

NORMATIVE AND COUNTER-NORMATIVE IDENTITIES: DISCREPANCY,
COGNITION, AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSE AMONG PARENTS AND NON-
PARENTS.

A thesis submitted
To Kent State University in partial
Fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts

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August, 2013

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identity theory is derived from symbolic interactionism and explores the identities people form as a result of their location in social structure and the outcomes that occur as these identity processes unfold. These outcomes have included behavioral patterns, emotional responses, and mental well-being. The current research focuses specifically on the emotional responses individuals experience as a result of an identity they hold. An “identity” is the set of meanings that defines who one is in a given situation (Burke and Stets 2009, Serpe and Stryker 2011). For example, a set of meanings associated with an identity can result from a particular *role* a person claims in society, such as the meanings a person develops for herself in the role of “mother”.

Another central focus of identity theory research involves measuring the meanings associated with specific identities and comparing them with other identities, ideally across time and social situations (Stryker, 1980, 2008; Burke and Stets 2009; Serpe and Stryker 2011; Stets and Serpe 2013). Most often, identity theory has focused on the social significance of shared meanings associated with normative *role-based* identities. For example, in American society, there are widely shared expectations and meanings

attached to the role identity of “parent,” such as patience, selflessness, kindness, and responsibility (Park 2002). Previous research has conceptualized and measured meanings by examining an identity and its counterpart or “counter identity” (Burke and Tully 1977). One cannot measure the meanings attached to being a parent outside the context of what it means to be a child. There are, however, reciprocal positions to holding an identity that are not merely “counter-roles”. To explain, there are identities that people hold that are counter to the identities claimed by the majority of individuals throughout the United States.

Amongst a variety of other areas such as: religion, marital status, educational attainment, income, and race there is a basis for judgment that is often overlooked: family size (Gangon, Coleman, and Mapes 1990). In America, the role of parent is a normative aspect of adult life (Burke and Stets 2009); however, there are those individuals who make the *choice* to not have children either temporarily or permanently.

Previously, scholars have defined the choice to be voluntarily childless as “deviant behavior”, unfeminine, selfish, unnatural, unhealthy, and unfortunate (Smith 1997; Gillespie 2003) or as claiming a “stigmatized identity” (Mueller and Yoder 1999; Veevers 1980). Current research, however, has found that the societal perception of parenting and the choice to remain childless is becoming more widely accepted (Koropecj-Cox and Pendell 2007). In some cases, the choice to not have children is viewed as a benefit and a positive decision (Gillespie 2003). The current research focuses on the voluntarily childless identity as counter-normative. In some cases, holding this identity may be experienced as stigmatizing while in other cases it may not.

There are two broad theoretical questions driving my research. The first question of theoretical interest is: does discrepancy from significant others impact individuals differently than discrepancy from the generalized other? For example, discrepancy occurs if a voluntarily childless individual views themselves as a selfless person, but they perceive the societal view of individuals without children as being selfish, what impacts does this have on the individual as compared to if they perceive that their significant other's perceive them as a selfish individual? The second broad theoretical question is: what emotional response occurs as a result of these discrepancies? Previous research has found that discrepancy may cause distress or anxiety from the lack of semantic congruence (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 2009; Stryker 2004; Marcussen and Large 2003). On the opposite side of the emotional spectrum, Cast and Burke (2002), found positive emotions occur when there is a lack of discrepancy.

The current research explores whether or not discrepancy creates an emotional response, as suggested by previous, research using structural equation modeling across three identities. The model developed here incorporates aspects of both the structural identity research program (Stryker 1968; 1980) and the perceptual control research program (Burke 1980). The constructs include: perceived level of role choice, satisfaction, discrepancy, cognition, and five specific emotional outcomes.

Rather than looking at the role identities of being a parent vis-a-vis the counter-role of a child, this research departs from past research with three specific goals. First, it explores the similarities and differences between a normative identity (i.e., parents) and counter-normative identities (i.e., temporary and voluntary childless). Second, in addition

to measuring discrepancy using reflected appraisals with the referent group of significant others, this research also measures discrepancy using semantic differentials with the individual's perception of the generalized other as the referent group. Third, this research incorporates an aspect of identity theory that has not received a great deal of attention, specifically the role of cognition (Serpe 1991) in formulating identity relevant meanings and emotional responses.

The paper begins with a review of the literature surrounding parents and the voluntary childless, as well as the identity theory literature including the relevant aspects of both structural identity research and perceptual control research. Second, it describes specific hypotheses related to the theoretical questions of interest. Third, is a description of the survey and sample with a discussion of the operationalization of the concepts. Next, the analysis and results are described followed by a discussion of the findings, limitations, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

NORMATIVE AND COUNTER-NORMATIVE IDENTITIES: PARENTS, TEMPORARY CHILDLESS, AND VOLUNTARY CHILDLESS

Parents

In 1973, Veevers described two norms that pervaded American society with regard to families. The first norm stated that married individuals (in this context a man and a woman) should have children. The second norm indicated that married individuals should be happy about the potential to have children and become parents. Previously the process of having children has been deemed a normative behavior in the United States. For example, Veevers (1980), describes how having children within marriage has been supported traditionally by all major religions. It has also been identified as a key developmental stage in becoming an adult (Gutmann 1975), as well as a sign of sexual competence and good health (Veevers 1972; Rainwater 1965). Parenthood is still greatly valued within our society for a variety of reasons including personal and social rewards: i.e. pleasures and satisfaction of parenthood, deeper sense of meaning and personal growth,

increased access to social capital, sense of security, and “immortality” through reproduction of one’s genes (Koropecyk-Cox and Pendell 2007; Morgan and King 2001; Edin and Kefalas 2005; McMahon 1995; Nock 1987; Blake 1979; Friedman, Hechter, and Kanazawa 1994; and Astone, Nathanson, Schoen and Kim 1999). While research has found that the “motherhood mandate” (Hays 1996) has weakened over time (Christopher 2012), the role of mother is still strongly linked to the identity of women (Park 2002; Koropecyk-Cox, Romano and Moras 2007). The importance of family is still present and strongly encouraged by religious and political organizations in our society (Umberson, Pudruvska, and Reczek 2010).

Temporary Childless

While this research distinguishes between parents and those who are voluntary childless, it also aims to explore those individuals who report not currently having children but plan to have children in the future. These temporary childless individuals have not yet claimed nor denied the parent identity and the transitional nature of their situation is similar to the concept of “possible selves” (Markus and Nuris 1986). Possible selves are a way individuals view the potential selves they expect to become, desire to become, or are afraid to become and they *think* about their future and plan for it accordingly (Markus and Nuris 1986). Therefore, being a parent, for the temporarily childless, is a possible self for these individuals making them distinct from the voluntary childless who never see themselves as a parent in the future. While individuals can

choose what possible selves to envision, these selves do not exist outside of a social structure that impacts them. As Stryker (1968) described the constraining nature of the social structure on potential identities one might claim, so too does structure impact one's potential to envision a possible self. One cannot envision a possible self outside of what one experiences and encounters in their everyday lives. Little research has explored identities that are transitional and lie somewhere between more stable and normative identities (i.e. the parent identity) and those identities that are counter-normative. The current research looks at the transitional uncertainty of the temporary childless identity and the implications it has on how these individuals view the self as compared to parents and the voluntary childless.

Voluntary Childless

The first stage of the evolution in the childlessness literature began in the 1930s with these individuals labeled “deviant” and “non-normative” (Bulcroft and Teachman 2004). The second stage of research began to explore the negative consequences of voluntary childlessness. In particular, demographers were interested in the potential impact this choice could have on society in regard to population replacement and birth rates (Blake and Davis 1963). The third shift occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s with researchers looking at “alternative lifestyles” of individuals that deviates from traditional marriage and family norms. This stage of research relied heavily on qualitative research and was supported by the second wave of feminism (Veever 1972, 1973, and

1980). Currently, there has been a push for quantitative research projects on childless individuals with specific emphasis on differences between childless individuals, stigma management techniques of the childless (Park 2002), and prevalence rates within a variety of countries (Bulcroft and Teachman 2004).

What is disconcerting, in regard to social science research, is the fact that people never ask individuals why they do not want children. They assume, rather, that individuals without children have fecundity issues or are planning to have children in the future. For example, the research questions mostly include: “How many children do you have” not “Do you have kids at all” because having children is taken as the default (Veevers 1973:201). One can see, however, that this is not surprising when looking at the amount of research regarding those who have and do not have children. Until recently parents have been the focus of family research and still comprise the focus of many family research topics.

Important to this research is the distinction between individuals without children, but who desire children when the timing and situation is right, and individuals who do not have children and do not want them in the future. Individuals expecting to have children but who are currently childless are considered temporary childless making them distinct from those choosing to never have children. It is the *choice* to not have children that society labels as “non-normative” and counter to the expected behavior of individuals. However, with various economic and social changes, as well as the increasing availability of effective methods of contraceptives, there has been a rise in the number of individuals who voluntarily delay parenthood or remain without children permanently (Morgan and

King 2001). Research has shown that the voluntary childless still report being stigmatized for their choice to not have children (Kopper and Smith 2001; Muller and Yoder 1997; Park 2002). For example, LaMastro (2001) found that voluntarily childless women are viewed as less caring, less driven, less emotionally healthy, and accused of possessing more negative traits than women with children. Even childless men are viewed negatively as less warm, less caring and less driven compared to fathers (LaMastro 2001). This research aims to explore whether individuals claiming a counter-normative identity experience the relationship between discrepancy and emotion differently than individuals with a normative identity. The paradigm that has developed a clear theoretical understanding of this relationship is identity theory.

IDENTITY THEORY: MAIN THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Structural Identity Research Program

Stemming from the work of George Herbert Mead, identity theory emerged with the goal of exploring the relationship between “self” and “society” in a way that allows for systematic empirical research (Stryker 1968). For Mead (1934), society impacts self which impacts social interaction. Stryker uses this formula as the basis for his discussion of identity theory (Stryker 1968), with several modifications and advancements (Stryker 1980, 2008). Identity theory posits that the self consists of multiple identities (James 1890). These identities are internalized meanings attached to a structural position or role

one has in society (Stryker 2004). Previously, identity theory has focused specifically on role identities. Role identities consist of two parts: an external position or socially recognized category of actors and a role which carries with it a set of expectations (Stryker 1980). These roles are understood in relation to counter-roles such that one cannot be a parent without a child. Therefore, when an individual states “I am a parent” they are claiming this role and the internalized role expectations attached to it. Simultaneously, this same individual is also stating they are *not* a non-parent (McCall 2003). Not only has the structural emphasis of identity theory focused on role identities, but almost all of the research has focused on roles that are normative and conventional within society (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets and Serpe 2013). Counter-normative identities have not been a focus within identity theory. This research, therefore, focuses on the present gap in the exploration of how all identities involved in everyday life impact social action and the self.

Also relevant to the goal of this research, is the meanings one has for an identity and the verification sought for that identity, as well as the discrepancy that could arise if those meanings are not congruent. While contemporary identity theory is functioning within a unified research agenda (Stets and Serpe 2013), identity research has previously been pursued with two distinct research programs. To complete the theoretical aspects of this research, the structural identity approach discussed above is only one component of the analytical frame. Next, the research program led by Peter Burke and Jan Stets, a perceptual control approach, is discussed. This research emphasizes the internal processes of identity, focusing on meaning, verification, and discrepancy.

Perceptual Control Research Program

Each identity comes with a set of meanings that are attributed to the self when an individual claims that identity. These meanings are internalized and stored as a cognitive schema that serves as a “framework for interpreting experiences” (Stryker and Burke 2000:286). For example, when an individual claims the identity of “parent” they enact the set of meanings associated with being a parent such as patient, caring, and responsible (Veevers 1973). It is understood, however, that a role identity can have multiple meanings. These meanings come from both the individual and society. How an individual views oneself in a particular situation, is recognized through reflected appraisals or their own perceptions of how others view them (Stets and Harrod 2004). This process is but a single part of the perceptual control model (Burke 1991) that includes four key components making up an identity.

According to Burke (1991), an identity includes the identity standard which holds the meanings this identity has for the individual. Another component of one’s identity is the self-relevant perceptions which act as the input for the model and consist of the individual’s understanding of the situation and how they perceive others view their self and the situation. Thus, the meanings attached to an identity are comprised of two parts: the meanings an individual has for the identity and the meanings provided by others. The third component is the comparator which determines whether the meanings in the identity standard match the meanings in the input (Burke 1991). According to Burke (1991; 1996) individuals are motivated to maintain “semantic congruence” or maintain a consistent

self. This process is dynamic, ongoing, and continuous such that an individual is always counteracting potential sources of discrepancy to maintain a consistent perception of self. Identity verification occurs when the perceptions or meanings of those in the situation are consistent with the individual's own perceptions and meanings of him or herself located in the identity standard (Stets and Harrod 2004). Individuals enact specific role performances that keep the perceived meanings, regarding who they are in a situation, consistent with the meanings they have for themselves. If the interaction is successful, identity-verification will occur and individuals will feel "good" or experience positive emotions (Cast and Burke 2002). The opposite is also true, however, and if verification does not occur or one experiences a discrepancy between how they are perceived in a situation and their own perception, one feels "bad", distressed, and/or angry (Burke 1991). The final component of the perceptual control model is the output or meaningful behavior that is aimed at maintaining or achieving consistency between the input and the identity standard (Burke 1991). If verification occurs, the output does not change. If, however, discrepancy occurs, the output must be adjusted in an attempt to realign the meanings. While the process of verification and discrepancy involves some agency, there is also often a structural constraint present in the situation measured by role choice in this research.

Role Choice

Choice, in the context of identity theory, reflects this structural constraint. While some social situations provide ample choices for individuals in regard to potential identities, other situations are more constrained and the ability to *choose* an identity may be restricted. A prison, for example, provides incoming inmates with less choice than a university does for incoming college freshmen (Stryker and Serpe 1982). Not only do social situations differ in the amount of choice they provide, but individuals within the same social situation may have different levels of choice available. Serpe (1987) describes the possible differences between men and women in regard to the worker and parent identity with respect to the amount of choice available. Women may have less choice than men with regard to the parent identity and men may have less choice with respect to the worker identity as compared to women (if the actor has internalized traditional gender-role expectations) (Serpe 1987). Within reciprocal parent-child role-identities, Stryker and Serpe (1983) theoretically argue that the impact of either identity on the other hinges on the choice of the child or parent to engage in opportunities to activate the identities. The current research further explores the concept of choice to determine whether the perception of choice impacts whether or not one experiences identity discrepancy and how this relationship impacts the resulting emotional reaction.

Satisfaction

In addition to choice, another factor may impact whether or not an individual experiences identity discrepancy: satisfaction. Satisfaction, in this case, refers to how satisfied an individual is *currently* with their role as a parent or as someone who does not have children. Previously within identity theory research, satisfaction has been examined as an outcome within the verification process. For example, individuals who do not experience discrepancy, but have their identities verified by others in the situation are more satisfied (Burke and Stets 2009). Rather than focusing on satisfaction as an outcome or a general emotional state, the current research explores the impact one's level of satisfaction has on whether or not an individual experiences a discrepancy between how they view themselves as a parent or as someone who does not have children as compared to how they think their significant others and society in general views parents and individuals who do not have children. The next component of the model is discrepancy.

Three orders of evaluation: The Self-View, the Significant Other and the Generalized Other

Cooley (1964 [1902]) recognized that individuals think about how other individuals view them when he introduced the concept of the looking-glass self. Individuals are actively thinking about how others perceive them in a variety of situations and they adjust their behaviors based on these assumed perceptions (Cooley 1964[1902]).

Mead (1934) expanded this concept to include a distinction between significant others and generalized others in the process of role-taking. Starting as children, individuals take on the roles of those “others” they encounter in their everyday experiences (significant others). For example, a child may play house by taking on the role of mother because this is an individual they interact with regularly. As they grow older, children begin to recognize there are “others” that exist beyond those they interact with daily. Eventually, this progresses to a knowledge of the “generalized other” which includes the thoughts, feelings, and perceptions of society (Mead 1934). It is evident that the self-evaluation process, in which individuals develop a self-perception, has deep roots within sociology. Burke (1980) continued this discussion by describing the development of internalized meaning structures acquired by individuals through social interaction. It is recognized that an individual’s self-view may not be congruent with how they perceive others view them and this might cause an individual to experience a sense of discrepancy. This discrepancy can come from our perception of how significant others view us in a particular role as well as our perception of how society in general views individuals in a particular role. In order to further explore this experience, researchers needed to measure the meaning one has for an identity or one’s self-view.

A majority of previous research within identity theory has used reflected appraisals and self-appraisals to capture discrepancy experienced by individuals within a specific role identity (Stets 1995). Identity theory posits that when there is a lack of identity verification, discrepancy occurs regardless of the referent group. Little empirical research, however, has explored the different sources of discrepancy to determine the

similarities or differences in emotional and behavioral outcomes that occur, but previous research has addressed the need for exploring different sources and levels of reference (Marcussen and Large 2003). For example, does one react more strongly to discrepancy resulting from significant others as compared to the generalized other? The current research explores this question by measuring three levels of evaluation of self-in-role: self-view, self-view with significant other's as a referent group, and self-view with the generalized other as a referent group.

In order to measure discrepancy, respondents are first asked to evaluate themselves within a particular identity (i.e. parent or an individual who does not have children). This measure captures an individual's self-view. This evaluation only involves the individual's self-perception and evaluation of self-in-role, and therefore is considered a first-order evaluation. A second-order evaluation, which takes one additional step away from the individual, is measured by asking individuals how they *think* significant others view them in a particular role. This is a second-order evaluation because it involves significant others' view of an individual within a role-identity as well as that individual's self-view of self-in-role. This level of evaluation is based on reflection of how others see them in an interactional context. A third-order evaluation, which takes yet another step away from the individual, includes the generalized other as the referent group along with one's self-view of self-in-role. This level of evaluation is based on the construction of the perceptions one has about the meanings of the role-identity within the context of the larger social structure of interaction. Through the structural symbolic interactionist framework of symbols and meanings in regard to identity construction (Stryker 1968,

1980, 2008; Serpe and Stryker 2011), this third-order evaluation represents what it means to an individual to hold a role-identity such as parent. It also captures how close one's view of the world matches one's self-view. While similar to the cultural meanings discussed in Affect Control Theory (Heise 1979 and 2007), the third-order evaluation differs because it uses an individual's perception of the generalized other rather than a cultural dictionary of meanings designed to capture the views of society (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010). A contribution of this research is the inclusion of measures of discrepancy both from significant others and the generalized other, resulting in discrepancy that is situated in both an interactional and social structural context. While discrepancy is an important concept, this research also asks whether or not the amount of time spent thinking and planning about one's identity will mediate the emotional response resulting from discrepancy or lack of discrepancy.

Identity Cognition

Identities involve cognitive schemas in which individuals interpret situations and actors within them based on the information and meanings stored from previous interactions (Stryker and Burke 2000). Serpe (1991) argues that cognition, or the amount of time spent thinking and planning about an identity, will influence one's role-choice behavior. The concept of identity cognition is an empirically under explored concept within identity theory, but it has been suggested that one must spend time thinking about an identity and its relevant activity in order to develop the attached meanings (Serpe

1991). Previous research focusing on the outcomes of discrepancy requires that individuals engage with the discrepancy in order to make some form of corrective adjustment (Burke and Stets 2009). In the current model, when individuals experience discrepancy, they have a reason to be more thoughtful about the problematic identity. This increased engagement guides the placement of cognition as a mediator in the relationship between discrepancy and the emotional response. If an individual experiences discrepancies, this will impact how much time an individual thinks about an identity, which in turn will impact the strength of the emotional response. Not only does this research seek to explore how cognition impacts one's emotional response to discrepancy, but it also compares this relationship across normative and counter-normative identities. The final component of the theoretical model is the outcome or emotional response.

Emotions and Identity Theory

It has been recognized that emotions are central to the human experience and the reflective encounters of our everyday lives (Stets 2005; Stryker 2004). Symbolic Interactionists have studied emotions as a connection between self, society, and behavior (Goffman 1967; Blumer 1986; Rosenberg 1990; Smith-Lovin 1990; Stryker 2004; Stets 2005; Burke and Stets 2009). According to Stryker (2004), one experiences an emotional response when interactional or structural barriers prevent a highly positive identity from being enacted. These emotional responses are messages from the self providing an update

on the connection between what is perceived in the situation and what one wants or expects to perceive based on their own thoughts (Hochschild 1983). People then use these emotions to guide future role performances (Rosenberg 1979). They also signal to others what the person is expressing and tells the individual who and what they are.

According to identity theory, the relationship between discrepancy and emotions is such that when a discrepancy occurs, the individual experiences negative emotion (Burke and Stets 2009). This emotion is a message telling the individual that their meanings are not aligned. Identity interruption theory (Burke 1996), describes this process and provides a model explaining distress as a result of an identity lacking verification. Burke (1996) suggests identity salience and the severity of an interruption will impact the amount of distress experienced. This process was further examined in identity theory (Ellestad and Stets 1998; Stets and Tsushima 2001; Stets and Ascencio 2008; Stets 2005; Stets and Carter 2011) with a continuous drive to explore the impact that discrepancy has on an individual's emotions, psychological well-being, self-esteem, commitment to an identity, identity salience, behavioral response, as well as the relationship between all of these inter-connected components.

Emotions, in previous identity theory research, have been approached broadly within positive and negative valences (Stryker 2004, Stets 2005, Stets and Burke 2009). These valences are broad categorizations of specific emotions grouped into positive and negative categories. Little identity theory research, however, has been done focusing on specific emotions and how they relate to the self, identity, society, and behavior. Some individuals argue that simply classifying emotions into positive and negative valences is

potentially problematic and ambiguous (Kemper 1987, Scheff 2002). For example, Scheff (2002), argues that each specific emotion has certain information that is relevant for the variety of social situations an individual experiences. In order to fully examine how emotions impact identities and the self, Scheff (2000; 2002) suggests that they should be examined individually. Stets and Burke (2009) acknowledge the limitations of positive and negative valences of emotions and call for future research that delves into the differences and similarities of specific emotions.

The current research explores five specific emotions: happiness, sadness, shame, embarrassment, and pride. Both happiness and sadness have been recognized as primary emotions within emotion research (Kemper 1987). Pride, shame, and embarrassment are also found to be important in sociological research because of their relationship to social perception, interaction, and self-perception (Shott 1979). The feelings of pride, shame, and embarrassment are evidence of social pressures that influence how individuals *feel* about their self. Scheff (1988) describes shame and pride as continuous states an individual experiences in every interaction. Shame can be felt as a form of social control that encourages individuals to abide by the norms and regulations of society (Scheff 1988; 2000 2002).

Currently, identity research has explored the relationship between emotions and normative identities (Burke 1991; Marcussen and Large 2003), but this relationship has not been examined using a counter-normative identity such as the voluntarily childless. In order to determine whether or not the process works the same for normative and counter-normative identities, a comparison of the two will be made using structural equation

modeling with a nationally representative sample of parents, temporary childless and voluntary childless individuals. The basic model proposed is such that satisfaction and role-choice impact the discrepancy, or lack of discrepancy, experienced by parents and individuals who do not have children. Discrepancy, then, is predictive of an emotional response, mediated by the amount of time an individual spends thinking and planning with regard to being a parent or not having children. The next section discusses the specific hypotheses in more detail.

Assumptions and Hypotheses

The assumptions and hypotheses underlying this research are grounded in identity theory. The first variable of interest is role choice and its relationship to the discrepancy an individual does or does not experience with regard to being a parent or not having children (Stryker and Serpe 1982; 1983; Serpe 1987). It has been suggested that different social situations provide varying levels of role choice for different individuals (Stryker and Serpe 1982; Serpe 1987; Serpe and Stryker 2011; Stets and Serpe 2013). Previous work has also suggested that the perceived amount of choice an individual has regarding a specific identity will impact many of the identity processes (Stryker 1980; Stryker and Serpe 1982; 1983; Serpe 1987) Based on this work:

H1a: The higher an individual's perceived choice with regard to their parental identity, the less discrepancy they will report from the reflected appraisals of their significant others.

H1b: The higher an individual's perceived choice with regard to their parental identity, the less discrepancy they will report from the generalized other.

Based on identity theory, individuals who are more satisfied with their self-in role will report less negative emotions and more positive emotions.

H2: Satisfaction is positively related to happiness and pride and negatively related to shame, sadness, and embarrassment.

Based on previous research regarding identity verification measured by the reflected appraisals of significant others (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; Stets 1995; 2005; Stets and Ascencio 2008) it is expected that individuals experiencing discrepancy from their significant others will report an increase in their negative emotional reactions. It has also been found that individuals experiencing identity verification report higher levels of positive emotions (Cast and Burke 2002). Therefore:

H3a: Discrepancy from an individual's significant others will increase the experience of sadness, shame, and embarrassment.

H3b: Discrepancy from an individual's significant others will decrease the experience of happiness and pride.

Based on the previous findings regarding discrepancy (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; Stets 1995; 2005; Stets and Ascencio 2008; and Cast and Burke 2002) coupled with the relationship between the first, second, and third-order evaluations of self-in-role, it is expected that discrepancy from the generalized other (i.e. third-order evaluation of self-in-role) will also produce an increase in negative emotional responses and a decrease in positive emotions. Due to the literature suggesting that voluntary

childlessness is viewed negatively, stereotyped, and often stigmatized within our society (Veevers 1980; Silverman 1971; Kopper and Smith 2001; Muller and Yoder 1997; LeMastro 2001; Park 2002; and Koropecykj-Cox and Pendell 2007) it is assumed that those with the counter-normative identity will encounter greater discrepancy from the generalized other than those with the normative identity. To explain, the meanings they hold for their non-normative identity might not be congruent with their perception of the generalized other's view of their counter-normative identity. Unlike significant others who may be more understanding because they know the specifics regarding the identity, the generalized other is further removed from the individual which results in a perception of more negative views toward the *choice* to not have children. This fact, however, does not change the predictions of identity theory of the impact that discrepancy has on emotional response. Burke and Stets (2009), argue that discrepancy causes an increase in an individual's experience of distress, anxiety, and negative emotion regardless of the referent group or identity enacted. It is also argued that positive emotions emerge as a lack of identity discrepancy regardless of the identity or referent group (Cast and Burke 2002, Burke and Stets 2009). Thus:

H4a: Individuals experiencing discrepancy from the generalized other will report an increase in their experience of sadness, shame, and embarrassment.

H4b: Individuals experiencing discrepancy from the generalized other will report a decrease in their experience of happiness and pride.

The final hypothesis focuses on the potential mediated relationship between discrepancy and emotional response. In the current research, cognition is explored as a possible mediating factor between the amount of discrepancy and one's emotional

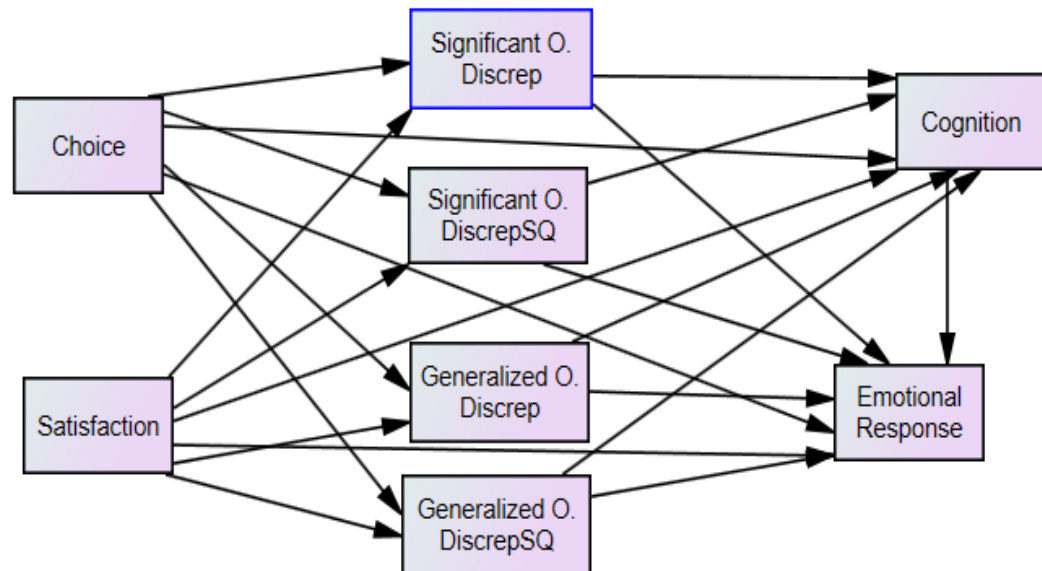
response. Cognition (Serpe 1991), the amount of time spent thinking about one's self-in-role, may be impacted by the amount of discrepancy an individual experiences, and thus, may impact the severity of the emotional response. If an individual experiences a discrepancy, they will have more reason to think and plan about said identity, and therefore, will have higher levels of emotional responses. For example, voluntary childless individuals experiencing more discrepancy may be more actively engaged in identity cognition and may then experience higher levels of happiness, pride, sadness, shame, and embarrassment as compared to those individuals who do not experience discrepancy.

H5: It is predicted that identity cognition mediates the relationship between discrepancy, happiness, pride, sadness, shame, and embarrassment.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was selected as the analytic method because it allows for the simultaneous estimation of relationships between several endogenous and an outcome variable. In order to examine the similarities and differences between the parents, temporary childless, and voluntarily childless, a groups SEM model was estimated using AMOS 20 for each of the five emotions. This analysis explores whether role choice and satisfaction of self-in-role impact two measures of discrepancy. It also explores whether discrepancy, measured using reflected appraisals of significant others, and discrepancy, measured using semantic differentials with the referent group of the generalized other, differ in regard to the traditional model proposed by identity theory, which predicts that discrepancy in general causes distress (Burke 1991). Identity cognition is tested as a possible mediator. The analysis explores whether cognitive work in regard to being a parent or not having children temporarily or permanently mediates the relationship between discrepancy and emotional response. The theoretical model is shown in Figure 1.

Fig. 1: Heuristic Theoretical Model

Data and Sample

Data was gathered through an online survey created using Sensus 4.2 software. The survey was administered online to a randomly selected panel of adults 18 years of age and older using the Survey Research Lab in the Sociology Department at Kent State University. After freely consenting to participate in the survey, individuals were asked approximately 80 questions (the exact number differed depending on how individuals answered the screener question) pertaining to a specified identity. Following the identity-specific questions, there were approximately 50 general and demographic questions every member of the sample was asked to answer. The survey took between 20 and 25 minutes to complete.

The sample was provided by Survey Sampling International (SSI). The web-based sample was drawn from their Dynamic Sampling Platform: SSI Dynamix. Using traditional random-digit-dialing techniques, SSI recruits individuals through household landlines and cell-phones. This procedure collects a probability-based web panel that is nationally representative and equivalent to a traditional random-digit-dialing telephone sample (Braunsberger et. al 2007; Yeager et. al 2011). In sum, 6,534 respondents were included in the sample, and 3,522 completed the entire survey giving a response rate of .54. This research looks exclusively at the 788 individuals who completed the parent identity questions, giving a response rate of .49. In this sample there are 199 voluntary childless respondents, 118 temporary childless respondents, and 471 parents. Tables 1 through 3 display the descriptive statistics for all variables in the five models across the three identities. Tables 4, 5, and 6 (see the appendix) show the zero-order correlations for the variables in the five models.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Parent Identity

	N	Mean	SD	Range
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Female	470	.61	.49	0-1
Age	471	48.2	14.2	18-70
Education	470	3.2	.95	1-5
Married	469	.60	.49	0-1
Income	439	4.4	2.3	1-9
<i>Mediating & Dependent Variables</i>				
Cognition	470	6.48	2.59	0-10
Happiness	466	5.44	1.70	0-7
Proud	453	4.40	2.16	0-7
Sadness	464	2.44	2.19	0-7
Ashamed	464	1.32	1.09	0-7
Embarrassed	461	1.38	2.03	0-7
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
Role Choice	459	6.28	1.31	1-7
Satisfaction of self-in-role	466	6.6	.97	1-7
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	318	.584	1.30	-4.60-8.80
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	318	2.03	5.87	0-77.44
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	471	-.241	.863	-4.78-3.11
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	471	.801	1.81	0-22.83

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Temporary Childless Identity

	N	Mean	SD	Range
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Female	118	.53	.50	0-1
Age	118	27.6	7.77	18-57
Education	118	3.2	.1	1-5
Married	117	.22	.42	0-1
Income	103	4.2	2.3	1-9
<i>Mediating & Dependent Variables</i>				
Cognition	118	3.84	2.98	0-10
Happiness	116	4.91	2.03	0-7
Proud	113	4.04	2.32	0-7
Sadness	117	3.4	2.41	0-7
Ashamed	117	2.41	2.47	0-7
Embarrassed	116	2.59	2.33	0-7
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
Role Choice	116	5.8	1.72	1-7
Satisfaction of self-in-role	116	5.2	1.88	1-7
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	87	-.13	2.03	-7-5.4
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	87	4.10	9.07	0-49
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	118	-.68	1.19	-4.11-1.78
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	118	1.87	2.97	0-16.9

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Voluntary Childless Identity

	N	Mean	SD	Range
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Female	199	.52	.50	0-1
Age	199	49.16	13.44	18-75
Education	199	3.3	1	1-5
Married	197	.29	.46	0-1
Income	180	4.0	2.3	1-9
<i>Mediating & Dependent Variables</i>				
Cognition	199	2.4	2.8	0-10
Happiness	191	5.18	2.03	0-7
Proud	193	4.02	4.47	0-7
Sadness	194	2.09	2.23	0-7
Ashamed	197	1	1.84	0-7
Embarrassed	195	1.19	1.93	0-7
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
Role Choice	193	5.6	2.1	1-7
Satisfaction of self-in-role	187	5.9	1.64	1-7
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	120	.62	2.16	-10-6.4
Sig. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	120	4.10	11.74	0-100
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Linear)	199	-1.03	1.29	-1.67-4.0
Gen. Other Discrepancy (Squared)	119	2.74	4.44	0-32.1

Measures

Dependent Variables. The outcome examined is one's emotional response. The five emotions were measured by asking respondents to think about being a parent or someone who does not have children (whichever identity applies to them) and answer the following question: "On how many of the past seven days have you felt: a) happy, b) sad, c) ashamed of something you'd done, d) embarrassed about something, and e) proud of something you'd done?" Responses range from zero days to seven days.

Independent Variables. There are six endogenous variables in each of the five models. Serpe (1987) found that role-choice impacts the identity process. In order to measure the amount of *choice* one perceives they have in regard to being a parent or not having children, respondents were asked: "How much choice did you have with respect to (being a parent or not having children?). The possible responses range from 1 "no choice" to 7 "total choice". *Satisfaction* is measured by asking respondents: "How satisfied are you currently (with the fact that you are a parent or that you do not have children)? The potential answers range from 1 "not at all" to 7 "a great deal". This measure of satisfaction captures respondents' overall satisfaction with their role identity rather than satisfaction as an emotional response to some experience or relationship.

Discrepancy is measured with two constructed variables that consist of a linear value and a squared value. These two measures differ with regard to the referent group used to calculate the discrepancy. The first measure of discrepancy was assessed with six questions utilizing reflected appraisals of significant others. This measurement of

discrepancy has been widely utilized within identity theory and has been used to predict behavioral and emotional responses as well as change in regard to a particular identity (Stets and Burke 2009). For example, a number of previous studies found individuals experience distress or negative emotions when they lack self-verification for an identity. They then will seek to change what that identity means to them or lose the identity altogether if verification does not occur (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002). The six questions ask respondents “How positively they think...” a variety of *others* view them in regards to being a parent or someone who does not have children. The *others* include: close friends, friends, parents, family members other than parents, coworkers, and the individual’s own self view with the possible responses ranging from zero “Not at all positively” to 10 “Very positively”. A linear value of discrepancy using significant others as the referent group was constructed by subtracting the self-view from the summed reflected appraisals of self-in-role and then divided by the five items in the scale. A positive value for the linear discrepancy means that the respondent’s assessment is that significant others evaluate them more positively than they evaluate themselves. The measure is referred to as a measure of self-enhancement (Burke and Harrod 2005). This value is then squared to form a self-verification measure which captures the degree of non-verification the respondent is experiencing in the role-identity. The higher score on the self-verification measure the larger the perceived discrepancy.

To assess the experience of discrepancy from one’s perception of the generalized other a variable was created as a third-order evaluation of self-in-role. This variable also produces a linear and squared term. This discrepancy is measured using “semantic

differential” scales (Osgood et al. 1957; Burke and Tully 1977). Identity theory researchers have previously employed “semantic differential” scales to establish meaning (Osgood et al. 1957) and examine role identities in relation to corresponding counter-roles (Schwartz and Stryker 1970; Burke and Tully 1977). A semantic differential scale measures the connotative meaning of objects using a pair of adjectives (e.g. good-bad, selfless-selfish, etc.) located at the ends or “poles” of a seven-point numeric scale. These scales are then used to measure meaning discrepancy. The scales measure meaning in terms of direction and distance from the origin (Burke and Tully 1977). To explain, the direction or sign of the calculated value represents the nature of the response and the distance from the origin captures the intensity of the response (Burke and Tully 1977).

In the current research, participants responded to nine semantic differential items and were asked to answer while considering each of three specific questions; for example, “As someone who is a parent (or who does not have children) I usually am...” In response to this (and the other two) questions, participants were prompted to select the number on each of the nine semantic differential scale items that best describes their view. The other questions include: “How do you think *others in general* view people who are parents” and “How do you think *others in general* view people who do not have children?” The nine semantic differential items are: a) good-bad, b) moral-immoral, c) selfless-selfish, d) acceptable-unacceptable, e) caring-uncaring, f) responsible-irresponsible, g) independent-dependent, h) negative-positive, and i) open-minded-close-minded. These specific items were taken from a variety of sources that discussed meaning with regard to being a parent or someone who is voluntarily childless

(Umberson, Pudruvska, and Reczek 2010; Koropecj-Cox, Romano and Moras 2007; Kopper and Smith 2001; Muller and Yoder 1997; Park 2002; and LeMastro 2001). The individual's discrepancy was calculated by subtracting the self-view score from the score they gave for how they perceive generalized others view parents or voluntarily childless individuals. These nine values were added together and divided by nine to create an overall value for this third-order evaluation. Positive values indicate that the respondent views general others' meanings of the identity more positively than their own meanings. The nine items have a standardized alpha reliability of .800 for the parents (i.e. the normative identity), a standardized alpha reliability of .841 for the temporary childless, and the counter-normative or voluntarily childless have a standardized alpha reliability of .826. The linear value for this discrepancy was then squared to measure the degree of discrepancy the respondent is experiencing from the generalized other.

Mediating Variable. To determine whether or not cognitive work devoted to being a parent or not having children impacts one's emotional response, the measure "identity cognition" was included. This concept refers to how much an individual *thinks* about a specific identity (in this case being a parent or not having children). Identity cognition is measured with a five-item scale; with responses ranging from zero "Almost Never" to 10 "Almost Always." This scale is theoretically specified, and empirically examined, as it mediates the relationship between discrepancy and the emotional outcome. The five-items asked individuals to indicate how often they think about the fact that they are parents or do not have children in a variety of situations including: a) in general, b) when reading or viewing something in the media (e.g. television, internet, newspaper,

magazines), c) meeting new people for the first time, d) when at a social event or during social activities, and e) when at work or work related events. The five-items have standardized Cronbach's alpha reliability of .958.

Control Variables. In the analyses presented here there are five control variables included in the models: sex, age, household income, education and marital status. Previous research regarding parenthood and the meanings for this identity discusses differences between males and females in some depth as well as differences between married and single individuals (Veevers 1980) and therefore the researcher includes sex (males=0 and females=1) as a control variable as well as marital status (1=Married, 0=Not Married). Literature also discusses trends among the voluntary childless such as being generally younger and having higher income and education compared to parents (Park 2002). These variables, therefore, are also controlled for in the five models. Age was measured in years by asking respondents "what is your age?" Education was measured by asking respondents "which of the following best describes your education?" with the response categories: a.) less than high school, b.) high school graduate, c.) some collage or technical school, d.) college graduate, and e.) graduate or professional degree. Lastly, income was measured with the following item: "Below are some income categories. Please choose the category that best describes the total annual income of the household. Please include your personal income, as well as the income of others living in the household." The responses included: a.) less than \$14,999, b.) Between \$15,000 and \$24,999, c.) Between \$25,000 and \$34,999, d.) Between \$35,000 and \$44,999, e.)

Between \$45,000 and \$59,999, f.) Between \$60,000 and \$74,999, g.) Between \$75,000 and \$99,999, h.) Between \$100,000 and \$149,999, and i.) Above \$150,000.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This section presents the finding from the five models analyzed. The results of the analysis (including unstandardized path coefficients, and standard errors) can be found in Tables 7 through 11. The section begins with a brief discussion of model fit for each of the five models. It then will discuss the results specifically related to the hypotheses proposed and the final section will conclude with a brief discussion regarding other important findings.

In order to determine if the models adequately fit the data, several fit statistics are examined. The fit statistics include chi-square, with the degrees of freedom and probability reported; the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA); and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI). While the chi-squares for the model are close to significance, chi-square is easily impacted by sample size. Therefore, the other measures of fit are also examined. The first model includes happiness as the emotional outcome variable and has a chi-squared equal to 26.3, 17 degrees of freedom, a p-value of .07, a CFI=.993 and RMSEA=.026. These statistics indicate that the happiness model is a good fit for the data. The second model includes pride as a positive emotional outcome. This model has a chi-squared equal to 27.9 with 17 degrees of freedom, and a p-value of .046.

The RMSEA was calculated to be .029 and the CFI is equal to .992. The analysis for the model including pride also indicates that the model fits the data well. The models including the three negative emotions also fit the data well. With sadness as the outcome in the model the chi-square=25.6, $df=16$, $p=.061$; CFI=.973; and RMSEA=.028. The fourth model with shame as the emotional outcome has chi-square=26.1, $df=16$, $p=.061$; CFI=.993; and RMSEA=.028 indicating good fit. Finally, the fifth model includes embarrassment and the analysis indicates good model fit with a chi-square equal to 23.4 and 16 degrees of freedom with a p-value of .103. The fit statistics were calculated to be: CFI=.993 and the RMSEA=.029. Overall, the five models tested are good fits for the data.

The analysis conducted addressed five broad hypotheses of theoretical interest. Some predictions were supported by the data, while others lacked significant support. The next section describes the results specific to each hypothesis in more detail. This is followed by a brief discussion of interesting results that are not directly related to the five hypotheses, but are important for the two main theoretical questions guiding this research as well as implications for future research.

In general, the results of the analysis do not support the first hypothesis that an increase in perceived role choice decreases the amount of discrepancy an individual reports across all three groups. However, for parents, the coefficient from role choice to the linear term of discrepancy from an individual's significant others, is significant ($b=-.20$, $p<.001$). This coefficient can be interpreted such that individuals reporting more role

choice think about themselves more positively as a parent than they perceive their significant others view them as a parent. This relationship is not an indication of less discrepancy, simply discrepancy in the positive direction. More perceived choice does not significantly impact the amount of discrepancy an individual experiences.

The second hypothesis examines the relationship between how satisfied an individual is with their self-in-role and their emotional response. It is predicted that individuals who are more satisfied with being a parent or not having children will experience more happiness and pride. This prediction is partially supported by the results. To explain, the path from satisfaction to happiness is positive and significant for both parents and the voluntary childless ($b=.35$, $p<.001$). Because there is no difference in this specific relationship between these two identities, the path was constrained to be equal in the final analysis. There is not a significant relationship for the temporary childless. Pride as the emotional response, however, is only significant for the voluntary childless ($b=.34$, $p<.05$). Hypothesis two also predicts that an increase in satisfaction will be negatively related to sadness, shame, and embarrassment. These predictions are supported for all three negative emotions only for the individuals who are parents. Satisfaction is negatively related to sadness ($b=-.38$, $p<.05$), negatively related to shame ($b=-.45$, $p<.001$), and also negatively related to embarrassment ($b=-.43$, $p<.001$) for parents, but not for those individuals who do not have children. There is a significant effect between satisfaction and shame for the temporary childless, but in the opposite direction ($b=.39$, $p<.05$). Individuals who are temporarily without children experience higher levels of shame when they are more satisfied with their temporarily childless identity.

The third hypothesis states that individuals who experience discrepancy from their significant others will experience higher levels of sadness, shame, and embarrassment and lower levels of happiness and pride. Due to the nature of the interpretation of the linear term, this hypothesis is best tested using the squared term of discrepancy from significant others. Looking first at the negative emotions, for sadness, this prediction is only supported for parents ($b=.07$, $p<.05$). For those who do not have children, experiencing discrepancy from their significant others does not increase an individual's level of sadness. Again, for shame, this relationship is only significant for parents ($b=.07$, $p<.05$). Finally, for embarrassment, this relationship is significant for both parents ($b=.07$, $p<.05$) and the voluntary childless ($b=.03$, $p<.05$). Looking at the positive emotions, for both happiness and pride there is no significant relationship from perceived discrepancy from significant others for any of the three identities. These results suggest that hypothesis three holds for parents across all three negative emotions, receives no support for the temporary childless, and is only support for the voluntary childless when embarrassment is the emotional outcome. The results also suggest that the third hypothesis does not hold for the positive emotions. An increase in discrepancy from one's significant others does not cause a decrease in happiness and pride.

The fourth hypothesis is focused on the relationship between perceived discrepancy from generalized others and the five emotions. It is expected that an increase in discrepancy from the generalized other will lead to an increase in sadness, shame, and embarrassment. It is also expected than an increase in discrepancy from the generalized other will lead to a decrease in happiness and pride. Similar to the third hypothesis, the

squared termed, rather than the linear measure, of the generalized other discrepancy is used to determine whether or not the results support the hypothesis. The hypothesis first focuses on the positive relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other, sadness, shame, and embarrassment. There is no significant relationship between the level of reported discrepancy from the generalized other and sadness across all three identities. There is a significant positive relationship between feelings of shame and discrepancy from the generalized other for the temporary childless individuals ($b=.15$, $p<.05$). The relationship is not significant for parents and the voluntary childless. The results indicate a similar pattern with feelings of embarrassment. Once again, the relationship is only significant for temporarily childless individuals such that an increase in discrepancy from the generalized other causes one to feel an increase in embarrassment ($b=.24$, $p<.05$). The relationship is not significant for parents and the voluntary childless. Second, the hypothesis predicts a negative relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other, happiness, and pride. Once again, there is no significant relationship between happiness, pride, and level of discrepancy from the generalized other for any of the three identities. The fourth hypothesis, therefore, is only partially supported with a positive significant relationship between discrepancy from generalized others and increased feelings of shame and embarrassment for the temporary childless.

The final hypothesis examines the mediation between discrepancy, cognition, and the emotional response. It is predicted that discrepancy mediates the relationship between discrepancy, happiness, pride, shame, sadness, and embarrassment. In order to determine

whether or not the indirect effects from discrepancy to the five emotions through cognition are significant, Sobel's test of significance was utilized for all three groups across the five emotion models. The full list of results is located in Table 12 found in the appendix. Starting with happiness, the results of the Sobel test indicate that cognition does not significantly mediate the relationship between discrepancy and happiness. This is true for both the squared terms and the linear terms of discrepancy from both one's significant others and from the generalized other, as well as all three identities.

The results of the Sobel test for pride indicate that the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from significant others is significantly mediated by cognition for parents ($z=-1.94$, $p<.05$) but not for the temporary and voluntary childless. The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from one's significant others is, however, significantly mediated by cognition for both the parents ($z=-3.21$, $p<.001$) and the temporary childless ($z=-3.21$, $p<.001$). The mediation is not significant for the voluntary childless. The effect of the squared term of discrepancy from the generalized other is not significantly mediated by cognition for any of the three groups. The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other is significantly mediated by cognition for parents ($z=1.98$, $p<.05$) and the temporary childless ($z=2.79$, $p<.05$). The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other is not significantly mediated by cognition for the voluntary childless.

Looking at the results of the Sobel test for sadness, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from significant others is not significantly mediated by cognition for any

of the three groups. The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from one's significant other is, however significantly mediated by cognition for parents ($z=-2.57$, $p<.05$) and the temporary childless ($z=-2.5$, $p<.05$), but not for the voluntary childless. There is one significant mediation between the squared term of discrepancy from the generalized other and sadness: the temporary childless ($z=1.2$, $p<.05$). The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other is only significantly mediated by cognition for the temporary childless ($z=2.3$, $p<.05$).

The Sobel test also shows that the mediation effect of discrepancy to shame through cognition is not significant for the voluntary childless regardless of which term of discrepancy is used. The indirect effect is significant for parents for the squared term of discrepancy from the significant other ($z=-1.95$, $p<.05$) as well as the linear term ($z=-3.06$, $p<.01$). For the temporary childless, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from significant others to shame is mediated by cognition ($z=-3.06$, $p<.01$). The mediation is also significant for the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other ($z=2.67$, $p<.01$).

Similar to shame, the results of the Sobel test for the mediation effect from discrepancy to embarrassment through cognition, is not significant for the voluntary childless regardless of the referent group or measurement used. For parents, the only significant mediation is that for the linear term of discrepancy from significant others ($z=-2.64$, $p<.01$). For the temporary childless, the mediation effect is significant for both the linear term of discrepancy from significant others ($z=-3.7$, $p<.001$) and the linear term

of discrepancy from the generalized other ($z=3.07$, $p<.01$). Therefore, overall the fifth hypothesis received partial support from the analysis.

In addition to the hypotheses of interest, there are several interesting findings that deserve attention. First, consistent with the literature, there is a difference between men and women with regard to the experience of the parental identity. For example, women, who are parents ($b=.41$, $p<.05$) and voluntarily childless ($b=2.4$, $p<.001$), experience significantly more discrepancy from the generalized other than men. Female parents also do significantly more cognitive work than male parents ($b=.46$, $p<.05$). Additionally, the relationship between satisfaction and discrepancy from the significant other is of interest. This relationship is such that for all three groups an increase in satisfaction is positively related to the linear term of discrepancy from significant others. Because there are no statistical differences between the groups, the paths were constrained to be equal ($b=.48$, $p<.001$). This relationship indicates that individuals who are more satisfied with their self-in-role are more likely to think of themselves more positively than they perceive their significant others view them as a parent or as someone who does not have children. While the hypotheses regarding discrepancy utilized the squared terms, the results of the linear discrepancy terms are also of interest. For the parents and temporary childless, there is a significant relationship between the amount of perceived discrepancy from both significant and generalized others and identity cognition. These relationships, however, exist in opposition directions. As the linear term of discrepancy experienced from significant others decreases (i.e. as one self-enhances more) the level of cognition increases ($b=.41$, $p<.001$). For discrepancy from the generalized other, however, a

decrease in the linear term (i.e. as one self-enhances more) the level of cognition decreases ($b=.29$, $p<.05$ for parents; $b=1.0$, $p<.001$ for temporary childless).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This research seeks to explore two broad theoretical questions. The first question is does discrepancy from significant others impact individuals differently than discrepancy from the generalized other? The second question is what emotional responses occur as a result of these discrepancies? In addition, the research is grounded in identity theory and tests five specific hypotheses based on previously established concepts and relationships. It is evident from the results that discrepancy from one's significant others and discrepancy from the generalized other are different concepts and work differently in the current model. It is also evident that the specific emotions work differently in each model. This section discusses the results regarding the specific hypotheses as well as a number of noteworthy empirical results that have not been previously examined by identity theory researchers. The first concept explored is role choice.

Role choice represents the level of structural constraints an individual experiences as a result of a claimed identity. It has been previously established that role choice impacts many of the identity processes (Stryker 1980; Stryker and Serpe 1982; 1983; Serpe 1987). The hypothesized relationship between role choice and discrepancy in the

current model is such that an increase in role choice will cause a decrease in the experience of discrepancy from one's significant others and the generalized other. The results do not strongly support this hypothesis. The only significant relationship between role choice and discrepancy occurs for parents, with parents who perceive more choice also thinking about themselves more positively as a parent than they perceive their significant other's view them in this identity. The hypothesis is not supported for the temporary and voluntary childless. Another interesting pattern emerged between role choice and identity cognition. Parents who perceive more choice also think about being a parent more often than those individuals who perceive less role choice.

Satisfaction is the second theoretical variable of interest. It is predicted that individuals, who are more satisfied with being a parent or not having children will experience higher levels of happiness and pride and lower levels of sadness, shame, and embarrassment. The second hypothesis is partially supported by the data. There is a significant, positive relationship between satisfaction and happiness for parents and voluntary childless individuals, but not for the temporarily childless group. When pride is the emotional outcome, the relationship is only significant for the voluntary childless, but is no longer significant for the temporary childless and the parents. Looking at the negative emotions, one can see a similar pattern emerge with the relationship between satisfaction, sadness and embarrassment. Once again the relationship is only significant for parents, but not the temporary or voluntary childless. The temporary childless, however, do experience higher levels of shame when they are more satisfied with their temporary childless identity. Being more satisfied with not having children does not

significantly predict whether or not one feels sad or embarrassed, but does predict higher feelings of shame.

Other interesting findings related to satisfaction of self-in-role indicate that satisfaction is a significant predictor of the linear term of discrepancy from one's significant others across all three identities. Satisfaction is also positively related to cognition for parents and negatively related to cognition for the voluntary childless. Therefore, parents who are more satisfied with being a parent are thinking about being a parent more than those who are less satisfied with being a parent. Also, voluntary childless individuals who are more satisfied with not having children, think about the fact that they do not have children less.

The third and fourth hypotheses examine the relationship between discrepancy and the specific emotional response an individual has to this discrepancy. As previously described, discrepancy is assessed using two different forms of measurement with one measure using the referent group of one's significant others and the second measure capturing discrepancy from the generalized other. These two forms of discrepancy are measured by a linear and squared term. The linear term of discrepancy from one's significant others represents self-enhancement. It can be interpreted such that a negative value represents an individual thinking about themselves as a parent or as someone who does not have children more positively than they perceive their significant others view them in the same role. The squared term of discrepancy from one's significant others represent the amount of discrepancy felt generally from significant others such that the

higher the value, the more discrepancy experienced. The linear term and squared term of discrepancy from the generalized other can be interpreted in the same manner, but one should recognize that these two variables, however, utilize the generalized other as the referent group. To examine hypothesis three and four, the squared terms of discrepancy are used.

Hypothesis three predicts that an increase in discrepancy from significant others will increase the amount of sadness, shame, and embarrassment experienced by an individual and will decrease the amount of happiness and pride experienced by an individual. The first part of hypothesis 3 focuses on the positive relationship between discrepancy from significant others, sadness, shame, and embarrassment and is supported across all three negative emotions for individuals who are parents, but is not supported for those who do not have children. To explain, an increase in discrepancy from significant others does not predict higher levels of sadness and shame for the temporary and voluntarily childless individuals. An increase in discrepancy from one's significant others does predict higher levels of embarrassment for the voluntary childless but not the temporary childless. The second part of hypothesis 3 focuses on the negative relationship between discrepancy from significant others, happiness and pride. This portion of the hypothesis is not supported for any of the three groups across both happiness and pride. To explain, an increase in discrepancy from one's significant others does not significantly predict lower levels of happiness and pride for the parents, temporary childless, or the voluntary childless.

The fourth hypothesis examines two relationships between discrepancy from the generalized other and the five emotional outcomes. The first part of the hypothesis explores the relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other and the three negative emotions. It is once again predicted that an increase in discrepancy causes an increase in sadness, shame, and embarrassment. Using the referent group of the generalized other produces different results than the referent group of the significant other. This suggests that these two measures of discrepancy operate differently within the traditional identity theory model. Looking at the results from the analysis, there is no significant relationship between the level of discrepancy from the generalized other and sadness across all three groups. For shame, the hypothesis is supported for the temporary childless with a significant positive relationship found between discrepancy from the generalized other and shame, but the hypothesis is not supported for the parents and voluntary childless. Finally, the emotional response embarrassment also has mixed results but is similar to shame with the hypothesis supported only for the temporary childless. For individuals who are temporarily childless, an increase in discrepancy from the generalized other causes an increase in embarrassment.

The second part of the hypothesis explores the predicted negative relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other to happiness and pride. Similar to the results from hypothesis 3, there is no significant negative relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other and the positive emotions across any of the three identities. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis is partially supported by the data when looking at the positive relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other to

shame and embarrassment but is not supported when looking at the negative relationship between discrepancy from the generalized other to happiness, and pride or the positive relationship with sadness.

While the main focus is the relationship between discrepancy and the emotional response, several other findings related to discrepancy deserve mention. The linear terms of discrepancy also provide some interesting information regarding the relationship between discrepancy and emotional response. For the temporary childless, there is a significant relationship between discrepancy from significant others and happiness such that individuals who think their significant others view them more positively than they view themselves as a parent experience higher levels of happiness. For the voluntary childless, there is a significant relationship between discrepancy from one's significant others and embarrassment such that individuals who self-enhance experience higher levels of pride and embarrassment. It is also found that discrepancy from the generalized other has a significant positive relationship with shame and embarrassment for parents. Therefore, parents who think the generalized other views them more positively as a parent than they view themselves, experience higher levels of embarrassment and shame with regard to being a parent.

The final hypothesis examines the mediation from discrepancy to the three negative emotions through cognition using the Sobel test for significance of indirect effects. It is predicted that cognition mediates the relationship between discrepancy and the emotional response. The hypothesis is partially supported with mixed findings.

Starting with happiness, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from one's significant other and the squared term of discrepancy from the generalized other is not significantly mediated by cognition for any of the identities. The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from significant others and the squared term of discrepancy from the generalized other is not significantly mediated by cognition for any of the identities. For pride, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from significant others is only significantly mediated by cognition for parents but not for those who do not have children. For parents and the temporarily childless, the effects of the linear terms of discrepancy from the significant other and the generalized other are significantly mediated by cognition. Once again, this relationship is not significantly mediated for the voluntary childless. Looking at sadness, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from one's significant others is not significantly mediated by cognition for any of the groups. The effect of the linear term of discrepancy from significant others is, however, significantly mediated by cognition for parents and the temporary childless but not the voluntary childless. The effect of the squared term of discrepancy from the generalized is significantly mediated by cognition only for the temporary childless. The linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other is only significantly mediated by cognition for the temporary childless. Shame and embarrassment have similar results such that the mediation effect from discrepancy to shame and embarrassment through cognition is not significant for the voluntary childless regardless of the referent group. For parents, the effect of the squared and linear term of discrepancy from the significant other is significantly mediated by cognition. For the temporary childless with shame as the

emotional outcome, the effect of the squared term of discrepancy from significant others is significantly mediated by cognition as well as the effect of the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other. For parents, the only significant mediation between discrepancy, cognition and embarrassment is the effect from the linear term of discrepancy from significant others. There are two significant mediated effects for the temporary childless with regard to embarrassment. The mediation effect is significant for both linear terms of discrepancy.

Not only is cognition a significant mediator in the relationship between discrepancy and the emotions in several cases, but there is also several patterns that emerge in the direct relationship between discrepancy and cognition and the direct effect of cognition on emotion. For parents, across all five models, discrepancy from significant others is negatively related to cognition such that an increase in discrepancy from one's significant other causes a decrease in cognition. Looking at the self-enhancement in reference to the significant others, there is a significant relationship for parents and the temporary childless across all five models such that as individuals self-enhance more with regard to the significant others they think about being a parent and not having children temporarily more. The opposite is true when looking at parents and the temporary childless with discrepancy from the generalized other. While the relationship between the linear term of discrepancy from the generalized other and cognition is also significant, it is so in the opposite direction. As parents and the temporary childless self-enhance more with regard to the generalized other, they think about this identity less. Finally, there is no difference between the three groups when it comes to direct effect

from cognition to pride, sadness, shame, and embarrassment with an increase in cognition causing an increase in the emotion. There is no significant relationship between happiness and cognition for any of the three identities.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

One of the major contributions of this research is the exploration of counter-normative identities. Based on the empirical evidence, individuals claiming a counter-normative identity do not experience identity processes in the same manner as individuals claiming a normative identity. This paper specifically focused on the relationship between identity discrepancy and the emotional responses that occur as a result. Exploring the relationship between normative identity discrepancy and the resulting emotional response has been a central focus within identity theory (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 2009; Stryker 2004). The results from the current research support the previous findings that parents (representing the normative identity) who experience discrepancy from their significant others experience higher levels of negative emotions such as sadness, shame, and embarrassment. Interestingly, however, the counter-normative identities do not follow this same pattern.

Looking first at the temporary childless, one can see at times, this group mirrored the patterns of the parents, but at other times they were as distinct as the voluntarily childless individuals. One explanation for this distinction, is that the temporarily childless individuals

are not claiming a normative or a counter-normative identity; rather they are claiming a transitory identity. This notion of a transitory identity is similar to the concept of “possible selves” which represents a self that an individual might become in the future, would like to become, or is afraid of becoming (Markus and Nurius 1986). For example, a temporarily childless individual is currently a self without children, but a future self could be a parent or could be a voluntarily childless individual. Because these individuals do not identify with only the parents or the voluntary childless, they fall somewhere in the middle in a transitional state not entirely claiming one identity over the other. There are some temporarily childless individuals, however, that already identify with one of the other identities and the results indicate this with some paths being constrained to be equal in the models for the parents and temporary childless or the voluntary childless and temporary childless.

Secondly, the voluntarily childless individuals deviated the most from the patterns displayed by the parents. For example, based on the results these individuals did not respond negatively to discrepancy as identity theory has previously found (Burke 1980, Burke and Stets 2009). Identity theory has not previously explored counter-normative identities and this research is a stepping stone to further exploring these identities that are not normative. A key place to begin an exploration of counter-normative identities is to obtain more contextual information about the experience of identity processes for those who hold identities counter to the norm. For example, knowing more information about the specific context of an identity may allow a fuller understanding of the distinction between a normative, transitory, counter-normative and stigmatized identity.

Another contribution of this research is the expansion of the identity discrepancy measure. Previously, identity theory has examined discrepancy based on reflected appraisals of significant others (Stets 1995). The current research examines discrepancy both from significant others and the generalized other which situates evaluation of self in both an interactional and structural context. In addition, this research incorporates the usual measurement method for discrepancy using reflected appraisals while also incorporating semantic differentials to establish a measurement of discrepancy that includes what it *means* to an individual to claim an identity. Generally, this research finds differences between discrepancy from one's significant others and the generalized other. The inconsistencies of the results suggest that future research should consider the referent group when discussing and measuring discrepancy.

The final contribution is the examination of specific emotions as a result of identity discrepancy. In the past, identity theory research has hypothesized and tested the effect of verification and/or discrepancy as a positive or negative valence of emotional responses (Stryker 2004, Stets 2005, Stets and Burke 2009). Based on the call from Scheff (2002) and Burke and Stets (2009) for exploration of specific emotions, this research examined the relationship between discrepancy and five specific emotions: happiness, pride, sadness, shame, and embarrassment. Consistent with Scheff's argument, specific emotions do, in fact, work differently in the identity process. In particular, the results indicate that there are no clear patterns among the positive emotions of happiness and pride nor are there consistent patterns among the negative emotions of sadness, shame, and embarrassment. For example, sadness is only a significant outcome of

discrepancy in one of the 12 possible relationships, whereas embarrassment is significant in five of the 12 relationships. It is evident from the results that specific emotions work differently and that future research should explore the relationship between discrepancy and a variety of specific emotions.

The current research has contributed to the growing body of work exploring identities and identity processes and specifically the impact discrepancy has on an individual's emotional response. It established that the referent group used to measure discrepancy matters with regard to the emotional impact it has on an individual. It also established that specific emotions act differently within the identity model. This research is just the beginning of a research agenda to future explore counter-normative and transitory identities as well as the various measures of identity discrepancy and how they impact individuals.

LIMITATIONS

While there are several important contributions made by this research, there are also several limitations present that need to be addressed. One of the limitations is the use of cross sectional, quantitative data for the analysis. Longitudinal data would provide a better understanding of the temporary childless and the transitory nature of their identity. It would be interesting to examine the shift in meanings between a transitory identity and the more permanent role identity of parent or voluntary childless. Supplemental qualitative data could also produce a better contextual understanding of the relationship

between discrepancy and emotion. While the current data asks about role-specific emotions, these emotions are not necessarily explicitly a result of the discrepancy. By gathering data that provides more context, one might better capture the impact discrepancy has on various emotions. Future research should explore the contextual details of these relationships by incorporating open-ended survey responses and potentially face-to-face interviews.

Another limitation is the inclusion of only five specific emotions and one role identity set. While, the results suggest that specific emotions matter, and that there are differences between parents, temporary childless, and the voluntary childless, this is only five emotions and one role identity set. To determine whether or not these differences exist more generally, future research needs to explore more specific emotions and more counter-normative identities.

There is also a limitation with the comparison of the two measurements of discrepancy. I used reflected appraisals to calculate a discrepancy value from one's significant others, whereas I used semantic differentials to calculate discrepancy from the generalized other. The lack of methodological consistency suggests potential error could exist when comparing the two types of discrepancy.

The final limitation is with the squared term of both discrepancy measures. While squaring the value of discrepancy allowed for a discussion of discrepancy in general, there is a clear limitation with these values. When one squares a value of discrepancy, it no longer makes the relationship linear, meaning that a higher level of discrepancy is

amplified by the squaring process. For example, a difference between a discrepancy score of one or two becomes much smaller than a difference between discrepancy scores of 5 and 6. One solution to this limitation is to use absolute values rather than squaring the values. This method still would eliminate directionality and allow for a general discussion of discrepancy while eliminating the amplification issue.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This research is merely the first step in an agenda exploring counter-normative identities and how they work within identity theory research that has been based on normative identities. As with any research project, new questions emerged as the current questions were examined. Several of these include: What other concepts within identity theory (i.e. proximate social structure, salience, commitment, prominence) are important factors in the relationship between discrepancy and emotional response; Would we see different results if we employed an absolute value term for discrepancy as well as the linear and squared term used; What other specific emotions are significantly related to one's experience of identity discrepancy; and what impact do these emotional responses and discrepancy in general have on an individual's mental well-being? Future research should continue to explore the complex relationship and identity processes involving counter-normative identities, identity discrepancy, and specific emotional responses. There are several specific areas that would benefit from future research.

First, researchers should continue to examine various counter-normative identities to determine whether or not the findings from the current research occur more generally across other identities. Further exploration into other identities may also allow us to better understand the distinction between normative, transitory, counter-normative and stigmatized identities. Gathering data that allows one to capture the context and interactional nature of these specific identities and identities broadly is paramount in this understanding.

Second, future work should also continue to explore discrepancy from both significant others and the generalized other. The current results indicate that the referent group used to measure discrepancy is important, and these different levels of evaluation are distinct and impact the identity processes differently. More exploration into these three levels of evaluation should also include different methods of measuring discrepancy including the traditional reflected appraisals and semantic differentials. Additionally, the connection and similarity between the research within Affect Control Theory (Heise 1979 and 2007) and the third order evaluation of self-in-role should be explored more thoroughly. The current research would have benefited from a cultural dictionary with regard to the meanings attached to being a parent or an individual who does not have children and incorporating aspects of ACT could strengthen the understanding of the third-order-evaluation.

Lastly, a larger variety of specific emotions to better understand how emotions operate within identity processes. Not only should more emotions be explored, but also

the location of emotions with the identity theory model also needs further examination.

Previously, emotion has been explored as an outcome in many models, but emotions may also work as a force dictating one's behavioral response within identity processes.

Similarly, emotions may mediate the relationship between discrepancy and behavior.

These suggestions are by no means an exhaustive list of possible questions and research goals, but it is clear there are many areas and questions that could help researchers better understand the complex nature of identities.

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APPENDIX

Table 3: Zero-Order Correlations for the Parents

	Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discepnecy (SQ)	Sig. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	Cognition	Role Choice	Satisfaction	Happiness	Pride	Sadness	Shame	Embarassed
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	1											
Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	-.123*	1										
Gen. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	-.140*	.655**	1									
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	-.459**	.007	-.006	1								
Cognition	.107*	-.280**	-.279**	.018	1							
Role Choice	-.068	-.020	-.003	.056	.272**	1						
Satisfaction	-.067	.230**	-.009	.072	.240**	.374**	1					
Happiness	-.053	-.159**	-.246**	.049	.136**	.189**	.240**	1				
Pride	.013	-.168**	-.162**	.046	.237**	.152**	.100*	.354**	1			
Sadness	.110*	-.021	.108	-.007	.120**	-.045	-.162**	-.476**	-.031	1		
Shame	.184**	-.051	.090	-.029	.158**	-.034	-.184**	-.158**	.103*	.637**	1	
Embarassment	.203**	-.075	.090	-.046	.190**	-.063	-.200**	-.132**	.232**	.613**	.770**	1
Mean	-.24	.58	2.0	.80	6.5	6.3	6.6	5.4	4.4	2.4	1.3	1.4
S.D.	.86	1.3	5.9	1.8	2.6	1.3	.97	1.7	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0
N	471	318	318	471	470	459	466	466	453	464	464	461

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5: Zero-Order Correlations for the Temporary Childless Individuals

	Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	Sig. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	Cognition	Role Choice	Satisfaction	Happiness	Pride	Sadness	Shame	Embarassed
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	1											
Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	.191	1										
Gen. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	-.181	-.383**	1									
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	-.744**	-.173	.176	1								
Cognition	.276**	-.170	-.075	-.116	1							
Role Choice	.040	.186	-.269*	-.158	-.124	1						
Satisfaction	-.039	.365**	-.288**	-.031	-.244**	.565**	1					
Happiness	.019	.232*	-.083	-.046	.022	.107	.076	1				
Pride	.055	.060	.045	.025	.293**	.064	.058	.517**	1			
Sadness	.093	-.027	.038	.025	.266**	-.013	.137	-.271**	.149	1		
Shame	.213*	-.018	-.172	-.059	.376**	-.127	.115	-.097	.138	.710**	1	
Embarassment	.099	-.097	-.071	.094	.463**	-.009	.039	-.047	.337**	.579**	.779**	1
Mean	-.68	-.13	4.1	1.9	3.8	5.8	5.2	4.9	4.0	3.4	2.4	2.6
S.D.	1.2	2.0	9.1	3.0	3.0	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.3
N	118	87	87	118	118	116	116	116	113	117	117	116

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6: Zero-Order Correlations for the Temporary Childless Individuals

	Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	Gen. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	Sig. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	Cognition	Role Choice	Satisfaction	Happiness	Pride	Sadness	Shame	Embarassed
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	1											
Gen. Other Discrepancy (L)	.191	1										
Gen. Other Discrepancy (SQ)	-.181	-.383**	1									
Sig. Other Discrepancy (L)	-.744**	-.173	.176	1								
Cognition	.276**	-.170	-.075	-.116	1							
Role Choice	.040	.186	-.269*	-.158	-.124	1						
Satisfaction	-.039	.365**	-.288**	-.031	-.244**	.565**	1					
Happiness	.019	.232*	-.083	-.046	.022	.107	.076	1				
Pride	.055	.060	.045	.025	.293**	.064	.058	.517**	1			
Sadness	.093	-.027	.038	.025	.266**	-.013	.137	-.271**	.149	1		
Shame	.213*	-.018	-.172	-.059	.376**	-.127	.115	-.097	.138	.710**	1	
Embarassment	.099	-.097	-.071	.094	.463**	-.009	.039	-.047	.337**	.579**	.779**	1
Mean	-.68	-.13	4.1	1.9	3.8	5.8	5.2	4.9	4.0	3.4	2.4	2.6
S.D.	1.2	2.0	9.1	3.0	3.0	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.3
N	118	87	87	118	118	116	116	116	113	117	117	116

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7: Happiness Model with Unstandardized Estimates and Standard Errors

Model with Happy as Emotional Outcome																																				
	Sex			Age			Education			Marital Status			Income			Choice			Satisfied			Sig. Other (SQ)			Sig. Other (L)			Gen. Other (SQ)			Gen. Other (L)			Cognition		
	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC
Choice	.19	.64 ^b	-.34	.00	-.06 ^b	-.01	.07	.18	.28	.31 ^b	-.37	-.51	.00	.08	.01																					
	.13	.31	.30	.00	.02	.01	.07	.17	.16	.13	.38	.34	.03	.07	.07																					
Satisfied	.20 ^b	.75 ^b	.16	.00	-.12 ^a	-.01	-.09	.08	.14	.17	-.49	-.43	.04	.21 ^b	.00																					
	.09	.31	.24	.00	.02	.01	.05	.17	.12	.1	.38	.27	.02	.08	.06																					
Sig. Other (L)	.01	-.40	.44	.02 ^a	.06 ^a	-.02	.03	.33	.29	.26	.79	-.10	-.09 ^b	-.24 ^b	-.11	-.20 ^a	-.02	.12	.48 ^a	.48 ^a	.48 ^a															
	.14	.40	.34	.00	.03	.01	.08	.21	.18	.15	.48	.39	.04	.09	.08	.05	.12	.09	.06	.06	.06															
Sig. Other (SQ)	.85	-.74	4.4 ^b	.05 ^b	-.05	-.04	-.16	.22	.03	1.2	-3.9	3.0	-.36 ^b	.41	.04	-.20	-1.0	.53	.08	-.68	-1.3															
	.67	1.9	2.1	.02	.14	.08	.37	1.1	1.1	.70	2.3	2.4	.17	.48	.50	.26	.66	.60	.33	.64	.77															
Gen. Other (L)	-.34 ^a	-.28	-.87 ^a	-.01 ^a	-.01	.01 ^b	.01	.01	-.10	.02	.12	.26	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.03	.03	.02	-.02	.02	-.05															
	.08	.23	.17	.00	.02	.01	.04	.12	.09	.08	.27	.2	.02	.06	.04	.03	.08	.05	.04	.08	.06															
Gen. Other (SQ)	.41 ^b	.58	2.4 ^a	.00	.03	-.06	-.02	.12	.73 ^b	.06	.37	-.90	.01	.03	.08	.04	-.21	-.18	.10	-.09	-.02															
	.17	.57	.60	.01	.04	.02	.10	.31	.31	.18	.68	.69	.04	.14	.14	.07	.20	.17	.09	.19	.22															
Cognition	.46 ^b	-.83	-.66	-.05 ^a	.00	-.07 ^a	.03	-.28	.06	-.21	1.1	1.1 ^b	-.03	.11	-.08	.37 ^a	-.03	.03	.67 ^a	-.16	-.63 ^a	-.05 ^b	-.06	-.02	-.41 ^a	-.41 ^a	-.20	.04	.16	-.05	.29 ^b	1.0 ^a	-.31			
	.22	.53	.38	.01	.04	.01	.12	.28	.19	.22	.64	.40	.05	.13	.08	.09	.18	.10	.12	.18	.14	.02	.03	.02	.10	.10	.12	.06	.13	.06	.13	.32	.21			
Happy	-.10	-.59	.08	.01	.03	.01	-.02	-.51 ^b	-.03	.24	.37	.45	.10 ^a	.09	.08	.09	.18	.07	.35 ^a	.18	.35 ^a	-.02	.01	-.02	-.15	.24 ^b	-.05	.01	-.03	.09	-.10	-.06	.25	.03	.03	.09
	.16	.39	.32	.01	.03	.01	.09	.21	.15	.16	.48	.34	.04	.10	.07	.06	.13	.08	.08	.13	.08	.01	.03	.01	.08	.12	.10	.05	.10	.05	.10	.24	.17	.03	.07	.06

*If numbers in the table are bolded, they are constrained to be equal.

^a $p < .001$, ^b $p < .05$

Parent $n = 471$, Temporary Childless = 118, Voluntary Childless = 199

Table 8: Pride Model with Unstandardized Estimates and Standard Errors

Model with Pride as Emotional Outcome																																				
	Sex			Age			Education			Marital Status			Income			Choice			Satisfied			Sig. Other (SQ)			Sig. Other (L)			Gen. Other (SQ)			Gen. Other (L)			Cognition		
	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC			
Choice	.19	.64 ^b	-.34	.00	-.06 ^b	-.01	.07	.18	.27	.31 ^b	-.37	-.50	.00	.08	.01																					
	.13	.31	.30	.00	.02	.01	.07	.17	.16	.13	.38	.34	.03	.07	.07																					
Satisfied	.20 ^b	.76 ^b	.17	.00	-.12 ^a	-.01	-.09	.08	.14	.17	-.50	-.44	.04	.21 ^b	.00																					
	.09	.31	.24	.00	.02	.01	.05	.17	.12	.1	.38	.27	.02	.08	.06																					
Sig. Other (L)	.01	-.42	.41	.02 ^a	.07	-.02	.03	.32	.29	.27	.78	-.15	-.09 ^b	-.26 ^b	-.12	-.20 ^a	.00	.11	.47 ^a	.47 ^a	.47 ^a															
	.14	.40	.34	.00	.03	.01	.08	.21	.18	.15	.47	.39	.04	.09	.08	.05	.12	.09	.06	.06	.06															
Sig. Other (SQ)	.86	-.58	4.5 ^b	.06 ^b	-.06	-.04	-.19	.21	.00	1.2	-4.0	3.2	-.35 ^b	.45	.08	-.19	-1.1	.51	.08	-.60	-1.3															
	.67	1.9	2.1	.02	.14	.08	.37	1.1	1.1	.71	2.3	2.4	.17	.47	.50	.26	.66	.60	.33	.63	.77															
Gen. Other (L)	-.34	-.28	-.87 ^a	-.01 ^a	-.01	.01 ^b	.01	.01	-.10	.02	.12	.26	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.03	.03	.01	-.02	.02	-.04															
	.08	.23	.17	.00	.02	.01	.04	.12	.09	.08	.27	.2	.02	.06	.04	.03	.08	.05	.04	.08	.06															
Gen. Other (SQ)	.41 ^b	.59	2.4 ^a	.00	.03	-.06 ^b	-.02	.12	.73 ^b	.06	.37	-.91	.01	.03	.08	.04	-.21	-.18	.10	-.09	-.03															
	.17	.57	.60	.01	.04	.02	.10	.31	.31	.18	.68	.69	.04	.14	.14	.07	.20	.17	.09	.19	.22															
Cognition	.47 ^b	-.83	-.64	-.05 ^a	.01	-.07 ^a	.03	-.28	.07	-.21	1.1	1.1 ^b	-.03	.10	-.08	.37 ^a	-.02	.03	.67 ^a	-.15	-.62 ^a	-.05 ^b	-.05	-.02	-.42 ^a	-.42 ^a	-.22	.04	.16	-.05	.29 ^b	1.0 ^a	-.30			
	.22	.53	.38	.01	.04	.01	.12	.28	.19	.22	.65	.40	.05	.13	.08	.09	.18	.10	.12	.18	.14	.02	.03	.02	.10	.10	.12	.06	.13	.06	.13	.32	.21			
Pride	-.26	-.42	-.43	-.01	.04	.03 ^b	.03	-.63 ^b	.08	-.13	.06	.22	.01	.08	.01	.13	.19	.11	.09	.13	.34 ^b	-.02	.03	.01	-.08	.10	-.27 ^b	.05	.11	.03	-.03	.21	.19	.18 ^a	.18 ^a	.18 ^a
	.21	.43	.37	.01	.03	.01	.12	.23	.18	.22	.53	.40	.05	.11	.08	.08	.15	.10	.13	.16	.14	.03	.03	.02	.13	.14	.11	.06	.10	.06	.13	.26	.20	.03	.03	.03

*If numbers in the table are bolded, they are constrained to be equal.

^a p < .001, ^b p < .05

Parent n = 471, Temporary Childless = 118, Voluntary Childless = 199

Table 9: Sadness Model with Unstandardized Estimates and Standard Errors

Model with Sad as Emotional Outcome																																				
	Sex			Age			Education			Marital Status			Income			Choice			Satisfied			Sig. Other (SQ)			Sig. Other (L)			Gen. Other (SQ)			Gen. Other (L)			Cognition		
	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC			
Choice	.2	.65 ^b	-.34	.00	-.06 ^b	-.01	.07	.18	.27	.31 ^b	-.37	-.50	.00	.08	.01																					
	.09	.31	.30	.00	.02	.01	.07	.17	.16	.13	.38	.34	.03	.07	.07																					
Satisfied	.19 ^b	.75 ^b	.17	.00	-.12 ^a	-.01	-.09	.08	.14	.17	-.50	-.43	.04	.21 ^b	.00																					
	.13	.31	.24	.00	.02	.01	.05	.17	.12	.1	.38	.27	.02	.08	.06																					
Sig. Other (L)	.00	-.46	.41	.02 ^a	.07 ^a	-.02	.02	.32	.29	.28	.78	-.10	-.09 ^b	-.26 ^b	-.10	-.20 ^a	.00	.11	.48 ^a	.48 ^a	.48 ^a															
	.14	.40	.34	.00	.03	.01	.08	.22	.18	.15	.48	.39	.04	.09	.08	.05	.12	.09	.06	.06	.06															
Sig. Other (SQ)	.83	-.50	4.7 ^b	.06 ^b	-.06	-.04	-.24	.19	.00	1.3	-4.0	3.1	-.33 ^b	.44	-.01	-.19	-1.0	.53	.11	-.70	-1.3															
	.67	1.9	2.1	.02	.14	.08	.37	1.0	1.1	.70	2.3	2.4	.17	.48	.50	.26	.66	.60	.33	.63	.77															
Gen. Other (L)	-.34 ^a	-.28	-.87 ^a	-.01 ^a	-.01	.01 ^b	.01	.01	-.10	.02	.12	0.26	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.03	.03	.01	-.02	.02	-.04															
	.08	.23	.17	.00	.02	.01	.04	.12	.09	.08	.27	0.2	.02	.06	.04	.03	.08	.05	.04	.08	.06															
Gen. Other (SQ)	.41 ^b	.58	2.4 ^a	.00	.03	-.06 ^b	-.02	.12	.73 ^b	.06	.37	-.90	.01	.03	.08	.04	-.21	-.17	.09	-.09	-.03															
	.17	.57	.60	.01	.04	.02	.10	.31	.31	.18	.68	.69	.04	.14	.14	.07	.20	.17	.09	.19	.22															
Cognition	.47 ^b	-.85	-.64	-.05 ^a	.01	-.07 ^a	.02	-.28	.06	-.19	1.1	1.1 ^b	-.02	.10	-.08	.37 ^a	-.02	.03	.67 ^a	-.15	-.63 ^a	-.05	-.06	-.02	-.43 ^a	-.43 ^a	-.19	.04	.16	-.05	.28 ^b	1.0 ^a	-.30			
	.21	.53	.38	.01	.04	.01	.12	.28	.19	.22	.64	.40	.05	.13	.08	.09	.18	.10	.12	.18	.14	.02	.03	.02	.10	.10	.12	.06	.13	.06	.13	.32	.21			
Sad	.06	.04	-.01	-.04 ^a	-.02	-.03 ^b	.15	-.31	.01	-.37	.10	-.21	-.08	-.03	-.13 ^b	.02	-.12	.04	-.38 ^b	.33	-.12	.07 ^b	.02	.01	.02	-.08	-.12	.06	.14	-.01	.24	.37	.08	.13 ^a	.13 ^a	.26 ^a
	.20	.45	.31	.01	.03	.01	.11	.24	.15	.21	.55	.33	.05	.12	.07	.08	.15	.08	.12	.16	.12	.03	.03	.02	.13	.14	.10	.06	.11	.05	.13	.27	.17	.04	.04	.06

*If numbers in the table are bolded, they are constrained to be equal.

^a p< .001, ^b p<.05

Parent n= 471, Temporary Childless= 118, Voluntary Childless= 199

Table 10: Shame Model with Unstandardized Estimates and Standard Errors

Model with Shame as Emotional Outcome																																				
	Sex			Age			Education			Marital Status			Income			Choice			Satisfied			Sig. Other (SQ)			Sig. Other (L)			Gen. Other (SQ)			Gen. Other (L)			Cognition		
	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC			
Choice	.19	.65 ^b	-.33	.01	-.06 ^b	-.01	.07	.19	.27	.31 ^b	-.37	-.50	.00	.08	.01																					
	.13	.31	.3	.00	.02	.01	.07	.17	.16	.13	.38	.34	.03	.07	.07																					
Satisfied	.2 ^b	.75 ^b	.17	.01	-.12 ^a	-.01	-.09	.08	.14	.17	-.50	-.43	.04	.21 ^b	.00																					
	.09	.31	.24	.00	.02	.01	.05	.17	.12	.10	.38	.27	.02	.08	.06																					
Sig. Other (L)	.00	-.43	.44	.02 ^a	.07 ^b	-.20	.01	.32	.29	.29	.78	-.09	-.09 ^b	-.25 ^b	-.11	-.20 ^a	.00	.11	.49 ^a	.49 ^a	.49 ^a															
	.14	.40	.34	.01	.03	.01	.08	.22	.18	.15	.48	.39	.04	.09	.08	.06	.12	.09	.06	.06	.06															
Sig. Other (SQ)	.78	-.99	4.4 ^b	.06 ^b	-.04	-.04	-.29	.19	.03	1.4	-3.7	3.0	-.33 ^b	.39	.1	-.19	-1.0	.51	.17	-.68	-1.3															
	.66	1.9	2.1	.02	.14	.08	.37	1.1	1.1	.7	2.3	2.4	.17	.47	.50	.26	.67	.60	.33	.63	.77															
Gen. Other (L)	-.34 ^a	-.28	-.87 ^a	-.01 ^a	-.01	-.01 ^b	.01	.01	-.10	.02	.12	.26	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.03	.03	.01	-.02	.01	-.04															
	.08	.23	.17	.00	.02	.01	.05	.12	.09	.09	.28	.2	.02	.06	.04	.03	.08	.05	.04	.08	.06															
Gen. Other (SQ)	.41 ^b	.58	2.4 ^a	.00	.03	-.06 ^b	-.02	.13	.73 ^b	.06	.38	-.90	.01	.02	.08	.04	-.21	-.17	.10	-.09	-.03															
	.17	.57	.60	.01	.04	.02	.10	.31	.31	.18	.68	.69	.04	.14	.14	.07	.20	.17	.09	.19	.22															
Cognition	.46 ^b	-.87	-.64	-.05 ^a	.01	-.07 ^a	.02	-.28	.06	-.18	1.1	1.1 ^b	-.03	.10	-.08	.37 ^a	-.02	.03	.68 ^a	-.16	-.63 ^a	-.05 ^b	-.06	-.02	-.42 ^a	-.42 ^a	-.20	.04	.17	-.04	.28 ^b	1.0 ^a	-.29			
	.22	.53	.38	.01	.04	.01	.12	.28	.19	.22	.64	.41	.05	.13	.08	.09	.18	.10	.12	.18	.14	.02	.03	.02	.10	.10	.12	.06	.13	.06	.13	.32	.21			
Shame	-.47 ^b	-.35	-.03	-.03 ^a	-.03	-.02 ^b	.16	-.30	.06	-.24	-.38	-.13	.02	.08	.00	.03	-.39	.03	-.45 ^a	.39 ^b	.00	.07 ^b	-.05	-.01	.02	-.14	.00	.08	.15 ^b	-.02	.35 ^b	.60	.13	.17 ^a	.17 ^a	.30 ^a
	.19	.43	.25	.01	.03	.01	.1	.23	.12	.2	.52	.27	.05	.11	.06	.08	.15	.07	.12	.15	.1	.02	.03	.01	.12	.14	.08	.05	.10	.04	.12	.26	.14	.04	.04	.05

*If numbers in the table are bolded, they are constrained to be equal.

^a p< .001, ^b p<.05

Parent n= 471, Temporary Childless= 118, Voluntary Childless= 199

Table 11: Embarrassment Model with Unstandardized Estimates and Standard Errors

Model with Embarrassed as Emotional Outcome																																				
	Sex			Age			Education			Marital Status			Income			Choice			Satisfied			Sig. Other (SQ)			Sig. Other (L)			Gen. Other (SQ)			Gen. Other (L)			Cognition		
	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC	P	TC	VC			
Choice	.19	.64 ^b	-.33	.01	-.06 ^b	-.01	.07	.19	.27	.31 ^b	-.37	-.50	.00	.08	.01																					
	.13	.31	.3	.00	.02	.01	.07	.17	.16	.13	.38	.34	.03	.07	.07																					
Satisfied	.2 ^b	.75 ^b	.17	.01	-.12 ^a	-.01	-.09	.08	.14	.17	-.50	-.43	.04	.21 ^b	.00																					
	.09	.32	.24	.00	.02	.01	.05	.17	.12	.10	.38	.27	.02	.08	.06																					
Sig. Other (L)	.00	-.42	.42	.2 ^a	.07 ^b	-.20	.02	.32	.29	.29 ^b	.77	-.13	-.09 ^b	-.25 ^b	-.10	-.20 ^a	.00	.11	.47 ^a	.47 ^a	.47 ^a															
	.14	.40	.34	.01	.03	.01	.08	.22	.18	.15	.48	.39	.04	.09	.08	.06	.12	.08	.06	.06	.06															
Sig. Other (SQ)	.79	-.93	4.6 ^b	.06 ^b	-.05	-.04	-.22	.24	.01	1.4 ^b	-3.9	3.4	-.33 ^b	.38	-.02	-.21	-1.0	.46	.15	-.70	-1.0															
	.66	2.0	2.1	.02	.14	.08	.37	1.1	1.1	.7	2.3	2.4	.17	.48	.49	.26	.67	.60	.32	.64	.77															
Gen. Other (L)	-.34 ^a	-.27	-.87 ^a	-.01 ^a	-.01	.01 ^b	.01	.01	-.10	.02	.12	.26	-.01	-.09	-.01	-.03	.03	.01	-.02	.02	-.04															
	.08	.23	.17	.00	.02	.01	.05	.12	.09	.09	.28	.2	.02	.06	.04	.03	.08	.05	.04	.08	.06															
Gen. Other (SQ)	.41 ^b	.57	2.4 ^a	.00	.03	-.06 ^b	-.02	.13	.73 ^b	.06	.38	-.91	.01	.02	.08	.04	-.21	-.17	.10	-.09	-.03															
	.17	.57	.60	.01	.04	.02	.10	.31	.31	.18	.68	.69	.04	.14	.14	.07	.20	.17	.09	.19	.22															
Cognition	.46 ^a	-.86	-.63	-.05 ^a	.01	-.07 ^a	.03	-.28	.05	-.19	1.1	1.1 ^b	-.03	.10	-.08	.37 ^a	-.03	.03	.69 ^a	-.16	-.65 ^a	-.05 ^b	-.06	-.02	-.43 ^a	-.43 ^a	-.18	.04	.17	-.05	.28 ^b	1.0 ^a	-.30			
	.22	.53	.38	.01	.04	.01	.12	.28	.19	.22	.64	.41	.05	.13	.01	.09	.18	.10	.12	.18	.14	.02	.03	.02	.10	.10	.12	.06	.13	.06	.13	.32	.21			
Embarrassed	-.16	.04	-.22	-.04 ^a	-.03	-.02 ^b	.11	-.18	.01	-.23	-.45	-.05	.02	.14	-.07	.01	-.01	-.01	-.43 ^a	.12	.11	.07 ^b	-.02	.03 ^b	-.04	-.05	-.19 ^b	.06	.24 ^b	.05	.39 ^a	.43	.20	.14 ^a	.34 ^a	.34 ^a
	.18	.4	.25	.01	.03	.01	.1	.22	.12	.19	.49	.27	.05	.10	.06	.07	.14	.07	.11	.15	.1	.02	.03	.01	.11	.13	.07	.05	.10	.04	.11	.24	.14	.04	.04	.04

*If numbers in the table are bolded, they are constrained to be equal.

^a p < .001, ^b p < .05

Parent n = 471, Temporary Childless = 118, Voluntary Childless = 199

Table 12: Results of Sobel test for mediation effect through cognition						
	Parents		Temporary Childless		Voluntary Childless	
	z-score	p-value	z-score	p-value	z-score	p-value
Sig. Other (SQ) to Sadness	-1.77	.077	-1.61	.11	-1.12	.26
Sig. Other (L) to Sadness	-2.57	.01	-2.5	.011	-1.56	.12
Gen. Other (SQ) to Sadness	0.65	.51	1.2	.023	-.77	.44
Gen. Other (L) to Sadness	1.79	.074	2.3	.022	-1.4	.16
Sig. Other (SQ) to Shame	-1.95	.05	-3.06	.002	-0.99	.32
Sig. Other (L) to shame	-3.06	.002	-1.64	.1	-1.69	.09
Gen. Other (SQ) to Shame	0.65	.51	1.26	.21	-0.73	.47
Gen. Other (L) to Shame	1.91	.06	2.67	.008	-1.39	.16
Sig. Other (SQ) to Embarrass	-1.8	.07	-1.75	.08	-1.3	.19
Sig. Other (L) to Embarrass	-2.64	.008	-3.71	.000	-1.5	.13
Gen. Other (SQ) to Embarrass	0.63	.53	1.3	.19	-0.78	.43
Gen. Other (L) to Embarrass	1.78	.07	3.07	.002	-1.44	.15

Table 12 Continued: Results of Sobel test for mediation effect through cognition						
	Parents		Temporary Childless		Voluntary Childless	
	z-score	p-value	z-score	p-value	z-score	p-value
Sig. Other (SQ) to Happiness	-0.87	.38	-0.41	.68	-.91	.36
Sig. Other (L) to Happiness	-0.94	.34	-0.42	.68	-1.18	.24
Gen. Other (SQ) to Happiness	0.55	.58	0.4	.69	-.70	.48
Gen. Other (L) to Happiness	0.89	.37	0.42	.68	-1.11	.27
Sig. Other (SQ) to Pride	-1.94	.05	-1.44	.15	-1.03	.30
Sig. Other (L) to Pride	-3.21	.001	-3.21	.001	-1.78	.07
Gen. Other (SQ) to Pride	0.61	.54	1.25	.21	-0.76	.44
Gen. Other (L) to Pride	1.98	.05	2.79	.005	-1.41	.16