disturbed	S.D.	t
Exh	12.70	4.13	11.90	3.20	+0.82
Int	16.23	5.04	16.97	4.55	-0.58
Dom	9.57	4.40	10.13	5.06	-0.40
Nur	18.27	3.83	16.47	4.29	+1.72*

* = probability less than .05 (one-tailed test)

inspection of Table 4 reveals that none of the four directional relationships hypothesized between PM2 and EPPS variables was confirmed. Contrary to expectations, the directions of two of the predicted relationships (Exhibition/Narcissistic; Nurturance/Altruistic) were reversed. In examining Table 4, the reader should recall that the type of correlation implied is opposite that of the raw data correlation sign (e.g., people having high Exhibition needs showed low narcissistic motives for parenthood).

Additional Results

In accord with the exploratory nature of this study, t tests were performed on all variables. Also, complete correlation matrices of EPPS variables with PM2 scores of combined and separate groups were calculated.

Non-predicted group differences on the PM2.

Using a two-tailed test, no group differences on PM2 total scores were found to be statistically significant (see Table 5).

Non-predicted group differences on the EPPS.

Only one t was of an acceptable magnitude (see Table 6). This indicated that mothers of normal children scored significantly higher on the Succorance scale ($t = +2.28$).

Table 4. Correlations between EPPS and PM2 variables for which hypotheses were stated.

EPPS variables	PM2 variables		
	Narexp	Narmot	Nartot
Exhibition	+.13	+.07	+.12
Intraception	-.08	+.04	+.00
	Altexp	Altmot	Alttot
Dominance	-.01	+.08	+.06
Nurturance	+.31	+.09	+.21

Note: No correlations significant at .05 level (two-tailed test)

Note: Because of the PM2 ranking format, a negative sign indicates a positive relationship between variables.

Table 5. Comparison of means of PM2 variables for which no hypotheses were stated.

PM2 Variable	Means of Normals	S.D.	Means of Disturbed	S.D.	t
Alttot	24.77	6.13	23.43	6.30	+0.88
Fattot	28.10	6.88	31.60	6.11	-1.82
Nartot	41.90	6.31	40.60	6.73	+0.82
Instot	45.23	4.48	44.37	4.92	+0.68

Note: No differences significant at .05 level (two-tailed test)

Table 6. Comparison of EPPS means on variables for which no hypotheses were stated.

EPPS Variables	Means of Normals	S.D.	Means of Disturbed	S.D.	t
Ach	15.13	4.65	14.03	3.64	+1.02
Def	13.17	3.87	13.20	3.44	-0.05
Ord	12.70	4.63	13.43	4.67	-0.64
Aut	11.50	4.45	12.70	3.67	-1.15
Aff	16.50	4.31	17.03	3.62	-0.52
Suc	13.10	4.20	11.07	3.64	+2.28*
Aba	17.63	5.13	17.60	5.09	+0.02
Cha	16.37	4.97	17.27	4.61	-0.76
End	14.47	5.33	16.90	4.80	-1.57
Het	11.87	5.32	11.60	6.69	+0.15
Agg	10.77	5.03	9.67	3.99	+0.96

* = probability less than .05 (two-tailed test)

Non-predicted PM2 and EPPS correlations.

Results were no greater than expected by chance. With combined group data, there were nine correlations, out of 168 for which no hypotheses were stated, that were significant at the .05 level (see Table 7, a). These were determined by non-directional tests.

A consideration of separate groups (each having 180 correlations) revealed ten correlations significant from data of mothers of normal children (see Table 7, b) and four significant from data of mothers of disturbed children (see Table 7, c).

The total correlation matrices are presented in Appendix A.

Table 7. Significant correlations between PM2 and EPPS variables for which no hypotheses were stated.

a. Correlations from combined groups data.		
EPPS variable	PM2 variable	r
Aut	Altexp	-.31
Nur	Narexp	-.29
Nur	Fatmot	-.29
Ord	Fatexp	-.29
Ord	Fattot	-.29
End	Fatmot	+.27
Def	Narmot	+.27
Def	Nartot	+.26
Cha	Alttot	-.29
b. Correlations from data of mothers of normal children.		
EPPS variable	PM2 variable	r
Suc	Altexp	+.40
Suc	Alttot	+.39
Cha	Fatexp	+.41
Cha	Fattot	+.41
Nur	Narexp	-.44
Nur	Fatmot	-.42
Aut	Insexp	+.38
Def	Narmot	+.42
Def	Nartot	+.43
Agg	Fattot	+.36
c. Correlations from data of mothers of disturbed children.		
EPPS variable	PM2 variable	r
Aut	Altexp	-.36
Ord	Insexp	+.40
Ord	Fatmot	-.37
Ord	Fattot	-.39

Note: Because of the PM2 ranking format, a negative sign indicates a positive relationship between variables.

DISCUSSION

The two positive t tests may be interpreted in the context of general arguments previously outlined. Perhaps mothers of normal children did have more of a fatalistic motivation for procreation. This motivation may have been reflected in attitudes and behaviors that promoted a more adequate psychological adjustment. Similarly, more nurturance needs in mothers of normal children may have been expressed in more positive, loving, growth-promoting types of attitudes and behaviors. One may cite these results as support for contentions underlying the hypotheses. However, the strength of this support is diminished because these results may have been obtained by chance. Thus, we must direct our attention to the overall results which were not statistically significant.

While a number of explanations may be logically proposed to account for the insignificant results, there is no way of immediately ascertaining the relative efficacy of alternatives. Thus a review of a few of the options must suffice. We cannot designate a "best answer" to our query for causal factors.

Theory and Design

It was asserted that the female's motivation for parenthood functions as a crucial factor of a complex causal chain in the formation of childhood psychological

disturbances. Inherent in this assertion was the argument that motivation impinges through its effect on attitudes and through its subsequent expression in behaviors directed toward the child. Several comments on this conceptualization are in order. First, it is possible that motivation for parenthood appears less important when information is known about only one parent. Differing motivations between parents is perhaps a more important variable than mother's motivation alone. The stress experienced from divergent demands created by incongruous motivations of mother and father may be much more detrimental than a single parent's restricting attitudes and expectancies.

Closely related to the previous perspective is the question of multiple precipitating factors. Sibling and peer interactions, traumatic experiences, ungratified needs and excessive fixations may overshadow or mask the impact of factors related to motivations for parenthood.

Also, the issue of phenotype versus genotype looms large. Qualification for inclusion into our sample of "mothers with disturbed children" was based on a broad phenotype--a child needed to be "emotionally disturbed." This categorization which lacked differentiation of disturbance type may have allowed considerable distortion. A disorder founded on parental rejection could have stemmed from parental motivations, attitudes, and actions in diametric opposition to those operative in a disturbance

resulting from living under a symbiotic overprotective cover.

The above comments may, in a general sense, be directed toward the EPPS results as well as the PM2. An appraisal of needs of both parents, a description of other potentially damaging variables, and specific differentiations of the child's pathology may have shed a different light on the investigation.

A further issue (more specific to the PM2) is that the posited continuous transmission sequence of original motivations into behavior may be broken or modified at several points. For example, the motivations accounting for procreation could be masked or distorted in attitudes developed after actually having the child. Perhaps original motivations were sublimated and gained expression in other than child-oriented behaviors. A similar observation pointed at the EPPS is that the needs currently experienced by the mother may differ markedly from those operative in the past years--the years of the development of the child's psychopathology.

Similarly, it should be noted that the design required no information about the planned status of the child. Recent data (Whelpton et al., 1966) indicated that large percentages of births in the United States are still unplanned. The inclusion of mothers of unplanned (perhaps unwanted) children may have limited the appropriateness of responses to questions stemming from reasons for

"wanting" children. This uncontrolled factor may also have invalidated assumptions of the existence of a pre-conception motivation as a point of departure for the development of attitudes and expectancies.

Sampling

Selection introduced a serious problem. Eighty folders were distributed to mothers with disturbed children before the required return of 30 properly completed was obtained. A total return of 33 was received--three were improperly filled out. Thus, almost 60% of individuals who made initial commitments failed to complete the materials. Because of response anonymity, tracing those who failed to return the folders was not feasible. However, one may offer a number of speculations about this occurrence.

The complexity and length of the instruments may have been discouraging. The 225 items in the EPPS tend to require considerable time to complete and item replications may seem meaningless to unsophisticated subjects. The PM2 also involved considerable replication of similar items and the idea of ranking answers was probably unfamiliar to most subjects. Another conjecture may be derived from the fact that, in the Lansing Mental Health Clinic, approximately 50% of mothers do not return their child for treatment after the initial interview. Thus, whatever dissatisfaction or disillusionment was experienced in the clinic may have proved

detrimental to their commitment to complete the research materials.

The fact of voluntary participation provided another extraneous variable. Those who agreed and did complete the materials may have comprised a verbally sophisticated segment of the population. Also, they may have been very sensitive to social desirability aspects of responses. This alone could have created a cover of the hypothesized differences.

Examining returns from mothers with normal children, while 13 folders were collected at homes by the author, we are still confronted with a much higher return rate of those mailed--almost 80% (37 returned of 47 distributed). This is twice the return of the clinic-distributed folders and tends to buttress a contention that unidentified personality variables of mothers with disturbed children or their interactions with the clinic depressed return rates.

We should also consider the fact that we had no information about "normals" other than the mother's self-report that none of her children were receiving or had received any type of psychological treatment. This may have included enough mothers of "disturbed" children in the "normal" group to mask sample differences. In fact, one may speculate that mothers whose children were exhibiting abnormal behaviors but had not contacted any treatment facility may have been more self-selected to volunteer to

fill out the psychological materials in hopes of gaining useful information.

Instruments

PM2

The PM2 is a new instrument. Its only construct validity data was obtained in the form of moderate (although statistically significant) correlations with an instrument designed to measure an individual's percept of his childhood relationships with his parents (The Roe-Siegelman Parent-Child Relationship Questionnaire, PCR). Thus, perhaps the absence of predicted correlations with the EPPS was due to the fact that variables tapped by the PM2 are not closely related to the selected EPPS need constructs.

As previously noted, mothers contacted in the clinics may have been very sensitive to forwarding a good image. We have no evidence that the PM2 is not readily "fakeable." The content appears as such that a defensive individual could easily select the more desirable types of responses. In this same vein, the mother whose child has been labeled as "psychologically disturbed" may limit the projection of herself in response to queries such as "most people have children because. . . ." Rather, she may, because of her association with a child who does not fit the norm, believe her views deviate from "most people." Thus, she may structure responses in terms of the way she perceives that

"most people" (i.e., those without disturbed children) want children.

The possibility also exists that, rather than couching responses in terms of reasons for having the child now disturbed, the mother of several children may have projected her reasons for wanting and her expectancies of her normal children. Subjects were not instructed to draw their responses from reflections on any specific child.

An additional point on PM2 content is also in order. Response categories and items were derived from an analysis of responses to an open-ended sentence instrument. Respondents included a large sample of single college students plus a small sample of married students and spouses. The verbal and cultural sophistication of this sample may have produced items which are neither familiar nor of specific concern to non-college populations. It is possible that the instrument did not contain those response choices which would be most relevant and most sensitive for differentiating our groups.

EPPS

Research with the Edward's Scale has amassed considerable construct validation. However, there is one facet of the EPPS that warrants critical attention. Although the instrument was constructed to avoid criticisms of "social desirability" distortions, it has been illustrated that psychologically unsophisticated individuals can produce different profiles according to instructions to do so

(Korman and Coltharp, 1962). Thus, as with the PM2, one cannot ignore the possibility that a group of defensive individuals (e.g., mothers being initially interviewed in regard to a psychologically upset child) may have been extremely sensitive to selecting "good" needs.

Additional Results

An examination of additional *t* and correlation statistics provides additional insights and additional quandaries.

Differences on EPPS variables.

The fact that mothers of normal children scored significantly higher on the EPPS Succorance scale than mothers of disturbed children does not fit our present theorizing. A mother who has strong needs to be given help from others, to have others feel sorry for her, and to receive affection, would be more demanding of positive affect from her children than freely offering love and nurturance. Again, in addition to questioning theory, one may suggest that the mothers of disturbed children were more interested in presenting a positive image, or that this result is due to chance fluctuations.

Correlations.

Looking at the nine correlations found significant from the matrix of combined-group data we are faced with two problems. The first is, again, these results are

approximately the chance expectancy. They may indicate nothing about the existence of meaningful correlations. The second problem is interpretation. For example, although the negative relationship between nurturance and fatalistic motivation scores fits our conceptualizations, the correlation between nurturance and narcissistic expectancy is not consonant with our reasoning. If not due to chance, this may point to a flaw in our conceptualization of relationships between variables tapped by the PM2 and EPPS.

An examination of the statistically significant correlations from data of separate groups elicits the same types of reactions as do previous data. There are no more correlations than expected by chance. Some results seem to reveal relationships that fit expectations, some do not, some are not readily interpretable.

Research Directions

Although the results obtained were, in the main, insignificant, the study's utility in suggesting directions for future explorations is not diminished.

The PM2 instrument.

Construct validity - The construct validity of the Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire was not enhanced by our results. This does not mean the instrument is invalid. It does mean that further work is necessary if

claims of the instrument's utility in measuring motivations for parenthood are to be supported. We must still look for meaningful relationships with relatively well-established measures whose variables can be logically related to PM2 variables. Instruments (such as The Interpersonal Checklist) providing Love-Hate, Dominance-Submission dimensions could be employed to this end. With such tools, hypotheses could be formulated (e.g., preference for altruism scales should correlate positively with high "growth-promoting" scores) which would test whether the PM2 does draw upon related variables.

Instrument design - The first call in a further exploration of design is for a broad sampling of respondents to the open-ended sentence instrument upon which the PM2 is based. This is needed to ascertain the applicability of categories and response items to adult non-college groups of various socio-economic levels.

The fact that the PM2 instrument is such that socially desirable responses are not disguised also requires attention. This problem is greatly enlarged by the verbatim replication of response choices. Once an individual selects the "good" pattern, the instrument's format facilitates perseverated responding. Rewording response choices so they are not evidently similar may partially alleviate this problem. The issue of patterned responding and the complexity of ranking several responses could be further circumvented by incorporating a two-item pairing

format (after the EPPS) with item replication in different pairings.

Research design.

Several revisions in design are called for, especially in regard to future samplings. As previously noted, information about fathers as well as mothers may be of paramount importance. Also, "voluntary participation" should be modified. Required completion of research instruments by both mothers and fathers of children requesting admission to a psychological clinic would offer much clearer parameters than samplings of "willing, cooperative volunteers." This procedure would also demand a more general sampling of mothers and fathers of normals. In this same context, one should obtain an evaluation (e.g., teacher's report) as to whether or not the children of the "normal" sample of parents are relatively well-functioning individuals. In accord with this call for a more accurate evaluation of samples, the previous issue of phenotype versus genotype is relevant. Accurate diagnostic information about the type of problem exhibited by the child and information about specific etiological factors should be obtained to allow an intelligent subdivision of parents.

As noted in previous comments on the possible influence of the "planned" versus the "unplanned" status of the child, this factor could certainly affect

motivational structures. Thus, attempts should be made to obtain information about this variable. Moreover, influences of the related question of "wanted" versus "unwanted" should also be explored.

To investigate questions raised in regard to changes in one's perception of needs and motivations for having children before and after having a child, a longitudinal study is required. However, because the investment in such a work is usually prohibitive to its undertaking, comparing like segments of populations with and without children may yield some of the desired information.

The potentials of working with measures of motivations for having children other than the type employed in the present project should not be overlooked. Some positive results have been recently reported in an investigation which employed a semi-structured projective technique--the Parental Picture-Story Completion Test (Major, 1967). Also, it may be fruitful to conduct further comparative work with the PM2's stem units as an open-ended sentence instrument. These methods are more projective and less susceptible to defensiveness.

It is also suggested that work involving methods other than paper and pencil responding be undertaken. More specifically, a structured interview situation could be designed to obtain information about attitudes and family interactions before and after the birth of specific children.

SUMMARY

The present study was an exploratory project to investigate motivations for parenthood. Of central concern were differences in general manifest needs and specific motivations for having children as expressed by mothers of emotionally disturbed children and mothers of "normal" children. The instruments employed were the Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire (PM2) and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS). The study was also conceived to help establish the construct validity of the PM2.

Both measures were distributed to volunteer mothers who had at least one child diagnosed as needing psychological treatment and to a larger sampling of mothers with no children recognized as exhibiting psychological disturbances ("normals"). Materials were returned by mail. When questionnaires completed by 30 mothers of disturbed children were received, each was matched with those of a mother of normal children. Matching was accomplished on self-report criteria of: income, education, number of children, religion, and age. Questionnaires were scored after matching and statistical tests appropriate to the data and hypotheses were conducted.

Results of t tests for differences confirmed only one hypothesis concerning the PM2 scale (mothers of disturbed children had higher scores on the Fatalistic motivation items) and one hypothesis about the EPPS scale (mothers of

"normals" had higher scores on Nurturance). It was noted that these differences may support contentions that individuals wanting progeny due to a fatalistic motivation would make less psychologically damaging demands upon their children and that mothers with higher nurturance needs would also exhibit less damaging and more supportive behaviors. However, the significance of results was diminished by the fact that other related hypotheses were not confirmed.

No hypothesized correlational relationships between PM2 and EPPS variables were statistically significant. The construct validity of the PM2 received no support.

A number of factors which may have influenced results were discussed. Paramount were sampling problems, social desirability aspects of the instruments, and questionable assessment accuracy. Using volunteer mothers of disturbed children may have resulted in a very unrepresentative, highly verbal, eager-to-please sample. This may have masked real group differences.

The possible importance of failing to separate mothers of disturbed children on the basis of specific pathologies of their children was considered. Also noted was the possible disruption of basic assumptions concerning procreative motivations. No information was obtained about the planned or unplanned status of the child. Questions regarding the projective aspects of the responses, possible changes in motivations over time, and the relationship of

current and past needs were raised.

Suggestions for refinements of the PM2 instrument and directions for future research designs were offered.

APPENDIX A

Complete Correlation Matrices
for All EPPS and PM2 Variables.

Table 8. Correlation matrix of all EPPS and PM2 variables, data from combined groups of 30 mothers with normal children and 30 mothers with disturbed children.

	Altexp	Fatexp	Narexp	Insexp	Altmot	Fatmot	Narmot	Insmot	Alttot	Fattot	Nartot	Instot
Ach	-.18	.18	-.02	-.03	.08	.12	-.125	.12	-.02	.18	-.22	.07
Def	.05	-.19	.09	.12	-.14	-.12	.27*	-.06	-.08	-.19	.26*	.01
Ord	.14	-.29*	.06	.19	.01	-.19	.13	.06	.07	-.29*	.13	.13
Exh	-.18	.10	.13	-.08	-.04	.04	.07	-.12	-.11	.08	.12	-.13
Aut	-.31*	.07	.10	.16	.11	.02	-.19	.13	-.06	.05	-.12	.17
Aff	.08	-.08	-.02	.04	.09	-.23	.13	-.00	.11	-.20	.10	.02
Int	.11	-.00	-.08	-.05	.05	-.12	.04	.04	.09	-.09	.00	.01
Suc	.21	-.14	-.02	-.03	.21	-.07	-.19	.12	.25	-.12	-.17	.07
Dom	-.01	.10	-.05	-.08	.08	-.03	-.00	-.07	.06	.03	-.02	-.09
Aba	.12	-.01	-.20	.10	-.09	-.17	.21	.03	-.01	-.13	.10	.07
Nur	.31	-.08	-.29*	.08	.09	-.29*	.19	.01	.21	-.25	.04	.03
Cha	-.22	.20	.09	-.12	-.25	.20	.02	.02	-.29*	.25	.06	-.05
End	-.01	-.05	.06	.12	-.04	.27*	-.09	-.18	-.04	.17	-.05	-.13
Het	-.06	.04	.10	-.10	-.04	.23	-.21	.06	.06	.19	-.14	-.00
Agg	-.07	.12	.50	-.14	-.04	.17	-.04	-.12	-.07	.18	-.01	-.15

* = probability less than .05 (two-tailed test)

Table 9. Correlation matrix of all EPPS and PM2 variables, data from 30 mothers of disturbed children.

	Altexp	Fatexp	Narexp	Insexp	Altmot	Fatmot	Narmot	Insmot	Alttot	Fattot	Nartot	Instot
Ach	-.10	.08	.00	.01	-.05	.20	-.17	.08	-.08	.18	-.13	-.06
Def	.04	-.14	.05	.09	-.16	.13	.09	-.06	-.10	.01	.09	-.00
Ord	.04	-.25	-.06	.40*	.11	-.37*	.35	-.09	.03	-.39*	.25	.12
Exh	-.07	.03	.06	-.04	.05	-.05	-.01	.00	.01	-.02	.02	-.02
Aut	-.36*	.22	.16	-.06	.09	-.16	-.08	.17	-.12	.01	.01	.10
Aff	.08	-.20	.16	-.03	.06	-.20	.20	-.12	.08	-.25	.23	-.11
Int	.01	.13	-.23	.09	-.05	-.05	-.06	.20	-.03	.05	-.15	.19
Suc	.05	.04	.05	-.19	.04	.12	-.17	.05	.05	.10	-.11	-.05
Dom	.18	-.02	-.16	.01	.30	-.18	-.19	.08	.31	-.13	-.22	.06
Aba	-.04	.15	-.21	.10	-.20	-.05	.18	.06	-.17	.05	.04	.10
Nur	.31	-.08	-.26	.05	.03	-.03	.04	-.06	.17	-.06	-.09	-.02
Cha	-.28	-.04	.28	.06	-.12	.06	.04	.03	-.22	.01	.15	.05
End	-.03	.08	.06	-.15	.14	.30	-.15	-.20	.09	.24	-.09	-.30
Het	.08	-.00	.07	-.20	-.04	.20	-.14	.02	.01	.13	-.08	-.08
Agg	-.04	-.00	.13	-.12	-.12	.02	.12	-.04	-.11	.02	.15	-.09

* = probability less than .05 (two-tailed test)

Table 10. Correlation matrix of all EPPS and PM2 variables; data from 30 mothers of normal children.

	Altexp	Fatexp	Narexp	Insexp	Altmtot	Fatmtot	Narmtot	Insmtot	Alttot	Fattot	Nartot	Instot
Ach	-.23	.29	-.08	-.08	.14	.15	-.33	.13	-.00	.26	-.33	.06
Def	.07	-.24	.14	.15	-.13	-.31	.42*	-.07	-.06	-.35	.43*	.02
Ord	.24	-.35	.24	-.03	.04	-.11	-.07	.25	.14	-.26	.27	.17
Exh	-.27	.18	.18	-.14	-.15	.16	.12	-.27	-.24	.21	.18	-.26
Ant	-.28	-.07	.09	.38*	.19	.07	-.28	.12	.01	.02	-.22	.27
Aff	.07	.01	-.20	.12	.15	.15	-.30	.09	.14	.14	-.22	.15
Int	.21	-.13	.11	-.18	.17	-.23	.13	-.10	.22	-.24	.16	-.16
Suc	.40*	-.26	-.18	.09	.28	-.08	-.23	.15	.39*	-.19	-.28	.15
Dom	-.25	.23	.13	-.19	-.15	-.07	.20	-.25	-.23	.17	.23	-.27
Aba	.29	-.17	-.19	.11	.02	-.27	.23	-.00	.14	-.29	.14	.05
Nur	.36	-.04	-.44*	.09	.07	-.43*	.33	.00	.22	-.34	.13	.04
Cha	-.19	.41*	-.09	-.30	-.36	.27	.02	.03	-.35	.41*	-.02	-.13
End	-.02	-.21	.14	.21	-.12	.15	-.02	-.03	-.10	.00	.04	.08
Het	-.25	.10	.13	.02	-.06	.31	-.30	.12	-.16	.28	-.22	.09
Agg	-.08	.22	-.06	-.17	-.03	.33	-.16	-.22	-.06	.36*	-.17	-.24

* = probability less than .05 (two-tailed test)

APPENDIX B

The Motivation for Parenthood Questionnaire (PM2) and Item Intercorrelations.

Child Study Inventory

Indicate the answer you feel is the best by placing a one (1) in front of it. Rank the remaining answers (2, 3, 4) to show your order of preference. Do not write your name on this paper.

1. Parents expect their children . . .

- () To fulfill the purpose of life
- () To strengthen the family
- () To be healthy and happy
- () To follow in their footsteps

2. Men want children because . . .

- () They would like to prove their sexual adequacy
- () It is a natural instinct
- () They need them to enhance their social status
- () They like children

3. Birth control . . .

- () Is a necessary measure
- () Is inherently wrong
- () Requires agreement of both husband and wife
- () Is not natural

4. Mother expects her daughter . . .

- () To give her companionship and affection
- () To take the place in the world for which she is destined
- () To be like herself
- () To be happy and well

5. Men want children because . . .

- () Children hold the marriage together
- () They like to care and provide for children
- () It is a function of the mature adult
- () They want to perpetuate themselves

6. Father expects his son . . .
- ☐ To be happy and well
 - ☐ To take the place in the world for which he is destined
 - ☐ To give him companionship and affection
 - ☐ To be like himself
7. Women want children because . . .
- ☐ They like children
 - ☐ They need them to enhance their social status
 - ☐ They would like to prove their sexual adequacy
 - ☐ It is a natural instinct
8. Planned parenthood . . .
- ☐ Is impossible
 - ☐ Should be considered by all
 - ☐ Is most desirable
 - ☐ Leads to problems
9. Generally, people want children because . . .
- ☐ They are destined to reproduce
 - ☐ They desire to help someone grow and develop
 - ☐ They create someone in their own image
 - ☐ They provide companionship
10. Father expects his daughter . . .
- ☐ To believe in him
 - ☐ To be happy and well
 - ☐ To take her place in the world
 - ☐ To give him companionship and affection
11. Women want children because . . .
- ☐ Children hold the marriage together
 - ☐ It is a function of the mature adult
 - ☐ They like to care and provide for children
 - ☐ They want to perpetuate themselves

12. Large families . . .

- ☐ Are happy ones
- ☐ Cause large problems
- ☐ Are obsolete
- ☐ Are closer than small families

13. Women want children because . . .

- ☐ They are destined to reproduce
- ☐ They desire to help someone grow and develop
- ☐ They provide companionship
- ☐ They create someone in their own image

14. Generally, people want children because . . .

- ☐ They like to care and provide for children
- ☐ They want to perpetuate themselves
- ☐ Children hold the marriage together
- ☐ It is a function of the mature adult

15. Mother expects her son . . .

- ☐ To take his place in the world
- ☐ To give her companionship and affection
- ☐ To be happy and well
- ☐ To believe in her

16. Men want children because . . .

- ☐ They provide companionship
- ☐ They create someone in their own image
- ☐ They are destined to reproduce
- ☐ They desire to help someone grow and develop

17. Children who are not planned . . .

- ☐ Are a welcome blessing
- ☐ Are hard to accept
- ☐ Are loved and cherished
- ☐ Are sometimes unwanted

18. Generally, people want children because . . .

- ☐ It is a natural instinct
- ☐ They like children
- ☐ They need them to enhance their social status
- ☐ They would like to prove their sexual adequacy

Please answer the following:

Age _____ Sex _____ Race _____ Religion _____

Husband's occupation _____

Number, age and sex of your children _____

Are any of your children adopted? _____

How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

How many of your brothers and sisters are older than
you? _____

Circle the last school grade you completed -

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(Grade School)

9 10 11 12
(High School)

Fr So Jr Sr
(College)

Table 11. PM2 item intercorrelations based on a student sample.

		Narcissistic	Instrumental	Fatalistic
Females (N=33)	Altruistic	-.69	.08	-.35
	Narcissistic		-.23	-.21
	Instrumental			-.56

Males (N=60)	Altruistic	-.18	-.11	-.59
	Narcissistic		-.36	-.40
	Instrumental			-.31

APPENDIX C

Definitions of the 15 Manifest Needs
Measured by the EPPS and Reliability Coefficients.

The fifteen manifest needs as described by Edwards (1959).

1. Achievement: To do one's best, to be successful, to accomplish tasks requiring skill and effort, to be a recognized authority, to accomplish something of great significance, to do a difficult job well, to solve difficult problems and puzzles, to be able to do things better than others, to write a great novel or play.
2. Deference: To get suggestions from others, to find out what others think, to follow instructions and do what is expected, to praise others, to tell others that they have done a good job, to accept the leadership of others, to read about great men, to conform to custom and avoid the unconventional, to let others make decisions.
3. Order: To have written work neat and organized, to make plans before starting on a difficult task, to have things organized, to keep things neat and orderly, to make advance plans when taking a trip, to organize details of work, to keep letters and files according to some system, to have meals organized and a definite time for eating, to have things arranged so that they run smoothly without change.
4. Exhibition: To say witty and clever things, to tell amusing jokes and stories, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to have others notice and comment upon one's appearance, to say things just to see what effect it will have on others, to talk about personal achievements, to be the center of attention, to use words that others do not know the meaning of, to ask questions others cannot answer.
5. Autonomy: To be able to come and go as desired, to say what one thinks about things, to be independent of others in making decisions, to feel free to do what one wants, to do things that are unconventional, to avoid situations where one is expected to conform, to do things without regard to what others may think, to criticize those in positions of authority, to avoid responsibilities and obligations.
6. Affiliation: To be loyal to friends, to participate in friendly groups, to do things for friends, to form new friendships, to make as many friends as possible, to share things with friends, to do things with friends rather than alone, to form strong attachments, to write letters to friends.
7. Intraception: To analyze one's motives and feelings, to observe others, to understand how others feel about

problems, to put one's self in another's place, to judge people by why they do things rather than by what they do, to analyze the behavior of others, to analyze the motives of others, to predict how others will act.

8. Succorance: To have others provide help when in trouble, to seek encouragement from others, to have others be kindly, to have others be sympathetic and understanding about personal problems, to receive a great deal of affection from others, to have others do favors cheerfully, to be helped by others when depressed, to have others feel sorry when one is sick, to have a fuss made over one when hurt.
9. Dominance: To argue for one's point of view, to be a leader in groups to which one belongs, to be regarded by others as a leader, to be elected or appointed chairman of committees, to make group decisions, to settle arguments and disputes between others, to persuade and influence others to do what one wants, to supervise and direct the actions of others, to tell others how to do their jobs.
10. Abasement: To feel guilty when one does something wrong, to accept blame when things do not go right, to feel that personal pain and misery suffered does more good than harm, to feel the need for punishment for wrong doing, to feel better when giving in and avoiding a fight than when having one's own way, to feel the need for confession of errors, to feel depressed by inability to handle situations, to feel timid in the presence of superiors, to feel inferior to others in most respects.
11. Nurturance: To help friends when they are in trouble, to assist others less fortunate, to treat others with kindness and sympathy, to forgive others, to do small favors for others, to be generous with others, to sympathize with others who are hurt or sick, to show a great deal of affection toward others, to have others confide in one about personal problems.
12. Change: To do new and different things, to travel, to meet new people, to experience novelty and change in daily routine, to experiment and try new things, to eat in new and different places, to try new and different jobs, to move about the country and live in different places, to participate in new fads and fashions.
13. Endurance: To keep at a job until it is finished, to complete any job undertaken, to work hard at a task, to keep at a puzzle or problem until it is solved, to

work at a single job before taking on others, to stay up late working in order to get a job done, to put in long hours of work without distraction, to stick to a problem even though it may seem as if no progress is being made, to avoid being interrupted while at work.

14. Heterosexuality: To go out with members of the opposite sex, to engage in social activities with the opposite sex, to be in love with someone of the opposite sex, to kiss those of the opposite sex, to be regarded as physically attractive by those of the opposite sex, to participate in discussions about sex, to read books and plays involving sex, to listen to or to tell jokes involving sex, to become sexually excited.
15. Aggression: To attack contrary points of view, to tell others what one thinks about them, to criticize others publicly, to make fun of others, to tell others off when disagreeing with them, to get revenge for insults, to become angry, to blame others when things go wrong, to read newspaper accounts of violence.

Table 12. Test-retest reliability coefficients of EPPS variables (Edwards, 1959).

<u>EPPS variable</u>	<u>r</u>
Achievement	.74
Deference	.78
Order	.87
Exhibition	.74
Autonomy	.83
Affiliation	.77
Intraception	.86
Succorance	.78
Dominance	.87
Abasement	.88
Nurturance	.79
Change	.83
Endurance	.86
Heterosexuality	.85
Aggression	.78

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