

**Reports of Fertility Preferences:  
Assessing the Effects of Priming with Social Contexts**

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**ABSTRACT**

Empirical studies of fertility preferences have shown that the relationship between preferences and fertility behavior is far from straightforward at the individual level, although preferences are often stable predictors of fertility at the population level. One possible explanation lies in the influence of situational factors on individuals' evaluations of their own preferences. This study explores this mechanism by examining how variation in reported fertility preferences results from different social context primes. Using an experimental survey design, we determine whether reports of fertility preferences differ when respondents are prompted to think of different social contexts or roles before reporting their fertility preferences. In addition to the goal of improving the measurement of fertility preferences, this research contributes to a larger research agenda to test theories of culture and cognition as a means to better understand basic demographic behaviors.

## **Introduction**

Fertility preferences and ideals are a key variable for demographic research. Yet many studies have highlighted the fact that the relationship between attitudes, ideals, expectations, and behavior is far from straightforward (*e.g.*, Agadjanian 2006; Quesnel-Vallee and Morgan 2003; Barber 2001). Fertility is one among many realms in which researchers have had limited success in specifying the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Demographers have long questioned the reliability and validity of data on fertility preferences collected using conventional survey instruments (*e.g.*, Demeny 1988). Researchers know that responses are affected by factors including survey design (*e.g.*, question wording, question order) and the social context in which the survey is administered (*e.g.*, the presence of others, administration at home vs. school). At the same time, conventional survey instruments have been used in the past (and will probably continue to be used in the future) in massive data collection efforts that provide demographers with a major source of information on demographic phenomena. Simply abandoning conventional survey data is not a productive approach for demographic researchers.

This study presents one approach to using traditional survey instruments in innovative way. We use an experimental web survey design to examine variation in reported fertility preferences, depending on the social context that respondents are primed to think of while reporting fertility preferences. This approach allows us to learn more about how people understand the questions they answer in surveys, and thus to better understand what their responses mean. By examining how responses change as a result of changes in context, we gain more information about what is being measured by existing survey items related to attitudes, desires, and goals. This empirical study of variation in reported preferences is also part of a broader program to collect data that reflects the insight that cultural tools—including values, norms, narratives, and scripts—are not stable traits of individuals, but are constructed, learned and used by individuals in ways specific to the social contexts they find themselves in.

This study uses experimental survey design to examine the amount and type of variation in response to questions about desired fertility, based on exposure to different social context primes. It examines which social context prompts lead to variation across several variables related to desired fertility, and examines for whom the social context prompts have the biggest

effects. In this paper, we discuss findings from three of these social context prompts: career aspirations, financial limitations, and political beliefs.

### **Theoretical Background**

This project heeds a recent programmatic call for demographic research to incorporate new models of behavior, informed by advances in other social sciences (Johnson-Hanks, Bachrach, Morgan and Kohler 2011; Thornton et al. 2012; Morgan and Bachrach 2012). This approach is leading to new attempts to incorporate more developed models of culture in demographic research to supplement the commonly used “values and norms” approach to culture. One important contribution of this work is highlighting the need for demographers to pay attention to meaning. Meaning is a key mechanism by which culture can affect individual behavior: individuals learn how to read a situation (what it means) and what their options are for action from cultural models and scripts. Recent studies along these lines have shown how demographic behaviors come to have certain meanings, how their meanings can be different to different people, and how their meanings can change depending on the context (e.g., Frye 2012; Johnson-Hanks 2007).

Another important contribution of this approach to demographic research is its emphasis on advances in knowledge about cognitive processes, including the ways that human thought and behavior are shaped by social contexts. Research in social and cognitive psychology has moved away from models of behavior as mainly or exclusively the result of deliberative decisions, toward models that stress the contingency of judgments and attitudes. Reports of mental associations (e.g., attitudes and beliefs) are now believed to be highly context-specific, and to sometimes result from automatic mental processes that largely avoid both formal reasoning and explicit intentions (Schwarz and Strack 1999). The new theoretical direction in demographic research supported by Johnson-Hanks, Thornton, and colleagues draws on these insights, and calls for new empirical research into how social contexts shape thinking and behavior related to fertility and family formation.

A central question raised by these developments is how chronic or context-independent desired fertility is. Are fertility preferences deep-seated, cultivated across years of experience and exposure to cultural models, or are they constructed “on the fly” in the context in which the question is asked? Drawing from the insights of the survey effects literature can shed light on

how individuals think about their desired fertility, which may then have consequences for their subsequent fertility-related decisions.

The malleability of responses to question context presents an opportunity to examine the factors that individuals weight most heavily in determining their desired fertility. If individuals are primed to think about their own family, about religious messages encouraging larger families, or about the economic costs of having children before they report their desired family size, will their responses to the question vary from similar respondents for whom those images or messages are not made salient? This also touches on a question of interest to scholars of culture across disciplines: how do individuals use socially shared representations of child-bearing in making their own decisions about desired fertility? Among our “cultural toolkit” of representations and behaviors regarding fertility (Swidler 1986), under what conditions are some of these tools used? How do individuals assess the set of factors relevant to child-bearing, and how malleable are the weights of these factors? This study will begin to address these questions by examining which features of decision making around desired fertility, when made salient, have the greatest impact on reports of desired fertility.

### **Research Design**

One of the goals of this study is to learn more about how people’s thinking about family and fertility changes with social context. Our broader interest is in within-individual changes over time. Since survey data is so susceptible to immediate contextual influences, we hypothesize that recording respondents’ distributions of responses over time could be more informative for connecting thoughts and behavior. Despite the development of methods such as experience sampling and day reconstruction to follow respondents over time and across social contexts (Kahneman, Kruger, and Schwarz 2006), these methods are very expensive, and are not available to all researchers. This study uses a more accessible approach to study the effects of social context on respondents: random assignment of respondents to different conditions, and comparison of responses across groups. The premise of this experimental design is that random assignment ensures that with sufficiently large groups, respondents will differ systematically only in the experimental condition to which they were designed, and statistically significant differences in responses that appear across treatment groups can thus be attributed to the experimental treatment. In addition to aggregate comparisons across groups, our study also

examines differences in responses within groups, in order to examine how respondents' observed characteristics are related to their responses, and to differences in responses across treatment groups.

This study used an experimental web survey design, with each respondent randomly assigned to one of eleven different versions of the survey, which was completed online. The first survey module varied across conditions, and was designed so that respondents reflected on a certain social context or social role. The second module collected information on fertility-related preferences and views of childbearing and family formation. A third module collected demographic characteristics and attitudinal measures. The second and third modules were identical across all versions of the survey.

The first question to appear after the priming module was "How many children do you want to have?" This question on fertility preferences served as the main dependent variable for this study. Observing how responses to this item vary *across* versions of the survey allows us to see how thinking about the topic in the previous module affects reported fertility preferences in aggregate. Observing variation in responses *within* each version of the survey allows us to see how respondents can react differently to a single priming context. In particular, we test whether observed characteristics are associated with any differences in reported fertility preferences within a given condition. The conditions we will discuss on in this paper are those that focus the respondent's attention on careers, financial limitations, and politics.

This paper reports three of the conditions that were tested: career aspirations, financial limitations, and political beliefs. Young people's career aspirations and trajectories can affect family formation, since career goals can be "competing alternatives" to family priorities (Barber 2001). Conflict between professional and family responsibilities, particularly for women, have been highly visible in recent public discussions of "work-family balance," as women with families and high-powered careers contributing at times opposing views on the topic. Financial limitations can also have important implications for fertility: economic downturns have been linked to lower fertility (Sobotka *et al.* 2010). Links between liberal political beliefs and lower birthrates have been related at the population level to behaviors characteristic of Lesthaeghe's "second demographic transition," including later age at first birth and more women who remain childless (Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006).

## **Data, Measures, and Methods**

### *Sample, Response Rate, Selection and Attrition*

The population from which survey respondents were drawn is the undergraduate student body at Princeton University. This population was chosen partly because university students provide an unusually accessible and complete sampling frame for web surveys. In addition, nearly all of these students belong to a narrow age group, and most of them have not had children yet, which greatly simplifies the analysis, as fertility preferences often change over the life course to correspond to actual fertility (Morgan and Rackin 2010). Although this is a select population that is probably not representative of a broader population, a representative sample is not required to achieve the study's goals. We are not attempting to make population estimates for a population of interest, but to study processes that affect reported preferences. We expect that findings from a study drawing from a different population would be different in some respects and similar in others, and we are conducting versions of this survey at other universities in the U.S. and Turkey to see if this is the case. We hope to later be able to expand the study to a representative sample of a population that includes young people other than university students, as well.

An invitation to participate in the survey was sent to nearly the entire population of undergraduate students at Princeton University, a total of 4,884 students (students who had earlier completed a pretest of the survey were excluded). There were 1,194 students who responded to the survey, for a response rate of about 24%. We expect that the students represented in this study are not representative of the entire student body with respect to some characteristics, but we do not expect that they differ from non-respondents in ways that threaten the validity of our findings. This study is designed to examine differences in across experimental conditions to which respondents are randomly assigned. Since the main goal is to study variation resulting from experimental manipulation of contexts, low response rates would only threaten our findings if respondents react to the experimental conditions differently than non-respondents would have—if thought processes about family size somehow operated differently for respondents and non-respondents. We did attempt to minimize one type of selection into the study: selection on characteristics such as interest in family and children. The recruitment emails and introductory passage referred to the survey as a study of “life after college.” Most of the

selection into the study took place before respondents saw the first survey question, with only 193 respondents dropping out after they had viewed the first question of the survey.

Differential attrition across treatment conditions is the greatest threat to this research design, as it would introduce problems of selection despite random assignment to treatment conditions. Some proportions of survey respondents always drop out, and in web surveys most of this attrition occurs on the first few pages of the survey. In the three conditions of the study presented here, between 18 and 20 percent of respondents dropped out before completion, and between 12 and 14 percent of respondents dropped out during the priming module, so rates were similar across conditions. Although this does not rule out the possibility of some selection into conditions, it is the best available measure of differential attrition.

In addition to the Princeton sample, the survey was recently repeated at the University of Michigan with a much larger sample. The Michigan survey was sent to nearly 26,000 students and 5,458 responses were collected, for a response rate of about 21%. The results from this survey are not yet available, but the larger sample size will allow further exploration of variation within treatment conditions in the future.

### *Measures*

The priming questions asked in the first module of each condition are provided in the Appendix. In some cases, the replies to these questions can also be used as measures of respondents' characteristic, and they can be compared to respondents in other conditions on these dimensions. For example, the question on political beliefs that appears in the politics treatment condition also appears in the background characteristics module for respondents in other conditions.

The main dependent variable is the response to the question "How many children do you want to have?" Respondents could select a number from 0 to a top category of "5 or more." A variety of other measures of fertility preferences were also collected, although not all will be used in this analysis. A shortened version of the Coombs scale (Coombs 1974) was used: respondents were asked whether, if they could not have their first-choice family size, they would prefer one more or one less child. Respondents were also asked at what age they would like to have their first child (if any), how strongly they felt about their first-choice family size, how many children they thought most of their friends wanted to have, how many children they would

want given specific trade-offs between work and number of children, and whether they would sign a petition in support of family leave. Although not all of these measures of fertility preferences will be used in this analysis, they will allow future analyses to address questions about how respondents expect to adapt their preferences in response to constraints, and how social influence may affect reported preferences.

We also collected an innovative measure of the issues that respondents think are relevant to decisions of whether to have children and how many children to have. Respondents were asked to list at least five keywords that summarized factors they thought influenced these decisions, and were then asked to arrange their keywords into groups however they liked. Although this data will not be used extensively in this analysis, it will allow future exploration of what domains young people associate with family formation decisions, how contextual primes affect the domains that come to mind, and to what extent these associations vary with respondent characteristics.

Background characteristics collected include gender, age, race or ethnicity, number of siblings and their ages, parents' ages and educational attainment, US-born status (respondents' and parents'), number of cousins, mothers' work outside the home, religious denomination and religiousness, and political views.

### *Methods*

The main dependent variable of interest, desired family size, is compared across survey conditions, and t-tests are used to test the statistical significance of observed differences. For cases in which we expect that priming effects may differ by observed characteristics (e.g., by gender), separate analyses are conducted for different groups. In future analyses, we may also use regression on the dependent variable, controlling for observed characteristics known or expected to be correlated with desired family size, such as number of siblings and race/ethnicity. In this paper, however, the main analyses of interest are comparisons across experimental treatment conditions.

### **Results**

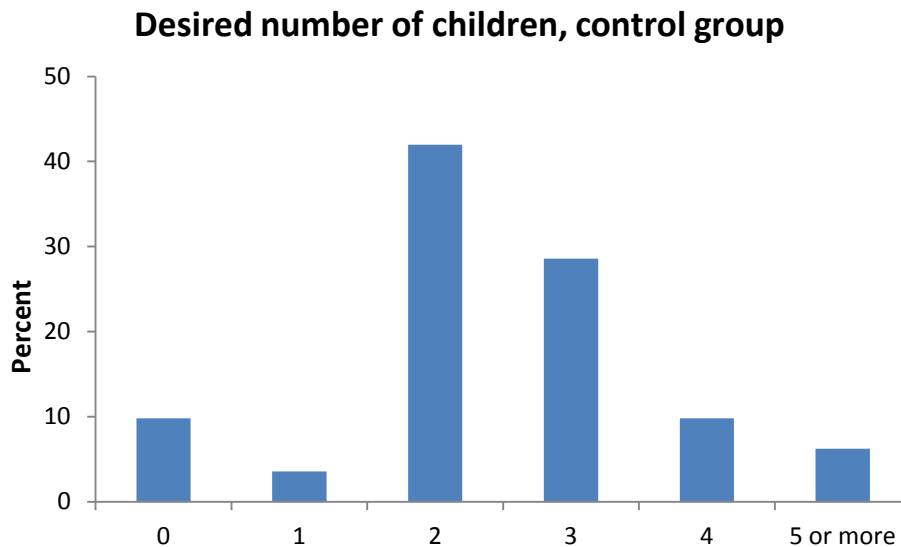
Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the respondents, pooled across all treatment conditions.



**Table 1**

	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>N</i>		<i>Proportion</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Gender</i>		1168	<i>Father's Education</i>		1145
Male	0.37		Less than 4-year college	0.14	
Female	0.63		4-year college	0.21	
<i>Race and Ethnicity</i>		1137	Higher degree	0.28	
White	0.53		Post-college degree	0.37	
Black or African-American	0.09		<i>Nativity status</i>		1053
Latino/a or Hispanic	0.08		US-born	0.82	
East Asian	0.23		Non-US-born	0.18	
South Asian	0.04		<i>Parents' nativity status</i>		1148
Other	0.3		All parents US-born	0.52	
<i>Mother's Education</i>		1148	At least 1 parent non-US-born	0.48	
Less than 4-year college	0.16		<i>Number of siblings</i>		1155
4-year college	0.32		0	0.12	
Higher degree	0.30		1	0.45	
Post-college degree	0.22		2	0.27	
			3	0.11	
			4 or more	0.05	

The distribution of the main dependent variable, desired number of children, is shown for the control group in Figure 1 (N=112).

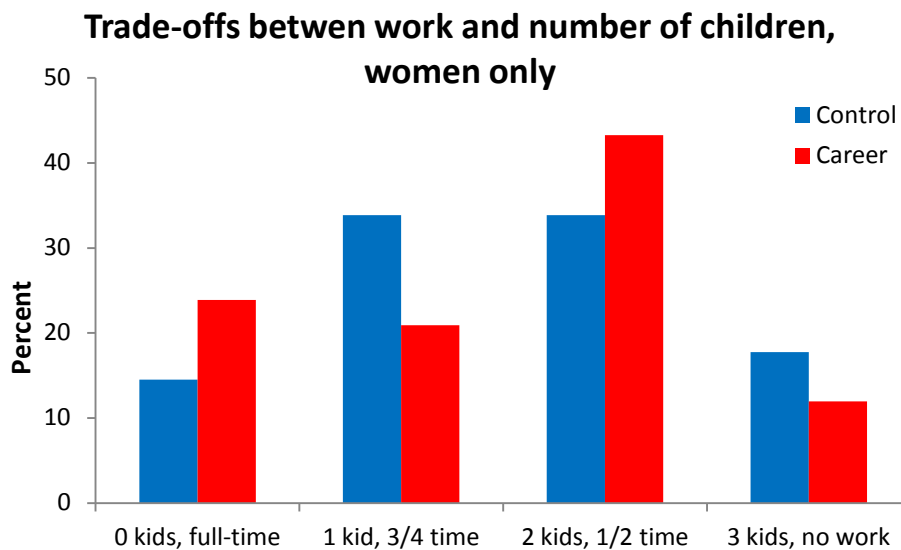
**Figure 1**

### 1. Career Condition

In the first module of the career condition, respondents were asked about their future careers, including what their “dream job” is and what makes this job a good fit for them. We hypothesized that participants in this condition would report lower desired fertility and an older age at which they would like to have their first child. The mean value of the response to the question “how many children do you want to have” was lower for this condition than for the control group (2.31 versus 2.44), although the difference was not statistically significant ( $p=0.21$ , one-tailed t-test). Comparing the career and control groups by gender shows that the magnitude of the difference in the mean is greater for female than male respondents (2.25 versus 2.44 for women, and 2.40 versus 2.51 for men), but neither of these differences is statistically significant. Sample size is quite small for the analysis by gender, however (85 men and 129 women), and we suspect that a larger sample would show statistically significant differences.

There was also no significant difference in the mean response to the question about trade-offs between work and number of children. There are some differences in the distribution of women’s preferences by condition (shown in Figure 2), but treating the choices as a 4-point scale, there is no significant difference in the means for men, women, or pooled genders. Although the comparison is speculative since sample size is so small, it seems that the career primes might have the interesting and unexpected effect of polarizing women’s choices when

**Figure 2**



their choices are constrained by tradeoffs between career and family size. Compared to the women in the control condition, women primed to think about their career aspirations are somewhat more likely to choose to have no children in order to have a full-time job and somewhat less likely to choose to have 3 children and no job—a rather unsurprising finding. However, they are also *more* likely than women in the control group to choose two children and a half-time job, and *less* likely to choose one child and a 3/4-time job. This surprising finding may simply be a result of small sample size, but if not, it may indicate a complex effect of career priming that deserves further investigation.

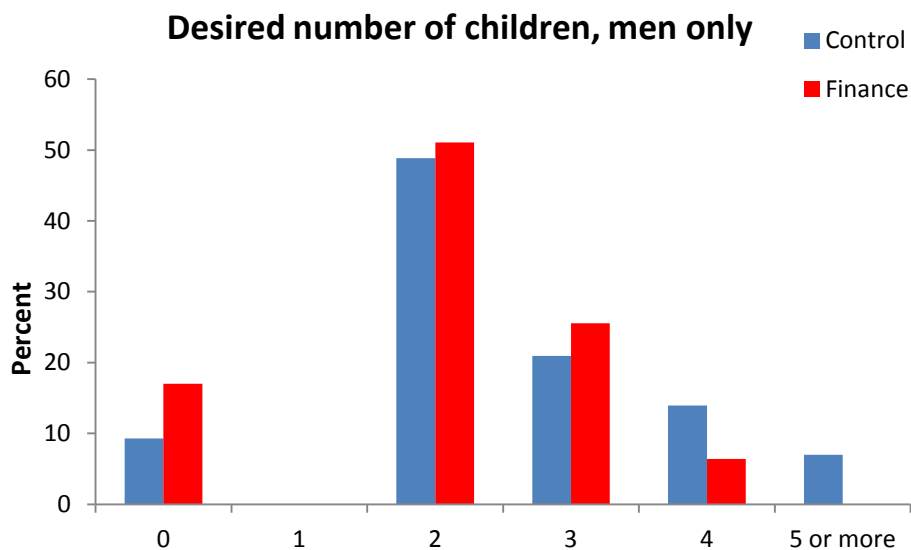
A significant difference between the control and career-treatment groups *can* be observed in mean desired age at first birth. Pooling both genders, mean desired age at first birth is later for participants in the career condition than for the control group (29.6 for career versus 29.0 years for control,  $p=0.06$ ), which is in line with our predictions. The effect becomes clearer when women and men are analyzed separately. There is no significant difference in mean desired age at first birth for men in the career and control conditions, but for women in the career condition, desired age at first birth is significantly later than for women in the control condition (30.0 years for career versus 28.5 years for control,  $p=0.001$ ), as expected. This difference is observed despite the narrow range of this variable for women: in both the control and career groups, about 60% of women's responses fall from ages 28 to 30. Comparing men and women's mean desired age at first birth by condition, in the control condition, men report a significantly greater mean desired age a first child (28.5 for women versus 29.7 for men,  $p=0.02$ ). However, this difference is reversed in the career condition, with women reporting a higher mean desired age at first child than do men, although the difference is only marginally significant (30.0 for women versus 29.2 for men,  $p=0.06$ ).

There are thus three main findings from this comparison. First, mean desired fertility does not change significantly in response to priming about career aspirations in this population. There is also no significant change in the mean response to a forced-choice measure that requires tradeoffs between number of children and work commitment. Second, mean desired age at first birth *does* change significantly in response to career primes, with a lower value for those in the career condition compared to the control group. Third, this priming effect on desired age at first birth is observed for women's, but not men's, responses in this population.

## 2. Financial limitations

The first module of the finance condition asked respondents about three topics: how much they usually spend on entertainment in a week, an item they had saved up for recently, and a time they were not able to buy something they wanted because it cost too much. For this condition, we hypothesized that thinking about financial limitations would decrease reported desired fertility. This is indeed what we found. The mean desired number of children was significantly lower for this group than for the control group: 2.12 versus 2.44 ( $p=0.02$ ). Separating the analysis by gender, we see significantly smaller desired fertility among men in the control condition, compared to men in the finance condition (2.51 in control versus 2.04 in finance,  $p=0.03$ ). For women, desired fertility decreased when they were primed to think about financial limitations, but the magnitude of the difference was not as great for women as for men, and the difference was not statistically significant (2.43 for control versus 2.21 for finance,  $p=0.15$ ). The distribution of desired number of children for men shows that the lower values for respondents in the finance condition reflect their being more likely to prefer no children, and less likely to prefer more than three children (Figure 3).

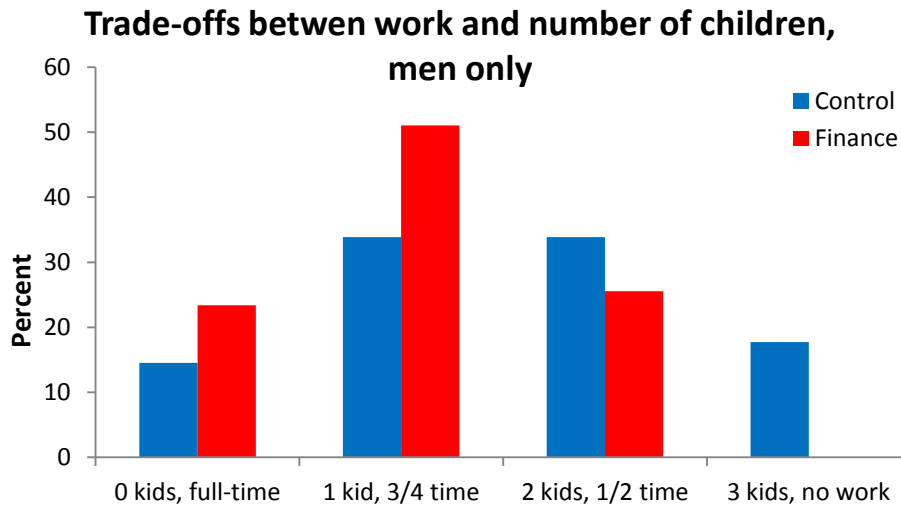
**Figure 3**



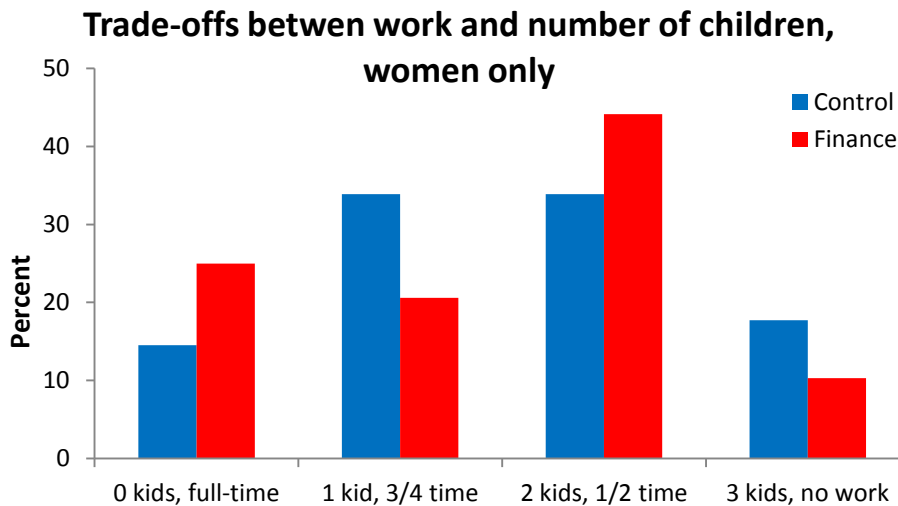
Comparison of the measure of preferences for trade-offs between work and family size shows that men's mean forced choice for number of children is lower for the finance condition than for the control group, and this difference is marginally significant ( $p=0.06$ ), while women's

mean choice is also lower, but the difference is not significant. The distributions of men’s choices in the two conditions show that thinking of financial uncertainty seems to push men toward greater career commitments and smaller family sizes (Figure 4). This pattern contrasts with to the distribution of women’s choices in the finance condition (Figure 5), which is strikingly similar to the distribution for women in the career condition (see Figure 2 above). Again, the women’s responses to the forced choice in the finance condition display a polarization that is not present in the control group; this pattern thus appears in two separate subsets of the population who were primed to think of issues that we expected to decrease desired fertility.

**Figure 4**



**Figure 5**



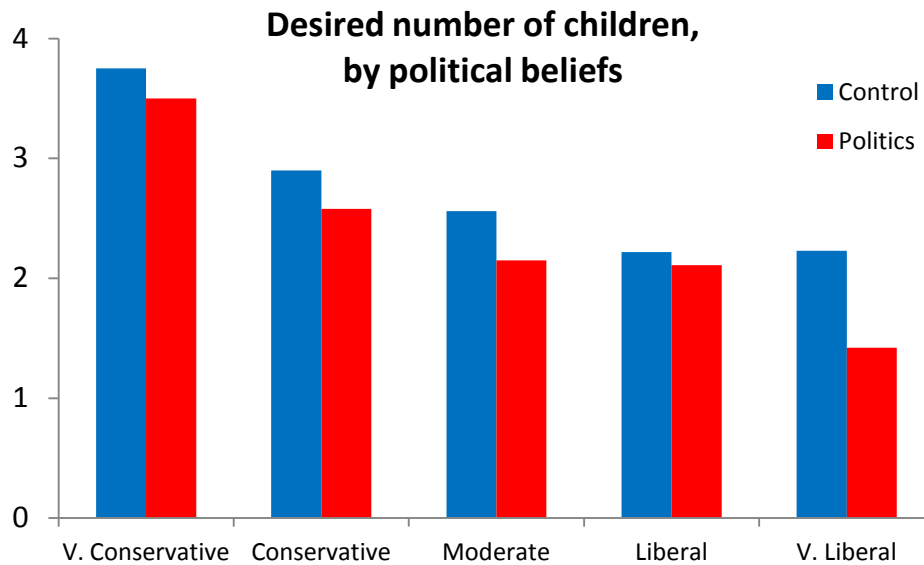
### 3. Politics

In the politics condition, respondents were asked to describe their political beliefs on a 5-item scale from “very conservative” to “very liberal,” with “moderate” as the midpoint. They were then asked about the importance of their political beliefs in their life, which political party was closest to their beliefs, and to describe a time they stood up for or acted on their political beliefs. Our hypotheses for this condition are based on an observed population-level association in the U.S. between conservative political beliefs and behaviors associated with higher fertility (e.g., lower age at first born) and between liberal attitudes and behaviors associated with lower fertility (Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006). We anticipated that in both groups, more politically conservative respondents would report higher desired fertility than their liberal counterparts. We further expected that for respondents in the politics condition, being prompted to think about their political beliefs prior to reporting fertility preferences would make this association stronger than in the control condition, resulting in a steeper politics-desired fertility gradient. Depending on the composition of the population being studied and the effect on the gradient, however, the net effect of the politics priming on fertility preferences could vary. A mostly liberal population would be more likely to show a net decline in desired family size, while a mostly conservative population would be more likely to show a net increase, although this would depend on the exact composition and the magnitude of the differences between the groups. The politics treatment condition thus demonstrates the difficulty of knowing the meaning of differences in means *across* treatment conditions without additional analyses of variation *within* conditions.

The mean number of children desired for participants in the politics condition is 2.12, significantly lower than the control-group mean of 2.44, a difference that is marginally significant using a two-tailed t-test ( $p=0.08$ ). If our hypothesis is correct, this is due to a combination of two factors: a stronger association between political beliefs and desired fertility in the politics condition, and a population with a larger proportion of liberals than conservatives. However, it is also possible that the observed decrease in reported desired fertility is caused by a more general effect: that thinking about politics lowers fertility. Examining the composition of the population and comparing the distribution of desired number of children by political beliefs in each condition will show which of these is the case.

In this population, liberals do outnumber conservatives: in both conditions combined, 31 respondents report being conservative or very conservative, while 109 report being liberal or very liberal. Figure 6 shows the mean number of desired children at each point on the political belief scale, for both the politics and control conditions.

**Figure 6**



Sample size is small, particularly at the conservative end of the spectrum. However, among those who identify themselves as very liberal, for whom the difference in mean children desired between the control and politics conditions is largest, the difference is marginally statistically significant ( $p=0.06$ ). Although the politics group means are slightly lower than the control group means at all other points on the spectrum, these differences are small in magnitude and not statistically significant. Although small sample size means that these results should be interpreted with caution, it is surprising that effects seem to occur at the liberal end of the spectrum but not the conservative end. Although it is not possible to do more than speculate, it is possible that family size is already salient to the identity of conservative respondents before politics are invoked, while family size only becomes salient to liberal respondents' identity when they think about politics. The similarity in desired family size for the liberal and very liberal respondents in the control group, in contrast to the greater desired family size among very

conservative vs. conservative respondents, suggests that this is a plausible explanation. With a larger sample size, we will be able to examine this possibility more fully.

## **Discussion**

In this paper, we demonstrate that reports of desired fertility are malleable in the context of situational primes. We explored the effect of three situational primes that are often considered relevant to decisions about desired fertility (career, financial limitations, and politics) and find that in the aggregate, each of these primes affects responses related to desired fertility. However, the primes affect different dependent variables differently. Their effects also differ by gender and political beliefs, as we learned from examining internal differences within conditions in how men and women, as well as politically conservative and politically liberal respondents, react to different primes.

When we explore differences by gender within each condition for the career and financial limitations conditions, we find that men's reports of desired number of children decrease more strongly than women's, on average, in response to thinking about financial limitations. In contrast, women's reported desired age at first birth decreases in response to thinking about career aspirations, while men's reported age at first birth does not change. Taken together, these results may indicate that both men and women may be concerned with establishing security before having children, but the specific areas they focus on the most may differ. We also found some evidence suggesting that women's desired family size becomes polarized in the career and finance conditions, when they are faced with competing priorities.

We find that the results for political beliefs are driven mainly by very liberal respondents, who report much lower levels of desired fertility upon reflecting on their political beliefs compared to very liberal respondents in the control condition.

The psychological literature on priming suggests that primes will affect responses, but not always in straightforward ways. For one thing, there is no true "control" group that is free not primed by the research instrument—the contexts of participating in research, giving informed consent, taking a survey, and (in this case) using a computer, will prime certain thoughts in respondents. In addition, respondents will be primed by many factors beyond the control of researchers. For example, with our web survey design, college students might take the survey in their dorm rooms, in the library, or another location. Each location could prime different



thoughts in respondents. Differences in priming beyond the control of the researchers can come from other sources, too: for example, a student who is struggling financially or academically may be thinking about that problem most of the time, so it might be on their mind during the survey, regardless of the primes introduced by the researchers. Ferguson et al. (2009) provide a systematic comparison of why participants might differ in their response to primes.

Aside from interference from other primes, interpretation of responses is complicated by the fact that the primes introduced by the researchers may themselves affect different respondents differently. For example, a wealthy student may be less affected by thinking of financial hardship than a student with personal experience of financial hardship, or a student with a strong feminist commitment may respond to exposure to traditional gender roles by taking a critical position toward them. In order to explore the processes by which primes produce changes in responses, our analysis examines variation in the dependent variable *within* conditions, as well as across conditions, including correlations between this variation and respondents' observed characteristics (both demographic characteristics and attitudinal measures).

This method suggests a way in which to understand, at the individual level, patterns of association between decision domains, in this case, between fertility and career, finances, and politics. Additionally, it suggests that there are systematic differences in how different individuals respond to the same situational primes. This is part of a larger project of measuring culture by examining how different patterns of cognitive associations may shape responses to contextual primes, illuminating how environmental contexts interact with individual cognition to produce responses and behaviors (e.g., Shepherd 2011).

## **Appendix**

### Treatment conditions

Control group

Family background

Religion

Financial limitations

Uncertainty about the future

Career aspirations

Friends

Heritage (ethnic/national/regional)

Developmental Idealism (see Thornton et al. 2012)

Political views

Gender roles

### Priming Questions by Condition

#### I. Career

First we'd like to ask you a few questions about your career plans and goals.

1. Have you chosen a major?

Yes

No

2. Do you plan to use your major (current or anticipated) in your future career?

Yes

No

3. What is the dream job that you'd like to have 10 years from now?

4. Describe two or three qualities you have that make your planned career a good fit for you. (If you don't know what career you want to have, describe two or three qualities that you hope to use in your career.)

#### II. Finance

First we'd like to ask you a few questions about how you handle money.

1. How much money do you normally spend in one week on entertainment and eating out?

\$0-\$50

\$50-\$100

\$100-\$150

\$150-\$200

More than \$200

2. What is the last thing you bought that you had to save up for?

3. How long did you have to save up for it?

4. Describe a time in the last year when you did not, or could not, get something that you wanted because it cost too much.

### III. Politics

First we'd like to ask you a few questions about your political views.

1. How would you describe your political beliefs?

- Very conservative
- Conservative
- Moderate
- Liberal
- Very liberal

2. How important are your political beliefs in your life?

- Not at all important
- A little important
- Fairly important
- Very important

3. Which political party best represents your political beliefs?

4. Describe a time in the past year when you stood up for or acted on your political views or beliefs.

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