



# I've changed my mind. The intentions to be childless, their stability and realisation

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## ABSTRACT



Childlessness has been increasing over the last decades in most European societies. Previous studies have mostly focused on the 'involuntary' component of childlessness, and factors affecting voluntary childlessness remained poorly understood. This article presents an analysis of the factors associated with the intention to be childless, and the realisation and stability of this intention in the short-term. The theory of planned behaviour is applied to relate childlessness intentions with their realisation and to explore the role of ideational factors on the variability of possible fertility outcomes. Results show that more than 90% of the respondents realised their desire to remain childless. Childlessness intentions, however, tend to be less stable than parenthood ones, at all ages with the exception of individuals aged 40 years or more. Individuals' attitudes towards childbearing and perceived social pressure toward parenthood strongly correlate with the stability of the intentions toward childlessness or parenthood, whereas socio-economic characteristics and factors connected with individuals' perceived control count for little. The study sheds light on people who voluntarily live without children and suggests that being childless is not always the result of opportunities and external constraints, but it could be a choice originating from personal and intimate domains of life.

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## 1. Introduction

In recent decades decreasing fertility and increasing childlessness rates in European societies have stimulated conspicuous research on fertility and its determinants (for a review see Balbo *et al.* 2013). However, while the factors affecting fertility intentions and their realisation have been extensively explored, also shedding light on that part of involuntary childlessness connected with the so-called 'postponement syndrome' (Testa and Bolano 2018), the determinants of voluntary childlessness have received

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less attention, especially in regard to the formation of the intention to remain childless. A specific focus on zero-fertility intentions is warranted also because of the decreasing correlation between completed cohort fertility and the prevalence of childlessness (Tanturri *et al.* 2015). This paper analyses the main correlates of individuals' intentions to remain childless, the factors associated with the stability of these intentions and their realisation in the short term – special attention is paid to individual's attitudes, social norms and perceived behavioural control.

The trend in the childlessness rate among cohorts of women born in the twentieth century is a U-shaped one. The proportion of women without children at the end of their reproductive life was substantial among the birth cohorts of the beginning of the 1900, reached its lowest level among women born between 1935 and 1945, to then increase significantly among the post-WWII birth cohorts, reaching levels as high as 25–30% in several European countries (OECD 2018; Rowland 2007; Sobotka 2017; Tanturri *et al.* 2015). Even if in many countries the proportion of childless women among the 1970s birth cohorts is similar to that registered among those born at the beginning of the century, there are marked differences in the composition of non-parents in terms of both the motivations for and pathways to childlessness (Dykstra and Hagestad 2007; Fiori *et al.* 2017; Kohli and Albertini 2009). In particular, it has been suggested that among the most recent cohorts a pivotal role in explaining the increasing childlessness rate has been played by: (i) the growing number of women who are (involuntarily) childless due to the postponement of their reproductive decisions (Miettinen *et al.* 2015); and (ii) the increasing amount of women who are voluntarily childless, or child-free (Tanturri and Mencarini 2008). It has been argued, in other words, that 'modern' causes of infertility are emerging and substituting more traditional ones, such as celibacy and sterility (Tanturri *et al.* 2015; Brini 2020).

To date, research on the absence of children has mainly treated childlessness as a non-event, focusing on the factors related to fertility postponement and implicitly assuming greater likelihood of pregnancy (and fertility) once all the obstacles have been removed. In most cases, therefore, the emphasis has been on the 'involuntary' or 'accidental' component of childlessness, seeing the lack of children as the failure to realise desired fertility levels, rather than as an active choice. This 'selective inattention' (Veever 1973) has led to the neglect of the active childless group, and to less attention being paid to childlessness as a voluntary process. Also, relatively few studies have taken into consideration those group of individuals and part of the life course where the blurred boundaries between

voluntary and involuntary childlessness lie, and where ambivalence and instability in individuals' fertility intentions are to be found (Fiori *et al.* 2017; Heaton *et al.* 1999; McAllister and Clarke 1998). Moreover, demographic and sociological studies of childlessness have been more concerned to analyse the socio-economic and health consequences of a life without children than to explore the factors engendering the intention of childlessness and its realisation (e.g. Albertini and Kohli 2017; Allen and Wiles 2013; Dykstra and Wagner 2007; Gibney *et al.* 2015; Gillespie 2001; Hansen *et al.* 2009; Keizer *et al.* 2010; Kendig *et al.* 2007). As a result, evidence on the factors associated with the intention not to become a parent is relatively scant, particularly when referring to ideational factors.

In this paper we present an analysis of the factors associated with intentions to be childless, and with the realisation and the stability of these intentions in the short term – also comparing childlessness intentions with parenthood ones. The approach proposed by the theory of planned behaviour (TPB) is utilised to connect childlessness intentions and their realisation and to explore the role of ideational factors. The focus is therefore on individuals' negative fertility intentions and subsequent stability; the study contributes to shedding light on people who voluntarily live without children. Aside from analysing these dynamics on the female population, men are also included in the analysis. Therefore, the study also contributes to knowledge of male's childlessness, for which much less research is available than for women.

## 2. Theoretical background

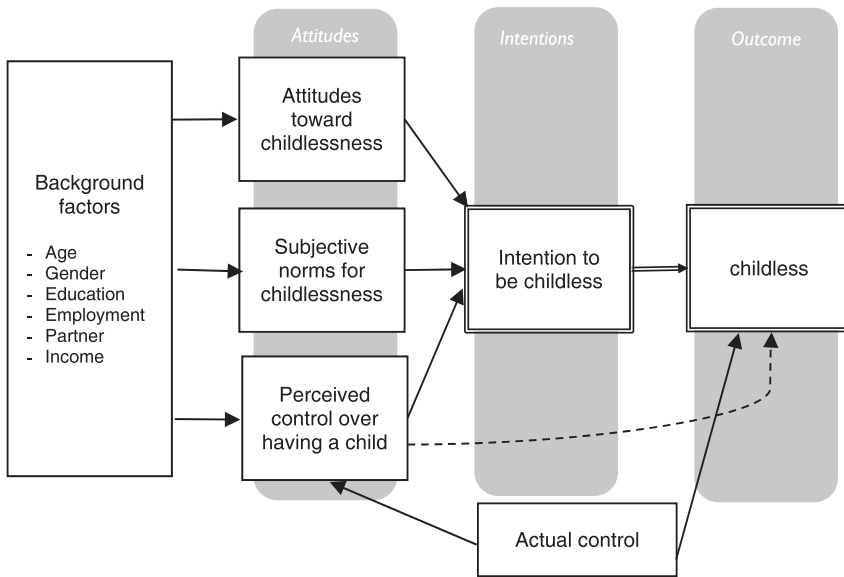
The Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen 1985, 1991; Ajzen and Klobas 2013) has been usually employed to study fertility intentions and their realisation (e.g. Dommermuth *et al.* 2011, 2015, Mencarini *et al.* 2015, see also Spéder and Kapitány 2015 for a recent discussion of some relevant limitations), but we maintain that it can also be effectively applied to understanding childlessness intentions and their realisation.

According to the TPB, intentions to attain a behavioural goal are driven by and can be predicted from individuals' (i) attitudes toward the specific action; (ii) subjective norms associated with the behaviour; (iii) perceived behavioural control. In the context of fertility research, attitudes are associated with the consequences of having (or not) a child as perceived by the individual (*behavioural beliefs*). Subjective norms refer to perceived social desirability and social pressure (*normative beliefs*) in regard to

having or not having a child among groups that are important for the individual. Finally, perceived behavioural control (*self-efficacy*) relates to both the perception about the presence of factors that might help or impede the realisation of individual fertility intentions, and the perceived power of these factors in affecting the behaviour. The TPB assumes that perceived control reflects past experiences; it is also assumed that perceptions of control are a good proxy for actual control, which is influenced by actual conditions (Ajzen 2005; Bandura 1977; Klobas and Ajzen 2015). The TPB considers the effect of other factors that indirectly influence the formation of intentions; these factors include individual and social background characteristics.

Figure 1 schematises the TPB theoretical framework when applied to childlessness. The central assumption of the TPB is that intentions ‘capture the motivational factors that influence behaviour’ (Ajzen 1985: 181), because to engage in a specific behaviour people perform a rational or reasoned action based on intentions – which are shaped through a process of reasoning. Therefore, according to the TPB, the intention to pursue a specific goal is a good predictor of that particular behaviour (Ajzen 1985, 2005).

Numerous previous studies on fertility intentions and their relationship with actual behaviour adopted the TPB approach (Dommermuth *et al.* 2011, 2015; Mencarini *et al.* 2015; Testa and Bolano 2018; Trappe and Kuhnt 2016). However, they have some shortcomings vis-à-vis the objectives of the present study. First, relatively little attention has been paid to the stability of intentions over time and individual’s life course. Most studies have focused on the mechanisms driving the formation of child-bearing intentions (Ajzen and Klobas 2013; Billari *et al.* 2009; Fahlén, 2013; Klobas and Ajzen 2015), whereas they have overlooked the factors related to the stability of those intentions and their realisation. Second, while previous studies have provided consistent evidence that a significant number of individuals do not realise their desired fertility (OECD 2016; Toulemon and Testa 2005), research analysing the link between fertility intentions and behaviour at the micro level yields mixed results (see for instance: Trappe and Kuhnt 2016 on the German case, Berrington and Pattaro 2014 on UK, and Spéder and Kapitány 2015 on Hungary). Finally, the majority of previous studies on fertility intentions and realisation have focused specifically on positive fertility intentions and their consequent realisation, and on the mismatch between ideal and actual fertility, while overlooking negative intentions, their stability and realisation (Bernardi *et al.* 2015; Bongaarts 2001; Dommermuth *et al.* 2015; Miller



**Figure 1.** Antecedents of the intention to be childless based on the Theory of Planned Behaviour. Source: Authors' adaptation from Ajzen and Klobas (2013), Klobas and Ajzen (2015).

2011; Testa and Basten 2014; Thomson 1997). The study of the intention to remain childless and its realisation, therefore, has not attracted much scholars' attention. The full variability of possible fertility outcomes, which include voluntary childlessness, does not appear to have been satisfactorily addressed and analysed.

The analysis of childlessness intentions and their realisation can contribute to improving our understanding of the micro-level social mechanisms that drive reproductive and non-reproductive behaviour. In the following analyses we explicitly consider the voluntary component of the phenomenon of childlessness. In doing so, this work contributes both to the specific literature about voluntary childlessness, and to the broader research on the link between fertility intentions and behaviour.

### 3. Research questions and hypotheses

The main aims of this study are: (i) to analyse which are the factors associated with the intention not to have children in the near future – the reference period being the three years following the interview; (ii) to look at how these intentions develop in the short term, and study which factors

correlate with their realisation and stability. The reduced length of the observational window limits the generalizability of our findings, especially with respect to the individual's life course. However, previous studies have shown that intentions that are 'in close temporal proximity to the prospective behaviour' are more likely to be better predictors of the related behaviour than intentions referred to an unspecified time in the future (Ajzen and Fishbein 1973: 49; Billari *et al.* 2009; Philipov 2009). Furthermore, by adopting a short-term perspective we are able to use a set of variables from the Generations and Gender Survey which ensure that our study complies with the 'principle of compatibility', a necessary condition in studies adopting the TPB framework (Ajzen and Klobas 2013: 208).<sup>1</sup> Besides providing a description of the main factors associated with the intention to remain childless in the short term, the analyses focus (i) on factors associated with the realisation of the intention to be childless in the three years following the interview, and (ii) on the determinants of the stability of the individual's intention to remain childless in the same period of time.

Previous empirical studies have consistently shown that – despite the many changes registered in the area of family-related values (Lesthaeghe 2010; Van de Kaa 2001) – parenthood is still considered a key step in the individual's transition to adulthood and is often perceived as a social and moral imperative (Ashburn-Nardo 2017). It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of studies have documented that childless men and women are subject to a strong social stigma. Non-parents, whether by choice or by circumstances, are described and perceived less favourably than parents, with the strongest stigma being attached to the voluntary childless (Chancey and Dumais 2009; Koropecj-Cox *et al.* 2007; Letherby 2002; Mueller and Yoder 1999; Park 2002; Sobotka and Testa 2008). As a consequence, expressing the intention to be childless is in contrast with the (still) dominant social and cultural values, and it can be seen as a non-normative preference.<sup>2</sup> In turn, individuals who do not conform to prevalent social norms and express their preference for a life without children may be expected to be more convinced in pursuing their

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<sup>1</sup>The principle is defined as it follows: 'any well-defined behaviour or behavioural goal can serve as a criterion for study as attitudes, subjective norms, perceptions of control, and intentions are assessed with respect to exactly the same criterion. The goal of having a child involves a specific action and target and often also a specific context and time frame' (Ajzen and Klobas 2013: 208).

<sup>2</sup>The preference for becoming a parent is to be seen as socially normative for specific age groups. For instance, in most Western developed societies this won't be the case for a teenager. Thus, the degree of 'normativity' of parenthood may vary across one's age. This is also reflected in the variation of negative fertility intentions across age groups, especially before and after the twenties (Ni Bhrolcháin *et al.* 2010).

intentions. Previous studies also suggested that negative fertility intentions, besides being a valid measure of future reproductive behaviour, tend to be more stable over time than positive fertility intentions (Rovi 1994; Schoen *et al.* 1999). As such, we expect that, in the short term, individuals are more likely to maintain the intention to remain childless compared to intention to become parents (hypothesis #1).

Three further hypotheses are developed in close connection with the TPB approach and focus on the role of ideational factors in affecting the short-term realisation and stability of the intention to be childless. First, according to the TPB if someone holds strong attitudes towards a specific behaviour, their intentions regarding that behaviour are more stable across time and, in addition, there is a higher probability that these intentions will be realised. Therefore, in the context of this study, we expect that three years after the first interview, among those who had reported the intention to remain childless, individuals with stronger negative attitudes toward parenthood should have a lower probability to have made the transition to parenthood (*realization*), and to change their mind and express the desire to become parents (*stability*). In other words, we hypothesise that people with stronger attitudes against children and parenthood are more likely to maintain their preference to childlessness and realise it (hypothesis #2).

Second, according to the TPB, normative beliefs constitute a key factor affecting individual's intentions, their stability and realisation. In line with this prediction, a number of empirical studies have documented that individuals tend to conform to social expectations about childbearing in order to receive the approval of, and avoid conflict with, their significant others, pointing to the crucial role of social interactions in affecting reproductive behaviour (Bernardi and Klärner 2014; Billari *et al.* 2009; Bühler and Fratzczak 2007; Kohler *et al.* 2001). Accordingly, we expect perceived social pressure and social desirability to exert an effect on childlessness intentions, their stability and realisation. We hypothesise that the perception of a stronger normative pressure to have children will reinforce the intention to become a parent, while reducing the likelihood of maintaining the intention to be childless and realising it (hypothesis #3).

Third, according to the TPB, individual's beliefs about the circumstances 'necessary' to have a child and the individual's perceived control over these conditions – in particular those regarding the individual's socio-economic situation – affects both fertility intentions and realisation. Individuals who see making the transition to parenthood as more contingent on specific socio-economic circumstances – and thus imposing more

and stronger conditions to having a child – may be less prone to develop an intention to have a child and, if they develop this intention, to maintain and realise it. Therefore, we hypothesise that the more an individual think that having a child is conditioned on being in a specific socio-economic situation, the more likely it is that he/she will develop, maintain and realise the intention to remain childless (hypothesis #4).

Besides perceived control, and behavioural and normative beliefs, a number of background factors – such as educational level, actual partnership and employment status, wealth, etc. (Kurowska 2019; Spéder and Kapitány 2009) – are expected to affect the probability of developing the intention to remain childless, maintaining and realising this preference. As a consequence, when analysing fertility intentions and their stability and realisation – and testing our four hypotheses – it is important to control for the most relevant of these factors.

## 4. Data and measures

### 4.1. Data

The data used are from the first and second wave of the Generations and Gender Surveys (GGS). The GGS is a panel dataset specifically designed to study family dynamics; it provides high quality and comparable data on respondents aged 18–79 at the first wave, who were re-interviewed after three years. The GGS is, therefore, a valuable source for analysing the formation and stability of individual's intentions about childlessness, since it makes it possible to link subsequent behaviour with a previously stated intention. Respondents were asked about their intention to have a child in the next three years. The same question was asked three years later, and this made it possible to identify the stability of the intention within a short time.<sup>3</sup> One additional advantage of the GGS is that part of its core questionnaire was inspired on the TPB approach (Vikat *et al.*

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<sup>3</sup>In both the waves, intentions to have children were collected by the following question 'Do you intend to have a/another child during the next three years?' with possible answers 'definitely not', 'probably not', 'probably yes' and 'definitely yes'. The GGS also collects information about long-term fertility intentions, and asks respondents the following question 'Supposing you do not have a/another child during the next three years, do you intend to have any (more) children at all?' with the same possible responses available for the short-term question. As already pointed out, the decision to examine only short-term planned intentions stems from the fact that intentions that are 'in close temporal proximity to the prospective behaviour' are more likely to be better predictors of the related behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1973: 49; Billari *et al.* 2009; Philipov 2009) and because this enabled us to use the same time window when assessing both the stability of fertility intentions and their realisation. As noted in previous research, the variables on fertility intentions have a low number of missing values (Cirtel *et al.* 2019). Among those individuals with non-missing socio-economic characteristics, the share of non-responses for childbearing intentions is about 11% in the first wave, and 19% in the second



2007) and, therefore, includes a set of questions that are particularly useful when adopting the TPB to study childlessness intentions. At the time of the analyses, longitudinal information about childbearing intention and realisation was available for Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Lithuania and Russia; the analyses, therefore, utilises data from these countries.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.2. Sample selection, analytic strategy and variables

Of interest to this research is the sample of men and women in their reproductive age, who report being physically possible for them to have children, and who are childless at the time of the first interview. In line with previous studies on the topic we selected women aged between 20 and 45 years and men between 20 and 50 years.

While the distinction we make between different groups of respondents is similar to that proposed by Heaton and colleagues (2009), our analytical approach is different. Instead of creating a unique typology to summarise both individual's initial fertility intentions, their realisation and stability over time, we organise our empirical analyses in three steps.

First, using data from the first wave of the GGS and logistic multivariate regressions, we analyse the prevalence and determinants of the intention to remain childless in the next three years (*perspective childless*,  $n = 2533$ ) versus the intention to become a parent (*perspective parent*,  $n = 2561$ ).

Second, using data from both the first and second wave of the survey and logistic multivariate regressions, we take into consideration the extent to which perspective childless respondents realised their intention to remain childless after three years (*realised intention to remain childless*,  $n = 2295$ ) or not (*become a parent*,  $n = 238$ ). Factors associated with the realisation of the intention to remain childless are explored.

In the third and last step of our analyses – taking into consideration only those respondents who remained childless between wave 1 and wave 2, independently of their declared fertility intention in wave 1 – we explored the stability of fertility intentions and its correlates (Table 1). More specifically, by using multinomial logistic regression, we investigate the factors related to the respondent being *voluntary childless*

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wave. The proportion of missing is higher among respondents who are in partnership in the first wave; in the second wave the proportion of missing is higher among men and older respondents.

<sup>4</sup>Hungary was excluded from the analysis because of concerns about the identification of cases between the two waves. For an assessment of the quality of the GGS survey data, and its variability across countries and variables, see Emery and Caporali 2019; Fokkema *et al.* 2016; Gauthier *et al.* 2018; Vergauwen *et al.* 2015).

**Table 1.** Groups of respondents who remain childless, according to the stability of their fertility intentions between Wave 1 and Wave 2.

	<i>n</i>	Intended to have a child at Wave 1	Had a birth	Intended to have a child at Wave 2
Voluntary Childless	1333	No	No	No
Waver – Postponer	962	No	No	Yes
Waver – Abandoner	512	Yes	No	No
Involuntary Childless	1318	Yes	No	Yes

– i.e. who stated they do want to be childless both in wave 1 and 2,  $n = 1333$  – or *involuntary childless* – i.e. who stated they do want to be parents both in wave 1 and 2,  $n = 1318$  – or a waver – i.e. who changed their mind in between the two waves: from childlessness to parenthood (*postponer*,  $n = 962$ ) or from parenthood to childlessness (*abandoner*,  $n = 512$ ).

#### 4.2.1. Independent variables

The main independent variables of our empirical analyses refer to the ideational factors associated with the intention to remain childless, and in particular to those factors suggested by the TPB approach. In the first wave of the GGS, three separate sets of questions gathered information about beliefs and attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control toward childlessness (Table 2).<sup>5</sup> Principal component analysis was applied to responses to these questions to extract four factors connected with the TPB; each measurement was rescaled from 0 to 5 so as to have a unitary variance among all the factors and to ease comparison and interpretability.

To gauge *attitudes toward childbearing*, we relied on questions investigating the individual's expected consequences of having a child across eleven items. Respondents were requested to express the extent to which they thought a child would represent a cost and/or a benefit in their life. Following Billari and colleagues (2009) and Dommermuth and colleagues (2011), we retained the division between positive and negative attitudes. Seven items were included in the analysis;<sup>6</sup> viz. respondent's

<sup>5</sup>A relevant number of questions related to the TPB factors remained unanswered and with a listwise deletion of missing items only 3825 observation would have been available. To maximize the number of observations, we imputed these values by replacing the missing value with the mean of the observed values for the set of question if one of the items was missing. For instance, considering the factor related to 'Attitudes related to cost', if the question a) 'the possibility to do what you want' remained unanswered, we attributed to that missing value, the average value of the other two items related to that dimension.

<sup>6</sup>Items related to the effects of childbearing on sexual life, on partner's employment opportunities, on the care and security that respondents expected during old age, and on certainty in life were also present in

**Table 2.** Factor loading of factors related to the TPB.

	Factor A: Attitudes related to cost	Factor B: Attitudes related to benefits	Factor C: Norms	Factor D: PBC	Uniqueness
<i>If you were to have a child during the next three years, would it be much better (1) o much worse (5) in terms of:</i>					
a. the possibility to do what you want	0.768				0.3253
b. your employment opportunities	0.796				0.3419
c. your financial situation	0.784				0.3402
<i>If you were to have a child during the next three years, would it be much worse (1) o much better (5)</i>					
d. what people around you think of you		0.685			0.4571
e. the joy and satisfaction you get from life		0.716			0.3780
f. the closeness between you and your partner		0.811			0.3184
g. closeness between you and your parents		0.718			0.4727
<i>To what extent you agree with these statements: Strongly disagree (1) strongly agree (5)</i>					
h. Most of your friends think that you should have a/another child		0.925		0.1093	
i. Your parents think that you should have a/ another child		0.922		0.1136	
<i>The decision on whether to have a child during the next three years depends on: (1) not at all (4) a great deal</i>					
l. your financial situation				0.839	0.2883
m. your work				0.830	0.3015
n. your housing conditions				0.804	0.3445
o. your partner's/spouse's work				0.642	0.5727
p. availability of childcare				0.661	0.5327
	0.746	0.759	0.882	0.827	

Source: GGS Wave 1 and Wave 2, authors' calculation. Note: Principal Component Analysis, Varimax Rotation, Loadings <0.03 not showed.

opinions on the fact that having a child would have negative effects on 'the possibility to do what you want', 'employment opportunities', and 'financial situation', were utilised to construct an index of negative attitudes toward childbearing. Similarly, we created an indicator of positive attitudes toward childbearing on the basis of the respondent's answers to statements about childbearing consequences on 'what people around you think of you', 'the joy and satisfaction in life', 'the closeness with partner', and 'the closeness with parents'.

To measure *subjective norms* toward childlessness we examined the strength of perceived social pressure to have a child. Respondents were asked about the extent to which they agreed with the statement that

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the questionnaire, but were excluded from the analyses since they were not asked in all the countries considered.

their parents and friends thought that they should have a child in the next three years, with 1 representing the strongest agreement and 5 the lowest. We reversed the scores to obtain an index that provided a weighted measure of perceived social pressure toward parenthood, with higher scores corresponding to the stronger social pressure to become parents.

The measurement of the *perceived behavioural control* (PBC) was limited to the perceived importance of control factors, since respondents' beliefs about being in control of that factor were imperfectly measured in the GGS (for a discussion see: Ajzen and Klobas 2013: 216). This means that the PBC can only be assessed by means of questions investigating individuals' perceptions of factors that they think will influence their decision, but without considering the extent to which they think they will be able to overcome difficulties related to such factors. In particular, GGS questions investigate whether and to what extent the individual's decision to have or not to have a child depends on the following factors: 'financial situation', 'work', 'housing conditions', 'partner's work', and 'childcare availability'. For each item, responses ranged from 1 (not at all) to 4 (a great deal).

As mentioned above, previous studies have shown that, besides ideational factors, a number of relevant socio-economic characteristics – such as gender, age, employment and partnership status – affect fertility intentions. Therefore, in the following multivariate regressions we included information on gender, age, educational level, activity and partnership status, and home ownership as a proxy of the wealth situation of the household.

Age is a key variable in the formation of fertility intentions. We categorised age into 5-year groups according to the respondent's age at the time of the first interview (i.e. 20–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35–39, and 40 or more).<sup>7</sup> Education was measured as the highest level of educational attainment in terms of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), and we distinguished among respondents with low (ISCED 0–2), intermediate (ISCED 3–4), or a high level of education (ISCED 5–6). Activity status distinguishes between those who report to be full time students, in paid employment or not in paid employment. In the third step of the analyses – when analysing the stability of intentions – we distinguished between those who were not working in both the waves or have lost their

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<sup>7</sup>The 20–24 age class was included in the analyses for three main reasons: first, between the countries considered there are important differences in the average age at which the transition to the first child is made; second, the results of the analyses were not significantly affected by the exclusion of this age group (see sensitivity analyses below); third, in so doing we retain as much possible the statistical power of the sample analysed.

job, those who enter employment in the second wave and those who reported being in paid work in both the waves of the survey. As for what concerns partnership situation – which as shown in previous studies is a key factor shaping individuals' fertility intentions (Heaton *et al.* 1999; Spéder and Kapitány 2009) – in the first two steps of the analyses we distinguish between partnered and unpartnered respondents. In the third step, we consider instead the stability of partnership status and thus distinguish between people remaining unpartnered in both waves, those who started a new partnership, those who experienced a union dissolution without forming a new partnership and those who were in a partnership in both the waves. The results of the multivariate analyses will be reported in terms of their predicted probabilities; the full models as well as the main descriptive statistics of the different samples utilised are reported in the statistical Appendix.

Although the majority of studies on childlessness have been carried out on women only, the few analyses that have taken men into account show the existence of a gendered pattern in the effects of socio-demographic characteristics on childlessness (Jalovaara and Fasang 2017; Keizer *et al.* 2008; Tocchioni, 2018). Therefore, we analyse the full sample of respondents including a variable controlling for respondent's gender and introducing, in further progressive steps, the interactions between gender and the main independent variables to test for possible gender-specific mechanisms. The descriptive statistics for the samples utilised in the three different steps of the analyses are reported in Tables A1 to A3.

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Reporting the intention to remain childlessness

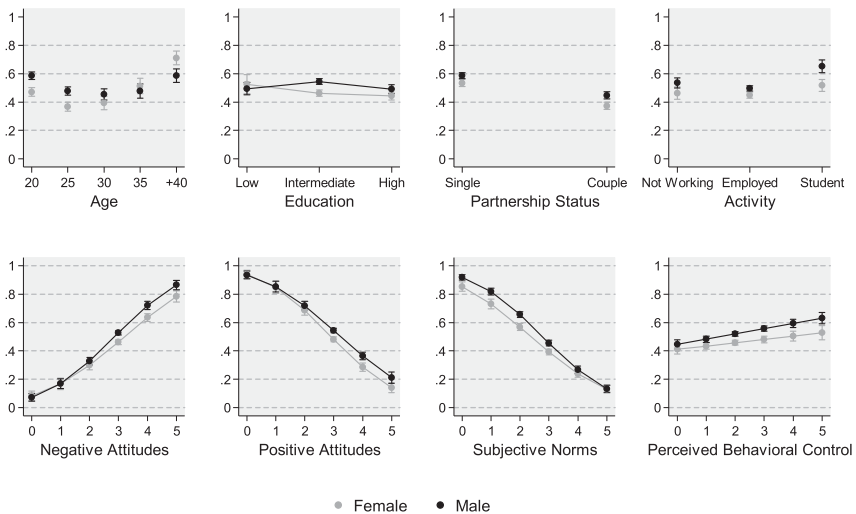
In the first step of our analyses, we focus on the data from the first wave of the GGS and, in particular, on factors associated with reporting the intention to remain childless in the three years following the interview (Figure 2, Table A4). In general, the results indicate that being a man, having a low educational level, not having a partner and being a student are all factors associated with a higher likelihood of reporting the intention of remaining childless in the next three years. It also emerges that childlessness intentions are age-dependent, in particular, there is a U-shaped relation between age and the intention to remain childless. The probability to report the desire not to have children decreases between age 20–39 for men, and between age 20–35 for women to then increase at later ages.

The difference between men and women in the inflexion point probably reflects an earlier upper-limit age for motherhood than for fatherhood.

Interestingly, gender differences are also found in the relation between an individual's educational level and the intention to remain childless. Among women, the low educated are more likely than the medium/highly educated to report the desire not to become a parent in the following three years. Conversely among men, those with an intermediate educational level are the most likely to express a preference for childlessness. These differences, however, are small.

The results reported in [Figure 2](#) also shows that – besides individual's socio-demographic characteristics – attitudes, social norms and PBC are strongly associated with fertility intentions.

In line with what suggested by the TPB approach and our hypotheses, we find that more pronounced negative and positive attitudes are strongly and significantly correlated with a higher and lower likelihood of reporting short-term childless intentions, respectively. A higher perceived normative pressure to have children is associated with a lower probability of holding the intention to remain childless. Next, consistent with what we expected, those individuals who see the transition to parenthood as more contingent on being in a specific socio-economic situation are more likely to report the intention not to become a parent. It is worth



**Figure 2.** Predicted probabilities of having the intention to remain childless in the next three years, men (black line) and women (grey line). Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' calculation.

Note: predicted probabilities based on Models 1–9 of [Table A4](#) in the Appendix. 95% confidence intervals.

noting that the role played by ideational factors appears to be similar for men and women, although the association between these factors and childlessness intentions emerges to be slightly weaker for women than for men.

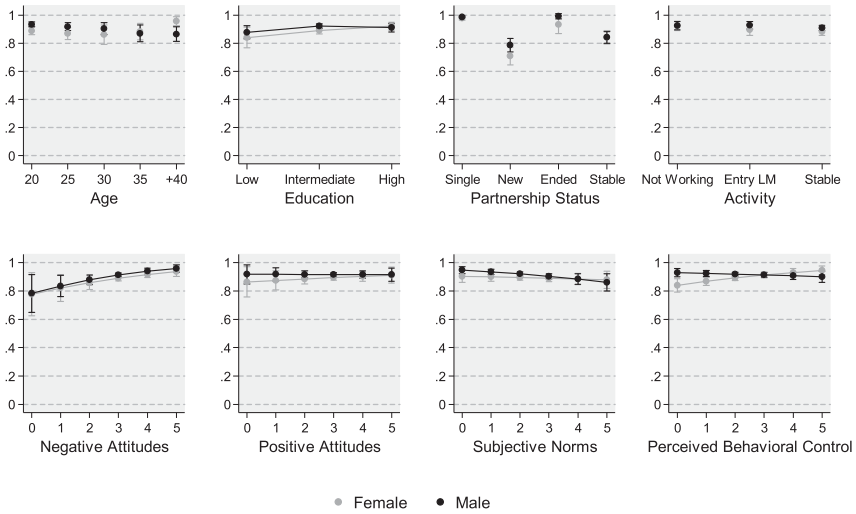
### ***5.2. Realising the intention to remain childless***

Among the 2533 respondents who reported the desire to remain childless in the three years following their first interview, only 238 (9%) did not comply with this intention and became parents. The analyses indicate that the realisation of a childlessness intention is quite ubiquitous across different individual's socio-demographic conditions (Figure 3, Table A5). The only relevant exception, in line with findings reported in previous studies (Sobotka and Testa 2008), is represented by those respondents who in-between the two waves of the survey moved from being single to being partnered. Among the ideational factors taken into consideration, lower levels of negative attitudes and PBC (for women) are also associated with a lower likelihood of fulfilling the previously stated desire of not becoming a parent.

### ***5.3. Maintaining the intention of remaining childless***

In the third and last step of our analyses – taking into consideration only those respondents who remained childless between wave 1 and wave 2, independently of their declared fertility intention in wave 1 – we explored the stability of fertility intentions and its correlates.

Figure 4 reports, by gender and age group, the percentages of respondents who, across the two waves of the survey, maintained their parenthood or childless intention. These descriptive statistics do not provide strong support – if any – to our first hypothesis, i.e. (non-normative) childlessness intentions are more likely to be maintained than parenthood ones. As a matter of fact, the stability of childlessness intentions seems to be higher than that of becoming a parent only among the oldest respondents (40+). On the opposite, the intention to become a parent is more stable than the one of remaining childless among the three youngest age groups. Also, while the stability of parenthood intentions is similar across the different age groups, the stability of the desire of not having children varies considerably across the different age groups. In particular, Figure 4 displays a U-shaped relation similar to that already observed in the first step of our analyses.

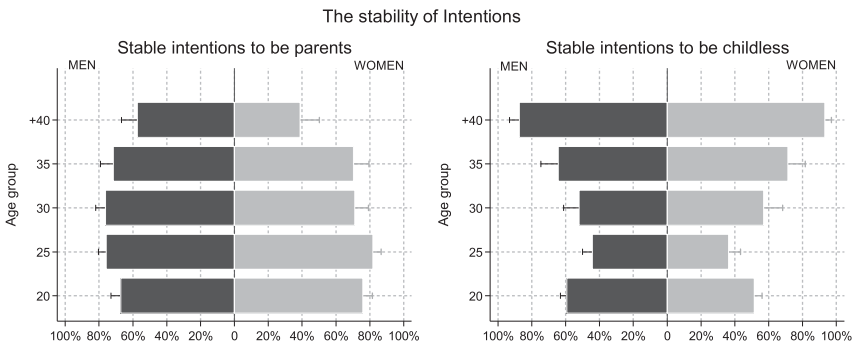


**Figure 3.** Predicted probabilities of being childless three years after having expressed intentions to be childless for men (black line) and women (grey line). Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' elaboration.

Note: predicted probabilities based on Models 1–8 of Table A5 in the Appendix. 95% confidence interval.

Using multinomial logistic regressions, we also explored factors associated with the probability of respondents being part of the group of the voluntary childless, postponers, abandoners or involuntary childless (Figures 5 and 6, Table A6).

The results of the analyses show the relevant role played by ideational factors in shaping the stability of fertility intentions (Figure 5). Stronger negative attitudes towards becoming a parent are associated with a



**Figure 4.** Proportion of respondents maintaining (across wave 1 and 2 of the survey) the intention to become a parent or remain childless in the three years after the interview, by sex and age. Source: GGS Wave 1 and Wave 2, authors' elaboration. 95% confidence intervals.

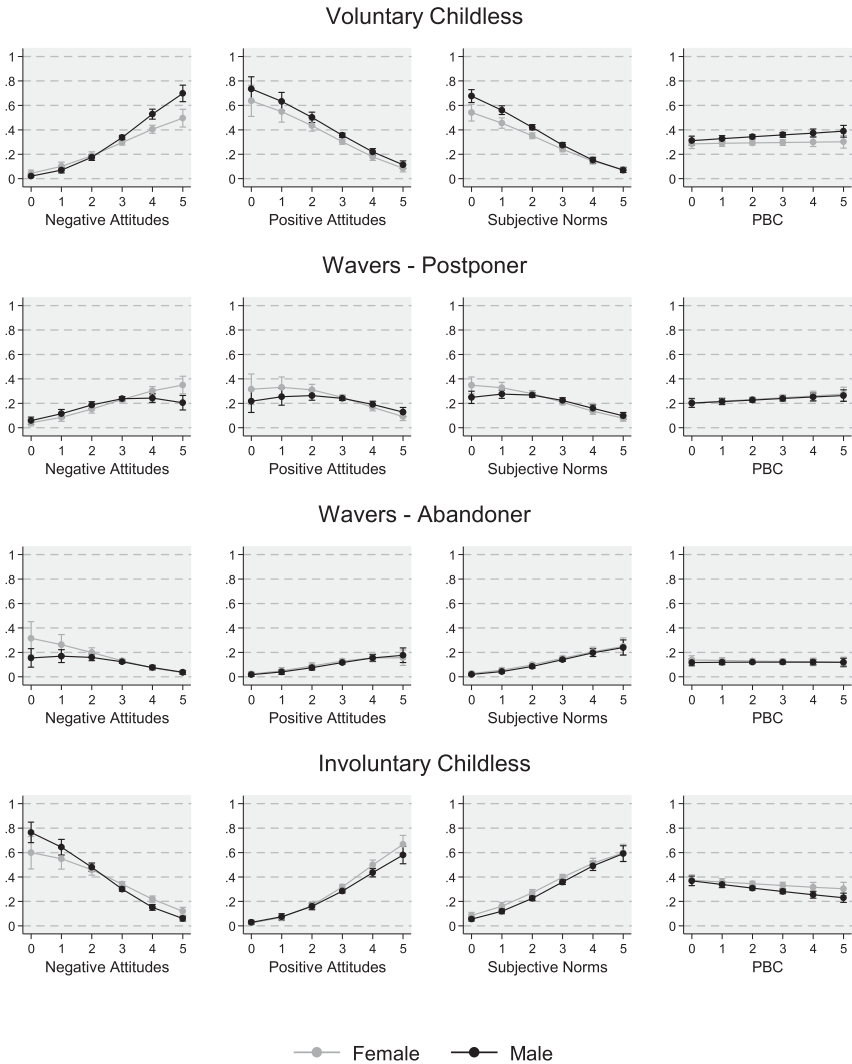


greater probability of maintaining the intention to be childless, whereas they are negatively correlated with the likelihood of being involuntarily childless. The intensity of the relation is higher for men than for women. At the same time, negative attitudes are also associated with a higher probability of being a postponer – and thus changing from desired childlessness to desired parenthood – and a lower likelihood of abandoning the idea of having children. Mirroring these patterns, it emerges that people with stronger positive attitudes toward parenthood are more likely to maintain the intention to become parents and, *vice versa*, less likely to maintain childlessness intentions. Higher levels of positive attitudes are also associated with a lower likelihood of being a postponer. These findings partially corroborate our *second hypothesis*: that stronger negative attitudes towards parenthood are positively correlated with the stability of childlessness intentions.

The role of the subjective norms – and thus of the perceived pressure to become a parent – play a similar role than positive attitudes: they are associated positively with involuntary childlessness and negatively with voluntary childlessness. At the same time, they are positively associated with quitting the idea of having a child in the short term and with, whereas they are negatively associated with being a postponer. This is partly in line with the *third hypothesis*, according to which the perception of a normative pressure for having a child is negatively associated with the chances of maintaining childlessness intentions.

Finally, the results of the analyses suggest that the correlation between the stability of fertility intentions and ideational factors is the lowest for the ideational factors connected with the PBC: different individual's scores on the behavioural control index do not significantly affect women's propensity to maintain plans toward motherhood or childlessness. Only among men, perceived behavioural control appears to have a (minor) role: higher scores are associated with a greater probability of maintaining childlessness intentions, and with a lower probability of maintaining the intention to be a parent. These results support our *fourth hypothesis* according to which people that associate stronger socio-economic barriers to having a child are more likely to maintain the intention to remain childless.

When considering socio-demographic characteristics, once more age emerges as an important factor correlated with the stability of fertility intentions. Women who are 30 years old or older and men in their 40s are more likely than younger individuals to report voluntary *vs.* involuntary childlessness ([Figure 6](#)). Age is also negatively associated with the

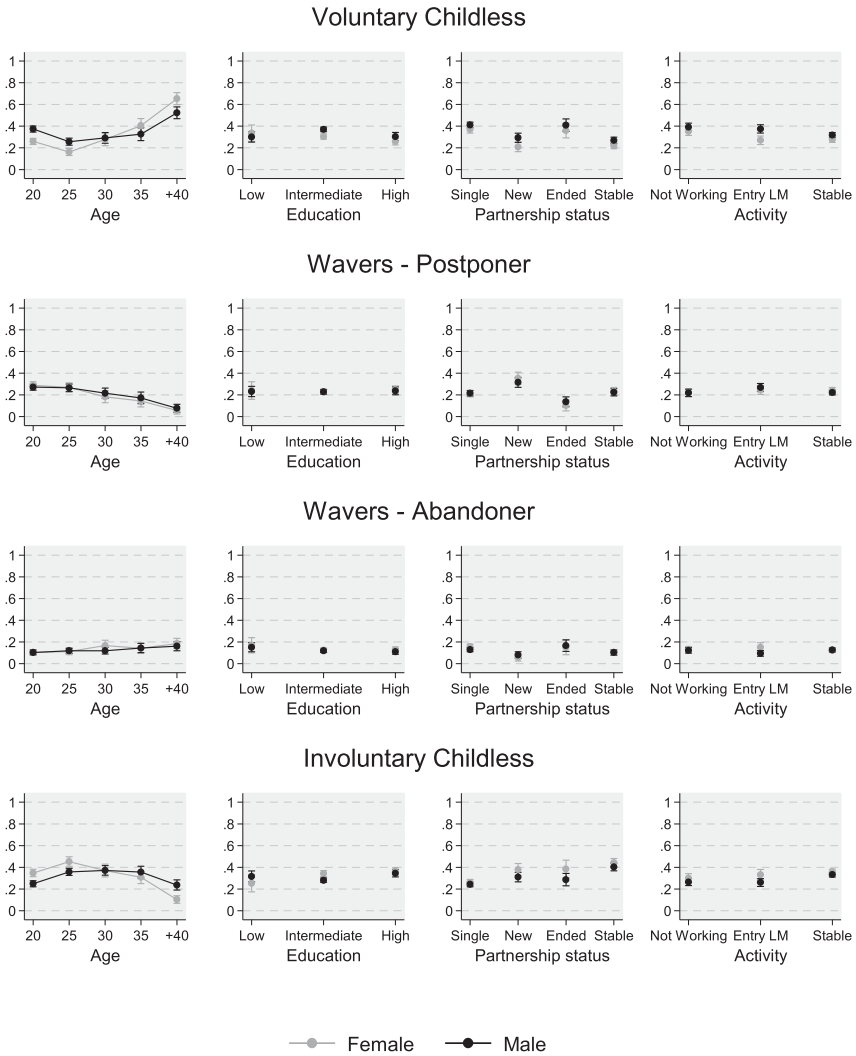


**Figure 5.** Predicted probabilities of being voluntary childless, postponer, abandoner or involuntary childless according to different levels of negative and positive attitudes, subjective norms and PBC, for men (black line) and women (grey line). Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' elaboration.

Note: predicted probabilities based on Models 4–7 of Table A6 in the Appendix. 95% confidence interval.

likelihood of being categorised as a postponer, while increasing that of being an 'abandoner'.

For women, a higher educational level is positively associated with undesired childlessness and negatively correlated with voluntary childlessness (in line with the findings reported by Kreyenfeld and Konietzka



**Figure 6.** Predicted probabilities of being voluntary childless, postponer, abandoner or involuntarily childless according to different socio-demographic characteristics, for men (black line) and women (grey line). Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' elaboration. Note: predicted probabilities based on Models 0–3 of Table F in the Appendix. 95% confidence interval.

2017). For men, the relationship between educational level and being voluntary childless is a reversed U-shaped one. The least and the most educated are simultaneously less likely to be childless by choice and more likely to be involuntarily childless. No significant difference emerges across different educational levels on the probability of

postponing or abandoning parenthood plans, both between women and men.

Change and stability in partnership status play an important role in shaping fertility intentions. Those who were unpartnered in both waves or ended a partnership in-between waves have a higher probability of being in the group of voluntary childless. On the opposite, being constantly in a partnership increases the probability of being categorised in the group of involuntary childlessness. Forming a new union is also associated with a higher likelihood of being a postponer and thus with changing mind about desired childlessness, whereas those who ended an existing union are the least likely to be in this group.

Intentions to be childless are only negligibly affected by activity status. Not being in paid work in both waves of the survey is associated with a higher likelihood of reporting voluntary absence of children and a lower likelihood of being involuntarily childless; the opposite relations hold for those who are in stable employment.

#### **5.4. Sensitivity analyses**

The empirical analyses reported above include both partnered and non-partnered individuals and respondents aged between 20 and 50 years. Fertility choices are strongly affected by the individual's age and are typically made at the couple level – looking for a partner is part of the decision-making process in regard to having a child (Jalovaara and Fasang 2017). Therefore, we performed a series of sensitivity analyses to address these potential limitations.

Firstly, we replicated our analyses considering only partnered individuals. We found small differences in the size of (some of) the coefficients and their significance levels; however, the overall pattern of the associations does not change. Secondly, the analyses were replicated on two subsamples in different age groups: the first includes only individuals over 35; the second subsample includes only respondents aged between 30 and 39. Once again the results do not substantially differ from the ones reported above.

A further limitation of our analytic strategy is that, also due to the small number of cases available, we pooled together respondents from a quite heterogeneous group of countries. The sample size was not sufficient to fit country-specific regression models, indeed. However, we tried to partially address this issue by running the analyses on Western European countries only, thus excluding former communist countries. The results

of these latter analyses indicate that the signs of the associations reported above do not change when excluding Eastern European countries from the analyses.<sup>8</sup>

## 5. Conclusions

After reaching its lowest level among cohorts of women born between 1935 and 1945, the childlessness rate in Europe has been on the increase among post-WWII birth cohorts, reaching levels around or higher than 30% in several countries.

Even if the quota of childless women among the 1970s birth cohorts is similar to that registered at the beginning of the twentieth century, it has been argued that the paths to childlessness are markedly different from what they were in the past. In particular, scholars have suggested that there has been an increase in the number of women who are (involuntarily) childless due to the postponement of the decision to become a parent and, most importantly, in the number of women who are voluntarily childless. Nonetheless, most of the previous literature on the topic has focused on the ‘accidental’ or ‘involuntary’ component of childlessness. The aim of this paper, instead, has been to shed light on the decision to be childless, and it has done so by focusing on the factors associated with the intention to remain childless in the short term and the realisation and stability of such intention.

The results of our analyses indicate that ideational factors – i.e. individual’s attitudes, social norms and PBC – are significantly associated with the intention to be childless. Next, according to our results, a preference for not having a child in the three years following the interview is more frequently realised than a preference for becoming a parent. Short-term intentions seem to be a better predictor of future behaviour in the case of childlessness than in the case of parenthood. However, contrary to our expectations, individuals’ intentions to be childless are not more stable than the intention to become a parent. It is only among those who are 40 years old or older that childlessness intentions are maintained more frequently than parenthood ones.

When considering socio-economic and ideational factors connected with the stability of childlessness intentions, we have found that socio-economic characteristics and other factors connected with individuals’ perceived control, only weakly relate with being voluntarily or involuntarily

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<sup>8</sup>All of the results of the sensitivity analyses are available, upon request, from the authors.

childless. On the contrary, individuals' attitudes towards parenthood and perceived social pressure to become a parent are important correlates of the stability of childlessness and parenthood intentions. Thus, our analysis suggests that being childless is not always the result of perceived or actual (lack of) opportunities and external constraints to childbearing, but it could be a choice originating from personal and intimate domains of life.

This study has a number of important limitations, especially in relation to the limited length of the observation period and the need to pool data from different countries. These shortcomings are likely to be overcome when more and better data will be made available. Adopting a long-term perspective on voluntary childless plans remains an important challenge for future research. In contrast to motherhood, childlessness is a choice that remains reversible for a long time. Future studies should focus on the evolution of the life course of voluntary childless individuals, considering childlessness as both a preference and an outcome. In spite of these limitations, however, our results can improve our understanding of the dynamics of the micro-level social processes governing childlessness intentions and thus voluntary childlessness.

### Notes on contributors

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### Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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## Appendix

**Table A1.** Descriptive statistics of the analysis related to formation of intentions to be childless.

Variables	Perspective Parent					Perspective Childless				
	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max
20–24	2,561	0.26	0.44	0	1	2,533	0.51	0.50	0	1
25–29	2,561	0.34	0.47	0	1	2,533	0.21	0.41	0	1
30–34	2,561	0.20	0.40	0	1	2,533	0.09	0.28	0	1
35–39	2,561	0.12	0.32	0	1	2,533	0.07	0.26	0	1
+40	2,561	0.08	0.27	0	1	2,533	0.12	0.33	0	1
Male	2,561	0.54	0.50	0	1	2,533	0.57	0.50	0	1
Low Education	2,561	0.09	0.29	0	1	2,533	0.10	0.30	0	1
Intermediate Education	2,561	0.56	0.50	0	1	2,533	0.67	0.47	0	1
High Education	2,561	0.35	0.48	0	1	2,533	0.23	0.42	0	1
In couple	2,561	0.52	0.50	0	1	2,533	0.37	0.48	0	1
Not Working	2,561	0.18	0.39	0	1	2,533	0.17	0.37	0	1
Working	2,561	0.74	0.44	0	1	2,533	0.58	0.49	0	1
Student	2,561	0.08	0.28	0	1	2,533	0.26	0.44	0	1
Positive Attitudes	2,561	3.23	0.58	0	5	2,533	2.97	0.60	0	5
Negative Attitudes	2,561	2.88	0.66	0	5	2,533	3.17	0.61	0	5
Subjective Norms	2,561	3.03	0.91	0	5	2,533	2.20	0.93	0	5
PBC	2,561	2.03	1.13	0	5	2,533	2.25	1.13	0	5

**Table A2.** Descriptive statistics of the analysis related to the realisation of the intention to be childless.

Variables	Realised intentions to be childless					Become Parent				
	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max
20–24	2,295	0.52	0.50	0	1	238	0.44	0.50	0	1
25–29	2,295	0.20	0.40	0	1	238	0.24	0.43	0	1
30–34	2,295	0.09	0.28	0	1	238	0.11	0.32	0	1
35–39	2,295	0.07	0.26	0	1	238	0.11	0.31	0	1
+40	2,295	0.13	0.33	0	1	238	0.11	0.31	0	1
Men	2,295	0.57	0.50	0	1	238	0.54	0.50	0	1
Low Education	2,295	0.10	0.30	0	1	238	0.14	0.35	0	1
Intermediate Education	2,295	0.67	0.47	0	1	238	0.64	0.48	0	1
High Education	2,295	0.23	0.42	0	1	238	0.22	0.42	0	1
In couple	2,295	0.36	0.48	0	1	238	0.42	0.50	0	1
Not working or job loss	2,295	0.17	0.37	0	1	238	0.18	0.39	0	1
Entry in labour market	2,295	0.57	0.50	0	1	238	0.68	0.47	0	1
Stable Job	2,295	0.27	0.44	0	1	238	0.14	0.35	0	1
Positive Attitudes	2,295	2.97	0.60	0	5	238	2.96	0.58	0	5
Negative Attitudes	2,295	3.18	0.61	0	5	238	3.06	0.62	1	5
Subjective Norms	2,295	2.19	0.92	0	5	238	2.34	0.97	1	5
PBC	2,295	2.25	1.14	0	5	238	2.23	1.13	0	5

**Table A3.** Descriptive statistics of the analysis related to the stability of intentions to be childless.

Variables	Voluntary childless					Postponers				
	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max
20–24	1,333	0.50	0.50	0	1	962	0.54	0.50	0	1
25–29	1,333	0.14	0.35	0	1	962	0.29	0.45	0	1

(Continued)

Table A3. Continued.

Variables	Voluntary childless					Postponers					
	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	
30–34	1,333	0.08	0.27	0	1	962	0.09	0.29	0	1	
35–39	1,333	0.08	0.27	0	1	962	0.05	0.23	0	1	
+40	1,333	0.20	0.40	0	1	962	0.03	0.17	0	1	
Men	1,333	0.57	0.50	0	1	962	0.57	0.50	0	1	
Low Education	1,333	0.10	0.30	0	1	962	0.09	0.29	0	1	
Intermediate Education	1,333	0.70	0.46	0	1	962	0.64	0.48	0	1	
High Education	1,333	0.20	0.40	0	1	962	0.27	0.44	0	1	
Serial single	1,333	0.50	0.50	0	1	962	0.45	0.50	0	1	
New partner	1,333	0.11	0.32	0	1	962	0.22	0.42	0	1	
Dissolution	1,333	0.10	0.30	0	1	962	0.04	0.21	0	1	
Stable partner	1,333	0.29	0.45	0	1	962	0.29	0.45	0	1	
Not working or job loss	1,333	0.28	0.45	0	1	962	0.24	0.42	0	1	
Entry in labour market	1,333	0.21	0.41	0	1	962	0.27	0.44	0	1	
Stable Job	1,333	0.51	0.50	0	1	962	0.50	0.50	0	1	
Positive Attitudes	1,333	2.91	0.60	0	5	962	3.05	0.59	0	5	
Negative Attitudes	1,333	3.21	0.61	0	5	962	3.14	0.62	1	5	
Subjective Norms	1,333	2.12	0.93	0	5	962	2.28	0.90	0	5	
PBC	1,333	2.19	1.16	0	5	962	2.34	1.09	0	5	
		<i>Abandoners</i>					<i>Involuntary Childless</i>				
Variables	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. Err.	Min	Max	
20–24	512	0.28	0.45	0	1	1,318	0.27	0.44	0	1	
25–29	512	0.25	0.43	0	1	1,318	0.35	0.48	0	1	
30–34	512	0.17	0.37	0	1	1,318	0.19	0.39	0	1	
35–39	512	0.13	0.34	0	1	1,318	0.13	0.33	0	1	
+40	512	0.18	0.38	0	1	1,318	0.07	0.25	0	1	
Men	512	0.59	0.49	0	1	1,318	0.57	0.50	0	1	
Low Education	512	0.11	0.32	0	1	1,318	0.08	0.27	0	1	
Intermediate Education	512	0.58	0.50	0	1	1,318	0.56	0.50	0	1	
High Education	512	0.31	0.46	0	1	1,318	0.37	0.48	0	1	
Serial single	512	0.59	0.49	0	1	1,318	0.41	0.49	0	1	
New partner	512	0.07	0.26	0	1	1,318	0.14	0.34	0	1	
Dissolution	512	0.09	0.28	0	1	1,318	0.07	0.26	0	1	
Stable partner	512	0.26	0.44	0	1	1,318	0.39	0.49	0	1	
Not working or job loss	512	0.25	0.43	0	1	1,318	0.19	0.39	0	1	
Entry in labour market	512	0.16	0.37	0	1	1,318	0.16	0.36	0	1	
Stable Job	512	0.59	0.49	0	1	1,318	0.66	0.47	0	1	
Positive Attitudes	512	3.22	0.63	0	5	1,318	3.28	0.57	1	5	
Negative Attitudes	512	2.85	0.67	0	4	1,318	2.86	0.67	0	5	
Subjective Norms	512	3.02	0.85	1	5	1,318	2.98	0.92	0	5	
PBC	512	2.18	1.14	0	5	1,318	2.08	1.14	0	5	

**Table A4.** Result of a series of logistic regressions predicting the likelihood of having intentions to be childless (1) rather than intentions to be parent (0) in the short-term.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M8	M9
<i>Age of respondent (ref. 20–24)</i>									
25–29	–0.646*** (0.094)	–0.644*** (0.139)	–0.647*** (0.094)	–0.647*** (0.094)	–0.642*** (0.094)	–0.647*** (0.094)	–0.646*** (0.094)	–0.642*** (0.094)	–0.648*** (0.094)
30–34	–0.666*** (0.119)	–0.471*** (0.182)	–0.667*** (0.119)	–0.668*** (0.119)	–0.659*** (0.119)	–0.666*** (0.119)	–0.665*** (0.119)	–0.659*** (0.119)	–0.664*** (0.119)
34–39	–0.263** (0.133)	0.250 (0.193)	–0.263** (0.134)	–0.270** (0.134)	–0.259* (0.133)	–0.265** (0.133)	–0.261* (0.133)	–0.257* (0.134)	–0.261* (0.133)
+40	0.642*** (0.133)	1.491*** (0.200)	0.639*** (0.133)	0.642*** (0.133)	0.641*** (0.133)	0.641*** (0.133)	0.640*** (0.133)	0.654*** (0.133)	0.638*** (0.133)
<i>Sex of respondent (ref. Women)</i>									
Men	0.391*** (0.075)	0.687*** (0.120)	0.511*** (0.095)	0.326*** (0.100)	0.440** (0.172)	–0.164 (0.370)	–0.087 (0.400)	0.773*** (0.213)	0.213 (0.154)
<i>Highest level of education (ref. Intermediate)</i>									
Low education	–0.092 (0.125)	–0.097 (0.126)	0.395* (0.225)	–0.091 (0.125)	–0.092 (0.126)	–0.092 (0.125)	–0.090 (0.125)	–0.088 (0.126)	–0.097 (0.125)
High education	–0.237*** (0.082)	–0.262*** (0.083)	–0.126 (0.116)	–0.239*** (0.082)	–0.252*** (0.083)	–0.234*** (0.082)	–0.237*** (0.082)	–0.242*** (0.082)	–0.237*** (0.082)
<i>Partnership status (ref. Single)</i>									
Couple	–0.912*** (0.086)	–0.919*** (0.086)	–0.912*** (0.086)	–0.995*** (0.120)	–0.915*** (0.086)	–0.916*** (0.086)	–0.916*** (0.086)	–0.919*** (0.086)	–0.909*** (0.086)
<i>Activity status (ref. Inactive/Unemployed)</i>									
Employed	–0.178* (0.099)	–0.202** (0.099)	–0.185* (0.099)	–0.180* (0.099)	–0.081 (0.154)	–0.180* (0.099)	–0.179* (0.099)	–0.181* (0.099)	–0.170* (0.099)
Student	0.499*** (0.131)	0.516*** (0.132)	0.501*** (0.131)	0.493*** (0.131)	0.329* (0.187)	0.499*** (0.131)	0.502*** (0.131)	0.503*** (0.131)	0.508*** (0.131)
<i>Home ownership (ref. No)</i>									
Yes	0.032 (0.086)	0.036 (0.087)	0.031 (0.086)	0.034 (0.086)	0.040 (0.086)	0.034 (0.086)	0.035 (0.086)	0.031 (0.086)	0.035 (0.086)
<i>TPB Factors</i>									
Negative Attitudes	1.126***	1.145***	1.130***	1.123***	1.131***	1.032***	1.127***	1.124***	1.130***

(Continued)

Table A4. Continued.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M8	M9
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.087)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Positive Attitudes	-1.168*** (0.069)	-1.168*** (0.069)	-1.171*** (0.069)	-1.171*** (0.069)	-1.167*** (0.069)	-1.169*** (0.069)	-1.253*** (0.099)	-1.170*** (0.069)	-1.168*** (0.069)
Subjective Norms	-1.017*** (0.042)	-1.017*** (0.042)	-1.019*** (0.042)	-1.016*** (0.042)	-1.020*** (0.042)	-1.017*** (0.042)	-1.017*** (0.042)	-0.939*** (0.058)	-1.017*** (0.042)
PBC	0.193*** (0.033)	0.195*** (0.033)	0.195*** (0.033)	0.195*** (0.033)	0.191*** (0.033)	0.195*** (0.033)	0.192*** (0.033)	0.192*** (0.033)	0.146*** (0.049)
<i>Country (ref. Italy)</i>									
Austria	-0.145 (0.223)	-0.062 (0.228)	-0.133 (0.224)	-0.150 (0.223)	-0.140 (0.223)	-0.132 (0.223)	-0.147 (0.223)	-0.126 (0.223)	-0.148 (0.223)
France	-0.220 (0.253)	-0.112 (0.257)	-0.207 (0.254)	-0.217 (0.253)	-0.195 (0.253)	-0.218 (0.253)	-0.215 (0.253)	-0.181 (0.253)	-0.231 (0.253)
Germany	-0.114 (0.308)	-0.029 (0.314)	-0.101 (0.310)	-0.117 (0.308)	-0.127 (0.309)	-0.106 (0.308)	-0.108 (0.308)	-0.084 (0.309)	-0.116 (0.308)
Eastern Countries	-0.432* (0.223)	-0.383* (0.227)	-0.417* (0.224)	-0.444** (0.223)	-0.420* (0.223)	-0.422* (0.223)	-0.427* (0.223)	-0.410* (0.223)	-0.440** (0.223)
<i>Interactions</i>									
25–29 × Men		0.003 (0.178)							
30–34 × Men		-0.320 (0.225)							
34–30 × Men		-0.896*** (0.252)							
+40 × Men		-1.490*** (0.252)							
Low education × Men			-0.705*** (0.267)						
High education × Men			-0.205 (0.160)						
Couple × Men				0.143 (0.145)					

(Continued)

**Table A4.** Continued.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M8	M9
Employed × Men					-0.160 (0.191)				
Student × Men					0.402 (0.255)				
Negative Attitudes × Men						0.182 (0.119)			
Positive Attitudes × Men							0.154 (0.127)		
Subjective Norms × Men								-0.145* (0.075)	
PBC × Men									0.085 (0.064)
Observations	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094	5,094

Source: GGS Wave 1 and Wave 2, authors' elaboration. Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Sign. Levels: \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \* $p < 0.1$ .

**Table A5.** Result of a series of logistic regressions predicting the propensity of having intentions to be childless realised in the short-term among those who had intentions to be childless.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8
<i>Age of respondent (ref. 20–24)</i>									
25–29	-0.232 (0.198)	-0.212 (0.285)	-0.237 (0.199)	-0.226 (0.199)	-0.235 (0.199)	-0.234 (0.199)	-0.237 (0.199)	-0.226 (0.199)	-0.231 (0.199)
30–34	-0.386 (0.266)	-0.317 (0.400)	-0.403 (0.266)	-0.357 (0.266)	-0.386 (0.266)	-0.384 (0.266)	-0.392 (0.266)	-0.369 (0.266)	-0.376 (0.267)
34–39	-0.507* (0.278)	-0.081 (0.387)	-0.518* (0.278)	-0.454 (0.280)	-0.512* (0.278)	-0.508* (0.278)	-0.513* (0.278)	-0.512* (0.278)	-0.540* (0.278)
+40	-0.019 (0.280)	1.149** (0.460)	-0.010 (0.280)	-0.007 (0.279)	-0.018 (0.281)	-0.022 (0.280)	-0.021 (0.280)	-0.016 (0.279)	0.034 (0.281)
<i>Sex of respondent (ref. Women)</i>									
Men	0.303* (0.158)	0.664*** (0.232)	0.454** (0.192)	0.524 (0.446)	0.026 (0.360)	0.046 (0.775)	0.665 (0.749)	0.726* (0.397)	1.088*** (0.333)

(Continued)

Table A5. Continued.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8
<i>Highest level of education (ref. Intermediate)</i>									
Low education	-0.535** (0.231)	-0.562** (0.233)	-0.504 (0.372)	-0.550** (0.232)	-0.528** (0.231)	-0.536** (0.231)	-0.536** (0.231)	-0.533** (0.231)	-0.512** (0.232)
High education	0.131 (0.187)	0.140 (0.190)	0.433 (0.267)	0.122 (0.188)	0.137 (0.188)	0.131 (0.187)	0.130 (0.187)	0.120 (0.188)	0.132 (0.187)
<i>Stability of partnership (ref. Serial single)</i>									
New partner	-3.086*** (0.253)	-3.126*** (0.255)	-3.071*** (0.253)	-3.038*** (0.368)	-3.083*** (0.253)	-3.085*** (0.253)	-3.088*** (0.253)	-3.081*** (0.253)	-3.094*** (0.254)
Dissolution	-0.676 (0.512)	-0.763 (0.514)	-0.640 (0.513)	-1.223** (0.618)	-0.680 (0.512)	-0.676 (0.512)	-0.672 (0.512)	-0.676 (0.512)	-0.676 (0.512)
Stable partner	-2.499*** (0.270)	-2.519*** (0.272)	-2.484*** (0.270)	-2.210*** (0.384)	-2.501*** (0.270)	-2.496*** (0.270)	-2.494*** (0.270)	-2.506*** (0.270)	-2.529*** (0.271)
<i>Stability of activity (ref. Not working or job loss)</i>									
Entry in LM	-0.156 (0.240)	-0.133 (0.241)	-0.164 (0.240)	-0.151 (0.241)	-0.400 (0.356)	-0.153 (0.240)	-0.154 (0.240)	-0.149 (0.240)	-0.174 (0.241)
Stable Job	-0.387* (0.209)	-0.413* (0.211)	-0.404* (0.210)	-0.381* (0.210)	-0.549* (0.310)	-0.388* (0.209)	-0.385* (0.209)	-0.398* (0.210)	-0.417** (0.210)
<i>Home Ownership (ref. No)</i>									
Yes	0.132 (0.174)	0.104 (0.176)	0.124 (0.175)	0.133 (0.175)	0.132 (0.175)	0.132 (0.174)	0.132 (0.174)	0.131 (0.175)	0.128 (0.175)
<i>TPB Factors</i>									
Negative Attitudes	0.389*** (0.123)	0.431*** (0.126)	0.395*** (0.123)	0.388*** (0.124)	0.392*** (0.124)	0.347** (0.174)	0.386*** (0.123)	0.391*** (0.123)	0.365*** (0.123)
Positive Attitudes	0.044 (0.128)	0.031 (0.129)	0.037 (0.129)	0.057 (0.129)	0.040 (0.128)	0.046 (0.129)	0.113 (0.190)	0.041 (0.129)	0.051 (0.129)
Subjective Norms	-0.160* (0.085)	-0.165* (0.085)	-0.165* (0.085)	-0.168** (0.086)	-0.160* (0.086)	-0.160* (0.085)	-0.159* (0.085)	-0.060 (0.121)	-0.164* (0.085)
PBC	0.082 (0.070)	0.078 (0.070)	0.081 (0.070)	0.076 (0.070)	0.084 (0.070)	0.083 (0.070)	0.084 (0.070)	0.078 (0.070)	0.278*** (0.102)
<i>Country (ref. Italy)</i>									
Austria	0.392 (0.463)	0.614 (0.475)	0.361 (0.466)	0.450 (0.464)	0.418 (0.465)	0.401 (0.463)	0.403 (0.464)	0.429 (0.464)	0.393 (0.464)

(Continued)



**Table A5.** Continued.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8
France	0.089 (0.523)	0.331 (0.537)	0.035 (0.526)	0.129 (0.524)	0.116 (0.525)	0.093 (0.523)	0.094 (0.524)	0.150 (0.526)	0.120 (0.525)
Germany	0.637 (0.612)	0.890 (0.628)	0.594 (0.615)	0.679 (0.613)	0.670 (0.614)	0.645 (0.612)	0.635 (0.612)	0.681 (0.614)	0.645 (0.614)
Eastern Countries	-0.824* (0.458)	-0.611 (0.470)	-0.852* (0.461)	-0.754 (0.459)	-0.797* (0.459)	-0.818* (0.458)	-0.823* (0.458)	-0.786* (0.459)	-0.816* (0.459)
<i>Interactions</i>									
25–29 × Men		-0.062 (0.380)							
30–34 × Men		-0.143 (0.509)							
34–30 × Men		-0.794 (0.525)							
+40 × Men		-2.082*** (0.537)							
Low education × Men			-0.077 (0.469)						
High education × Men			-0.601* (0.362)						
New partner × Men				-0.082 (0.498)					
Dissolution × Men				1.531 (1.219)					
Stable partner × Men				-0.524 (0.502)					
Entry LM × Men					0.452 (0.483)				
Stable employment × Men					0.297 (0.404)				
Negative Attitudes × Men						0.083 (0.244)			

(Continued)



Table A5. Continued.

Variables	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8
Positive Attitudes × Men							-0.123 (0.249)		
Subjective Norms × Men								-0.184 (0.158)	
PBC × Men									-0.363*** (0.135)
Observations	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533	2,533

Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' elaboration. Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Sign. Levels: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table A6. Result of a series of multinomial logistic regressions predicting patterns of childlessness (comparison group is involuntary childless).

Variables	A. Voluntary Childless							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Age of respondent (ref. 20–24)</i>								
25–29	-1.044*** (0.206)	-1.060*** (0.131)	-1.047*** (0.131)	-1.056*** (0.131)	-1.051*** (0.131)	-1.053*** (0.131)	-1.047*** (0.131)	-1.058*** (0.131)
30–34	-0.109 (0.256)	-0.655*** (0.165)	-0.639*** (0.165)	-0.650*** (0.165)	-0.641*** (0.165)	-0.649*** (0.165)	-0.637*** (0.166)	-0.647*** (0.165)
34–39	0.723*** (0.255)	-0.154 (0.177)	-0.146 (0.177)	-0.164 (0.177)	-0.155 (0.177)	-0.152 (0.177)	-0.146 (0.178)	-0.151 (0.177)
+40	2.852*** (0.286)	1.462*** (0.181)	1.471*** (0.181)	1.448*** (0.181)	1.457*** (0.181)	1.459*** (0.181)	1.473*** (0.181)	1.450*** (0.181)
<i>Sex of respondent (ref. Women)</i>								
Men	0.990*** (0.162)	0.591*** (0.128)	0.297** (0.150)	0.352* (0.208)	-1.143** (0.515)	0.075 (0.538)	0.860*** (0.288)	0.167 (0.212)
<i>Highest level of education (ref. Intermediate)</i>								
Low education	-0.206 (0.177)	0.544 (0.332)	-0.212 (0.176)	-0.222 (0.176)	-0.206 (0.176)	-0.209 (0.175)	-0.212 (0.176)	-0.217 (0.175)
High education	-0.532*** (0.117)	-0.327** (0.163)	-0.479*** (0.116)	-0.489*** (0.116)	-0.470*** (0.115)	-0.478*** (0.115)	-0.486*** (0.116)	-0.478*** (0.115)

(Continued)

**Table A6.** Continued.

Variables	A. Voluntary Childless							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Stability of partnership (ref. Serial single)</i>								
New partner	-0.989*** (0.159)	-0.959*** (0.158)	-1.251*** (0.248)	-0.956*** (0.158)	-0.978*** (0.158)	-0.966*** (0.158)	-0.964*** (0.158)	-0.964*** (0.158)
Dissolution	-0.474** (0.189)	-0.448** (0.188)	-0.665** (0.296)	-0.446** (0.188)	-0.457** (0.188)	-0.445** (0.188)	-0.442** (0.188)	-0.447** (0.188)
Stable partner	-1.466*** (0.142)	-1.428*** (0.141)	-1.514*** (0.191)	-1.428*** (0.141)	-1.435*** (0.140)	-1.433*** (0.140)	-1.439*** (0.141)	-1.425*** (0.141)
<i>Stability of activity (ref. Not working or job loss)</i>								
Entry in LM	-0.219 (0.152)	-0.232 (0.151)	-0.228 (0.151)	-0.561** (0.232)	-0.228 (0.151)	-0.230 (0.151)	-0.233 (0.151)	-0.224 (0.151)
Stable Job	-0.679*** (0.130)	-0.647*** (0.129)	-0.640*** (0.129)	-0.611*** (0.190)	-0.644*** (0.129)	-0.638*** (0.129)	-0.648*** (0.129)	-0.631*** (0.129)
<i>Home Ownership (ref. No)</i>								
Yes	0.055 (0.119)	0.047 (0.118)	0.043 (0.118)	0.052 (0.118)	0.048 (0.118)	0.050 (0.118)	0.046 (0.118)	0.051 (0.118)
<i>TPB factors</i>								
Negative Attitudes	1.456*** (0.088)	1.414*** (0.086)	1.410*** (0.086)	1.418*** (0.086)	1.146*** (0.119)	1.411*** (0.086)	1.408*** (0.086)	1.418*** (0.086)
Positive Attitudes	-1.403*** (0.092)	-1.397*** (0.092)	-1.397*** (0.092)	-1.395*** (0.092)	-1.404*** (0.092)	-1.455*** (0.133)	-1.398*** (0.092)	-1.397*** (0.092)
Subjective Norms	-1.162*** (0.059)	-1.156*** (0.059)	-1.154*** (0.059)	-1.156*** (0.059)	-1.151*** (0.059)	-1.152*** (0.059)	-1.050*** (0.082)	-1.153*** (0.059)
PBC	0.164*** (0.045)	0.161*** (0.045)	0.161*** (0.045)	0.159*** (0.045)	0.168*** (0.045)	0.158*** (0.045)	0.159*** (0.045)	0.090 (0.067)
<i>Country (ref. Italy)</i>								
Austria	-0.401 (0.326)	-0.536* (0.317)	-0.551* (0.315)	-0.560* (0.315)	-0.504 (0.314)	-0.558* (0.315)	-0.526* (0.315)	-0.555* (0.314)
France	-0.590 (0.367)	-0.762** (0.358)	-0.781** (0.357)	-0.766** (0.356)	-0.757** (0.356)	-0.774** (0.357)	-0.727** (0.357)	-0.791** (0.356)
Germany	-0.309	-0.448	-0.483	-0.479	-0.430	-0.461	-0.427	-0.469

(Continued)



Table A6. Continued.

Variables	A. Voluntary Childless							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Eastern Countries	(0.443) -1.362*** (0.331)	(0.434) -1.444*** (0.322)	(0.432) -1.467*** (0.320)	(0.432) -1.470*** (0.320)	(0.430) -1.426*** (0.319)	(0.432) -1.462*** (0.320)	(0.433) -1.433*** (0.320)	(0.431) -1.473*** (0.319)
<i>Interaction</i>								
25–29 × Men	-0.032 (0.260)							
30–34 × Men	-0.870*** (0.320)							
34–30 × Men	-1.518*** (0.337)							
+40 × Men	-2.394*** (0.348)							
Low education × Men		-1.067*** (0.388)						
High education × Men		-0.267 (0.223)						
New partner × Men			0.465 (0.310)					
Dissolution × Men			0.352 (0.373)					
Stable partner × Men			0.131 (0.225)					
Entry LM × Men				0.559* (0.304)				
Stable employment × Men				-0.046 (0.243)				
Negative Attitudes × Men					0.507*** (0.164)			
Positive Attitudes × Men						0.107 (0.170)		

(Continued)

**Table A6.** Continued.

Variables	A. Voluntary Childless							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Subjective Norms × Men							-0.181*	
							(0.104)	
PBC × Men								0.122
								(0.088)
Observations	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125
Variables	B. Wavers: Postponer							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Age of respondent (ref. 20–24)</i>								
25–29	-0.528***	-0.568***	-0.559***	-0.563***	-0.565***	-0.562***	-0.564***	-0.566***
	(0.175)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.119)
30–34	-0.619**	-0.762***	-0.753***	-0.758***	-0.760***	-0.758***	-0.756***	-0.756***
	(0.253)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)
34–39	-0.506*	-0.802***	-0.798***	-0.811***	-0.800***	-0.800***	-0.795***	-0.801***
	(0.289)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
+40	0.005	-0.724***	-0.719***	-0.739***	-0.729***	-0.729***	-0.725***	-0.730***
	(0.396)	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.250)
<i>Sex of respondent (ref. Women)</i>								
Men	0.465***	0.312**	0.162	0.198	0.063	-0.514	0.193	0.044
	(0.156)	(0.129)	(0.151)	(0.211)	(0.496)	(0.534)	(0.289)	(0.215)
<i>Highest level of education (ref. Intermediate)</i>								
Low education	-0.041	0.434	-0.038	-0.055	-0.038	-0.043	-0.043	-0.048
	(0.177)	(0.346)	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.176)	(0.176)	(0.177)
High education	-0.180	-0.032	-0.169	-0.184*	-0.166	-0.171	-0.166	-0.168
	(0.111)	(0.156)	(0.110)	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.110)
<i>Stability of partnership (ref. Serial single)</i>								
New partner	0.039	0.052	0.032	0.061	0.049	0.051	0.050	0.051
	(0.140)	(0.139)	(0.213)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)

(Continued)

Table A6. Continued.

Variables	B. Wavers: Postponer							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Dissolution	-0.986*** (0.216)	-0.957*** (0.215)	-1.319*** (0.358)	-0.960*** (0.215)	-0.968*** (0.215)	-0.958*** (0.215)	-0.960*** (0.215)	-0.957*** (0.215)
Stable partner	-0.733*** (0.136)	-0.709*** (0.136)	-0.700*** (0.187)	-0.707*** (0.136)	-0.717*** (0.136)	-0.719*** (0.136)	-0.715*** (0.136)	-0.708*** (0.136)
<i>Stability of activity (ref. Not working or job loss)</i>								
Entry in LM	0.120 (0.148)	0.115 (0.148)	0.113 (0.148)	-0.093 (0.224)	0.117 (0.148)	0.116 (0.148)	0.117 (0.148)	0.120 (0.148)
Stable Job	-0.293** (0.129)	-0.288** (0.129)	-0.278** (0.129)	-0.191 (0.191)	-0.279** (0.129)	-0.279** (0.129)	-0.279** (0.129)	-0.274** (0.129)
<i>Home Ownership (ref. No)</i>								
Yes	0.076 (0.119)	0.069 (0.119)	0.074 (0.119)	0.074 (0.119)	0.069 (0.119)	0.072 (0.119)	0.068 (0.119)	0.070 (0.119)
<i>TPB factors</i>								
Negative Attitudes	1.041*** (0.083)	1.020*** (0.082)	1.018*** (0.082)	1.022*** (0.082)	0.996*** (0.117)	1.017*** (0.082)	1.020*** (0.082)	1.021*** (0.082)
Positive Attitudes	-1.059*** (0.090)	-1.061*** (0.089)	-1.059*** (0.089)	-1.057*** (0.089)	-1.062*** (0.089)	-1.180*** (0.129)	-1.058*** (0.089)	-1.059*** (0.089)
Subjective Norms	-0.854*** (0.057)	-0.856*** (0.057)	-0.856*** (0.057)	-0.857*** (0.057)	-0.855*** (0.057)	-0.853*** (0.057)	-0.859*** (0.081)	-0.853*** (0.057)
PBC	0.173*** (0.044)	0.171*** (0.044)	0.169*** (0.044)	0.167*** (0.044)	0.172*** (0.044)	0.168*** (0.044)	0.170*** (0.044)	0.132** (0.065)
<i>Country (ref. Italy)</i>								
Austria	0.488 (0.505)	0.445 (0.505)	0.447 (0.505)	0.431 (0.504)	0.440 (0.505)	0.431 (0.505)	0.436 (0.504)	0.442 (0.504)
France	0.630 (0.531)	0.576 (0.530)	0.588 (0.530)	0.588 (0.530)	0.582 (0.530)	0.582 (0.530)	0.568 (0.530)	0.574 (0.530)
Germany	0.717 (0.588)	0.682 (0.588)	0.686 (0.587)	0.664 (0.587)	0.674 (0.587)	0.684 (0.587)	0.672 (0.587)	0.680 (0.587)

(Continued)

**Table A6.** Continued.

Variables	B. Wavers: Postponer							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Eastern Countries	0.387 (0.505)	0.371 (0.504)	0.373 (0.505)	0.364 (0.504)	0.371 (0.504)	0.370 (0.504)	0.361 (0.504)	0.366 (0.504)
<i>Interaction</i>								
25–29 × Men	–0.084 (0.229)							
30–34 × Men	–0.247 (0.314)							
34–30 × Men	–0.529 (0.375)							
+40 × Men	–1.215** (0.497)							
Low education × Men		–0.661* (0.400)						
High education × Men		–0.250 (0.213)						
New partner × Men			0.028 (0.274)					
Dissolution × Men			0.579 (0.440)					
Stable partner × Men			–0.034 (0.225)					
Entry LM × Men				0.362 (0.296)				
Stable employment × Men				–0.154 (0.245)				
Negative Attitudes × Men					0.055 (0.158)			
Positive Attitudes × Men						0.221 (0.167)		

(Continued)

Table A6. Continued.

Variables	B. Wavers: Postponer							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Subjective Norms × Men							0.011 (0.104)	
PBC × Men								0.067 (0.087)
Observations	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125
Variables	C. Wavers: Abandoner							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Age of respondent (ref. 20–24)</i>								
25–29	–0.220 (0.232)	–0.248* (0.150)	–0.234 (0.150)	–0.238 (0.150)	–0.241 (0.150)	–0.243 (0.150)	–0.240 (0.150)	–0.246 (0.150)
30–34	0.415 (0.262)	–0.024 (0.174)	–0.008 (0.174)	–0.012 (0.174)	–0.014 (0.174)	–0.020 (0.173)	–0.014 (0.173)	–0.017 (0.173)
34–39	0.469* (0.282)	0.159 (0.190)	0.167 (0.190)	0.171 (0.190)	0.160 (0.190)	0.161 (0.190)	0.166 (0.190)	0.161 (0.190)
+40	1.957*** (0.305)	1.113*** (0.197)	1.129*** (0.197)	1.122*** (0.197)	1.112*** (0.197)	1.111*** (0.197)	1.117*** (0.197)	1.106*** (0.197)
<i>Sex of respondent (ref. Women)</i>								
Men	0.386* (0.207)	0.195 (0.150)	–0.111 (0.154)	0.125 (0.232)	–1.038** (0.478)	–0.387 (0.612)	0.159 (0.394)	–0.140 (0.231)
<i>Highest level of education (ref. Intermediate)</i>								
Low education	0.259 (0.186)	0.666* (0.346)	0.262 (0.186)	0.263 (0.185)	0.269 (0.186)	0.264 (0.185)	0.260 (0.185)	0.256 (0.185)
High education	–0.218* (0.124)	–0.042 (0.177)	–0.200 (0.123)	–0.191 (0.123)	–0.191 (0.123)	–0.197 (0.123)	–0.197 (0.123)	–0.196 (0.123)
<i>Stability of partnership (ref. Serial single)</i>								
New partner	–1.040*** (0.203)	–1.025*** (0.203)	–1.462*** (0.348)	–1.028*** (0.203)	–1.033*** (0.203)	–1.026*** (0.203)	–1.026*** (0.203)	–1.025*** (0.203)
Dissolution	–0.145 (0.207)	–0.126 (0.207)	–0.459 (0.334)	–0.125 (0.207)	–0.140 (0.207)	–0.128 (0.206)	–0.126 (0.206)	–0.129 (0.206)

(Continued)



**Table A6.** Continued.

Variables	C. Wavers: Abandoner							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Stable partner	-0.913*** (0.155)	-0.890*** (0.155)	-1.031*** (0.212)	-0.896*** (0.154)	-0.899*** (0.155)	-0.900*** (0.155)	-0.897*** (0.155)	-0.890*** (0.155)
<i>Stability of activity (ref. Not working or job loss)</i>								
Entry in LM	-0.133 (0.176)	-0.134 (0.176)	-0.126 (0.176)	0.057 (0.265)	-0.129 (0.176)	-0.131 (0.176)	-0.131 (0.176)	-0.125 (0.176)
Stable Job	-0.257* (0.141)	-0.243* (0.141)	-0.235* (0.141)	-0.218 (0.214)	-0.237* (0.141)	-0.233* (0.141)	-0.236* (0.141)	-0.227 (0.141)
<i>Home Ownership (ref. No)</i>								
Yes	-0.067 (0.138)	-0.072 (0.138)	-0.079 (0.138)	-0.073 (0.138)	-0.075 (0.138)	-0.074 (0.138)	-0.077 (0.138)	-0.075 (0.138)
<i>TPB factors</i>								
Negative Attitudes	0.146* (0.084)	0.126 (0.083)	0.125 (0.083)	0.123 (0.083)	-0.071 (0.118)	0.124 (0.083)	0.125 (0.083)	0.132 (0.083)
Positive Attitudes	-0.272*** (0.098)	-0.269*** (0.098)	-0.269*** (0.098)	-0.266*** (0.098)	-0.279*** (0.098)	-0.339** (0.142)	-0.266*** (0.098)	-0.266*** (0.098)
Subjective Norms	-0.027 (0.068)	-0.027 (0.068)	-0.025 (0.068)	-0.024 (0.068)	-0.022 (0.068)	-0.024 (0.068)	-0.004 (0.098)	-0.025 (0.068)
PBC	0.073 (0.049)	0.071 (0.049)	0.073 (0.049)	0.069 (0.049)	0.079 (0.049)	0.068 (0.049)	0.070 (0.049)	0.015 (0.074)
<i>Country (ref. Italy)</i>								
Austria	0.211 (0.342)	0.145 (0.340)	0.146 (0.340)	0.142 (0.339)	0.178 (0.340)	0.138 (0.340)	0.147 (0.340)	0.147 (0.339)
France	-0.302 (0.410)	-0.368 (0.407)	-0.346 (0.407)	-0.353 (0.407)	-0.333 (0.407)	-0.348 (0.407)	-0.350 (0.407)	-0.364 (0.406)
Germany	0.056 (0.537)	-0.024 (0.535)	-0.061 (0.535)	-0.038 (0.533)	-0.020 (0.534)	-0.024 (0.534)	-0.019 (0.535)	-0.026 (0.534)
Eastern Countries	-0.118 (0.339)	-0.163 (0.337)	-0.169 (0.338)	-0.157 (0.336)	-0.128 (0.337)	-0.157 (0.337)	-0.154 (0.337)	-0.159 (0.336)
<i>Interaction</i>								
25-29 × Men	-0.061 (0.294)							

(Continued)

Table A6. Continued.

Variables	C. Wavers: Abandoner							
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
30–34 × Men	–0.723** (0.331)							
34–30 × Men	–0.531 (0.361)							
+40 × Men	–1.441*** (0.380)							
Low education × Men		–0.572 (0.407)						
High education × Men		–0.281 (0.240)						
New partner × Men			0.691 (0.423)					
Dissolution × Men			0.535 (0.415)					
Stable partner × Men			0.219 (0.253)					
Entry LM × Men				–0.319 (0.352)				
Stable employment × Men				–0.027 (0.269)				
Negative Attitudes × Men					0.378** (0.161)			
Positive Attitudes × Men						0.136 (0.186)		
Subjective Norms × Men							–0.037 (0.126)	
PBC × Men								0.094 (0.096)
Observations	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125	4,125

Source: GGS Wave1 and Wave2, authors' elaboration. Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Sign. Levels: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .