ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN WOMEN: SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR FAMILIAL AND PROFESSIONAL CAREERS

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN WOMEN: SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR FAMILIAL AND PROFESSIONAL CAREERS

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to delineate the components of achievement motivation, both as it assumes the form of a cultural norm and also as it becomes manifest as a need within the personality structure due to the emphasis placed on this norm in the familial, educational and economic institutions. An examination is made of McClelland's theory of achievement motivation and, having determined that his need Achievement concept is too limited, an attempt is made to develop a parallel theory of motivation for women, namely, a theory of vicarious achievement motivation.

In North American society the achievement motive is ambiguous and poorly defined, hence a further investigation is made to determine whether or not those college women who are high on achievement motivation will anticipate a greater degree of conflict between marital and professional career roles at time of marriage than will those women who are low on this need. The achievement need then, together with the needs for dominance, succorance, and nurturance, are examined as a source of influence on occupational affiliation. In determining the possibility of specific personality needs acting as a differentiating factor between familial and occupational career orientations, the author also attempts to assess the relative potential of the sociological versus the psychological approach for future refinements to current theories of human motivation. Consideration is

then given to the nature of the prominence and salience hierarchies of role identities for women both as they relate to the perception of role conflict and, as they relate to vicarious achievement motivation as opposed to achievement motivation in the McClelland context. This involves an investigation of the hypothesis that women enrolled in the subsidiary, expressive role type of professions such as Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education would be more highly oriented toward the traditional wife-mother role identities than would those women enrolled in the more demanding, instrumental type of professions such as Science or High School Teaching. Utilizing the subjective career concept, a heuristic model depicting the development of role conflict perception is then outlined.

Finally, attention is focused on the effects of achievement motivation on preferences for life styles. This consideration is made within the framework of Bates' original treatment of the position and role concepts. The possibility of various modifications to life plans assuming the form of a mode of role conflict reduction is discussed. This necessitated an examination of the 'field of eligibles' for women who are high on need Achievement, together with types of accommodations to familial and occupational careers by such means as: delayed age at marriage, postponement or limitation of familial composition, and/or the choice of a profession which is subsidiary rather than competitive to the profession of the preferred mate. In the light of R. F. Winch's theory of complementary needs the author assesses just how realistically college women perceive their future preferences for an ideal mate. In conclusion, consideration is given to the

role(s) of the single individual who chooses not to marry, together with the implications for future marriage-career trends in the cybernetic era.

PREFACE

Originally, the primary purpose of this study was to investigate the various dimensions of mate selection as they pertain to potential professional women. Shortly after the research began, however, it was evident that preferences for marital and occupational careers are much more complex among professionals than among those women in occupations requiring little education or training. Hence, it was deemed essential to move back one step in order to determine if the achievement motive could be a differentiating factor influencing the divergent trends evident in both mate selection patterns and in preferences for life styles, among occupational career oriented versus familial career oriented women. Indeed, the question at this point was: What are the male-female differences in achievement motivation, and is it possible that the achievement motive can assume more than one form for women?

All these factors combined further stimulated an investigation into the problem of conflict between marital and career roles, and the possibility that the life styles of highly educated women may actually assume a mode of role conflict resolution. Thus, although the research diverted, in part, from its original intention, we believe that these findings presented below will add some small but new light to our knowledge of familial and occupational career patterns of professional women.

I would like to extend a special thank-you to Dr. Robert Chanteloup who not only designed all the computer programs for the statistical analysis but also offered many invaluable comments on the ideas as they developed. I should also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Robert Stebbins who frequently offered astute advice and criticisms to my work.

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My deepest appreciation must go to my good friend and supervisor, Fraine E. Whitney. Words seem so futile in such an expression of gratitude, for how can I ever adequately thank a man whose thirst for learning and sincerity of character have combined to stimulate me in the study of human behavior. He was always there to lend a hand when obstables made a continuation of the research seem impossible, and to encourage me when new findings were discovered. Professor Whitney, a sincere thank-you.

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CHAPTER I

Definition of Problem

At no other period in the history of homo sapiens has society so encouraged and stimulated its members to achieve. Achievement, be it in educational attainment, occupational success or marital adjustment, has become so inculcated into twentieth century society that it can readily be viewed as an established norm in a mass culture which is characterized by a standardization of values (Jeffreys, 1962). Within this value system a universalistic achievement pattern predominates. This is characterized by a pluralism of goals with the result that a hierarchical order of values is not well defined. This value system also emphasizes individualism in which one is held responsible merely for his own actions and not those of any groups to which he may belong. The net result of this system then, is an ambiguity or disequilibrium between values, norms and needs among females. Podell (1966:163) contends that:

> The essence of the problem appears to be that American females are expected to be primarily expressively oriented in a predominantly instrumental milieu. Their role expectations entail contradictory behavior patterns: Glamour and amour, domesticity and maternity vie with power and production, aggressiveness and competitiveness.

Due to these inconsistencies the appropriateness of a woman's behavior in marriage and career roles is no longer clearly defined. She may reject the prescriptions of her role and pursue a role of which society does not approve; or she may occupy more than one social position, each carrying conflicting prescriptions.

Partial adaptation to this dichotomy can be accomplished by occupying one of the more expressive occupational roles such as social work, primary school teaching, dancing or home decorating. Or she may pursue a career which is subordinate to that of a male such as that of a nurse or secretary. The most common form of adaptation to these predominant values occurs with marriage, for it is within the focus of the family that the woman uses her expressive performances to complement the instrumental performance of her husband.

Pressures, both internal and external, resulting from this emphasis on achievement are especially pronounced for college women. The past decade has seen hundreds of articles published in womens' magazines and newspapers regarding the role or status of women. Adolescent girls and young married brides alike have been caught in the middle of a rift of controversy over which role or roles they are expected to fulfill. On the one hand they are coerced into believing that they should remain loyal to the traditional homstead, while on the other, feminists proclaim that in order to attain 'self-fulfillment' one must make a contribution to the labor force.

In The Feminine Mystique Betty Friedan shows how our commercial industries have exploited this predicament of role ambiguity to the tune of several extra millions of dollars profit each year. Their strategy is very simple. If a woman does not find her life's joy in washing diapers with 'Klenso', in cleaning the stove with 'Super-Power', or in using enough cosmetics to make herself look like Elizabeth Taylor, she is quickly labelled as being masculine. These contradictory norms impose an even greater influence on the woman who has committed herself to a higher education and a career. In college she learns to think independently; she comes to the realization that one can achieve self-fulfillment in ways other than as a housewife. Men also are products of these inconsistencies. They are confused as to what role or roles they should expect their wives to fulfill.

Arnold Rose (1951) found evidence to show that female co-eds have more difficulty than their male counterparts in accurately anticipating their future roles, in addition to which their plans tend to be less realistic than those of males. Many of the women anticipated a timetable of activities so large that it would be impossible to accomplish them all. Lawrence L. Falk (1966) showed that fewer females than males are in the occupation (including housewife) that they anticipated at the time of their college graduation. One explanation for this is that society more clearly prescribes the male role than it does the female (D.B. Lynn, 1961). Often she cannot forsee which occupation will be open to her upon graduation, or she may be unable to predict her ability to combine a career with marriage and therefore settles for a job

which is secondary to that of her husband. Studies have shown that these contradictions become manifest in a woman's interpersonal relationships even before she is faced with the dichotomy of career versus marriage upon graduation. Komarovsky (1946) and Waller (1949) both found an inconsistency between the conceptions of the college woman and those of her parents with respect to expectations for her behavior while still an undergraduate. In most of these cases the parents believe their daughter should concentrate on her studies in the pursuit of academic and career achievement, whereas the girls themselves were unwilling to follow these goals at the expense of their dating and other social life. That many of these girls were doubtful as to the appropriateness of their behavior was further indicated by the fact that a significant percentage of girls admitted to acting in an inferior manner to men, while in fact they believed themselves to be equal or superior to them.

Is achievement a pseudo-more[1] or a real norm? Will a woman with a high need for achievement prefer to marry a spouse who is also high on this need? To what extent do college students anticipate these norm contradictions as problems they will have to solve

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[1]The term 'pseudo-norm' is herein used in the same manner as Rose uses the term 'pseudo-more'. Rose (1965:729) defines pseudo-mores as: "Values which were formerly in the mores but at present are considered as mores by only a minority of the population, who seek to enforce them as mores. The prohibition of public discussion carries over, however, so that people generally believe that almost everyone but themselves regards these values as mores, but they will occasionally discuss them with close friends and perhaps even deviate from them if they believe they will not be observed." In this sense, perhaps achievement should be regarded more as a type of false consensuality rather than as a norm.

in a few years time? If so, are they prepared to limit their family size in order to make family and career preferences compatible? Are our institutions assuming that for women sexual identity is a primary value with achievement in educational and occupational goals playing only secondary importance? Again role theorists, with a few exceptions such as Mirra Komarovsky, have neglected to answer these questions which are so crucial at all institutional levels. That employers are aware of this role conflict is evident in the fact that they refuse to grant identical rights to women on the grounds that this ambiguity is causing much fluctuation or instability between familial and career commitments.

Very few studies have been conducted to determine the perceived preferences of college women with respect to their future roles. One such study, carried out by M. B. Freedman (1967) on forty-nine Vassar College women, attempted to measure their attitudes towards their future role or roles, together with the degree to which they anticipated a conflict of norms in achieving these goals. These girls were tested and interviewed several times over a period of four years, commencing during their freshman year and continuing through to college graduation. Significant differences both in personality needs and in attitudes were found between freshmen results and those scores obtained for the same subjects four years later. Many of the career-oriented women anticipated a difficulty in having to interrupt their careers for childbearing but added that this was an essential responsibility. Those students who were not committed to careers perceived no conflict in having to leave jobs upon pregnancy. These findings must be interpreted

with caution, however, since Vassar is an atypical college. This is an Ivy League, womens' college and is therefore probably more representative of the upper rather than the middle classes. Hence it is difficult to generalize to the co-ed, middle class university which predominates throughout North America.

These questions can be answered in part by an examination of the labor force statistics, be they Canadian or American. These statistics provide concrete evidence that such discrepancies do in fact exist. They show, for example, that peak participation by females in the labor force is not immediately following college graduation, but rather between the ages of 35 and 54, after their children have been reared (Ostry, 1968). They show that for the year 1966 in the United States 40 per cent of all bachelors' degrees were earned by women, however this figure drops to only 12 per cent on the doctoral level. This decrease is too significant to ignore. Unfortunately, these labor force statistics cannot tell us if the need for achievement is different for males and females. Psychologists tell us that this drop certainly cannot be attributed to any less intelligence or ability. Can this decrease be accounted for by the type of mate and family composition choices these women made in order to complement their particular need for achievement? In this same year, 37.3 per cent of the professional and technical workers were women. Again, we do not know what proportion of these women are working in order to fulfill a high need for achievement as opposed to those working merely to supplement the family income.

All these questions are far too vital for sociologists to ignore. This thesis will attempt to examine some of the social factors involved in this issue and to elaborate on Freedman's findings. It is not the author's intention to study the choices which married couples have already enacted, but rather to investigate (among female college students) the need for achievement as it relates to preferences for one's family of procreation. In short, the preferences which co-ed college students hold at this particular stage of their emotional and social development toward a future spouse and familial composition. These preferences may well change during the time which elapses between college and marriage. However, what the author is interested in here is not the actual mate choices already made by married couples, but rather the perceived preferences which these students feel they will desire in a few years time.

Current Trends in Marriage-Career Patterns

Marriage and career are so intricately interwoven into a family life cycle for the college graduate, that it is impossible to consider one in the absence of the other. Very definite relationships have been found to exist between level of educational attainment, labor force participation and family patterns. Thus the perspective taken here will be that of two spheres, work and family, each involving a sequence of stages structured in the form of a cycle. The life pattern of the professional woman, can be seen as a series of transitions to and from, and simultaneous participation in these two spheres. Over the past few decades a major development

in the labor force has been the emergence of a new phenomenon, often referred to as the 'working life cycle'. It was not until the 1961 census that this first became evident, however, as the economist, Sylvia Ostry (1968:47) has noted: "...The changing role of women in the world of work is essentially an evolutionary development, founded on a long-run, fundamental social and economic trend, and precise dating of the initiation of the development is a matter of little consequence." Three phases characterize this cycle, each of which is typified by specific roles. Before looking at these changing role patterns in more detail, it is first necessary to consider the current trends in the life cycle of the family.

This family life cycle may be defined in terms of a few or several stages, although each contains the same basic elements (Sorokin, 1931; Kirkpatrick, 1934; Glick, 1955; & Duvall, 1957). First one could consider a two-stage cycle comprised of (1) the expanding family stage ranging from the wedding day to the time the children are grown, and (2) the contracting family stage in which the children have left home to create families of their own with one or both of the couple still at home. E. L. Kirkpatrick spoke of a four stage cycle in terms of children enrolled in the educational system: (1) preschool family, (2) grade-school family, (3) high-school family, and (4) all adult family. The definition which provides the best perspective within which to consider the relationship of the family life cycle to that of the working life, however, was that proposed by Sorokin as early as 1931. He treated the family life cycle as consisting of four stages based upon the changing family member constellation: (1) newlyweds commencing to

independent economic existence, (2) couples with one or more children, (3) couples with one or more self-supporting children and (4) couples growing old. Two major changes have occured in the family life cycle over the past few decades. Firstly, more women are marrying at a younger age; and secondly, the childbearing period is shorter. Hence the couple now has a much longer period together after the children have left home, and as shall be seen later, this factor is exercising a major influence on the female labor force. For college educated women this cycle is similar to that of the typical woman in the later phases, but significant differences are noted in the earlier stages. These differences can be accounted for by particular trends with respect to age at marriage and childbearing among college graduates.

Studies have shown that the more educated the woman, the more likely she is to remain single; or if she does marry, the more likely she will wed at a later age (Sundal and McCormick, 1951; Hajnal, 1954). It should be noted, however, that while college women remain underrepresented in the general population with respect to proportions ever married, they nevertheless constitute the sector showing the greatest increases on this variable. The 1961 Canadian census indicated that the average age at first marriage for a female college graduate is 22.97 years. This figure drops to 20.65 for a woman with only secondary education, and to 20.15 years for elementary education or less (see Table 1). The reasons for this difference are self-evident. Obviously, a woman with a college education is capable of finding a job which is not only more remunerative but also allows her to work in a challenging environment where

TABLE 1. - Average Age at Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Age and Schooling: Canada, 1961

Age of wife	Schooling			
	Elementary or less	Secondary	Some university	University degree
25-29 years	20.15 years	20.65 years	22.10 years	22.97 years
35-39 "	21.79 "	22.56 "	23.96 "	25.26 "
45-49 "	23.17 "	24.61 "	26.27 "	27.23 "

FROM: Ostry (1968:28)

she can exercise her creative and intellectual abilities. Most non-professional jobs require routine, monotonous tasks which most women would be willing to forfeit for the role of housewife. Neubeck and Hewer (1965) in a study of a large midwestern freshman class found that even at this early stage of their academic careers, the overwhelming majority had already established definite preferences for their age at marriage. Most gave first priority to education and second to marriage, stating that they did not wish to marry while still in college. The most common preference for age at marriage was about one or two years following graduation, with only a few students (2 per cent of men and 7 per cent of women) preferring to delay marriage as late as five years.

These results are consistent with the fertility characteristics of the more educated woman. As would be expected, there is an inverse relationships between level of education and income, and number of children (see Table 2). Not only does the college graduate tend to have fewer children, but even after marriage she is more likely to postpone childbearing than is a woman with less education. There are at least two factors operating to limit family size. Firstly, the later age at marriage; and secondly, the fact that more highly educated individuals are more likely to practice family planning, and to practice it more successfully. Freedman and his associates (1959:128) estimated that from 85 to 90 per cent of the couples with annual incomes over $6,000. and with college degrees use contraceptives. These high intelligent - high income people have also proved themselves capable of more effective spacing of children. It should be noted that even for the total population

TABLE 2. - Fertility Rates[a] and Percentage Childless Women, by Age and Schooling: Canada, 1961

Age of Wife	Schooling			
	Elementary or less	Secondary	Some University	University degree
15-19				
Fertility rate.....	840	693	233	----
Percentage childless.	37.78	44.02	79.09	100.00
20-24				
Fertility rate.....	1576	1266	766	553
Percentage childless.	19.63	27.73	45.23	56.73
25-29				
Fertility rate.....	2527	2066	1606	1326
Percentage childless.	10.25	14.32	22.39	28.57
30-34				
Fertility rate.....	3207	2572	2260	2157
Percentage childless.	7.91	10.30	13.72	14.89
35-39				
Fertility rate.....	3678	2777	2548	2498
Percentage childless.	7.85	9.74	11.47	13.06
40-44				
Fertility rate.....	3962	2785	2523	2506
Percentage childless.	8.78	11.18	13.35	13.75
45-49				
Fertility rate.....	3844	2594	2268	2163
Percentage childless.	11.08	14.50	15.97	17.72
50-54				
Fertility rate.....	3859	2519	2046	1942
Percentage childless.	12.52	17.62	20.69	21.51
55-59				
Fertility rate.....	3985	2260	2064	1795
Percentage childless.	12.72	18.66	22.26	26.72
60-64				
Fertility rate.....	4255	2831	2219	1887
Percentage childless.	11.99	17.92	20.16	26.19
65 and over				
Fertility rate.....	4545	3106	2381	2337
Percentage childless.	10.93	16.23	19.94	20.40

[a]Number of children born per thousand women ever married.
FROM: Ostry (1968:29)

the percentage of women never having borne a child has doubled since 1890 (Glick, 1955).

At the first stage of the working life cycle, characterized by a wife-partner-companion role pattern, the labor force participation of college graduates is only slightly higher than that of High School graduates in spite of these differences in age at marriage and childbearing. The second phase in which the woman assumes the traditional wife-mother roles, tends to be quite similar for both professional and nonprofessional wives. That is, the wife concentrates on the rearing of children and on the promotion of her husband's career, rather than on her own. In the third stage of the cycle there is a shift to a wife-mother-partner role complex. This is marked by a re-entry of the wife into the labor force after the children have begun to attend school. In fact, female labor market participation reaches its peak at this time when approximately 40 per cent of all married women work. As is evident in Tables 3 and 4, this trend holds true for both Canada and the United States. As was indicated above a major factor here is the fact that childbearing is now completed at an earlier age than it was a few decades ago. What is significant about this peak is that university graduates are substantially overrepresented, but as noted earlier, their participation is only slightly above that of High School graduates during the first stage of the family-career cycle (see Table 3). One explanation for this lies in the fact that while marriage plays a significant influence on the labor force composition, it is not as important a factor as is the presence of children in the home.

TABLE 3. - Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, 20-64 Years of Age, by Age and Schooling: Canada, 1961

Age of wife	Schooling					
	Elementary		Secondary		University	
	Less than 5	5 and over	1-3	4-5	Some	Degree
15 years and over.....	14.3	23.1	31.0	40.6	47.3	47.9
20-24.....	25.1	35.9	45.9	64.5	65.0	64.3
25-34.....	19.9	23.0	29.1	36.9	44.4	43.9
35-44.....	18.2	26.0	32.4	37.6	44.0	44.6
45-54.....	20.3	27.7	35.5	43.6	52.7	55.7
55-64.....	15.0	20.8	27.6	34.4	43.0	50.6

ADAPTED FROM: Ostry (1968:30)
[a] No base figure provided in original table

TABLE 4. - Labor-Force Participation Rates of Women, by Educational Attainment and Age, March 1964

Years of school completed	Total	Age					
		18 and 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years
Total.....	39.3	45.9	49.4	37.4	44.7	51.4	40.6
Elementary school:							
Less than 8 years[a].....	25.1	35.3[b]	33.8	31.5	39.5	43.3	29.7
Less than 5 years[a].....	18.5	13.6[b]	22.4[b]	28.5	31.8	43.1	25.4
5 to 7 years.....	28.7	44.4[b]	38.5	32.9	42.3	43.3	32.0
8 years.....	31.1	28.8[b]	44.4	39.0	43.8	43.5	36.7
High school:							
1 to 3 years.....	38.3	36.4	34.5	35.8	44.9	49.8	41.1
4 years.....	44.7	54.6	53.7	36.4	44.7	54.8	45.7
College:							
1 to 3 years.....	42.2	30.4	48.9	35.4	44.2	55.2	46.7
4 years.....	52.9	----	77.4	48.1	49.6	61.3	59.1
5 years or more.....	72.0	----	71.4[b]	64.6	66.1	85.5	84.8

[a]Includes women reporting no school years completed.
[b]Base is less than 100,000.

ADAPTED FROM: U. S. Department of Labor (1965:195).

Here again can be seen this reciprocal influence of the family life and working life cycles. As the wife approaches middle age, familial composition changes occur as children leave home either to marry or to attend college. With a considerable amount of extra time available then, her incentive to return to work may be more the result of a desire to occupy her spare hours than of any necessity to supplement the family income. Since the more highly educated women bear fewer children, it would therefore be expected that there would be less stigma attached to their re-entry into the world of work.

A feature of the family life cycle which is often ignored is the difference in longevity rates for males and females, with the life span for women being approximately five to six years longer than for men (Winch et al., 1953; Woods, 1959; Duvall, 1962). While this factor is obviously a key determinant of labor force re-entry regardless of educational level, nevertheless current statistics would suggest that it is within the higher educated group that its effects are most pronounced. We will attempt to investigate in this study then, whether the achievement motive is one of the factors influencing this job re-entry trend among highly educated women.

Achievement Motivation --- A Psychocultural Phenomenon

One of the most significant effects on our culture arising from the great industrial and scientific advances of the twentieth century has been the increased emphasis placed on achievement as a value which should be stressed to children during the socialization process. However, very little research has been conducted by

sociologists in order to determine the true nature of this norm. Psychologists have studied achievement motivation as it relates to intelligence, test anxiety and academic performance; but it is the author's contention that the problem is largely a social, not a psychological, phenomenon. Perhaps then this lack of research by sociologists can be at least partially accounted for by the fact that, while the roots of the problem have a social basis, the symptoms are most likely to become apparent within the educational system. Therefore the problem is more likely to come first to the attention of teachers or psychologists who must solve the immediate problem whereas sociologists will eventually be faced with long-range results.

Achievement motivation or the need to achieve, then, originates from within the social structure, particularly that is, from within the context of the family. Unlike most other personality needs, achievement motivation appears to be completely social in origin deriving in no way from biological or hereditary factors. Cross cultural and cross class variations further indicate that the need for achievement is derived from one's environment. Relationships have been found to exist between ethnicity and achivement motivation, achievement value-orientation and aspiration levels. For example, Japanese, Jewish and Greek peoples tend to attain a higher level of social mobility and achievement upon immigration into the United States than do peoples of Italian origin. Within Canada, the French-Canadians do not achieve as well as do Anglo-Saxons; while in the U.S. Negroes have been less successful than the dominant white groups in attaining upward mobility. Similarly non-Catholic

groups are more likely to be successful than are those groups of Roman Catholic affiliation (Caudill and De Vos, 1956; Strodtbeck et al., 1957; Rosen, 1959).

The degree to which these immigrants will accept the dominant North American values such as achievement will depend on several factors. Firstly, how applicable the skills and knowledge of the immigrants are to the new technology will in part determine their success. Ethnic groups which have originated from small towns or urban communities are more likely to have acquired similar cultural values to those of the groups with whom they must assimilate in the large industrial cities such as Chicago or Toronto. Important also will be the extent to which the group can successfully organize itself in order to protect its interests. In the case of Negroes, their level of achievement will depend in part on the willingness of the majority white group to allow them to share in the more lucrative enterprises. Cultural factors alone, however, do not fully explain these differences. Rather one must consider the individual's psychological and cultural value-orientation towards achievement, in short, 'the achievement syndrome'.

Even more evident than these cultural discrepancies are those which exist between the social stratification levels. While some believe that since World War II there has been a shift away from the rigorous emphasis upon achievement among the middle class, the majority of evidence still supports the hypothesis that the middle class places a significantly greater value on achievement than does the lower class (Rosen, 1956; Douvan, 1956; Elder, 1968). Again, there are several factors affecting these differences.

Individuals within the middle class do have many more opportunities available to enhance their chances of success. For example, the very fact that they have more money indicates greater access to educational and occupational opportunities. Generally speaking, middle class people are more intelligent, healthier, and hence more attractive than those of lower class background. As with ethnic and cultural variation, so with social class differences, there are other psychological factors which cannot be ignored. To account for these factors, B. C. Rosen has derived a motive-value-aspiration complex called the 'achievement syndrome'. He distinguished between the three components. The first, achievement motivation or the need to achieve, is a psychological factor consisting of an internal drive to excel. The second component is a cultural factor, value orientations, which define and implement achievement motivated behavior. These define the goals to which one should aspire, the types of situations in which one should achieve and the method for translating motive into action. The third component is a cultural factor of educational-vocational aspiration levels. Rosen (1959:53-54) delineated these components as being analytically independent in the process of acquisition, although he recognized that empirically they normally appear together:

> Achievement values and achievement motivation, while related, represent genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome, not only conceptually but also in their origins and, as we have shown elsewhere, in their social correlates. Value orientations, because of the conceptual content, are probably acquired in that stage of the child's cultural training when verbal communication of a fairly complex nature is possible. Achievement motivation, or the need to excel, on the other hand, has it origins in parent-child

> interaction beginning early in the child's life when many of these relations are likely to be emotional and unverbalized.

In short, differences in both child-rearing practices and in values largely explained why middle class children tend to display a greater need for achievement than do lower class children.

As noted above early socialization within the family setting is an important determinant in the development of achievement motivation. In child-rearing practices, both severity of independence training together with achievement training affect the strength of this need which will emerge as a trait of the child's personality. McClelland (1955) in a study of male college students found that those who scored high on need for achievement tended to rate both parents, but in particular the father, as being rejective. He concluded that either these boys were forced to be independent, or believed that they were being forced and therefore felt rejected. On their ratings of parents' personality traits, high need for achievers perceived their parents as unfriendly, unhelpful and unsuccessful; while those sons who scored low on need for achievement rated their parents as helpful, friendly and successful. It appears that those who were forced to be completely independent later perceived this as a sign of rejection and unfriendliness. Achievement training in which the parents set high goals and rewarded excellence in performance also contributes to the development of achievement motivation.

Winch (1952) suggests that competitive achievement stressed in the middle class is a correlate of aggression which tends to predominate in the lower class. Physical violence, of course, is a

form of direct aggression, whereas competitive achievement can be seen as a converted, controlled form of aggression that is approved of in certain cultural settings. With the onset of adolescence, achievement motivation extends beyond the school level to include striving for upward mobility and attainment of the appropriate male or female sex-type. Often middle class parents see their children as a form of vicarious achievement. That is, the children represent a form of self-validation in that they can achieve the successes and avoid the mistakes which the parents themselves did or did not make. Therefore they expect their children to earn college degrees, set up successful businesses, and postpone marriage in order to achieve these goals.

There is still much research needed in the area of achievement motivation, particularly in male-female differences. In fact, up until now almost no research has been conducted on the nature of achievement motivation in women, although numerous studies have clearly established the elements constituting need Achievement for males. One of a very few studies concerning the achievement motive in women was carried out by Horner in 1969. She found evidence to suggest that for many women need Achievement is overridden by a 'motive to avoid success'. Could it be then, that for women the level of achievement motivation is dependent upon the prominence of their wife-mother and sex role identities? McClelland (1953) found evidence to suggest that girls project achievement striving primarily into the activities of men. He suggested that there are a number of differences in the roles of the two sexes with respect to achievement motivation. For males, achievement usually represents success in

leadership, income and occupational prestige. Females may achieve in the McClelland sense, but for many, however, achievement more often carries one of two meanings. One involves success in heterosexual relations and eventually the wife-mother roles. The second is a form of vicarious achievement motivation through the success of her husband or sons. A. L. Edwards (1954) in his standardization of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule found that for both college and general population samples, the mean score for men on need Achievement was significantly higher at the one per cent level than the corresponding mean for females.

One of the primary aims of this study is to further examine the nature of achievement motivation in women. Then, following from the findings of McClelland, to determine whether or not female need Achievement is related in any way to perceived marriage-career role conflict and also to the preferred type of husband. In addition, an attempt will be made to develop a theory of vicarious achievement motivation and to delineate its determinants.

Personality Needs in Mate Selection --- The Homogamy-Complementarity Controversy

Within the field of mate selection there has been both sufficient research and agreement upon the findings of these studies in order to demonstrate that social and cultural factors such as age, religion, race, propinquity, education, and socio-economic level tend to be homogamous. That is, individuals are likely to choose spouses who are similar to themselves on these social dimensions. However, while there is a unanimous consensus with respect to these social factors, a controversy is currently being waged as to the

nature of mate pairing on the basis of personality needs. There are two main approaches, each of which differs in its treatment of personality variables and hence in its degree of relevance for sociological inquiry. The first is the 'homogamous' school of thought which sociologists such as Burgess, Wallin, Strauss, Bossard and Schellenberg support. The opposing approach, promoted primarily by Winch and Ktsanes, is that of complementary needs. This school contends that individuals are attracted to partners with opposite or different personality needs than their own.

Kernodle (1959) argues that the homogamy approach is without doubt sociological in nature since it attempts to explain mate selection in terms of social phenomena. The complementary approach, on the other hand, in attempting to explain social factors in terms of psychological, biological and/or psychoanalytic variables, is not. His argument then, centers around the degree of relevance that these two kinds of phenomena have for the field of sociological inquiry. That is, the theory of complementary needs states that the choice of a spouse will depend on the needs emerging from the <u>discrete</u> personality structure of the individual. Each individual's psychological history will determine his or her mate choice. In opposition to this, the homogamous approach tries to explain mate choice needs in terms of configurations of social and cultural factors. In short, persons who share a culture or subculture will share similar attitudes, values, and interests; and therefore, also common needs. Kernodle (1959:149) further argues that:

> There is expectable agreement on the hierarchy of needs which these persons want fulfilled by a marriage partner. In this sense, then, the culture has done more than just define the field of eligibles. It has further defined, shaped, and established the needs system of the societal members in such ways that they expect to find certain needs fulfilled in the marriage relationship. These have been internalized as a part of the social self and in this sense are 'me-needs'. The exploration of the sources of those 'me-needs' which are applicable to mate choice does constitute a relevant area of research for the discipline of sociology.

The findings of Anselm Strauss (1947) support the social nature of these needs. These needs emerge from broad agreement on a set of expectations and are indicative of the way in which groups define marriage generally rather than being the result of discrete traits. Strauss takes as an example the need for love and affection. He claims that people seek a partner who will love them, not because of any deprivation in early childhood but rather because marriage is defined in twentieth century culture as a relationship which derives its whole existence in love. Similarly, many of the qualities which are sought in a spouse reflect the cultural values which operate in such a way as to mold the traits of the ideal mate, rather than any unique need of the individual. Burgess and Wallin (1944:481) support this idea that needs are more likely to arise from a social rather than an individual origin: "Upon the basis of present evidence 'cultural likeness' appears more important than 'temperamental or personality similarity' in marital selection. This is perhaps to be expected both because of the segregation of young people in religious, social-class, and nationality groups and the pressure by parents and friends to marry within these circles."

In opposition to this theory Winch and Ktsanes recognize only three general traits: anxiety, emotionality, and vicariousness. Needs such as abasement, achievement, dominance or succorance are individually possessed in varying degrees, such that each person will prefer a mate who will provide maximum satisfaction for his own particular needs. It should be noted that while Winch and Ktsanes differ in their beliefs about the nature of need-patterns, they do nevertheless agree with the research on propinquity, ideal mate concept and homogamy inasmuch as these serve to define the field of eligibles from which an individual selects a mate.

Perhaps the solution to this debate can be found in a third approach which maintains that there is no reason to believe that all needs should necessarily be either homogamous or complementary (Bowerman and Day, 1956; Murstein, 1961; Levinger, 1964). Bowerman and Day in a study of couples who were engaged or going steady found no evidence to support either of these two theories. They concluded that it is improbable that any theory of mate selection which is stated in terms of a uniform direction of relationship between needs in general could be verified. Of all the possible needs, only a few are probably highly relevant for mate selection and marital success. Furthermore, if any definite relationship could be determined, they would likely be complementary in some cases and homogamous in others. These relationships between needs would involve patterns of personality traits and not single variables.

Levinger raises two major questions concerning the complementary approach to research. He first attempts to distinguish between complementarity and similarity. He contends that these are not

necessarily contradictory at all, but rather, they are mutually exclusive attributes of interpersonal relationships. Winch hypothesized two types of complementarity: Type I in which the need(s) of A differ in intensity from the need(s) of B; and Type II in which the need(s) of A are different in kind from the need(s) of B. Levinger (1964:154) concluded that this postulate "...leads erroneously to the conclusion that if A's and B's needs differ neither in kind nor in intensity, then the relationship is not complementary. More tenable is the idea that A's and B's needs, same in kind and equal in intensity, will complement one another properly when both members of the pair possess the need in moderate quantity."

In the present study, we are concerned with three dimensions of personality needs. Firstly, an examination will be made to ascertain which needs best characterize those females who are highly oriented toward the traditional wife-mother roles as opposed to those needs which differentiate females in the subsidiary, expressive occupations such as Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education from those in the occupations demanding more committment such as Science and High School Education. Secondly, since this is in part a study of mate selection, we are concerned with normative scores for personality needs in the sense that they reflect cultural values. Here, of course, because the concern is with mate selection and life styles, both males and females will be included. Thirdly, we shall attempt to determine the role of personality needs as predispositions in theories of motivation.

The Relative Contributions of Sociology and Psychology to Theories of Human Motivation

Through such an analysis of the relationships existing between personality needs and variables such as cultural values, occupational affiliation, and mate selection, it is hoped that an assessment will also be made of the relative merits and potential of the sociological discipline versus that of psychology in the development of human motivation theories. The major reason for the divergence between these two approaches can be largely attributed to the fact that for sociology, motivation involves the investigation of the direction of human actions; whereas for psychology, motivation involves the investigation of the origination of behavior (Stone and Farberman, 1970:467). Stone and Farberman further stress that motivation becomes the concern of the sociologist only when an individual deviates from the normative expectations of behavior, thus impinging on the conduct of others. It has been suggested, however, that women who are high on professional role orientation assume a deviant role since in diverging from the traditional wife-mother roles they thereby bring about changes in the role complexes of both the husband and offspring.

In order to develop an adequate theory, the author contends that motives cannot simply be reduced to drives or needs such as most psychologists propose but rather that acquired motives must be conceptualized within the schema of a syndrome, analagous to that outlined by Rosen; for only then is it possible to account for both predispositions, including needs be they native or learned, together with the cultural factors which determine the direction of these drives. Many sociologists such as Winch and his colleagues have

utilized a modified version of the psychological need concept as originally proposed in the classification of H. A. Murray (1938:124) in which a need is viewed in terms of "...a goal-oriented drive, native or learned, which organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation, and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation." Like Freud, Winch recognized that these needs are operative on both the overt and covert levels of motivation. A. L. Edwards in his development of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, which will be used to measure personality needs in this study, based his techniques on the definitions of Murray.

The author does not deny the validity of such needs and, in fact, considers them to be important predispositions interacting with social values in situated behaviors. But the origin alone of a motive cannot adequately explain either present motivated behavior, or the effects that such motives will have on future behavior(s). In developing a theory of achievement motivation for women then, it will be necessary to draw upon the schema of both Rosen and Foote, but it will also be essential to account for needs or drives as defined by psychologists. In expounding upon Foote's theory of motivation, however, it should be remembered that he underplayed the role of predispositions in motivational theory. Since Foote's paper in 1951, many sociologists such as Stebbins (1970:20-22) now contend that Foote's argument against predispositions is unjustified, provided that we define them as having been acquired in the past but capable of reactivation to affect new attitudes and definitions of the situation. The author adheres to the latter position.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

A major theme of Chapter I was that sociologists in studying the problem of role conflict among female college students have neglected to account for one major variable, namely, achievement motivation. Role prescriptions for marriage and career are poorly defined for females, with the result that the achievement motive itself has also become ambiguous. Women are expected to achieve, yet society does not clearly dictate the way in which they should go about achieving. Hence not only does achievement carry a different meaning for males and females, but even among females themselves there are many interpretations, and therefore also variations, in their attempts to satisfy achievement needs.

Achievement then, shall be treated in this study as a norm which derives its roots from within the social structure, but which becomes manifest within the personality make-up as a need because of the great emphasis placed on it in the familial, educational and economic institutions. Two types of achievement will be examined: (1) achievement in the academic-occupational context, and (2) vicarious achievement or success attained indirectly via the accomplishments of the husband and/or sons. The author postulates that the more highly motivated (of the type one variety) woman will anticipate a greater role conflict at time of marriage (i.e. between marriage

and educational-occupational goals), and therefore will attempt to reduce this conflict by various means of modifying their plans for marriage. Such modifications would influence preferences for type of desired spouse, size of family, age at marriage and degree of participation in the labor force both before and after marriage.

Sampling Design

The research was conducted with 711 subjects - 282 females and 429 males. The study centered around female college students since it is assumed that these women will be more highly motivated than those in High School, and also since these girls are closer to marriage age with the result that role conflict is probably more pronounced among them. Although this is primarily a study of females, it was essential to include males in the sample for two reasons. First, since the study is concerned with mate selection and marriage trends, it is necessary to develop corresponding norms for males on the needs for achievement, dominance, succorance and nurturance. In this way it will be possible to ascertain just how realistic the womens' preferences are with respect to the types of spouses they desire. Secondly, this is also a study of female roles within the labor force, and since men constitute a large percentage of the professional sector of the labor market, it will obviously be mostly men with whom these females will have to interact and compete.

The sample then, was selected by means of the disproportionate stratification method. In this stratification procedure five college year levels were distinguished since significant differences are to be expected between these levels due to factors such as attitude

changes, and emotional and social maturation occurring throughout the college years. The fifth year women were combined with those in fourth year for measurement purposes. This was done because there were too few of these women to constitute separate groups, yet these women were deemed too important to ignore because they are nearer to the marriage-career choice and more professionally sophisticated than any of the other subjects. A control was also made for occupational affiliation since variations are expected between women who are training for the more demanding careers such as Science, Medicine or High School Teaching, and those who will be engaging in the more subsidiary, expressive occupational roles such as Nursing, Social Welfare or Primary School Teaching. (Any student planning to teach between the Kindergarten and Grade VI levels was classified in the Primary Education group; all those planning to teach from Grades VII and up were classified in the High School Education group.) A weighting procedure was conducted in order to ensure that any bias or underrepresentation effects would be avoided. This was necessary for the Nursing and Social Welfare professions in particular. These two professional schools have only recently been established at the University with the result that both still have very small student enrollments. Within the Education faculty the problem operated in the opposite direction. That is, these students are overrepresented with respect to both numbers of males and females in other faculties. The exact sample size in relation to the total population is described in Table 5.

TABLE 5. - Sample and Population Distributions of Students by Profession and Year

FEMALES	Population	Sample
First year (all professions)	662	50
Education		
Year II	255	48
Year III	149	30
Year IV & V	157	35
Nursing		
Year II	21	15
Year III	18	13
Year IV & V	30	23
Social Welfare		
Year II	40	25
Year III	15	10
Year IV & V	8	7
Science & Medicine		
Year II	65	14
Year III	22	8
Year IV & V	30	4
	Total Female Sample =	282
MALES		
First year (all professions)	1,106	115
Education (all years)	902	137
Social Welfare (all years)	41	11
Science & Medicine (all years)	642	57
Commerce (all years)	378	56
Engineering (all years)	439	26
Arts (all years)	628	27
	Total Male Sample =	429

Combined Male & Female Samples = 711

It should be noted that for first year students only, there was no control made for occupational affiliation. This was not deemed necessary because only one of these professional schools offers any professional courses before the second year of college; therefore, these students have not yet had any opportunities to develop or acquire any preferences or attitudes characteristic of any one occupational group. Note should also be taken of the fact that the only control made for year in college with the male students was a first year-second year and up, distinction. No further delineations were possible since time permitted only an adequate stratification of the females.

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

All subjects, both male and female, were administered the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. While this is a fifteen trait personality test, the present study was concerned only with the measurement of four of these--achievement, dominance, succorance and nurturance needs. These traits were measured in percentile units, but were then converted to a high-medium-low scale (low: 0-24, medium: 25-74, high: 75+) since the study was primarily concerned with individuals at either extreme of these needs. The intercorrelations among the four personality traits studied were all found to be lower than those obtained by Edwards in 1954 (see Tables 6a and 6b). This helps to account for the fact that while the hypotheses concerning these personality variables were almost all confirmed in the predicted directions, they were all nevertheless much lower than was anticipated. In the light of the discrepancies found between these intercorrelations, the construct validity of the EPPS would appear to be questionable.

TABLE 6a. - Intercorrelations of the Variables Measured by the EPPS as Reported by Edwards

	Succorance	Dominance	Nurturance
Achievement	-.14	.19	-.30
Succorance		-.22	.16
Dominance			-.20
Nurturance			

TABLE 6b. - Intercorrelations of the Variables Measured by the EPPS in the Present Study

	Succorance	Dominance	Nurturance
Achievement	-.02	.12	-.23
Succorance		-.15	.15
Dominance			-.15
Nurturance			

The Questionnaire

A forty-five item questionnaire was administered to the females after the personality tests. Since the EPPS required a full fifty minute class period to complete, it was necessary for the examiner to return to the same class on a second occasion in order to administer the questionnaire. This usually required approximately twenty minutes to answer. This testing procedure unfortunately resulted in a loss of several potential subjects (approximately sixty) since where there was no prior notice of the

testing sessions given to subjects, frequently a subject would be present for only one of the two tests.

On the basis of this questionnaire, the author created three main summated rating scales, each consisting of five items. These scales were ranked such that the lower the score, the higher the ranking. The scales are as follows:

Perceived Role Conflict[1]:

1. Would it bother your if your husband asked you to quit your job because he felt that he himself and the home were being neglected?
2. What degree of conflict between your career and marital roles do you anticipate at the time of marriage?
3. Would it bother you if your husband disagreed with your choice to postpone childbearing in order to give priority to your career?
4. Would it concern you if your husband disagreed with your ideas on childbearing practices?
5. How important is it to you that your husband approves of your career plans and encourages you in them?

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[1]For purposes of scaling, scores 2 and 3 on questions 1, 3 and 4 in the Perceived Role Conflict scale were transformed. In the Traditional Role Orientation scale, scores 2 and 5 on question 2 were transformed; and there was a complete reversal of scores on question 4. For the position of these questions on the original questionnaire, see Appendix.

The Perceived Role Conflict scale was developed after consultation with Dr. Mirra Komarovsky. The underlying basis of this scale is the assumption that conflict can be said to exist when there is a discrepancy between the preferences, attitudes and values of ego and those of the significant other(s).

Traditional Role Orientation[1]:

1. At what time do you expect to marry?
2. Which of the following assumes the highest priority among your life goals?
3. At what stage in your married life would you like to become a full-time housewife?
4. How many children would you like to have?
5. At what time do you plan to start a family?

Vicarious Achievement:

1. Should a wife arrange her life to suit her husband?
2. If not working at the time, would you be willing to return to work in order to help you husband return to university?
3. If working, would you be willing to leave your own job in order to help your husband get ahead in his?
4. Do you believe that a woman should be more concerned with her husband's career than with her own personal achievement?
5. Would you be willing to move to another city in order to increase your husband's career opportunities?

Statistical Analysis

Ideally, nonparametric statistics should have been used in this study since all the variables are either nominal or ordinal level data. Unfortunately, there was no alternative than to employ parametric statistics even though this necessitated a violation of the interval level data assumption for these. There were two reasons for this decision. First, because of the large number of subjects it was necessary to analyse the results by means of a computer, and the only programs available could not handle the number of categories into which the data were organized. There were two instances in particular in which much of the value of the data would have been wasted had the collapsed intervals necessary to employ nonparametric statistics been used. The first case was the correlations involving the personality traits. Here there was found to be such a large range over the possible 0-99 scale that the collapsed high-medium-low results were employed only in the hypotheses involving differences between high and low Achievers. The second case was with the three sets of scaled scores for role conflict, vicarious achievement, and 'traditional role orientation'. Here again there was so wide a range of scores over the possible 0-19, 0-21, and 0-28 intervals respectively, that it was believed that much of the quality of these indices would have been lost had the data been collapsed into two or three categories. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation then, was utilized for hypotheses predicting associations, while the F test for analysis of variance was used for hypotheses predicting differences since most of these hypotheses were concerned with more than two groups. Actual significance levels are reported for all hypotheses.

CHAPTER III

IDENTIFICATION AND THE ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

Introduction

Bernard Rosen (1959a) in an attempt to account for cultural and class differences in achievement motivation devised a motive-value-aspiration complex which he referred to as the 'achievement syndrome'. He delineated three specific components of this syndrome: achievement motivation or the psychological need to excel, educational-vocational aspirational levels, and value orientations. Psychologists, until the last decade, have concentrated their studies on the internal drive to achieve together with its associated personality correlates such as risk-taking behavior, expectancy of success, test anxiety and persistence at a difficult task. Sociologists, on the other hand, have concerned themselves with the strength and direction of cultural values and training necessary to develop and maintain such a need.

The Achieving Society (McClelland, 1961) was a major landmark in the development of the achievement motive concept in that it was the first real attempt to explain the nature of the relationship between these personality and cultural variables, which interact in such a way as to produce either a successful individual or nation. By demonstrating the inter-dependence of specific behavior patterns such as risk-taking with the more general entrepreneurial behavior,

McClelland at the same time succeeded in breaking down the old specificity-generality barrier which had prohibited an adequate description of the manner in which each of the components in the achievement syndrome either affected or was caused by the other components.

One of the aims of this thesis will be to further examine the interrelation between leadership behavior and the achievement motive on the broader cultural level, utilizing Rosen's syndrome as a frame of reference. The author will also attempt to develop a theory of motivation based on identification, in which motives are treated as predispositions rather than as causes. In line with this, a further aim is to look specifically at the achievement motive in professional women, both as it is determined through the process of identification and also as the motive itself affects current familial and employment patterns. Finally, it will be demonstrated why it is necessary to introduce a subjective or interpretative element into the concept of motivation in order to determine the nature of the achievement motive in women.

In order to study the position of professional women in the proper perspective, it is first necessary to take a look at their male counterparts since the only studies carried out to date on the relations existing between achievement motivation, leadership behavior and cultural change, have been with men. One obvious reason for this emphasis is that men occupy roughly 85 per cent of the top professional jobs in North America (Rossi, 1964). In addition, achievement even for women is defined in terms of behavior which traditionally has been associated with the male role. That is, to be judged a high Achiever

one must occupy an instrumental, dominant type of role in which the strength of the drive is measured in the light of academic and occupational success. As McClelland (1964:173) noted: "She is defined not in terms of her self, but in terms of her relation to men."

Cultural Origins of the Achievement Motive

McClelland and Rosen have both stressed the interaction between achievement motivation and economic development, however, they disagree as to the direction in which such change occurs. A causal relationship appears to exist, but a debate which Rosen calls the "chicken-and-the-egg" puzzle is still being waged. McClelland demonstrates that high need for achievement levels have historically preceded rapid economic growth, whereas lower levels of motivation have been associated with subsequent economic decline (1961:93). He argues then, that it is within a nation where the leaders are highly motivated and, in line with this, high risk-takers, that economic development is most likely to occur. That is, in order for the entrepreneurial system to succeed there must be men available who are willing to take the risk and private initiative necessary for capital investment. Rosen while not denying the importance of psychological variables, does not agree that the achievement motive is necessarily the causal factor in such a process of change. Rather, his argument states that the poverty and unhappiness which follow slow economic growth could be considered the cause of low motivation rather than its effect.

The achievement syndrome concept appears to provide the most adequate explanation to date for both cultural and sex differences in need for achievement. Psychologists define achievement motivation as the individual's need to strive, compete and do well in situations involving standards of excellance. There would appear to be implicit in this definition a false assumption that in order to be considered a high need Achiever one must be successful within either an educational or an occupational context. Must individuals or nations who have chosen to excel in other channels, such as the fine arts, be considered low on achievement motivation? The answer is yes, since according to Rosen's syndrome motivation involves not only a need to do well but also the acquisition of the cultural values necessary to define and direct one's behavior towards the attainment of an achievement goal. Such values include money as a measure of performance, a belief that the external environment can be mastered through rational effort, a willingness to accept deferment of gratifications, and physical mobility. From the viewpoint of the individual these values equip him to make a contribution to his country's growth by means of private initiative and investment. "Seen in terms of societal needs, the present at all levels of persons whose values generate a confident, assertive orientation toward the environment, while stressing the importance of planning, work, and capital accumulation, provides both stimulus and support for industrialization and economic growth" (Rosen, 1964a:347).

When McClelland and Rosen speak of entrepreneurship and leadership, however, they are referring to an almost totally male system. When questioned about this, McClelland (1970) replied: "It's a male game, not a female game." He further stated that the achievement motive is only rarely found even among men, so that when we speak in terms of the motive in women we are referring to a very small and highly selective group of individuals within society. In order to understand why even among this group only the few go on to achieve top level business, professional and governmental positions, it is essential to look in more detail at these cultural values as they interact with the third component of the syndrome, namely, achievement training.

Family Structure as a Determinant of Motivational Level

It has been found that the critical period in the formation of the achievement motive is between the ages of five and nine years of age (McClelland, 1958:307). If learning of the motive occurs this early, it is obvious that the major factor in this acquisition process must be the influence of the family unit. The strength of the motive, however, will depend not so much on the actual interactional patterns as it will on the child's perception of each parent's relationship both to the other parent as well as himself (Rosen, 1959b, 1962). Learning of the achievement motive together with learning of the closely allied sex roles occurs largely through a process of identification with either or both parents. One of the key factors involved in the learning of the achievement

motive is independence training. Studies have revealed that where the child is trained early in independence mastery, the level of value similarity between mother and son is considerably higher than in cases where this training occurs at a later stage (Rosen, 1964b). A related factor in this acquisition process is achievement training. Achievement training, or the imposed standards of excellence upon tasks by parents should be distinguished from independence training, or the expectations by the parents for self-reliance and autonomy in decision making. It has been found that the mothers of boys with high achievement motivation tend to stress achievement training rather than independence, although the transmission of both values will depend upon the types of sanctions which the parents use to enforce their demands (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959b).

Fathers who are relatively rejectant or who are perceived as rejectant, tend to raise low achievement oriented sons, possibly because the boy perceives the father as a threat in that he believes him to be attempting to impose himself. However, the same traits of dominance and rejection in the mother are frequently associated with highly motivated boys since she is perceived as imposing her standards rather than herself on the son. Similarly, in the case of the effects of maternal employment on the development of achievement motivation, evidence tends to suggest that the important factor is not the actual presence or absence of the mother in the home, but rather the child's perception of the mother's motives in working. Powell (1961:352) found a significant relationship existed between gainful maternal employment and higher achievement motives in children, particularly between the ages of nine and twelve years.

It would appear that if the child perceives the mother's work as providing both a personal sense of satisfaction to her together with an economic contribution to the maintenance of the family, then there will be a positive transmission of values. If, on the other hand, the child believes that he and his siblings are being neglected due to her employment, then the transfer is negative. It can be seen here that studies relating achievement learning to early family practices are valid but they are also incomplete. If we are to explain the relative absence of professional women in high ranking positions, then it is insufficient to stop after considering the effects of the role structure and practices occurring within the family of orientation. Rather we must go one step further and consider what results these effects will produce within the family of procreation, for it is at this time and not during early childhood, that the achievement motive will become manifest in the form of positive, concrete contributions to the economic growth of the nation.

Before going any further, however, it should be emphasized that what we have been considering above are the familial determinants of achievement motivation acquired through the process of identification. While identification as <u>process</u> is essential to such a motivational theory; it is primarily identification as <u>product</u>, or the dependent variable, with which this paper is concerned.

Vicarious Achievement--A Product of Role Identity

A possible link between the girl's perception of her parents' roles and those identities to which she wishes to commit herself upon the establishment of her own family, is the theory of selective needs.

That is, individuals in their families of procreation will tend to perpetuate those satisfactions known in their families of orientation, and will tend to avoid or correct those dissatisfactions known in their families of orientation. Brown (1956) discovered a high correlation to exist between family background, future family orientation and need for achievement in a population of female college students. He distinguished between high achievers and overachievers. The over-achievers appeared to be succeeding in response to the demands of parents who had been successful themselves rather than in response to any internal drive to excel. The absence of any real motivation to compete was illustrated by the fact that they were all high on future family orientation, and in fact, went on to occupy very conventional wife-mother directed roles after graduation. The high achievers, however, were low on future family orientation with a desire for commitments to professional-academic identities rather than the traditional roles for middle-class women. At the other end of the continuum were the underachievers who possessed average ability but performed poorly. These girls came largely from families where interpersonal relationships were perceived as happy and secure, and they themselves in turn were oriented toward marriage and a family. Most worked in professional jobs for a few years before settling down, although in line with their major interest in rearing a family many of the girls occupied subsidiary roles such as primary school teaching or social welfare.

These findings would tend to support Komarovsky (1970b) in her belief that vicarious achievement is highly associated with the more traditional wife-mother identities in which the wife is expected

to assume an expressive, subsidiary role in order to help promote her husband in his instrumental, career oriented identities. Douvan (1962) shows that even in entering freshman girls it is possible to distinguish the vicarious achievers from high need Achievers by means of the identities which they desire. She claims that for most girls entering college their motivation is directed in an expressive, marriage-oriented vein. Douvan (1962:203) concludes: "For many girls, college obviously is an end in itself, only dimly conceived in an instrumental light. The enrichment from college may promise a better life, greater capacity to meet and realize pleasure from the challenges of adulthood, or a chance for social mobility, but specific vocational-instrumental functions of education occur only to a minority of girls." If we return to the achievement syndrome concept then, it can be argued that these girls who are oriented to the traditional role identities have a desire to achieve or do well just as the high Achievers do, however the way in which they choose to direct or implement these drives is different due to different value and role orientations. That is, instead of guiding her energies in an academic-vocational channel, the vicarious achiever prefers to achieve by helping her husband and sons to succeed, and in this sense, achievement is usually viewed as well in terms of successful marital adjustment. In short, the psychological definition of motivation is too narrow in that it implies that only a minute proportion of the population has any desire to do well. It is suggested that McClelland should qualify his statement to the effect that only a

rare number of people have a desire to excel academically or vocationally, since the psychological definition infers the presence of a pseudo-norm with respect to the direction in which one should attempt to strive.

Consequences for Family and Employment Patterns

Peak participation by women in the labor force occurs between the ages of 35 and 55 years. Both professional and nonprofessional women tend to work up until marriage, then with the arrival of the first child the wife-mother identities assume the first priority at least until the children begin school. It was noted earlier that the 'working life cycle' is characterized by a re-entry of women into the labor market after the children have been reared. However, this resurgence is most dramatic with respect to professional women[1]. Why then is it that the more highly educated choose to return? Baruch (1966) found that the achievement motive is marked by a temporal cycle which coincides with both the working life and family life cycles. It can readily be seen here why Foote (1951) postulated that the strength of motivation is determined by the commitment which one holds towards a particular identity or series of identities. Clearly, Foote's ideas are consistent with the findings of Baruch who demonstrated that a woman's life cycle can be viewed as comprising three major phases, each of which is characterized by a particular dominant role identity together with a corresponding level of achievement motivation. In a study of Radcliffe Alumnae then, Baruch found that the group 5 years

[1]See Table 3, Chapter One

out of college had a disproportionate number of women with high need for achievement scores, while in the group 10 years after graduation a striking decline in achievement motivation occurred. In short, the achievement motive declines or subsides as the more expressive wife-mother roles take precedence during the time when children are being reared and the husband is attempting to establish his own home and career. She further demonstrated that once the family has been established or begins to dissolve (at about 15 years after graduation), there is a reactivation of either latent or suppressed achievement motivation. What is significant about these findings is that they held true only for college graduates, since the same study repeated on a nationally representative sample of the general population did not confirm these findings. But while the achievement motive reappears at approximately 15 years after college, it is not until 20 years that the actual demonstration of this resurgence becomes evident in the labor force. This finding is analogous to that of McClelland who likewise demonstrated that high achievement motivation is indicative of subsequent positive participation within the professional sector of the labor force. On the basis of these result Baruch (1966:110) concluded:

> We posit a developmental sequence in these college women with a moratorium of achievement striving which begins between the fifth and tenth year out of college. On the fantasy level we find a return of this motive in some women 15 years out of college, but the motive has not yet been expressed in vocational behavior. By the time 20 years have elapsed, women with the highest achievement motivation have returned to paid employment. A significant change in the frequency distribution is predicted for the sample 15 years out of college several years hence, with career pattern and achievement motive strongly associated as in the present survey for the 20 and 25 year graduates.

It can be inferred from the above that identification is crucial to a theory of achievement motivation in two respects. Firstly, it is primarily through identification within the nuclear family unit that the child acquires achievement directed drives, and secondly, the strength of the achievement motive varies throughout the course of a woman's life in relation to the relative amount of commitment with which she wishes to approach her familial versus her educational-occupational role identities. This relationship between need for achievement and identification has also been demonstrated empirically under controlled laboratory conditions. Such studies have shown that womens' need for achievement scores increase when responding to male figures under 'Intellectual' arousal conditions, and to female figures under 'Woman's Role' conditions (Lesser et al., 1963; French and Lesser, 1964). Similarly, McClelland and his colleagues found that the achievement scores of women increased when the arousal conditions were expressed in terms of social acceptance but not under the usual leadership and intelligence arousal conditions. One possible conclusion is that those girls who value intellectual attainment recognize in males those traits such as dominance, independence and autonomy necessary to reach these goals, and therefore identify with them under instrumental arousal conditions. Under expressive conditions she must revert back to identification with females in order to fulfill her heterosexual roles. For the male, however, this incompatibility does not exist since for him job success offers no threat to success in social or marital relations. In fact, if anything, it enhances his chances of success in other areas.

A Subjective Approach to Achievement Motivation

When Foote (1951:15) first proposed that identification could be utilized as a foundation upon which to build a theory of motivation he defined motivation as: "The degree to which a human being, as a participant in the ongoing social process in which he necessarily finds himself, defines a problematic situation as calling for performance of a particular act, with more or less anticipated consummations and consequences, and thereby his organism releases the energy appropriate to performing it." This definition implies a process of subjective interpretation on the part of an individual within a motive arousing situation, that is, a definition of the situation is necessitated. However, it is largely with respect to divergent assumptions concerning the subjectivity versus objectivity of stimuli and responses in such situations that sociological and psychological approaches to the study of motivation have differed. DeCharms (1968:18) is most critical of current psychological theories, such as reinforcement and affective arousal theories, in that they are:

> ...Attempts to reduce motivational concepts to stimulus and response events conceived of as physical phenomena in the world. These approaches stress objectivity and supply us with the physical restrictions within which behavior occurs. They are striving to reduce all psychological phenomena to physical, chemical, and possibly biological determinants.

This position is in keeping with that of Kenneth Burke (1954:35) who states that:

> Stimuli do not possess an absolute meaning....Any given situation derives its character from the entire framework of interpretation by which we judge it. And differences in our ways of sizing up an objective situation are expressed subjectively as differences in our assignment of motive.

DeCharms then, does not deny the validity of existing theories such as those originated by Watson, Hull and Skinner, but he does claim that they are insufficient. He argues that approaches like Behaviorism treat the individual as a physical object, or in the third person, therefore what is required to complete the theory is a first-person or subjective aspect intervening between the stimuli and responses. The psychological framework is based for the most part on one-to-one stimulus-response experiments carried out under highly controlled conditions. Most human acts, however, are much more complex than this, involving numerous extraneous conditions together with several possible responses from which the individual must select the appropriate one at least partially by means of subjective interpretation. For example, in the case of the highly motivated woman, she has several possible avenues available to her by which she can meet her achievement needs, but the particular response that she chooses can only be made after a conscious weighing of her relative progress in, and commitment to, her key identities (usually familial and occupational assume highest priority in her salience hierarchy).

The Achievement Motive as a Predisposition

These inadequacies can be overcome suggests DeCharms by treating motives in a predispositional context, and in this way avoiding the attribution of a motive as a part of the causal chain of physical or objective events that pertain to any one specific instance. Viewed as a predisposition, it can readily be seen how the achievement motive, activated during each major turning point of the family life and working life cycles, would become a crucial

source of influence in the woman's definition of the situation. Stated in other terms, the achievement motive interacts with another predisposition, namely, the subjective career or "the actor's recognition and interpretation of past and future events associated with a particular identity, and especially his interpretation of important contingencies as they were or will be encountered" (Stebbins, 1970a:4). The advantage of the subjective career concept over the traditional objective career line is that it permits us to focus in on various turning points in the life cycle and study the process of mutual influence occuring between the achievement motive and role identities. It must be remembered here that it is only at turning points which by their nature necessitate decisions, that these predispositions become activated. In fact, as Foote himself noted, it is only at times like this when action is temporarily halted that it is possible to view a person's full commitment to his identities, and hence the true nature of his motivation also.

If we return to the two original problems, and adequate explanation can now be proposed conceptualizing identification as the perspective through which an individual perceives his life goals; and motives, be they achievement or otherwise, as predispositions determining in part the structure of the individual's hierarchy of identities. Having agreed that achievement tends to be measured in terms of educational and occupational success then, it was shown that occupationally, even highly motivated women withdraw from the labor force at an age when they could quite possible be reaching the peak of a professional career. Educationally, women earn 40 per cent of all Bachelors degrees but only 12 per cent of

all Doctoral degrees. In deciding the relative priority she will give to each of her wife, mother, career and educational identities, her achievement motive becomes activated but so do other conflicting motives such as a need for approval of the feminine role, or needs for security, sex and affection, all of which can only be satisfied legitimately through marriage. Dr. Matina Horner believes that these conflicting motives account for this withdrawal from achievement oriented situations, such as those of the university or the labor force. Dr. Horner (1969:38) from her research with highly motivated college men and women concluded that:

> For women, the desire to achieve is often contaminated by what I call the motive to avoid success. I define it as the fear that success in competitive achievement situations will lead to negative consequences, such as unpopularity and loss of femininity. This motive, like the achievement motive itself is a stable disposition within the person, acquired early in life along with other sex-role standards. When fear of success conflicts with a desire to be successful, the result is an inhibition of achievement motivation.

A Theory of Vicarious Achievement Motivation

It was stated earlier that professional women encounter at time of marriage an interaction between three predispositions, namely, the familial and occupational subjective careers together with the achievement motive. The work of Horner, however, would tend to suggest that for many women the achievement motive is overridden by the 'motive to avoid success', or put simply, the sex role disposition is more dominant than that of the achievement motive with its correlates of aggressive, masculine defined behavior. For the present study, it was deemed possible to measure 'traditional role orientation',

a major element of which is sex role identity, in terms of future family orientation. That is, the traditional sex role identity is considered to be fundamental to all other roles comprising the wife-mother position.[2]

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive association between vicarious achievement and 'traditional wife-mother role orientation'.

Hypothesis 2: There is a negative relationship between vicarious achievement and perceived role conflict.

TABLE 7. - Relationships Between Vicarious Achievement, Traditional Role Orientation and Perceived Role Conflict (N=282)

	Traditional Role Orientation	Perceived Role Conflict
Vicarious Achievement	$r = .367^{a}$	$r = -.269^{b}$

[a] $p < .0001$ [b] $p < .0001$

[2] 'Position' is used here in the context in which Bates (1956:314) conceptualized it as "a location in a social structure which is associated with a set of social norms."

Table 7 shows that both hypotheses were found to be highly significant in the predicted directions. It is now possible to distinguish between two types of achievement motivation: (1) vicarious achievement motivation which the author defines as "the desire to succeed indirectly via the attainment of a significant other(s)", and (2) achievement motivation as defined in the academic-occupational context by McClelland and his colleagues. This author proposes five major propositions fundamental to such a theory of vicarious achievement motivation:

1. The vicarious achiever identifies primarily with the traditional sex roles in which the husband's role is defined in terms of bread-winner and head of the family unit, while the wife's role is defined as housekeeper, childbearer and companion. In short, the sex role assumes first priority in the woman's prominence hierarchy while for the McClelland need Achievers this is not the case.
2. Viewed in interactional terms, vicarious achievement results from the successful attainment on the part of <u>significant others</u>, rather than attainment by the <u>self</u>. That is, in most cases the vicarious achiever is concerned with helping to promote the success of the husband and/or sons, and to a lesser extent the daughters also.
3. The salience hierarchy of the vicarious achiever is so clearly defined that any role conflict which arises is virtually minimal. In other works, the wife-mother role identities assume such a high prominence that the professional career role offers little or no threat to them.
4. There is required a recognition of achievement values, such as those outlined by Rosen, accompanied by a desire for these values

to be incorporated by the significant others rather than by oneself.
5. Whereas McClelland's need Achievement is predispositional in nature, vicarious achievement is conceived of as a syndrome parallel in structure to that of Rosen. We assume all persons to have certain acquired drives or needs, the exact nature of which will be shaped and directed by cultural values and training.

A basic assumption to such a theory is that all human beings have certain needs, both innate and acquired, such as needs for prestige, security, affection and/or self-actualization. 'Need' is defined in the same context as was proposed in Chapter 1, that is, "a goal-oriented drive, native or learned, which organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation, and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation." Secondly, these needs are assumed to be predispositional in nature, following the schema of Campbell (1963:97) in which he considered acquired drives and motives to be similar to other behavioral dispositions, such as attitudes and beliefs, in that they are all characterized by a common element, namely, that "behavior is modified as a result of experience, that somehow a person retains residues of experience of such a nature as to guide, bias, or otherwise influence later behavior."

It should be noted that vicarious achievement motivation would appear to be largely a female phenomenon. On the basis of the current research we are obviously not able to generalize to males but it is possible to conceive of situations, such as one in which the husband is very low on need Dominance, in which males could also be vicarious achievers. For females, there appear to be two major role correlates

of vicarious achievement--the sex role and the traditional wife-mother role. Since the present study is primarily concerned with single college women, the author deemed it appropriate to measure the traditional wife-mother role in terms of future family orientation. Thus, any subject who scored high on this scale preferred to marry at an early age, to have a relatively large number of children, and to commence childbearing within a few years after marriage. In keeping with this preference, it is not surprising that these women planned to become full-time housewives as soon as they begin childbearing. All the high traditionally role oriented women claimed that marriage assumed a higher priority than a career among their life goals. It can be implied then, that for these women achievement is viewed in terms of marital success. The positive correlation of the traditional role with vicarious achievement motivation is quite logical since for centuries one of the major norms of the female sex role has been that a wife be concerned with the occupational and educational success of her husband and children rather than with her own.

Unfortunately the scope of this chapter could not allow for a more detailed discussion of sex role identity, however, it is maintained that it derives from the same generic roots as the wife-mother role identities. As can be seen in Table 8, in the present study over 88 per cent of the women expressed a satisfaction with the current sex roles. These results were to be expected considering the fact that only a small percentage of the subjects (51 out of 282) scored high on achievement as measured in the McClelland sense. The cultural factors influencing these results will be analyzed in more detail when we examine the field of eligibles

for high need Achievers.

TABLE 8. - Percentage of Women Indicating Satisfaction with Current Sex Roles (N=280)

Attitude	Total	Percentage
(1) Am satisfied with female sex role.....	159	56.8
(2) Think male has a more interesting time in life.....	33	11.8
(3) Think female has a more interesting time in life.....	5	1.8
(4) Agree with both #1 and #2.....	57	20.4
(5) Agree with both #1 and #3.....	26	9.3
	280	100.0

We conclude that McClelland's definition of achievement motivation is too narrow and specific in context and that therefore his theory can adequately account for only a very small and highly selective sector of the total population. The syndrome approach seems to have more potential than that of McClelland for the future research which is essential for the development of an adequate theory of motivation in females since it eliminates the limitation of confining achievement motivation to educational and occupational situations. It should be emphasized at this point that until recently the field of psychology has carried out virtually all of the research on the achievement motive, however, it is the field of sociology which will have to continue and refine this research since it would appear that the missing link is to be found not in the nature of some innate drive but rather in the nature of an acquired predisposition determined by cultural values via the familial and other

institutions. There is a possibility that the solution to the problem of male-female differences in achievement motivation lies in what DeCharms (1968:6) refers to as personal causation, or "the initiation by an individual of behavior intended to produce a change in his environment." Motives then, constitute only one element of the broader concept of personal causation. DeCharms uses the latter to refer to the general perspective or orientation which one holds toward being the origin of his own behavior. Causation is distinguished from 'motive' which refers to the specific performance directed toward some goal, such as achievement or power. At least one study involving achievement training with boys has produced evidence to indicate that training may induce broader goals associated with increased feelings of personal causation, and may not be strictly limited to increasing the need for achievement as the belief is currently upheld. It is therefore suggested that the use of such an approach in the achievement training of females would produce better results than the previous attempts; firstly, since it avoids the problem of rating female need for achievement on the basis of male norms; and secondly, since it makes allowance for both the objective and subjective components of human motivation.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE-CAREER ROLES OF WOMEN HIGH ON NEED ACHIEVEMENT

In Chapter I, it was noted that for women the working life cycle is highly related to their family life cycle. We now wish to further examine the nature of this interaction process, and in order to accomplish this it is first necessary to look in more detail at the three most prominent roles involved in these two cycles; namely, marital, parental, and occupational-educational roles. Occupational and educational roles shall be considered together since for the most part these are characterized by similar investments, commitments and interpersonal relationships.

The Objective versus the Subjective Career Lines

Perhaps the most widely recognized definition of career is that offered by Becker (1952:470), following the ideas of Hall, who proposed that it refer to "the patterned series of adjustments made by the individual to the 'network of institutions, formal organization, and informal relationships' in which the work of the occupation is performed. This series of adjustments is typically considered in terms of movement up or down between positions differentiated by their rank in some formal or informal hierarchy of prestige, influence, and income." Still in the objective vein, Nosow and Form (1962:284) state that "sociologically the career

refers to any pattern of occupational change (vertical and/or horizontal) of any occupational group."

The developmentalists extended the career concept beyond the sphere of work into that of the family. Rodgers (1962:44), following Bates, contends that the longitudinal aspect of a single role can be viewed as a role cluster; and the longitudinal aspect of the role cluster as the positional career. He then further develops this definition to suggest that if: "Two positions are brought together in a role complex at a single point in time, additional positions appear as time progresses, so that ultimately the longitudinal expression of role complex is seen in family career." In contrast with these objective approaches, the symbolic interactionist definition is subjective in nature. Hughes (1958:63) defines the subjective career as: "The moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him." As was noted earlier, a similar definition but one which is more workable, is that proposed by Stebbins (1970:4) who defines the subjective career as: "The actor's recognition and interpretation of past and future events associated with a particular identity, and especially his interpretation of important contingencies as they were or will be encountered." In this sense, the subjective career is conceived as a predisposition in that it can become reactivated at any time to affect one's life goals and plans.

Why then is the subjective-interactionist type of approach more adequate than the objective-developmentalist type of approach for an analysis of the various career conflicts and contingencies

arising throughout the family life and working life cycles? There are several reasons for this, but the most obvious is that the objective-developmental framework does not allow for specificity in handling short episodes of interaction such as that involved in a contingency or turning point. Rather this objective approach deals with long-term, uneven time spans. The stages tend to merge imperceptibly with the result that the approach emphasizes continuity rather than sharp breaks either between or within the stages. Interactionism, on the other hand, allows us to study processes statically as if time were temporarily frozen thus making possible an analysis of the conflicts arising throughout the course of a career(s), be it occupational, familial, or otherwise.

The objective career approach is further limited by its inability to account for the various predispositions which become activated in conflict situations. The subjective definition appears to be the most appropriate for an explanation of specific marriage-career conflicts or crises, since any career contingency inevitably involves some degree of psychological stress, and therefore will require a more subjective interpretation and re-evaluation of the situation on the part of the incumbent. In addition, any such contingency (even if it only involves one member) will undoubtedly have profound effects on the interactional behavior of all members of both the familial and occupational groups. Thus the situation must be defined by each member in order to make the necessary adjustments in interpersonal relationships.

In short then, the subjective approach has two major advantages in the study of role conflict. First, it accounts for the predispositions such as personality needs, attitudes and values which will affect one's definition of the situation when there arises an internal conflict of roles; and secondly, unlike the objective approach it allows us to explain the manner in which the resolution of this conflict occurs. It should be stressed that the subjective and objective approaches to career are not contradictory; but rather they are complementary with the choice of either or both concepts depending on the type of analysis under consideration and, as will be demonstrated shortly, both are essential for an adequate analysis of current marriage-career trends. That is, in order for us to study the development of a career, be it marital, parental or occupational, we must utilize the objective-developmental approach since it enables us to view the changes in role clusters occurring over a period of years. When we consider the problem of conflicts occurring throughout these careers, however, the subjective approach must be employed since it is this approach that permits us to focus in on specific role conflicts.

The Family as a Process of Interacting Careers

Let us first look at the development of the familial career since the labor force statistics would tend to suggest that the occupational career is highly contingent upon this. As an individual progresses through the stages of the family life cycle, changes in role clusters are necessitated by the entrance of new developmental tasks, be they physiological, psychological or social in nature.

In any discussion of role changes occurring during the course of the family life career, however, it must be remembered that the life cycle stages are not discrete, rather passage from one to another is often quite obscure. Rodgers (1962:23) emphasizes that these phases are analytical categories only and should not be treated as predetermined periods through which every family must pass. For example, a couple with no children would automatically be excluded from the middle stages which are defined by Duvall (1962) and others as child-centered phases.

Any change in the career of any one family member (in this research we are particularly concerned with that of the wife) will require a change in the careers of all other members. This goes back to a basic assumption of both developmentalism and symbolic interactionism that the family operates as a unity of interacting persons. In line with this, Farber (1964:338) conceptualized the family as "a set of mutually contingent careers." He contended that from this framework of the family in terms of interdependent careers, the family life cycle could be seen as a development brought about through changes in both familial and extrafamilial institutions. In short, any marked change in the career of one family member will require an adjustment or rearrangement of roles on the part of all other members. We must bear this in mind when we consider the consequences for the husband and children when a professional woman deviates from the traditional wife-mother role in order to give priority to her occupational career.

The Determinants of Perceived Role Conflict

As can be inferred from the above discussions that, while the developmental approach has been utilized through this thesis, it is essential to draw upon the ideas of interactionism in order to make any in depth analysis of the conflicts arising during the major turning points of the life cycles. The author deemed this possible because of the advantages outlined above coupled with the fact that the developmental approach has, in fact, derived some of its main assumptions from the symbolic interactionist school with the result that the distinctions between these two frameworks are occasionally quite fine.

A distinction, however, between role conflict and role strain must be established before it is possible to further delineate the elements involved in a stressful situation. Komarovsky (1970a:7) contends that "role strain is generally used synonymously with role conflict, whereas we shall propose the use of strain as the genus of which conflict is but one species." She differentiates two modes of role strain: conflict, and ambiguity or anomie. This distinction is qualified by the condition that ambiguity is almost always accompanied by a certain degree of conflict. Role conflict then, Komarovsky (1970a:14-17) defines as existing "whenever we encounter any clash, opposition, or incompatibility between normative or socially structured role phenomena" as opposed to ambiguity which "refers to the absence of social definitions of appropriate behavior in given relationships and situations." Komarovsky's concept of ambiguity or anomie is similar to what Siegal (1957) refers to as 'cognitive discrepancy'. This type of conflict is said to arise

when there is a lack of familiarity with the required roles, or when there is an incomplete mastery or internalization of the roles by either or both of the individuals in the situation. Cognitive discrepancy is particularly likely to occur in novel or sudden situations, such as the immediate postnuptial situation in which there is required a learning of new roles. Siegal stresses that in such a situation cues are frequently misinterpreted with the result that the complementarity of expectations which normally characterizes a reciprocal role relationship is thereby reduced.

In the present study, the evidence would appear to suggest that while many of the women perceived a distinct degree of role conflict, be it positive or negative, there was nevertheless a large group who anticipated a certain ambiguity or cognitive discrepancy rather than overt conflict. Hence, it follows that if an individual has not yet encountered a particular social role(s) but is simply predicting or perceiving what it entails, then obviously his internalization of that role and its accompanying norms will be amorphous, and to a certain extent, incorrect, due to his lack of knowledge and experience concerning that role behavior. For the current study, the 'undecided' option in the role conflict scale questions was interpreted as representing a lack of sophistication and maturation necessary to anticipate to any specific degree exactly what anxieties one would experience in such a conflict situation, such as that which <u>may</u> occur for the professional woman at time of marriage. For women, this perception of role ambiguity would appear to characterize the middle of three stages occurring between early adolescence and early adulthood in the development of marriage and career role perceptions.

If we examine this development in more detail it can be seen that girls at the junior high school age tend to exhibit a 'pseudo-career drive' (Matthews, 1960). By the time these girls reach senior high school their plans for marriage and a career become more realistic and, in fact, more characteristic of types of life styles that they will probably lead, be it by choice or otherwise. (In Matthews' study there was a large increase between junior and senior high school of the plan for marriage and no career, that is, from 60.42 per cent to 75.53 per cent.) Even at this stage, however, the perceptions of plans for marriage and a career tend to be misconstrued and over-simplified. It will be noted that the junior high girls tended to overemphasize the occupational career aspect of their life plans, the senior high girls go to the other extreme with their emphasis on marriage only, while by early adulthood Matthews found that the women perceived in a fairly realistic manner that they would probably return to a 'feminine' type career following the rearing of a family. The women in the present study tended to fall into one of the latter two stages. It is not surprising that many of the college girls revealed the same misunderstanding of roles as did Matthews' senior high girls since the ages of both groups largely overlap, in addition to which many of the girls in the present sample come from small communities in which there is no opportunity to become acquainted with the various life styles for which they are preparing themselves. For instance, if we look at the answers to the first question on the role conflict scale in Table 9, it can be seen that almost one-half of the girls could not yet anticipate whether or not they would experience a conflict between their professional and marital roles even though all subjects are at this very moment preparing for a professional career.

TABLE 9. - Percentage of Women Perceiving Ambiguity versus Full Conflict on Categories of Role Conflict Scale[a]

Category I Options	Total	Percentage
Yes.....	72	25.6
Undecided.....	129	45.9
No.....	80	28.5
	281	100.0

Category II Options	Total	Percentage
Strong Conflict.....	3	1.1
Some Conflict.....	59	21.0
Undecided.....	43	15.3
Very Little Conflict...	122	43.4
No Conflict.....	54	19.2
	281	100.0

Category III Options	Total	Percentage
Yes.....	124	44.1
Undecided.....	77	27.4
No.....	79	28.1
Other.....	1	0.4
	281	100.0

[a] See Chapter II for questions to role conflict categories

Category IV Options	Total	Percentage
Yes.....	210	74.7
Undecided.....	28	10.0
No.....	43	15.3
	281	100.0

Category V Options	Total	Percentage
Very Important.....	161	57.3
Important.....	101	35.9
Undecided.....	14	5.0
Unimportant.....	5	1.8
Very Unimportant....	0	0.0
	281	100.0

The question now arises as to whether or not those women who are high on need Achievement will anticipate a greater degree of role conflict than will those who are low on this trait. We have already demonstrated that there is a negative relationship between vicarious achievement and role conflict, and in line with this finding it is hypothesized that those females who are high on the achievement motive will perceive more conflict than those females who are not high on this need.

Hypothesis 3: Those females who are high on need Achievement will anticipate a greater degree of conflict between marital and career roles than will those females who are not high on need Achievement.

Table 10 shows that this hypothesis was indeed confirmed but it should be noted that there is almost no difference between those who are low and medium on need Achievement, rather the important differentiation entails the group who scored very high on this need. So the next question which arose was: Will a woman in a subsidiary occupational role perceive less conflict than a woman in the more demanding 'masculine' type job? It would be expected that a woman in a profession such as Medicine, having invested more time, finances and effort into her career than has the woman in a profession such as Nursing who has been required to invest much less in the preparation for her career, will hence perceive a greater conflict between her occupational and familial roles. It is hypothesized that those women in the subsidiary role occupations will perceive less conflict since these professions offer little threat to either the husband's or the wife's familial roles and hence are more compatible with them. Hypothesis 4: Those females enrolled in the Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education professions will anticipate less role conflict than will those females enrolled in the Science and High School Education professions.

In Table 11, it is demonstrated that, unlike the achievement motive, occupational affiliation does not appear to be related to role conflict, at least in this sample. Since we know that at least one personality variable, i.e. the need for achievement, tends to differentiate individuals with respect to the perception of role conflict; we must first investigate the effects that this trait coupled with other related personality variables may play on the occupational versus the familial career orientations before drawing

any conclusions concerning the determinants of ambiguity and conflict.

TABLE 10. - Level of Achievement Motivation by Perceived Role Conflict (N=282)

Achievement Motivation Level	Perceived Role Conflict	
	Number	Mean Score
High.....	51	9.74
Medium.....	159	10.66
Low.....	72	10.63

$F=3.65$, $df=2$, $p < .02$

TABLE 11. - Occupational Affiliation by Perceived Role Conflict (N=282)

Occupational Affiliation	Perceived Role Conflict	
	Number	Mean Score
Nursing, Social Welfare & Primary Education...	207	10.49
Science, High School Education & Arts.....	75	10.46

$F=0.01$, $df=1$, $p < .91$

The Influence of Personality Needs on Career Orientation

What elements of the personality structure then, distinguish the woman who prefers to adopt a predominantly wife-mother role, or 'traditional role orientation', from the woman who prefers to combine marriage, in whole or in part, with a professional career? Previous

studies have suggested that cultural values acquired through the home and other social mileus exercise a strong influence in such a choice, but are there any personality needs which operate to further differentiate these two career types?

Most research, such as that of Rosenberg (1957) give evidence suggesting that the key personality variable affecting occupational affiliation is the dimension of 'self-other' orientation. Rosenberg contends that most individuals can be classified into one of three categories along a domination-submission dimension: Compliant, aggressive or, detached. The compliant person is concerned with warmth, approval, and affective ties with other people, and is therefore likely to choose an occupation such as teaching, social work, or medicine, in which he can express his people-oriented values. The aggressive personality type would be found at the opposite pole of the dimension. He is interested in domination, mastery, and extrinsic reward values. Hence, it follows that the aggressive type prefers occupations such as law, business or sales. The detached type tends to characterize those in the middle of the scale. This individual prefers to remain emotionally detached from other persons, and to be completely independent and free from interference in his work. Thus he chooses an occupation in the vein of art, journalism or natural science. Rosenberg stresses, however, that such need theories of occupational choice do not presume that personality acts as an independent variable causing values and choices, but rather that the selection of a particular occupation and its accompanying values represents an expression of certain personality needs.

The question now is: Does this relationship hold true when a control is made for male-female differences? A further delineation of the findings of Rosenberg (1957:50) reveals that women whose occupational career orientation is high tend to rank values such as desires to 'earn a good deal of money', to be 'creative and original', and for 'status and prestige' much more highly than do those women whose career orientation is low. These women for whom a career choice is low, however, expressed a greater desire to 'work with people' and to 'be helpful to others'. Similar results were obtained by Almquist and Angrist (1970) who demonstrated that there is a significant relationship between career salience and atypicality[1] of occupational choice. The atypical girls placed a higher value on the use of special abilities and the desire for high income but scored lower on values related to working with, and assistance to, other people. Non-career salience, but not typicality, were related to being married or attached by senior year; while both non-career salience and typicality were found to be associated with sorority membership. It follows that these latter girls would be expected to be high on succorance and nurturance needs since sororities function largely as promoters of heterosexual activities and mate selection.

On the basis of these results, the present study attempted to further investigate the criteria for classifying potential professional women on Rosenberg's domination-submission dimension, and following this, to examine the influence of personality needs

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[1] Almquist and Angrist (1970:244) defined an atypical career as: "Any occupation in which fewer than one-third of the workers are women." Thus, a lawyer would be considered atypical, whereas a social worker would be considered typical.

on familial and occupational career orientations.

Hypothesis 5: 'Traditional wife-mother role orientation' is positively related to succorance and nurturance needs, but inversely related to dominance and achievement needs.

As can be seen in Table 12, the relationships for achievement, succorance and nurturance needs were all confirmed in the predicted directions, while that for dominance was insignificant. This lack of association for dominance may be due to a cultural factor which was evident for this particular trait. Edwards converted his scores obtained on a representative sample of college women in the U.S.A. to standard scores such that each mean score equals 50. In the current sample, however, the mean score for dominance was found to only 26.7 (see Table 13c), whereas the means for the other traits all centered around 10 centiles above or below 50 (see Tables 13a, b, d). In addition, there appears to be a cultural element influencing the high values placed on the wife-mother roles since, as will be noted in these same tables, the means for succorance and nurturance are 8.5 and 9.4 centiles respectively above those for the normative sample.

TABLE 12. - Correlations Between Traditional Role Orientation and Personality Scores (N=282)

Personality Needs	'Traditional Role Orientation'	Statistical Significance
Need Achievement.....	—.151	$p < .01$
Need Succorance.....	.113	$p < .05$
Need Dominance.....	—.044	$p < .46$
Need Nurturance.....	.105	$p < .07$

A closer examination of Table 13 reveals that personality needs would also appear to exert an influence on occupational career orientation. It can be seen that within the Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education professions a high percentage of the members obtained high scores on succorance and nurturance needs, equivalent to the submission end of Rosenberg's dimension, and low scores on dominance; while only a small percentage of these women obtained either low scores on succorance and nurturance needs or a high score on the need for dominance. These results are congruent with those of Rosenberg who contended that individuals tend to affiliate with an occupation in which they can express their predominant personality needs. Nursing, Social Welfare, and Primary Education are all 'people-oriented' occupations which are compatible with the familial orientation, hence we find that both are associated with the same personality variables. Within the Science, High School Education and Arts professions, the women scored higher than would be expected on succorance and nurturance, but it will be noted that the differences between percentages of high and low scores is not nearly as pronounced as they were for the subsidiary professions. Need Achievement does not appear to be a differentiating factor with respect to occupational affiliation, but it is believed that had a projective measurement technique been used rather than the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, more significant differences would have been observed for this particular need.

TABLE 13 (a-d) - Cross-Tabulations of Occupational Affiliation and Personality Scores (Percentages by Total)

13a. - Occupational Affiliation by need Achievement

Occupational Affiliation	Level of Need Achievement			
	High	Medium	Low	
Arts.....	0.7	0.4	1.4	2.5
Nursing.....	3.5	10.3	5.3	19.1
Social Welfare.....	3.2	8.9	4.6	16.7
Science.....	4.6	5.7	2.8	13.1
Primary Education.....	5.0	24.5	8.2	37.6
High School Education.....	1.1	6.7	3.2	11.0
	18.1	56.4	25.5	100.0

Mean Achievement Score = 46.82

13b. - Occupational Affiliation by need Succorance

Occupational Affiliation	Level of Need Succorance			
	High	Medium	Low	
Arts.....	0.7	0.7	1.1	2.5
Nursing.....	9.6	7.8	1.8	19.1
Social Welfare.....	7.8	7.1	1.8	16.7
Science.....	3.9	6.7	2.5	13.1
Primary Education.....	15.6	16.7	5.3	37.6
High School Education.....	2.8	6.0	2.1	11.0
	40.4	45.0	14.5	100.0

Mean Succorance Score = 58.51

13c. - Occupational Affiliation by need Dominance

Occupational Affiliation	Level of Need Dominance			
	High	Medium	Low	
Arts.....	0.0	0.4	2.1	2.5
Nursing.....	0.4	9.3	9.6	19.2
Social Welfare.....	1.8	6.4	8.5	16.7
Science.....	1.1	5.3	6.4	12.8
Primary Education.....	2.8	7.5	27.4	37.7
High School Education.....	0.4	5.0	5.7	11.0
	6.4	33.8	59.8	100.0

Mean Dominance Score = 26.77

13d. - Occupational Affiliation by need Dominance

Occupational Affiliation	Level of Need Nurturance			
	High	Medium	Low	
Arts.....	1.4	1.1	0.0	2.5
Nursing.....	6.7	9.9	2.5	19.1
Social Welfare.....	6.7	7.8	2.1	16.7
Science.....	2.8	6.4	3.9	13.1
Primary Education.....	13.5	18.8	5.3	37.6
High School Education.....	2.8	6.7	1.4	11.0
	34.0	50.7	15.2	100.0

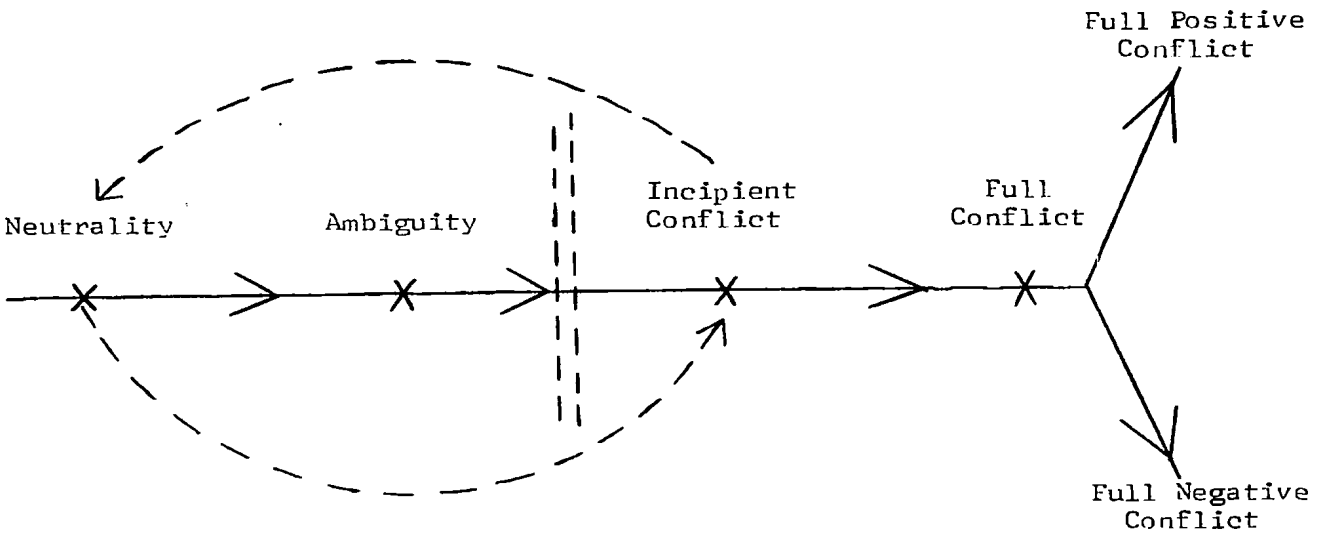
Mean Nurturance Score = 59.43

We conclude that personality needs do exert a significant influence on familial and occupational careers, but only in conjunction with other cultural, psychological and socio-economic variables. These results are analagous to those of Super and Bachrach, as paraphrased in Crites (1969), who contend that vocational development is a specific element of the general development process, and which both influences and is modified by emotional, intellectual and social development.

A Reconsideration of the Subjective Career Concept

Up until now the subjective career approach has been utilized solely for purposes of describing the individual's personal interpretation of his progress through a sequence of institutionalized behaviors such as those comprising the familial, educational, occupational and political career lines. It will now be proposed that this concept is equally valuable in an analysis of the process through which the perception of role conflict develops. In Figure 14, it can be seen that such a process can be conceptualized as a subjective career which is determined in each stage by the individual's interpretation of the interrelationships, or interactional effects, occurring between what is, in fact, two other subjective careers-in this case the familial and occupational careers. It must be emphasized that the model proposed in the following paragraphs is deemed by the author to be simply of heuristic value at the moment, since there is still no substantive data to support it. Also we must stress that the stages of development inferred from the present sample are purely arbitrary and that minor variations would be expected in different

FIGURE 14. - The Developmental Sequence of Perceived Role Conflict



cultural settings depending on the corresponding ages, educational levels and maturation rates of the subjects under study.

At each of these stages then, we are concerned with the individual's perception of the interaction of two subjective careers, in this case marital and professional, although the sequence would be equally valid for any two careers. Changes between stages are very gradual such that it is difficult to state just exactly where one phase ends and the next begins. This developmental process calls for a continual defining and redefinding of the situation with both objective and subjective elements operating to influence the perception of role conflict at any one particular stage. Viewed as a subjective career then, one's past perceptions of, or predisposition toward, role conflict become reactivated at each turning point to affect the new definitions being made. Important subjective factors in each definition of the situation are predispositions, especially the need for achievement in this case; and cultural values including the emphasis placed on childbearing, contribution to society through participation in the labor force, and so forth. Perhaps the most crucial objective factor is the influence and pressure exerted by significant other(s). For example, in the junior and senior high school years one's peer group probably exercises the most pressure in the formation of attitudes, whereas in college one's professors often become influential, and then in the early adulthood years the employer and steady dating partner play a part in the decision-making.

In order to analyse the sequential development of role conflict perception it is necessary to revert to the stage of neutrality in which there is no knowledge, either real or imagined, that there

exists any divergence of norms between the two careers for which one is preparing. This stage would appear to correspond roughly to the junior and senior high school years of development. A growing awareness of the presence of contradictory expectations becomes apparent in the ambiguity phase. It is contended that this ambiguity results largely from a lack of sophistication with, and knowledge of, what behaviors the two careers involve. We believe that this stage occurs roughly during the first one or two years of professional training which usually take place in the early years of college. As a student progresses through college there is an increasing awareness of conflict, and we refer to this phase as one of 'incipient conflict'. At this point there becomes apparent the first signs of either positive or negative valence. The progression into a full conflict awareness may occur either in the late college years, or in the early adulthood years depending on the proximity to the actual enactment of either a choice or a compromise between the two careers. Again, the time at which this occurs is contingent upon the cultural norms regarding age at marriage and desired level of education. It is, of course, quite possible for an individual to halt his development after any one stage, particularly that of ambiguity; or indeed, it is also possible to skip over the ambiguity stage in either a forward or backward direction.

Unfortunately this schema is still only hypothetical since the role conflict scale employed in this study was designed not to measure the development of role conflict but rather the degree of valence perceived at only one particular moment. It is believed, nevertheless, that this model does have potential for the future refinement of role conflict theories.

Marital Success as Perceived by College Women

As was just demonstrated, very few of the women in this sample actually perceived a conflict of a positive form, but instead the majority anticipated either little or no conflict, or on the other hand, anticipated a role ambiguity which in terms of valence can be viewed as a mild form of conflict. A closer look at the individual items on the role conflict scale shows that these low conflict scores are particularly evident on the items involving a conflict between marital and career roles, whereas the scores are slightly higher on the items involving a conflict between parental and occupational career roles (see Table 9). If marital roles assume such a high priority for these women that they perceive relatively little overt conflict at time of marriage, what then are the factors that they perceive as beneficial to marital success and what are their attitudes toward the adjustment of women who do choose to combine a full-time professional role with those of marriage and a family?

The concept of perceived marital success is still very amorphous and unrefined; first, most research to date has centered around predictive variables of marital success rather than the single individual's perception or interpretation as to what constitutes a happy marriage; and secondly, any measure of marital success, be it with either single or married persons, can at best be only a perceived attitude which will more than likely change sometime in the future. Such measures among adolescents and young adults, however, are invaluable in that they allow us to study from

one stage to the next the development of attitudes and values leading eventually to the marital and occupational choices which will shape and direct their life styles.

We noted above that the maturational process, for which the major developmental task is that of decision-making with regards to the desired combination of familial and career roles, is characterized by three stages: Early adolescence (junior and senior high school ages), late adolescence (freshman through to approximately junior college year), and early adulthood (generally includes senior college girls plus those who have graduated and are now working, be they single or engaged). For the present sample, the concern is only with the social and emotional development of women in the second and third stages, but as was demonstrated in Figure 14, these stages are in no way fixed but rather they are arbitrary to the point that it is quite possible for an individual to either skip over a particular stage in a forward or backward direction, or in fact, to stop permanently at the middle stage.

One major reason why many of the subjects did not anticipate a full degree of conflict between their professional and marital roles at time of marriage is that they perceived the most successful marriages to be those in which the husband fulfills the traditional role of provider while the wife fulfills the traditional roles of housewife and childrearer (see Table 15). There are two answers in particular, however, which suggest that egalitarian values may be starting to replace the traditional roles which have characterized Newfoundland society for so many centuries (see #2 in question 41, and #1 in question 32). Almost all of the subjects were reared in

TABLE 15. - Perceived Marital Success (Percentage Distribution)

Item	Percentage
#25. Which of the following do you feel is the most harmful to the husband-wife marital relationship?	
1: Wife works full-time and earns more than husband	61.8
2: Wife works full-time and husband helps with housework	10.7
3: Wife and husband compete in same profession	20.4
4: None of the above are harmful	6.8
#23. Which of the following is the most harmful to child adjustment?	
1: Wife works full-time and earns more than husband	37.9
2: Wife works full-time and husband helpw with housework	25.0
3: Wife and husband compete in same profession	15.4
4: None of the above are harmful	21.4
#32. Do you feel that when both the husband and wife have a college education and a professional job:	
1: The chances of successful marital adjustment increase	45.5
2: The possibility of conflict between husband and wife increases	10.0
3: There is no significant influence on marital adjustment	44.4
#39. Which of the following conditions do you feel would lead to the most successful marriage?	
1: Husband works; wife full-time housewife	37.7
2: Husband works; wife works part-time	36.3
3: Husband works; wife works full-time in same profession	9.3
4: Husband works; wife works full-time but not in same profession	15.3
5: Husband goes to university; wife works full-time	0.4
#41. What is your opinion of marriages in which the wife works full-time while the husband attends college?	
1: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the wife better understands what a husband must do in order to support a family	7.2
2: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the husband-wife relationship should be one of mutual sharing	33.0
3: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the husband in furthering his education is better preparing to support the family	47.3
4: This situation is harmful to the marriage since a husband should be responsible for the full support of the family under any conditions	2.2
5: Other	1.1

rural type towns or communities (100,000 or less) in which female dominance is sanctioned, so that it is only upon their entrance into the university environment within the past couple of years that they have been exposed to egalitarian attitudes, hence this mixture of egalitarian and traditional role values lies in the fact that almost three-quarters of the mothers of these women were full-time housewives, so here again we see the influence of role models within the familial structure in determining preferred role identities.

Since these women then, tend to perceive the chances of marital success as increasing in the presence of traditional role values, it would be expected that these women would therefore choose a subsidiary role profession which will offer little or no threat to either their own wife-mother roles or their husband's professional role.

Hypothesis 6: Those females enrolled in the Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education Professions will be higher on 'traditional wife-mother role orientation' than will those females enrolled in the Science and High School Education professions.

As is demonstrated in Table 16 this hypothesis was confirmed at a highly significant level, and if present results can be said to indicate in any manner the future marital success of these subjects, we can predict that they will be personally and socially well adjusted, for as Mulvey (1961:137) and others have shown: "Marital status appears to be the career 'carrier'. It is the center of the common core of factors interacting with career patterns."

TABLE 16. - Occupational Affiliation as a Differentiating Factor in Traditional Role Orientation (N=282)

Occupational Affiliation	'Traditional Role Orientation'	
	Total	Mean Score
Nursing, Social Welfare & Primary Education.....	207	13.65
Science, High School Education & Arts.....	75	15.54

$F=19.47$, $df=1$, $p < .00001$

CHAPTER V

LIFE STYLES AMONG COLLEGE EDUCATED WOMEN

Professional versus Nonprofessional Life Styles

In Chapter IV the concern was with the internal or personal conflict of roles as perceived by aspiring professional women. Attention must now be turned to the problem of interpersonal conflict arising between the roles of husband and wife in such marriages; and further, to consider the accommodations which these individuals are prepared to make in order to reduce the possibility of this conflict reaching crisis proportions.

From an examination of the life styles of professional women as reported in studies such as those of Hubback, 1957; Ginzberg, 1966; Ginzberg and Yohalme, 1966; and Cuber and Haroff, 1966; it is easy to discern that the possibile combinations of the wife, mother, and professional roles are very diversified and flexible as opposed to the life styles of traditionally role oriented women which tend to be homogeneous and fixed. Let us return to Bate's conceptualization of role and position in order to further delineate these differences. It will be remembered that Bates (1956:316) differentiated a dominant role, or "a role which determines the structure of that part of the position in which it is found due to the relative inflexibility of the norms which compose it" from a recessive role, or one "which becomes changed or adjusted in relation to a dominant role." Dominant

roles tend to be those for which the norms are ascribed, and therefore relatively rigid, such as the sex roles. For those women who are highly oriented toward the traditional wife-mother roles then, the social position is clearly defined. That is, the norms for each of the dominant roles are ascribed rather than achieved, and consequently, they are usually compatible with all other roles comprising the position. What happens to the structure of the position, however, if the wife has chosen to make her occupational role the dominant one, with the wife and/or mother roles becoming recessive? Two major problems arise in such a case. First, the occupational role is an achieved one, and as was noted earlier, the norms regarding the female work role are still ambiguous and poorly defined even though women now constitute approximately 35 per cent of the total labor force (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965). But even more crucial is the fact that her dominant role, i.e. that of employee, is reciprocated not by her spouse, or even by a member of her nuclear family, as are the majority of her recessive or subordinate roles. Further, this dominant professional role often requires her to spend long hours of time with an employer who is frequently another male, leaving the path wide open for (1) the possibility of interpersonal conflict and, (2) the possibility of innumerable types of accommodations to prevent conflict, since the work roles are so vague as to make almost any behavior pass as being legitimate. The possibility of such conflict occurring within the positions of women for whom the wife and mother roles are dominant is highly unlikely since the norms for these roles are well recognized, in addition to which, even if the wife does work her employer occupies at most only one of many recessive roles. Hence, the positions in which the wife-

mother roles are dominant tend to be standardized and stable; whereas the positions in which the professional role is dominant tend to vary widely from one individual and situation to the next.

If a career oriented woman finds that the norms pertaining to her occupational and wife-mother roles conflict, the occupant says Bates, will attempt to reduce this tension by redefining, either by a mental and/or physical segregation of, the role behaviors. The numerous combinations of marriage and career chosen by professional women would tend to suggest that there is no simple black-and-white solution to the problem. The variable most likely to cause conflict between these two roles may well be the simple investment of time that is demanded in both. Most professional careers are not nine-to-five jobs, but rather they require the individual to work until the job is competently completed, such that the teacher must correct papers in the evening, the nurse must work overtime with an emergency case, or the social worker must frequently spend an evening preparing reports or helping a destitute family. But as McCall and Simmons (1966) emphasize, any interpersonal relationship such as that between a wife and husband, or mother and child, requires the investment of time if the relationship is to be maintained without the element of commitment degenerating.

Let us consider first the various modifications which are made in the educational and occupational roles since these compromises are more frequently made than are those in the familial roles. Ginzberg (1966) reports autobiographies of college educated women who choose to quit graduate school just prior to the attainment of a doctorate to enhance their chances of marriage. Still others adapted to the problem by accepting a position lower in the occupational hierarchy

than that for which they were qualified in order to devote more time to their families. For example, some took positions in nursing rather than in medicine, or in High School teaching rather than college teaching. Many women, aware of the fact that a postgraduate degree plus a masculine career such as law or medicine would greatly limit their field of eligibles for marriage, settle for a subsidiary role occupation which will offer no threat or competition to the career of a potential spouse. The most common accommodations would still appear to be either the adoption of part-time employment throughout the early child-rearing years, or a complete resignation of one's job with a planned re-entry into the labor force after the children have begun school. With a few rare exceptions then, it would seem that even for the highly career oriented woman the professional career is contingent upon the familial career.

We shall now study in more detail two types of familial adaptations which are employed either to prevent or to reduce a conflict of occupational and career roles. The first involves the delayed timing of marriage and the birth of children. The second is more obscure since it involves the less obvious ways in which one can avoid conflict by selecting a mate whose plans for a career and marriage are different in such a way as to be compatible with those of a career oriented woman, or whose personality needs are different in kind or in intensity from those of the woman such that it is unlikely that any conflict will arise. In short, we must define the possible field of eligibles for women who are high on need Achievement and/or occupational career orientation.

A Subordinate Parental Role for Professional Women

The factors of age at marriage and size of family must be examined together when considering their influence on the life cycles of professional women, due to the fact that any delay or postponement of marriage tends to act as a form of family planning. As was shown in Chapter I, considerable research has demonstrated that highly educated women tend to marry at a later age than normal, in addition to which they tend to bear fewer children. In line with these results the author hypothesized that the same tendency would hold true for women who are high on achievement motivation.

Hypothesis 7: Those females with a high need for achievement will prefer to defer marriage after college graduation to a greater extent than will those females who are not high on need for achievement.

Hypothesis 8: Those females with a high need for achievement will prefer a smaller familial composition in order that they may better direct their efforts to the attainment of their full educational and occupational potential.

Tables 17 and 18 show that neither of these hypotheses were confirmed, however, these results must be interpreted carefully, taking into account the cultural factors operating to counteract such trends. For example, the dominance norms for these subjects are well below those for the American women on whom these marriage and childbearing trends have been established. Secondly, many of these women have come into the University from small communities in which their mothers were full-time housewives while their fathers assumed the dominant role, so it cannot be logically be expected that

TABLE 17. - Level of Achievement Motivation by Preferred Time of Marriage after College Graduation (N=282)

Achievement Motivation Level	Number	Mean Years
High	51	3.64
Medium	159	3.50
Low	72	3.45

$F=0.28$, $df=2$, $p < .75$

TABLE 18. - Level of Achievement Motivation by Preferred Family Size (N=282)

Achievement Motivation Level	Total	Mean Number of Children
High	51	3.17
Medium	159	3.06
Low	72	2.97

$F=1.05$, $df=2$, $p < .35$

within a few years at college these identification models will be superimposed by urban American values. An examination of the relationship of achievement motivation to preferences for job re-entry after the birth of children, however, reveals that high Achievers do not differ from those who are not high when the job conditions are considered, however, a smaller percentage of these high Achievers indicated a preference not to return to work (see Table 19).

TABLE 19. - Cross-Tabulation of Need Achievement by Preferences for Job Re-Entry

Preferences for Job Re-Entry	Level of Achievement Motivation			
	High	Medium	Low	
Only if Original Salary and Priviledges are Maintained....	6.8	21.7	8.2	36.7
With Original Salary, but Loss of Priviledges.....	0.4	2.1	0.4	2.8
Under any Conditions Offered..	1.8	2.5	1.4	5.7
Would not Prefer to Return to Work.....	8.5	28.1	14.9	51.6
Would not Return to Work until Children Grown.....	0.4	1.8	0.7	2.8
Do not Plan to have any Children.....	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4
	17.8	56.6	25.6	100.0

Almost three-quarters of these women did demonstrate a preference to practice family planning temporarily in order to devote more time to their occupational and/or educational careers. In addition, almost 60 per cent of the subjects indicated an agreement with the idea of a 2-3 month pregnancy leave for women (i.e. no pay, but all other priviledges maintained). These trends are demonstrated in Tables 20 and 21. Here again is evident the same mixture of traditional and egalitarian attitudes which was apparent in our consideration of perceived marital success. It is believed that this trend can be attributed at least partially to the fact that these women were reared in the presence of traditional role models,

TABLE 20. - Percentage of Women Expressing Positive Attitudes to Pregnancy Leave

Attitude toward Pregnancy Leave	Total	Percentage
Strongly Agree.....	50	17.8
Agree.....	118	42.0
Undecided.....	84	29.9
Disagree.....	27	9.6
Strongly Disagree.....	2	0.7
	281	100.0

TABLE 21. - Percentage of Women Preferring to Practice Family Planning (N=280)

Preference for Family Planning	Total	Percentage
Would not practice family planning at all....	38	13.6
Would limit family size temporarily.....	207	73.9
Would limit family size permanently.....	10	3.6
Would like to practice family planning, but religion would prohibit this.....	22	7.9
Would limit family size for reasons other than education and career.....	3	1.1
	280	100.0

but now for the first time are being exposed to egalitarian values at the university with the result that their value systems are largely in a state of flux.

Since professional careers require a greater absence of the mothers from the children than do nonprofessional careers, should not the children of professional mothers be more maladjusted than children of mothers employed in skilled or semi-skilled jobs? Nye and Hoffman (1963) report evidence to suggest that the distinguishing factor in the adjustment of children is the mother's enjoyment of her work, although these results are not yet conclusive. They claim that in order to better understand the effects of maternal employment on child adjustment, we must first differentiate the working mothers along some theoretical dimension. It is contended then by this author that one such dimension should be the nature or type of the occupation involved. In short, we predict that in spite of greater occupational commitments, the professional woman will derive just as much or more enjoyment from her work than will the nonprofessional because of the fact that she has of her own accord chosen to make these same commitments and investments of her time and ability.

With this in mind, it is to be expected that children of professional mothers will be found to be equally well adjusted as children of nonprofessional working mothers even though their approaches to child-rearing will probably be quite different. The author has been able to find only one study to date on professional versus nonprofessional women as mothers. This study, conducted by von Mering (1955) indicated just such a trend. That is, the professionally active mothers stress discipline and independence

training in their maternal role, while those women who are full-time housewives emphasize the protective and empathetic aspects of the role. Although the mode of child-rearing is different, the motives of both types of mothers stem from a similar intention to promote the child's well-being, and therefore in the long run both should achieve similar results. Von Mering (1955:32) concluded:

> The emphasis of the professional mothers' child-training is on equipping the child to copy effectively with the rules and techniques of his culture. The accent of the non-professional mothers is to ensure the child's emotional security. Both orientations, within definable limits, involve care and concern for the child and have functional value for his development.

The Field of Eligibles for High Need Achievers

It was noted earlier that the achievement motive is a rare phenomenon even in males, so that if we refer to a high need Achieving woman we are considering not only a woman who is high within the college environment for whom these norms were established but also of a woman who is therefore extremely atypical within the general population. Hence, when we speak in terms of the general population all of these college girls are, in fact, high need Achievers. Just how limited then, is the field of eligibles for such a woman? In order to determine this, let us consider R. F. Winch's theory of mate selection in which he contends that the love which underlies mate selection can be stated in the heterogamous term of complementary needs. His basic assumption is that every human being has needs, and therefore, within the field of eligibles will seek that individual who will provide maximum need-gratification. We are attracted to individuals with complementary, not similar need patterns

since by complementing one's needs the partner also provides pleasure. People choose spouses who are different; not randomly different, but rather different in a way determined by the nature of their own needs. Utilizing H. A. Murray's need classification, a definition of complementarity was formulated by Winch et al. (1954:243): "When two persons, A and B, are interacting, we consider the resulting gratifications of both to be complementary if one of the following conditions is satisfied: (1) The need or needs of A are different in kind from the need or needs being gratified in B; or (2) the need or needs in A which are being gratified are very different in intensity from the same needs in B which are also being gratified."

If these women who are high on achievement motivation wish to marry men who are higher on achievement and its related dominance need (i.e. needs which are different in intensity), then unfortunately the type of spouses are seldom available within their present field of eligibles. An examination of the normative scores in Table 22 will reveal that while the achievement and dominance need scores are low for the females, the male scores are even lower for the achievement need and only slightly higher for the dominance need (on need Achievement, 25.6 per cent of the females scored under the twentieth percentile but 30.3 per cent of the males did also; on need Dominance, 50.3 per cent of the females scored under the twentieth percentile while 41.2 per cent of the males did also). Only a very small percentage of males obtained higher scores on need Achievement than did females, while approximately equal percentages of males and females obtained high scores on need Dominance. Hence, it can be seen that it would only be possible for the homogamy norm, not Winch's heterogamy norm, to operate in the mate selection patterns of women in this sample group who are high on achievement and dominance needs.

If, on the other hand, these high need Achievers wish to marry men whose needs are different in kind, that is, men who are high on succorance and nurturance needs at the opposite pole of the domination-submission dimension, then there appears to be an availability of these potential mates. It will be noted in this same table that while the scores for achievement and dominance needs are below those of Edward's normative sample, the succorance and nurturance need scores are above those of the original sample. Cultural factors influencing these high succorance and nurturance scores are similar; that is, Newfoundland is characterized by a local type atmosphere with emphasis on large familial groups and intimate social settings in which one is expected to depend heavily on interpersonal exchanges and gratifications. Thus if type I form of complementarity operates as Winch postulated, the females have a more favorable field of potential mates; whereas if type II form operates then the males have a more favorable chance of marrying the preferred mate.

The field of eligibles for high need achieving professional women is further restricted because of their high educational and intelligence levels. In mate selection, education and intelligence variables tend to be homogamous. That is, women tend to marry men who are similar to themselves on these variables. If they do deviate from this pattern, then they tend to marry men who are higher, not lower, than themselves on these characteristics. The preferences of women in this sample are similar to those of other women in North American society in this respect (see Table 23), however, their preferences are very unrealistic and in many cases will not be fulfilled. For example, 30.2 per cent stated a preference to earn a Masters'

TABLE 22 (a-d). - Normative Distribution of Personality Variables for Males and Females (by Percentile

Table 22a. - Need Achievement

Need Achievement	Percentage Distribution	
Score Intervals	Female	Male
0-9.....	12.1	23.1
10-19.....	13.5	7.2
20-29.....	9.2	16.1
30-39.....	11.7	7.7
40-49.....	8.5	7.2
50-59.....	8.5	10.3
60-69.....	8.5	4.2
70-79.....	15.2	6.3
80-89.....	6.4	10.0
90-99.....	6.4	7.9
	100.0	100.0

Table 22b. - Need Dominance

Need Dominance	Percentage Distribution	
Score Intervals	Female	Male
0-9.....	31.9	28.4
10-19.....	18.4	12.8
20-29.....	17.4	14.2
30-39.....	7.4	13.3
40-49.....	5.3	6.1
50-59.....	8.9	6.5
60-69.....	1.8	4.2
70-79.....	2.5	8.4
80-89.....	2.8	2.8
90-99.....	3.5	3.3
	100.0	100.0

Table 22c. - Need Succorance

Need Succorance	Percentage Distribution	
Score Intervals	Female	Male
0-9	7.4	6.8
10-19.....	7.1	9.3
20-29.....	6.7	7.5
30-39.....	9.2	7.0
40-49.....	5.0	17.5
50-59.....	15.6	9.8
60-69.....	8.9	8.2
70-79.....	5.7	11.9
80-89.....	18.8	13.3
90-99.....	15.6	8.9
	100.0	100.0

Table 22d. - Need Nurturance

Need Nurturance	Percentage Distribution	
Score Intervals	Female	Male
0-9.....	6.7	5.6
10-19.....	8.5	5.6
20-29.....	5.3	4.9
30-39.....	6.0	14.7
40-49.....	14.2	6.8
50-59.....	8.2	10.3
60-69.....	7.1	13.5
70-79.....	9.9	8.2
80-89.....	13.5	15.6
90-99.....	20.6	14.9
	100.0	100.0

degree for themselves, but when asked about their preference for their husband's highest degree this figure rose to 38.8 per cent. Similarly, only 6.4 per cent expressed a desire to obtain a Doctorate, whereas this figure more than doubled to 16.2 per cent when stating a corresponding preference for the husband. If we take into account the tendency for homogamy of residential propinquity and racial background to operate in mate selection, then the probability that many of these women will actually have these preferences satisfied is very low, for the simple reason that there are only a few persons with Masters or Doctorate degrees living in the Province of Newfoundland. This is evident in the fact that at the spring convocation for the same year in which this study was conducted there were only 31 Masters degrees awarded, of which only 19 were awarded to Newfoundlanders, 9 to foreign students, and 3 to other Canadians. Only 2 Doctorates were awarded, both of which were obtained by females.

With respect to homogamy of professional status most of the subjects stated that they would prefer to marry a man with either an academic or professional job (see Table 24). These preferences would appear to be realistic since there are more professional men than women graduated each year, but for the most part they will work in occupations such as Commerce, Engineering or Science, whereas the majority of the women will work in Primary Education, Nursing, Social Welfare or related fields.

TABLE 23. - Prevalence of Homogamy Norm for Desired Educational Level

Highest Degree Desired	Total Number	Percentage	Highest Degree Desired	Total Number	Percentage
			Grade XI	2	0.7
			Grade XI and Technical training	14	5.0
Bachelor's Degree	171	60.9	Bachelor's Degree	71	25.5
Master's Degree	85	30.2	Master's Degree	108	33.8
Doctoral Degree (M.D. or Ph.D.)	18	6.4	Doctoral Degree	45	16.2
Not Interested in Earning a Degree	6	2.1	Educational Level is not an Important Factor in Choice of Husband		
Undecided	1	0.4	Undecided	1	0.4
	281	100.0		278	100.0

TABLE 24. - Prevalence of Homogamy Norm for Desired Professional Status

Desired Occupational Status of Husband	Total	Percentage
Academic (teaching or research).....	31	11.0
Professional (e.g. law, medicine, engineering..	131	47.3
Business or Managerial...	19	6.8
Technical (e.g. industry or trades.....	8	2.8
Type of Work not Important.....	89	31.7
Undecided.....	1	0.4
	281	100.0

Desire for Husband to Work in Same Profession as Oneself	Total	Percentage
Yes.....	25	8.9
No.....	96	34.2
Not Important.....	160	56.9
	281	100.0

An Elaboration of the Family Life Cycle Categories

Throughout this thesis we have been assuming that all professional women marry, which is of course, a totally false assumption. Although the proportions of highly educated women who ever marry is increasing, nevertheless there still remain women who prefer not to assume either a marital and/or parental role. Unfortunately, Duvall in her development of the family life cycle categories made the same false assumption. She defines the developmental tasks of adolescents through the engagement period into married life, but she fails to delineate any tasks or roles for the individual who chooses to remain single.

What then are the role or roles of the single individual and how does the absence of the marital and parental roles affect their other roles in life? Until such time as there is empirical research conducted to determine if there are any normative expectations regarding the single role, then it is contended that the most adequate way of accounting for the stage of singleness is through the subjective career concept. Only in this way can we ascertain exactly which recessive roles interact with the dominant occupational career role, and even more important the individual's interpretation of his progress throughout his personal life career. For example, one individual may feel satisfied with a limited interpersonal role complex, while another may find that a strain becomes apparent in later life such that he or she redefines the situation and decides to marry.

It is believed that future research will show that the role complex of the single individual changes in relation to the life

cycles of significant others, be they colleagues, friends, or members of the family of orientation. That is, since most people marry, their social life is contingent upon the particular stage of the family life cycle of those with whom they interact. For example, while their friends are still newlyweds without any children, social life may be interpreted as satisfactory; but once these people become older, social settings usually are composed of dyadic marital groups with the result that the single individual at this stage may change his evaluation of his life career. These ideas, of course, remain purely speculative until empirical research is conducted to either verify or disprove them.

Implications for Future Marriage-Career Trends

The major question we must now answer is: What is the role(s) of the professional woman in the cybernetic age which is emerging? The main effect of automation appears to be an antiquation of many skilled and semi-skilled jobs with the result that unemployment is increasing among these occupational groups. This trend is particularly evident in the industrial and clerical fields. How then does such a change affect the professional worker? What is actually happening is that there is a much greater demand for professional workers since it is these people who must program for the computers, interpret the output, and help the unskilled persons who are suddenly faced with the problem of unemployment and/or many extra hours of leisure. We have every reason to believe then, that the participation of professional women in the labor force will continue to increase in the years to come, however, there are likely to be some changes in the nature of their educational and occupational patterns.

It is estimated that the world's store of knowledge is now redoubling every ten years, therefore, professional women will be met with the problem of having to completely retrain for a job if they with to re-enter the labor force after the birth of children. Blood (1965) claims that the declining age at marriage is already interfering with the education of college women, hence he predicts that in the future many potential professional women will have to receive their education after the birth of children rather than before. For example, if a doctor decided to spend ten years as a full-time housewife, she could not possibly enter the labor force again without considerable retraining to learn the new medical drugs and techniques.

What reasons do we have to believe that the numbers of women wishing to re-enter their jobs after the middle stage of the family life cycle will increase? Firstly, the lower age at marriage implies that women now have fifteen to twenty years still left before retirement age even after their children have finished school. However, with the increasing demand for professional women there is no reason to believe that the fertility rate of highly educated women will increase. Secondly, with the emergence of the companionate marriage together with the new laws enforcing equal pay for women, professional women especially, no longer view marriage as a form of protection and security since they themselves can earn almost as much money as their husbands. These same factors, of course, are also influencing the change from a male dominant to an egalitarian power structure which is evolving.

If our universities continue to graduate professionals at

the present rate there is always the possibility that the work week will drop in hours for professionals just as it is now doing for the skilled and unskilled persons. Should this happen, professional women holding part-time jobs will have extra leisure time in which it would be hoped that they would use their creativity and intelligence to improve the humanitarian and aesthetic aspects of human life.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To date, theories of achievement motivation, both psychological and sociological, have almost all been based on male norms with the result that no corresponding theories for females have yet evolved. Indeed, the field of sociology has produced very little research in the whole area of human motivation with the result that the current theories remain unrefined and inadequate. Psychologists, on the other hand, have developed several theories but they have been unable to delineate the male-female difference in motivation due to the fact that their approach has been so narrow that components such as acquired values have not been taken into consideration. In the present study, therefore, an attempt was made to develop a theory of achievement motivation for women and, in so doing, to also assess the relative merits and limitations of the sociological versus the psychological approach for the future improvements to current theories. Therefore, a major aim of this thesis was to both refine and expound upon the theories of McClelland and his colleagues. Since these were found to be inadequate, a theory of vicarious achievement motivation was proposed in which the woman achieves indirectly via the success of the husband and/or sons and daughters. Vicarious achievement was found to be negatively related to the perception of conflict between marital and career roles, but positively related to the traditional wife-mother role identities (both significant at the .0001 level of

confidence). Thus it was concluded that the prominence hierarchies of vicarious achievers are so clearly defined that any conflict which arises between the marital and occupational role identities is minimal.

Having determined then, that vicarious achievement is inversely related to the perception of role conflict, it was necessary to investigate the possible relationships between role conflict and need Achievement as defined by McClelland in the academic-occupational context. In line with this aim, an attempt was also made to ascertain the influence of four particular motives, namely the achievement, dominance, succorance and nurturance needs, on familial and occupational career orientations. Since the life plans of vicarious achievers are self-evident, the next aim of this research was to delineate the preferred life styles of high need Achievers, as defined by McClelland. Through the utilization of Bate's conceptualization of position, role and status; an attempt was made to differentiate the high achievement oriented woman from the low achievement oriented woman in the various ways in which they may either maintain, postpone or relinquish their professional roles in the light of their preferences for marital and/or parental roles. In this sense, many of the anticipated plans for combining marital and occupational roles can be viewed as modes of role conflict reduction.

The study was conducted on a sample of female college students since it was assumed that these women are more highly motivated than those in High School, and also since these women are closer to marriageable age with the result that the perception of role conflict is probably more pronounced among them. The sample was stratified by

four year levels (i.e. freshman to senior year) since earlier studies have revealed significant differences in marriage-career expectations between these levels (Freedman, 1967). A control was also made for occupational affiliation since variations are expected between women who are pursuing the more subsidiary, expressive occupational roles such as Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary School Teaching; and those who will be engaging in the professions such as Science, Medicine or High School Teaching which require greater commitments and investments of time and ability.

All female subjects answered a 45-item questionnaire designed to measure vicarious achievement, perceived role conflict, and 'traditional wife-mother role orientation'; together with preferences for type of desired spouse, size of family, age at marriage, and plans for future education and participation in the labor force both before and after marriage. Along with this, all subjects were administered the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule for the measurement of the achievement, dominance, succorance and nurturance needs. A similar sample of males was also administered the E.P.P.S. because this is in part a study of mate selection. Again, with the males a control was made for occupational affiliation, with each of the Engineering, Science, Commerce, Social Welfare, Education and Arts faculties being represented.

In the light of these problems presented above, the following hypotheses were formulated for testing:

Hypothesis I: There is a positive association between vicarious achievement and 'traditional wife-mother role orientation'.

Hypothesis II: There is a negative relationship between vicarious achievement and perceived role conflict.

Hypothesis III: Those females who are high on need Achievement will anticipate a greater degree of role conflict than will those females who are not high on need Achievement.

Hypothesis IV: Those females enrolled in the Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education professions will anticipate less role conflict than will those females enrolled in the Science and High School Education professions.

Hypothesis V: 'Traditional wife-mother role orientation' is positively related to succorance and nurturance needs, but inversely related to dominance and achievement needs.

Hypothesis VI: Those females enrolled in the Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education professions will be higher on 'traditional wife-mother role orientation' than will those females enrolled in the Science and High School Education professions.

Hypothesis VII: Those females with a high need for achievement will prefer to defer marriage after college graduation to a greater extent than will those females who are not high on need for achievement.

Hypothesis VIII: Those females with a high need for achievement will prefer a smaller familial composition in order that they may better direct their efforts to the attainment of their full educational and occupational potential.

As was noted above, hypotheses I and II were both confirmed at the .0001 level of significance.

Hypothesis III was confirmed at the .02 level of significance. Those who were medium or low on need Achievement showed no differences on their perception, however, the mean score for high need Achievers was significantly higher than those for the medium and low groups.

Hypothesis IV was rejected. However, since a closer examination of the role conflict categories showed evidence to suggest that there are, in fact, a sequence of stages through which one progresses to an awareness of full positive or negative conflict, the author attempted to develop a model for the future investigation of such a developmental process. This involved a re-assessment of the subjective career concept.

Hypothesis V was confirmed for the achievement, succorance and nurturance needs. The very low mean score obtained for dominance would tend to suggest that in future investigations this will prove to be an important cultural factor influencing the emphasis placed on traditional familial values. These personality needs appeared to be related not only to familial orientation but also to occupational affiliation. An examination of the cross-tabulations between occupational affiliation and these four personality traits reveals that those females enrolled in the subsidiary role professions such as Nursing, Social Welfare and Primary Education have a greater percentage of members obtaining high scores on succorance and nurturance needs and lower scores on the need for dominance than do those enrolled in the Science and High School Education professions. Need Achievement did not appear to be characteristic of any one particular profession.

Hypothesis VI was confirmed at the .00001 level of significance. This result was really to be expected since it is congruent with all the above hypotheses.

Hypotheses VII and VIII were both rejected, and we interpret this to be the result of cultural values influencing both acquired drives, such as the need to achieve, and also orientation toward future life styles.

The author concludes that in the future development of motivational theories, a much broader perspective toward human behavior must be employed. It was noted earlier that up until now sociology has been concerned primarily with the direction of motives, whereas psychology has stressed the origination aspect of motivation. We believe that a merging together of the sociological and psychological approaches will be essential to refine current theories, since it is impossible to determine the direction of a motive if the origin of that same motive is not known. This implies then, a union of the best of the ideas of sociology and social psychology on the one hand, and biology and psychology on the other. Rosen's motivational syndrome approach appears to be one of the first theories accounting for both of these factors, but even he does not fully delineate the origin of motives in that he neglects to distinguish the relative influence of the psychological internal drive versus the acquired values in the determination of a motive. In short, we must explore the possibility of the achievement motive assuming the form of a syndrome rather than simply a need or drive. This will require a complete re-assessment of the present assumptions, many of which appear to be unjustified, leading to a broader approach in which we treat the achievement motive not in the context of a one-to-one causal relationship but rather as an interaction between both sociological and psychological variables. Before this can be done, of course, we must refine the present measurement techniques, particularly for the achievement motive since the current techniques do not allow for sex differences. This study demonstrated that there are sex differences on the achievement motive, and future studies may well reveal that many of

the other personality needs are also influenced by the sex roles learned in early childhood. These differences will only be discovered, however, if we account for both sociological and psychological variables.

A longitudinal study will be necessary in order to test the model which was proposed for the developmental sequence of role conflict perception. Such a study would follow the interpretation of the interactional effects of the familial and occupational careers of girls from approximately age 12 through to approximately age 22. But in order to account for the changes in cultural values, educational policies, and maturation rates which would normally occur over a ten year period, a study would also be necessary in which girls and women from all stages would be tested at the same point in time.

The practical implications of such a developmental sequence of role conflict perception are numerous, the main one being in the field of school and college counseling. We assume that it is unhealthy to remain in the stressful ambiguity stage; and since ambiguity tends to result from a lack of experience with, and knowledge of, the appropriate role behaviors, it is believed that proper counseling could largely eliminate this phase by means of clarification of the norms for the two careers. Again, we stress that further research is required in order to determine the influence of predispositions, and in particular the achievement motive, on the perception of role conflict.

In our knowledge of professional life styles there remain unanswered two major questions. Firstly, there has been considerable research conducted on the role(s) of women in twentieth century society,

but what are the implications of such a change on the role(s) of men? Presumably, many changes would be precipitated for them since they reciprocate most of the female roles, either as husbands or as employers. Secondly, the role(s) of the single individual still must be determined. It is believed that an extension to the work of Bates may well come up with answers to these questions.

APPENDIX

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

St. John's Newfoundland

Department of Sociology & Anthropology

February, 1970

Dear Student:

We are conducting a very important study examining various ways in which college women intend to combine their career and marriage goals. We would greatly appreciate your help in this study.

In answering this questionnaire it is important to remember that we are concerned with your preferences at this particular time, even though these may change before you actually marry. Questions concerning "your husband" are therefore really asking about the type of husband you feel you will prefer sometime in the future. It is important that you give only one answer, and in some cases this will involve your choosing the one which best suits your preference. So please do your best to try to anticipate the way in which you hope to carry out your marriage and career goals.

Thank you again for your help in this study.

Sincerely,

F. E. Whitney,
Asst. Prof. of Sociology

M. J. Press,
Research Assistant

INSTRUCTIONS

Circle the answer which best describes your preference or attitude.

I.B.M. Number _____

1. In what faculty are you enrolled?

   1: Arts
   2: Nursing
   3: Social Welfare
   4: Science or Medicine
   Education (or Physical Education)
   5: Primary Education
   6: Elementary Education
   7: High School Education
   8: Other, please specify _____

2. In what year of college are you at present?

   1: Freshman
   2: Second
   3: Third
   4: Fourth
   5: Fifth
   6: Graduate

3. How old were you on your last birthday? _____

4. In which city or town did you live most of the time between the ages of 5 and 15 years? _____

5. What is your present dating status?

   1: Seldom date
   2: Casual dating, but with no committments
   3: Going steady
   4: Engaged
   5. Married
   6: Other, please specify _____

6. What was your major reason for coming to university?

   1: For a general cultural background
   2: For professional training
   3: To enjoy the social life
   4: Because the family encouraged it

7. What is the highest degree that you hope to earn?

   1: Bachelor's degree
   2: Master's degree
   3: Doctoral degree
   4: Not interested in earning a degree, only in taking courses for personal satisfaction.

8. Which of the following would you most prefer to do?

1: Work with people
2: Work with ideas
3: Work with things

9. At what time to you expect to marry?

1: Prior to graduation with Bachelor's degree
2: Immediately after graduation with Bachelor's degree
3: Within 1-2 years after graduation with Bachelor's degree
4: " 3-4 " " " " " "
5: " 5-6 " " " " " "
6: " 7-12 " " " " " "
7: Do not plan to marry

10. Which of the following assumes the highest priority among your life goals?

1: Marriage and a family
2: A career
3: Marriage and a career both of equal importance
4: " " " " but career of greatest importance
5: " " " " " Marriage of greatest importance

11. What plans do you have for your career during early marriage before you expect to have any children?

1: Continue in full-time employment
2: Work in part-time employment
3: Quit job to become a full-time housewife

12. Would it bother you if your husband asked you to quit your job because he felt that he himself and the home were being neglected?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Undecided

13. At what stage in your married life would you like to become a full-time housewife?

1: Within 2 years after marriage
2: Within 3-4 " " "
3: Within 5-6 " " "
4: Within 7-12 " " "
5: Would prefer to work until retirement age

14. What are your feelings about the current sex roles?

1: Am satisfied with female sex role
2: Think male has a more interesting time in life
3: Think female has a more interesting time in life
4: Agree with both # 1 and # 2
5: Agree with both # 1 and # 3

15. What degree of conflict between your career and marital roles do you anticipate at time of marriage?

1: Strong conflict
2: Some conflict
3: Undecided
4: Very little conflict
5: No conflict

16. How many children would you like to have?

1: None
2: 1-2 children
3: 3-4 children
4: 5-6 children
5: 7 or more children

17. At what time do you plan to start a family?

1: Immediately after marriage
2: Within 1-2 years after marriage
3: Within 3-4 years after marriage
4: Within 5-6 " " "
5: Within 7-12 " " "
6: Do not plan to have any children

18. Would it bother you if your husband disagreed with your choice to postpone childbearing in order to give priority to your career?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Undecided

19. Would you practice family planning in order to devote more time to your career and/or further education?

1: Would not practice family planning at all
2: Would limit family size temporarily
3: Would limit family size permanently, i.e. I do not wish to have <u>any</u> children
4: Would like to practice family planning for educational and career reasons, however religious beliefs would prohibit this

20. Do you agree with the idea of a 2-3 month pregnancy leave for women (i.e. no pay, but all other privileges maintained)?

1: Strongly agree
2: Agree
3: Undecided
4: Disagree
5: Strongly disagree

21. Would you be prepared to re-enter your job after the birth of children?

1: Only if original salary and privileges (e.g. promotions and salary increments) are maintained
2: With original salary, but loss of privileges
3: Under any conditions offered
4: Would not prefer to return to work

22. In what way do you plan to combine your career with child-rearing?

1: Quit work permanently upon birth of first child
2: Continue in part-time work throughout child-rearing period
3: Continue in full-time " " " " "
4: Return to part-time work only after children begin school
5: Return to full-time " " " " " "
6: Return to part-time " " " " finish "
7: Return to full-time " " " " " "
8: Return to work only if necessary to supplement the family income

23. Which of the following is the most harmful to child adjustment?

1: Wife works full-time and earns more than husband
2: Wife works full-time and husband helps with housework
3: Wife and husband compete in same profession
4: None of the above is harmful

24. Would it concern you if your husband disagreed with your ideas on child-rearing practices?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Undecided

25. Which of the following do you feel is the most harmful to the husband-wife marital relationship?

1: Wife works full-time and earns more than husband
2: Wife works full-time and husband helps with housework
3: Wife and husband compete in same profession
4: None of the above are harmful

26. How important is it to you that your husband approves of your career plans and encourages you in them?

1: Very important
2: Important
3: Undecided
4: Unimportant
5: Very unimportant

27. Should a wife arrange her life to suit her husband's?

1: Strongly agree
2: Agree
3: Undecided
4: Disagree
5: Strongly disagree

28. Whom do you feel should have the most influence in the making of your family decisions?

1: Husband
2: Wife
3: Both should have equal influence

29. Would you prefer to marry a man who is:

1: Slightly superior to you in intelligence and education
2: Equal to you in intelligence and education
3: Slightly inferior to you in intelligence and education

30. What level of education would you like your husband to achieve?

1: Grade XI
2: Grade XI and technical training
3: Bachelor's degree
4: Master's degree
5: Doctoral degree
6: Educational level is not an important factor in the choice of a future husband

31. Would you prefer a husband who works in the same profession as yourself?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Not important

32. Do you feel that when both the husband and wife have a college education and a professional job:

1: The chances of successful marital adjustment increase
2: The possibility of conflict between husband and wife increases
3: There is no significant influence on marital adjustment

33. In which type of work would you most prefer your future husband to be employed?

1: Academic (e.g. teaching or research
2: Professional (e.g. law, medicine, engineering)
3: Business or managerial
4: Technical (e.g. industry or the trades)
5: Type of work not important to me

34. Which of the following traits would you most like in a husband?

1: Mixes well with people
2: Shares the same interests as you
3: Is successful in his career
4: Is a devoted husband
5: Is a devoted father

35. Would you like your husband to further his education after marriage:

1: Yes
2: No
3: Undecided

36. If not working at the time, would you be willing to return to work in order to help your husband return to university?

1: Would return to work on full-time basis
2: Would return to work on part-time basis
3: Would not return to work but would be willing to go into debt for a few years
4: Would not return to work since husband should assume responsibility for putting himself through university

37. If working, would you be willing to leave your own job in order to help your husband get ahead in his?

1: Would go to work for him on a full-time basis
2: Would go to work for him on a part-time basis
3: Feel husband should be able to succeed on his own

38. Do you believe that a woman should be more concerned with her husband's career than with her own personal achievement?

1: Strongly agree
2: Agree
3: Undecided
4: Disagree
5: Strongly disagree

39. Which of the following conditions do you feel would lead to the most successful marriage?

1: Husband works; wife full-time housewife
2: Husband works; wife works part-time
3: Husband works; wife works full-time in same profession
4: Husband works; wife works full-time but not in same profession
5: Husband goes to university; wife works full-time

40: If you decided to return to university in what way would you expect your husband to help you?

1: Financially (e.g. tuition)
2: By helping with children, while you are studying
3: By helping with housework
4: All of the above
5: Husband should not be expected to do any of the above

41. What is your opinion of marriages in which the wife works full-time while the husband attends college?

1: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the wife better understands what a husband must do in order to support a family
2: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the husband-wife relationship should be one of mutual sharing
3: This situation is beneficial to the marriage since the husband in furthering his education is better preparing to support the family
4: This situation is harmful to the marriage since a husband should be responsible for the full support of the family under any conditions
5: None of the above, please specify _____

_____

42. Would you be willing to move to another city in order to increase your husband's career opportunities?

1: Yes, under any circumstances
2: Yes, but would regret a set-back in my own career
3: Yes, but only if my own career would not suffer
4: No, under any circumstances

43. What was the employment status of your own mother while you were school?

1: Was employed full-time
2: Was employed part-time
3: Worked only occasionally when necessary to supplement the family income
4: Was full-time housewife

44. If your mother did work, in what type of job was she employed?

1: Academic (e.g. Teaching or research)
2: Professional (e.g. Law, Medicine or Engineering)
3: Business or Managerial
4: Clerical
5: Technical (e.g. Industry or the trades)
6: Other, please specify _____
7: Mother did not work

45. If your mother worked, what do you believe was her major reason for doing so?

1: For the enjoyment of the work
2: For financial reasons
3: Enjoyment of the work and financial reasons
4: To help send you and your siblings to college
5: Mother did not work
6: Other, please specify _____

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